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**Equity on Demand: Examining Gender Disparity in
the Writers for Original Scripted Series on Popular
Streaming Services 2013-2017.**

Kirsteen M.A. Stoddart

University of Salford, Manchester

School of Arts and Media

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Key Terms

Video-on-demand/ V.O.D.

Video content available online, at any time, either to download or stream directly.

Subscription video-on-demand/S.V.O.D.

Subscription-based platform (i.e. Netflix, Amazon Video) with a regular fee in exchange for access to online content.

“Over-the-Top” Content (O.T.T.)

Video content available on-demand over the internet without the need for a paid subscription (for example, BBC iPlayer, catch-up TV).

Linear television

The ‘traditional’ system of programming, whereby audiences view television live or as scheduled.

Non-linear television

Incorporating V.O.D., S.V.O.D. and O.T.T. viewing.

Cable Television

Scheduled television programming delivered to paying subscribers by cable transmission.

Broadcast Television

Scheduled, free-to-air programming delivered via antennae.

Series Scripted Television

Here, fictional series (25-60 min), with two or more episodes.

Creative and Cultural Industries

Industries wherein culture and art are produced and distributed in a commercial or corporate sense. For example, audio-visual industries, publishing, design, fashion, new technological endeavours, radio, dance, news and visual arts.

Abstract

With the rise in production of original content for Subscription Video on Demand (SVoD) platforms such as Netflix, Amazon and Hulu, the amount of content being produced has increased overall (Adalian & Fernandez, 2017). As a result, the number of employment opportunities has equally risen. However, women's share of those opportunities remains stagnant across all platforms, at or below 30% in both nations (Lauzen, 2020; Creative Skillset, 2010).

This thesis investigates how the advent of SVoD original content production has affected the employment of women television writers; whether or not women writers working in SVoD writers' rooms experience their employment in ways similar to women writers working in broadcast and cable; and how, if at all, SVoD providers have adapted their working and employment practices to provide an improved working environment for women in writers' rooms for original scripted series.

The research undertaken here employed a mixed methods approach to present quantitative and qualitative data in support of the main arguments. Quantitative data collection analysed the credits of all original scripted series made by Netflix, Amazon and Hulu between 2013 and 2017, to identify women's share of credits as a whole and to determine the levels of seniority at which they were able to work in those series. Second, a qualitative interview component identified key thematic areas in which women writers clearly experience their employment differently from male colleagues. Six detailed case studies investigate how specific women writers experienced working in writers rooms for major scripted series.. Those experiences are then analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to explicate the participants' interpretations more deeply, drawing conclusions around themes like motherhood, industry entry, professional networking, and the environment of SVoD writers' rooms.

The conclusion from this investigation is that, despite the demonstrable rise in actual production activity, women's share of and experience in writing for television remained largely unchanged. Gender-based disparity, stereotyping, sexism and sexual harassment remain as important but regrettable markers within the industry.

Introduction

This thesis examines the gender disparity, specifically the under-representation of women, apparent in writing for television, with a focus on original series made specifically for streaming services such as Netflix, Amazon and Hulu between 2013 and 2017. In the years studied, there was a demonstrable average annual disparity between women and men writers of 31.07%. Men made up 65.57% of all writing credits, while women accounted for 34.45%. The above demonstrates that, throughout this period, women were continuously and seriously underrepresented in the writing of the original series produced by Netflix, Amazon and Hulu. This thesis argues that such figures are not only concerning but also reflect the gender disparity apparent in the television and film industries as a whole.

Streaming television services have changed the landscape of modern entertainment, particularly during 2020's Covid-19 pandemic when viewership of streaming video increased by 85% in March 2020 (Spangler, 2020) as compared with the same month in 2019 (ibid). Similarly, in April 2020, Ofcom (2020) found that, in the United Kingdom, the viewership of audio-visual content in general (including access to network and free-to-air television, as well as online short-form services such as YouTube) increased by one and a half hours on average per person when compared with the same month in 2019, while an estimated twelve million United Kingdom residents subscribed to a new Subscription Video on Demand (SVoD) service, three million of whom had never before subscribed to an online viewing platform (p. 4). In particular, it was noted in Ofcom's research that 32% of those surveyed in the age range between 55 and 64 subscribed to new SVoD services, which was an increase from 25% prior to the United Kingdom's lockdown period (ibid).

The SVoD streaming services providers, including Netflix, Amazon, Hulu and Disney+ experienced notable growth during the Covid-19 pandemic (Hersko, 2020). The streaming of audio-visual entertainments has now become an intrinsic facet of everyday life. It is, therefore, all the more important to address notes of imbalance within its production. While this thesis covers the time period of 2013-2017 in its quantitative data, it is important to acknowledge the contemporary ramifications of the SVoD culture on television viewing and audience consumption as a whole.

At the time of the commencement of this thesis study in 2016, the “cord-cutting” movement, in which viewers eschew satellite and cable television subscriptions in favour of more readily available and cost-effective platforms such as streaming sites (Tefertiller, 2018), was underway. At the point of submission, in 2020, the landscape and environment in which viewers consume media and entertainment is barely recognisable. As demonstrated above, during the lockdown period in the United Kingdom, and worldwide, audiences remained at home to view content. This has affected not only the television but the film business. For example, in light of the closures of cinema, blockbuster films are now released directly to streaming services, and will be considered eligible for Academy Award nominations despite not screening formally in cinemas (Telegraph Reporters, 2020). With larger audiences remaining at home and demonstrating increased interaction with audio-visual media, the demand for “bingeable” content has risen dramatically (Cordova, 2020) and audience dependence upon online media is not only evident in our entertainment-seeking, but also in provision for work, education and communication (Koeze & Popper, 2020).

The effects of this change of working style are demonstrable not only in the production of streaming television, but also in its creation and development. As Anhar Karim writes for *Forbes*, the shift from traditional in-person writers’ rooms to online forums such as Zoom has, in fact, birthed the benefit of the “blurring of creative hierarchy” (Karim, 2020). One writer describes to Karim the way in which she now receives questions from her showrunner based on the positioning of her avatar on the screen, rather than the hierarchical way in which very junior writers would be asked last for their opinions in a live space (ibid). Television writer, Julia Heimach, also told Karim that the lockdown period had allowed writers to work more intensively on their own projects during production hiatus. “What it’ll probably mean is some really kickass television when things go back into production. Because we’ll have a lot of really fine-tuned scripts people had a lot of time to write well,” (Karim, 2020). Within the rising importance of streaming services to our entertainment industry discussed above, women writers for original series on streaming services are still outnumbered by 31%, as demonstrated by this study. The research in this thesis, suggests that while increased opportunities exist on paper, the industries in both the U.K. and U.S. are still geared towards affording those opportunities to the homogenous group of writers who have proliferated in and long dominated television writing: white, middle-class men.

With this in mind, this thesis analyses the experience of women writers who create for original streaming services. The key themes of this study are rooted in the gendered barriers that face women and not their male colleagues. Despite a publicised and performative demonstration by companies to show that they are improving the numbers of women working in film and television, it is still the case that women are significantly outnumbered in those senior roles such as director, cinematographer and screenwriter, that, ultimately, command a greater respect, higher pay grade and professional recognition (Wheeler, 2020). While equality in the overall share of women's roles within television writing may be shown to be improving, it is important to note that the seniority of women writers affects the broader makeup of writers' rooms, and it must be taken into account that simple statistics of how many women writers there are do not adequately account for the disparity in career progression of those women writers from entry-level writers' assistants to the first-year staff writers ('baby writers'), through to executive-level showrunners. The barriers to women in this field, such as sexist stereotyping, motherhood or the perception of motherhood, and reduced trust in the capabilities of women writers were evident throughout this research, not only in the literature but also in the qualitative filed research conducted for this thesis.

Kreager and Follows (2018) showed through their research into the barriers facing women writers that one example of such sexist stereotyping is the perception of women upon industry entry, stating that,

If female entrants to the industry are not viewed as readily as potential writers, they are unlikely to be afforded the same opportunities, and their expectations and goals will be correspondingly diminished... Potential female writers learning they need to put in significant effort and work to succeed, and yet still face lower odds of success based on their gender rather than talent, might reasonably gravitate to different roles that are more achievable or exit the industry entirely. Equally, the expectations and goals of potential female writers are set, at least in part, by the opportunities afforded them, and the expectations placed on them. (pp. 111-112).

Similarly, it has been shown, through the research for this thesis, as well as by writers such as Wreyford (2013), Gonzalez (2018) and Minsky (2006) that motherhood is experienced as, and considered by some executives to be a detriment to the career of a woman writer. Minsky, for example, upon revealing her second pregnancy to her executive, had been told, "You're as useful to me now as if you had a brain tumour" (Minsky, 2006).

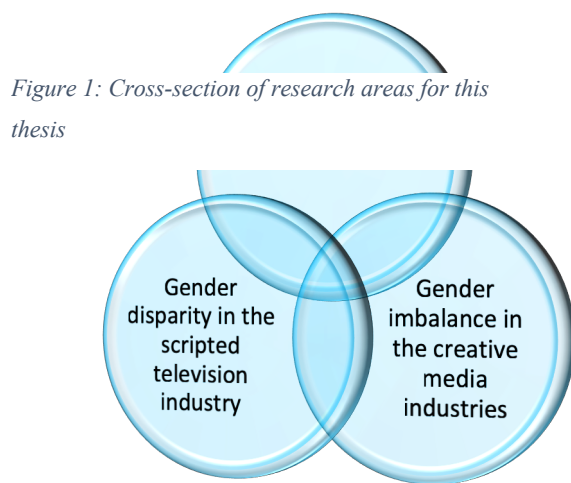
As this pre-existing literature demonstrates, recurring themes of sexist stereotypes for writers, the bias against mothers and potential mothers in hiring practices, the question of cultural capital and the overall difficulty of accessing a largely impenetrable industry all contribute to the extant and enduring inequity faced by women writers. What is the source of the barriers for women writers of streaming television? How are they unique to the television industry? And what is the impact of the rise of online ‘television’ on the representation of women on writing teams? This thesis will attempt to answer these questions by way of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Chapter One will provide a background to the research, identifying the state of equity for women in the television industry as a whole. In addition, it will demonstrate the functional and organisation aspects of writing television in the contemporary industry, in both the United States and the United Kingdom, and follow on to situate the role of SVoD in the contemporary entertainment industry; its impacts and implications; the subversion of the ‘traditional’ organisational aspects of the television production industry, as well as the ways in which SVoD has impacted the creative content available to audiences, and the provoking of discussion around the rights of writers and their resultant strike in 2007, as well as the near-miss writers’ strike in 2020.

It is equally important to note that television writers are both artist and worker (Bourdieu, 1984). It is the cross-section of culture and organisation that drives this research into women writers’ experiences in their places of work, which are also the places in which they create their art. With this in mind, this thesis approaches the research with questions that focus on a set of workplaces, but in a creative setting, in which productivity and creativity are intertwined.

Research Questions

The literature review and the data collected have been analysed into chapters, then further broken down into sub-chapters. Each sub-chapter focuses on a key issue. For example, Chapter Three (literature review), considers women’s employment in creative media, women’s employment in scripted television, production practices for SVoD as they differ from ‘traditional’ television production, and women’s employment in SVoD.

When identifying the areas of interest for this research, it was apparent that no one contributing factor alone is the cause of the gender disparity in the career role of writing for subscription video on demand scripted television. In considering workplace gender disparity where the creative media industries and television are particularly gendered, it must be acknowledged that the crossover of contributing factors combined create difficulty for women. These three areas are: gender inequality in the workplace; gender imbalance in the creative and cultural industries, and gender disparity in the scripted television industry (Fig.1).



Using these three components to cover the breadth of the research, the identified study group must be narrowed again to consider the significance of the relatively new industry of scripted television made specifically for SVoD platforms (Netflix, Amazon, Hulu etc.). The research thus far has combined these three core issues areas into the following specified research questions:

1. What has been the impact of the rising production model of original scripted content made for subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms on the employment of women writers for television?
2. Do those issues which affect women in other areas of scripted television production employment, and employment in the wider creative media industries, affect women writers for SVoD scripted content in a different way?
3. How, if at all, is the industry adapting to this new model of production in order to improve conditions and representation for the women writers of scripted fictional content?

Chapter Two will present the research outline, including key theoretical propositions, critical framework and research, including the roles of feminist and organisational analyses within this research, and the reflective and reflexive role of Interpretational Phenomenological

Analysis in the dissection of the collected data. In addition, this chapter will outline the research methodologies, including the collection and presentation of original data.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the literature relating to the themes and propositions of this thesis. In this chapter will be discussed gender inequalities in the creative and cultural industries (CCI), women's employment in television on and off the screen, as well as the more recent "Me Too" and "Time's Up" movements which have brought to the forefront discussions of women's inequalities in industry. This chapter will also examine further the role and effects of motherhood on women writers; gender pay gaps; and the changing landscape of the career path of the television writer that is influenced by the ever-increasing role of SVoD and other digital media.

Chapter Four will present the findings of original quantitative research, analysing the credits of all Netflix, Amazon and Hulu original scripted series made and aired between 2013 and 2017, demonstrating not only the numerical representation of women writers, but also the seniority of those writers, identifying spaces in which women may be represented in terms of numbers within the writers' room, but lacking in the authority to create, lead and progress as successfully as their male colleagues.

Chapter Five presents six original case studies. For this thesis, a total of ten women writers for SVoD scripted original series were interviewed; six of those were chosen for case study in order to present a wide and more wholistic view of the experiences of women writers. In this chapter, the cases presented include women writers from the role of staff writer through to showrunner, to represent varying stages of the hierarchy of the writers' room.

Chapter Six presents a deeper analysis of the case studies, taking into account the thematic foci of this thesis. Utilising Interpretational Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) to explicate not only the factual experiences of the participants, but also their reflections upon those experiences, there will be an exploration of the phenomenological ideology wherein reality is existent on multiple levels, heavily influenced by the subject's own life experiences prior to the event (Vagle, 2018; Van Manen, 2014).

In the seventh and final chapter, the overall findings and research implications will be reviewed, with reference to opportunities for further discussion; historical, contemporary and future contextualities and final comments upon the thesis.

The purpose of this research, then, is ultimately to identify the specific impact on women writers for scripted television that SVoD original content production has actioned, if at all.

Chapter One: Background to the Research

The study of gender imbalance in behind-the-scenes roles in film and television has been demonstrated clearly in the quantitative sense by academics since the 1990s, when diversity in this industry became a topic for debate in the academic realm. For example, Martha Lauzen of the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film at San Diego State University has published extensively in her regular *Boxed In* (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020) reports, demonstrating the statistical shares that women hold in key roles in film and television, respectively. Equally, Denise Bielby and William Bielby (1992, 1996, 1999) studied the impacts of gender and networking in the careers of screenwriters, demonstrating that men held more cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) than women when it came to entering and maintain a career as a screenwriter. Cobb, Williams & Wreyford (2019) demonstrated the significant variance in employment between men and women directors and cinematographers in U.K.-qualifying films between 2003 and 2015.

The key variances between the U.K. and the U.S. in the way that they develop and make television are easily identifiable in terms of working structure and business models. For example, while the U.K. enjoys a healthy industry wherein independent production companies make television dramas for key broadcasters such as the BBC and ITV, the U.S. has long operated using its infamous ‘pilot season’, whereby new television programmes are developed and pitched at multi-level stages, finally reaching the screens when they have passed several audience and executive testing phases. However, it is evident that, with the rise of streaming television and a highly competitive market, pilot episodes are increasingly fading in favour of straight-to-series orders, while those who do still operate on the older system now embrace a more global approach, with actors able to audition digitally and remotely (Miller, 2015).

This chapter outlines the disparities between women and men in the film and television industries at large, the difference in working practices between British and American television production, and argues that due to issues such as unconscious bias (Wreyford, 2015; Follows, Kreager, & Gomes, 2016) sexist generalisations (Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015) and working environments that are hostile to women, in particular, mothers (Percival, Mutsvairo, & Rønning, 2020); men working within the film and television industries,

including as screenwriters for television, experience fewer career barriers and greater opportunities for progression than women (Percival, Mutsvairo, & Rønning, 2020; Wreyford, 2013; Baehr, 1981).

1.1 Women Directors in the British and American film and television industries

In their study of gender inequality among directors in the United Kingdom's film industry, Follows, Kreager and Gomes (2016) examined the data of 2,591 feature films in the U.K. covering a period of ten years from 2005 – 2014. In that time, they found that only 13.6% of those films were directed by women. The study was supported and published by Directors U.K., which is the British industry professional association for working directors in film and television (Directors U.K., N.D.), and sought to find the causes as well as the evidence of that disparity, and several key components were discovered. First, there is an unconscious bias in industry, whereby the risk factors involved in making film drew employers to an archetypal ideal of what a director should be in order to mitigate that risk; namely, male and white (p. 82). Secondly, they theorised that a “symbiotic” inequality (pp. 17, 84, 120) in which “the various elements of inequality across different areas of the industry reinforce and facilitate each other” (p. 84) which led to a cycle in which the lack of opportunity for women directors led to a low level of female representation in that role in the industry, which, in turn, resulted in a low number of successful female directors who might act as role models and/or mentors to younger women wishing to follow that career path (p. 9).

Similar to older evidence supporting the claim that women writers for film and television are traditionally hired to make ‘women’s films’ⁱ (Francke, 1994), Follows, Kreager and Gomes (2016) found that women directors nowadays are also more likely to be hired to direct films that sit within what is considered to be a ‘female’ genre (2016, p. 70). This gendered stereotyping is rife within the production industry, from the gender balance of working departments to the commissioning of work. It can be suggested then that it is this systemic unconscious bias within the industry itself which causes this disparity over the course of a woman’s career. That becomes even clearer when it is remembered that approximately 50% of graduates from film and television higher education courses are female, with the same percentage of women new entrants to the industry (Follows, Kreager, & Gomes, 2016, p. 60).

That is to say, in training and entrance, 50% of the industry is identifiably populated by women, yet career development is dominated by men.

However, it is not only getting the ‘foot in the door’ that poses a problem for female directors. The chances of a female director making two or more films is just 27.2%, and their opportunity for making four or more films a meagre 4% (Follows, Kreager, & Gomes, 2016, p. 72). The authors suggest that, in addition to the entry of women into directing, it is the constant need to prove worth and risk-worthiness that prevents women from securing repeat funding and employment. Only 7% of U.K. films returned a profit during their research period. With the chances of financial success so low, how are women to prove they are worthy of a second, third or fourth opportunity to direct a film?

Lauzen (2012) agrees that the hiring process itself is to blame. As she argues, the risk-averse nature of hiring for film and television projects causes employers to rely upon proven successes and reliability as benchmarks for their hiring decisions. This leads to a male-dominated field because of the dual results of this hiring mentality (p. 311). First, men are more likely to have an impressive filmography than women due to the increased opportunities they experience in their careers from the outset. Second, when employers use in their hiring processes the presupposed notion that women are less talented or experienced than male directors in general, the male director will, again, seem the less risky decision.

Additionally, Lauzen suggests that women directors are also judged on the basis of their personality traits as well as their proven successes. She cites the case of Catherine Hardwicke, who directed *Twilight* (2008) to great box-office success financially and critically, but was not re-hired for the sequel, *New Moon* (Chris Weitz, 2009), allegedly due to being "difficult and irrational" (Lauzen M. , 2012, p. 312). It is Lauzen’s assertion that the underrepresentation of women directors must be countered by addressing the human capital and discrimination trends apparent in hiring and that these trends are evident across the board in the production industries rather than being limited to the field of directing for film and television.

In addition to being limited by their gender, women also face a significant “shelf-life” challenge when it comes to securing work as a director (Smith, Pieper, & Choueiti, 2017). However, their representation then dropped dramatically, with no female directors in this

same study by the University of Southern California's Annenberg School (Smith, Pieper, & Choueiti, 2017) whatsoever working past their sixties. Across the study, the authors found that there were roughly twenty-four male directors for every one female director in high-grossing feature films, and that, while male directors worked across all genres, women were significantly underrepresented in the genres of science fiction and fantasy at 6.8%, thriller and action both at 4.6% and horror, with only one female director, comprising just 2.3% (p. 6).

1.2 Women Actors

It is not only women directors who face difficulty and inequalities in film and television. Jessica Chastain, who starred in films such as *The Help* (Tate Taylor, 2011) and *Molly's Game* (Aaron Sorkin, 2017), spoke at the 2017 Cannes Film Festival's final press conference as a member of the jury, stating that "One thing I got to take away from this experience is how the world views women, from the female characters I saw represented... It was quite disturbing to me, to be honest" (The Guardian, 2017a; 2017b). Chastain's remarks referred to the natures and stories revolving around women characters on screen at the film festival, suggesting that women were seen as sex objects, wives, mothers and victims only.

Paradoxically, in years gone by, it was the lack of the 'strong female character' that enraged actors tiring of film tropes, as Sanghani (2016) contends, stating that, "The Oscar goes to ... women who play wives, widows and prostitutes". However, in 2013, Natalie Portman who has received two Academy Award nominations, for her roles in the 2004 film adaptation of Patrick Marber's play, *Closer*, and for the 2016 film, *Jackie*, in which she played Jacqueline Kennedy, suggested that the idea of this 'strong female' trope was, in fact, not empowering at all: "The fallacy in Hollywood is that if you're making a 'feminist' story, the woman kicks ass and wins. That's not feminist, that's macho. A movie about a weak, vulnerable woman can be feminist if it shows a real person that we can empathise with" (Portman cited in Williams, 2013). It can be concluded then, that many actors, too, are tired of inequality onscreen and behind-the-scenes as well.

Actors want to play realistic characters, and they want to be paid for it equitably. In the twelve months between June 2015 and 2016, just four female actors worldwide earned more than \$20m (USD), compared with eighteen male actors (Robehmed, 2016). Jessica Chastain

stated in 2017 that she now requests information on pay parity before accepting a role, instructing producers, “Don’t determine my worth based on what’s left over” (Setoodeh, 2017). This negotiation of pay pre-project is something that women in other industries address constantly. But as Riley, Bowles and Babcock (2012) observe, while women benefit economically from requesting higher starting salaries and negotiating raises, they also suffer socially from having asked. Is Chastain ‘difficult’? Certain critics think so. Peter Howell, for example, a film critic for *The Star*, disagreed with Chastain in most part on her views of the 2017 Palme d’Or competitors. According to Howell, “there were many films at Cannes 2017 in which women had significant roles” (Howell, 2017). The video of Chastain criticising the 2017 festival line-up has been viewed over one million times, and drawn both support and ire online, Howell included. He concludes that, despite Chastain’s complaint that she had seen twenty films in ten days and found female representation lacking in depth, the films “actually numbered 19, not 20” (ibid).

Peck (2016) writes that the importance of celebrities speaking publicly about pay inequity is underestimated. Patricia Arquette’s 2015 Oscars speech decrying the pay gap (Oscars, 2015) allowed several U.S. states to push through pay equality bills and initiatives, so that women who hitherto had earned 79 cents for every dollar earned by a man in the same role now benefitted greatly. Arquette, however, claims to have lost out on roles based on her speech. Similarly, Chastain claims that she wants to create a reputation, by which producers will not approach her in the first place unless they are offering fair and equal pay (Setoodeh, 2017). Again, however, it is the issue of representation that must be addressed. Chastain’s statement at Cannes sparked debate in the press and on social media, but as press member Jada Yuan (Buchanan, Yoshida, & Yuan, 2017) comments, there were three other women on the jury at Cannes, Chinese actor, Fan Bingbing and directors Agnès Jaoui and Maren Ade. All three also spoke out, but did not receive anywhere near the media attention that Chastain did. This of course begs the questions whether this activism by celebrities is help or hindrance to the cause of achieving equity in film and television.

In an essay for actress Lena Dunham’s now-defunct *Lenny Letter* newsletter, actor, Jennifer Lawrence, considered that her problems “aren’t exactly relatable”, so she tended to remain quiet on “hot” topics. However, regarding the 2014 Sony hack that leaked pay details about major feature films, she blamed herself rather than Sony for the inequity. Further still, she continued to worry that speaking out would make her seem “difficult” (Lawrence, 2015).

Details from the hack included the fact that Lawrence and co-star Amy Adams were not only paid lower fees for their starring roles in 2013's *American Hustle* (dir. David O. Russell, 2013), they were also granted lower back-end pay (point-based percentage proceeds from the film's profits) than their male co-stars, Bradley Cooper and Jeremy Renner (Fitz-Gerald, 2014). Responses to Lawrence's piece varied from applause to cynicism. Actor and comedian, Chris Rock, stated, "You hear Jennifer Lawrence complaining about getting paid less because she's a woman—if she was black, she'd really have something to complain about" (Rock cited in Marantz, 2016). Fellow actress Kate Winslet called pay equity discussions "a bit vulgar" (Winslet cited in Jamieson, 2015). However, this statement by Lawrence focused and highlighted the discussion about women's pay parity in general – it gave high visibility to something that was, prior to her essay, a grumble rather than a roar. This outspoken advocacy has opened opportunity for discussion about in-industry equality. The conversation had begun, and the above celebrities provided a platform upon which other women and minorities can stand in order to present their cases for fair representation.

What follows is a brief summary of the two intersecting areas in which study takes place: women writers for scripted television, and the disruptive effects of SVoD on the 'traditional' television production business.

1.3 Writing for Television in the Contemporary Industry of SVoD

It has long been considered that television was the domain of the producer, it being commonly held that "the producer's position represents the key creative role in television series production" (Perren & Schatz, 2015). Meanwhile, film was the creative stronghold of the director. Then, the television industry itself was, for many decades, controlled by major networks. As Michele Hilmes (2007) argues:

The classic network system was a period of tight vertical integration, similar to that of the movie studios before 1947, and of oligopoly, with just three networks dominating the industry. Production control stemmed from a system of ownership interests, with multiple sponsorship limiting the influence of advertisers. As for production, networks either owned outright or owned an interest in most of their primetime and daytime programming, and they controlled syndication rights as well.

As such, the advent of SVoD platforms and their audiences' increased demands for new content have shifted the power dynamic within the industry and allowed for new writers, producers, directors and voices to break through in a disturbance of the traditional formula of scripted television production.

This thesis examines both British and American television formats. It is important to include the exported programming from both industries given the nature of their production systems; the transatlantic television trend has been a significant factor in both industries for several decades, with American remakes of British television classics such as *The Office* (Daniels, Gervais, & Merchant, 2005-2013) proving popular, and British series such as *The Crown* (Morgan, 2016-) and *Downton Abbey* (Fellowes, 2010-2015) achieving significant American viewership statistics. Jeanette Steemers describes the role of complex performance of British television in the United States “as a niche purveyor of ‘high’ culture including high-end factual content such as natural history programming, eccentric, idiosyncratic comedy (*Monty Python*), complex thrillers, and period drama based on literary classics for an elite endowed with educational, financial and cultural capital.” (Steemers, 2011, p. 18) Despite the impressive financial performance of these British export television series, American television series revenues outstrip those of the United Kingdom considerably. A study by Price Waterhouse Coopers (PwC) projected that the American television and home video sector would reach \$96 billion (USD) in revenue in 2019 (Select USA, n.d.) while British television had reached just £3 billion in 2018. This was, however, an increase of 40% from 2008, according to another report by Oliver & Ohlbaum Associates for Pact (2019).

1.3.1 Writing for Television the U.K.

The U.K. scripted television industry can be broken down into three key formats: the drama series, the drama serial and the continuing drama. In his book, *Writing Television Drama*, Nicholas Gibbs (2012) describes the difference between the three succinctly.

First, the drama series (for example, police procedurals like *Law and Order: U.K.* (Wolf, 2009-2015) or crime series such as *Endeavour* (Lewis, 2012-)) will feature a largely similar cast but with self-contained storylines for each episode. The characters will solve each crime, and although they may have over-arching storylines outside of that episode, each story is

generally resolved at the end of a one-hour time slot. Second, there is the drama serial – in which stories stretch across multiple episodes and feature a definitive ending. Examples of these types of series might be *Game of Thrones* (Benioff & Weiss, 2011-2019) or *The Crown*. This format also extends to include miniseries and limited series. Third, there is the continuing drama, or as it is more commonly described, the soap opera. These stretch across many years, produce far more episodes per year than any other form and provide the training ground for many British television writers (Berkeley, 2002). Yvonne Grace writes that,

The fact remains that most writers working in [British] television today do so on established, long-running formats. This is where the majority of the work is, where the most writer contracts are signed, where the most television hours are made, and where, in the main, a writer can truly become a seasoned, creative professional who not only wields a ton of necessary experience in writing for the small screen, but who also enjoys regular writing gigs (Grace, 2014).

While the continuing drama is, especially in the U.K., a significant stepping-stone for writers and directors in the early stages of their careers, it is in the high-end television bracket that the gender divide becomes more pronounced, with financial compensation and stakes of economical return rising.

British high-end television is identified by its large budget, high production values and prime-time scheduling, that is, between the hours of eight PM and eleven PM on weeknights. However, that definition has been stretched to be inclusive of streaming originals. According to the BFI'S High-End Television qualification restrictions (British Film Institute, 2019) 'high-end' is taken to mean, "a drama (which includes comedy) or documentary production that is intended for broadcast and has expenditure per hour of slot length of not less than £1 million. The slot length in relation to the high-end television programme must also be greater than 30 minutes." (p. 11) The term 'high-end' is often intermixed with the descriptor of 'quality' television, which is an area that has received a great deal of academic scholarship as for example, Janet McCabe and Kim Akass' edited collection *Quality TV* (2007), or Jason Mittell's *Complex TV* (2015), both of which pose multiple definitions of what 'quality' and 'good' television mean. However, it could be argued that this high-end television production has been the saviour of the British industry in matching pace with the international SVoD markets. For example, *The Crown*, a miniseries produced in conjunction between the BBC

and Netflix, set records as reportedly the highest-budget series ever produced, drawing the observation that the extraordinarily high spend,

Raised eyebrows for the news that its backers spent over \$100m to produce the series' first 10 episodes. Twenty years ago, the goal of any TV producer was to keep costs low and to make enough episodes to get a syndication deal, so that the money for reruns would keep rolling in. These days, companies are willing to spend big on just one short season, knowing that some viewers tend to look at high production values as a sign that a show's worth binge-watching (Murray, 2016).

This demonstrates that the SVoD streamers must strive to achieve their high-end look. It was long noted that Amazon Prime was searching for "its *Game of Thrones*" (Littleton & Holloway, 2017), seeking the prolific fandom and critical acclaim enjoyed by that series, produced by HBO (Home Box Office). Yet, British drama, for example, *Downton Abbey*, enjoys its own quiet success, screening internationally on network and cable channels and repeating for years on end (Bloom, 2019), eventually culminating in a feature-film finale.

For writers, however, the British system of hiring and producing writers does not match up to that of the comparatively structured system of the U.S., where a defined hierarchy exists, including specified entry points. These entry points, which can serve as a guide to 'breaking into' the American industry, do not apply in the U.K. where the culture can be more closed and those more successful writers and producers enjoy continued success, leaving newer writers behind. As television writer Rachelle Constant told a panel at the Royal Television Society (RTS), new writers need "a really strong sample script to show off your work – without that there's not much hope" (Bell, 2017).

Industry initiatives, such as the BBC Writers Room (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/writersroom/>) and the Channel 4 new writers initiative (<https://careers.channel4.com/4talent/industry-talent-schemes/4screenwriting>) offer new writers an 'in' by way of competitive entry opportunities, seeking to find new talent. As Gibbs states (2012, p. 134), "aside from the established writers...you are also competing against all the other newbie writers. The BBC Writersroom alone receives more than 10,000 speculative scripts a year." With extraordinary competition for so few entry-level spots, how is a writer to break into, let alone succeed in such a closed industry? In an interview with *ScriptMag*, writer Phillip Gladwin, author of scriptwriting guidebook *Screenwriting Goldmine* (2009), describes his 'lucky' industry entry:

“A friend of mine had made it to working at the BBC, and I sent it to her. It was my last shot really. I was about to give up and do something else. She said, “This isn’t bad. We’re not going to make it, but why don’t you come in for an interview.” And I got taken into the BBC as a trainee script editor” (Gladwin cited in Viani, 2017).

Despite the seemingly infinitesimal opportunities offered by the BBC, it must be noted that the British industry, too, is experiencing an upheaval of its longstanding traditions. No longer are the three major players, namely BBC, ITV and Channel 4, the mainstays and only option for aspiring writers. In fact, the high-end television spend in the U.K. rose by a record 29% in 2019, driven in large part by the “streaming wars” between Netflix and Amazon, which brought the annual spend to the highest-ever total, at £3.6bn (Sweney, 2020). Despite this sizeable increase, the U.K.’s industry does not yet compare with the enormous production spend on television in the U.S., where writing for television is a career path offering, in theory at least, far more opportunities, which will be discussed next.

1.3.2 Writing for Television in the United States

The American industry of television production has a more structured system for writers than that in the U.K. In the American industry, aspiring writers generally seek entry-level positions as Production Assistant (PA), Showrunner’s Assistant or Writers’ Assistant (WA). Media Match (Media Match, n.d.) outlines that the Writer’s Assistant “assists the head writer or writers with essential office duties, read and type scripts, as well as print and add revisions to scripts”. A Showrunner’s Assistant role involves some of these tasks as well as more personal tasks. One Showrunner’s Assistant discussed the variety of his role with a Starz (a premium cable and satellite channel) showrunner: “My tasks change depending on where we are in the process of the show. I could be diving into a pile of scripts from hopeful writers, scheduling directors meetings, watching auditions, booking a babysitter for date night, or picking up a gown for an awards show” (Wolfe, n.d.). Once proving themselves in these assistant roles, sometimes for many years, hopeful writers aim to receive a ‘staff’ writing position on a series, also known as the role of “baby writer”, or the lowest rung on the hierarchical ladder of the writers’ room (Cook, 2007). This transition is sometimes assisted by their initial employer (for example, the showrunner whom they assisted), or through reaching out to other industry contacts. The baby writer works in the writers’ room with other

staffed writers at varying levels, ranging from the aforementioned staff writer through to story editor, executive story editor, co-producer, producer, and executive producer.

This is where the American system differs greatly from the British. In the U.S., writers may also act as producers of a series. This means that, as well as their creative input, writers maintain creative and logistic control, including financial, staffing, and physical presence on set of a series in order to ensure that the creative vision of a scripted series is adhered to during physical production (Rothchild, 2017).

Writing for film and television in the United States is also heavily unionised. The Writers Guild of America (which holds both East and West Coast branches) insists upon fairness and parity across the board. The WGA as a whole has held multiple strikes, which, as Banks (2010) points out, were largely triggered by changes in technology. That includes, for example, the 1988 strike, which aimed to achieve residuals (effectively royalty payments for writers) from film and television distribution in VHS format, and the more recent 2007-2008 strike (which lasted over 100 days) prompted by television's shift to digital distribution platforms. It is important to note that the unionisation of American television writers is perhaps the most notable separation professionally from their British counterparts. While the Writers Guild of Great Britain (WGGB) may promote fair pay and issue rate cards for its members, its television guidelines appear to be targeted primarily, again, at those three commissioners, the BBC, ITV and Channel 4 (Writers Guild of Great Britain, n.d.).

In all respects, however, it can be identified that the landscape for television writing is constantly shifting in both the U.K. and the U.S. With more platforms and distribution channels available, and those platforms actively seeking content for their growing audiences and customers, there is a greater need for writers, and, thereby, more opportunities in theory for new writers to break into the industry.

1.3.3 Women Writers for Television in the U.K. and the U.S.

The 2016 Hollywood Writers Report (Hunt, 2016a) demonstrated that although employed women writers in television in the United States had increased in number, the representation gap remained similar, due to male writers' similar increases in employment despite gaining

significant ground numerically, that is, the percentage representation of women rose by only one percent, from 27.5% to 28.7%. Women writers were shown to have earned on average 93 cents in the dollar compared with their male television writer colleagues.

In 2018, seventy female writers published an open letter to British television commissioners to indicate their growing frustration with the gender imbalance in television writing – a report by the Writers Guild of Great Britain showed that just 28% of television episodes in the U.K. between 2001 and 2016 were written predominantly by women (Brown, 2018). Despite women making up a significant portion of writers' rooms on British soap operas, the letter argued that “they do not seem to be ‘graduating’ onto next-level shows where they could develop their skills further and raise their profiles.” (Writers, 2018) While the letter cited the commercial successes of British dramas written by women – *Call The Midwife* (Thomas, 2012-) , *Scott & Bailey* (Wainwright & Taylor, 2011-2016) and *Happy Valley* (Wainwright, 2014-) – it also reiterated that women colleagues from BAME backgrounds suffered twofold, stating that, “And this goes double for our BAME colleagues, who also seem to be consistently conspicuous by their absence.” (Writers, 2018) The letter writers suggested there could be no conceivable reason for the fact that, in that year, just 10% of British commissioned dramas were written by women.

The failure of the British industry to support and champion women and BAME writers is not unique. Similar criticisms appear regularly in the U.S. Interviewed in Kiara Pipino's book, *Women Writing and Directing in the USA* (Pipino, 2020) writer Lydia R. Diamond states that, “My feeling is that it's harder to be a woman in television and, like I said, when you do the math, it's even more obvious. I think there are more male, white executives. Certainly, when I was at HBO, there were no people of colour to co-sign... It is very frustrating to think that there are white men who are telling America what black looks like” (Diamond, cited in Pipino, 2020).

1.4 Subscription Video on Demand (SVoD) and its place in contemporary entertainment

In 2015, there were a record four hundred and twenty original scripted series in circulation across American broadcast, cable and streaming platforms (Huddleston, 2017). In response,

John Landgraf, CEO of FX Networks, stated that there was “too much TV”, and predicted a downfall of the scripted series as the market became oversaturated (Moore, 2015). By 2017, that prediction was identifiably inaccurate. 2016 saw ninety-two original scripted series air on streaming services alone, and Netflix and Amazon’s combined spend on original content production alone exceeded \$10bn (USD) (Huddleston, 2017).

SVoD has had a significant impact on the world of scripted television production. Not only has it increased the pool of content available to audiences, SVoD has dramatically changed the way that content is produced and viewed. Programmes can now be streamed on mobile phones, using the same login a subscriber uses on their home computer or smart television. Tablet devices and laptops can be used to watch content downloaded from SVoD platforms to their devices while off-line on flights, on public transport or in remote areas. The convenience and accessibility of the SVoD system has proved irresistible to audiences, with between 22% and 50% of households holding an SVoD account in a selection of majority English-speaking countries. According to records, 199,000,000 American households (Digital TV Research, 2020), 15,000,000 households in the United Kingdom, 12,300,000 in Australia (Telsyte, 2019), 11,300,000 in Canada (Broadband TV News, 2019a) and 3,200,000 in New Zealand (Roy Morgan, 2019) subscribed to at least one SVoD platform.

The fast pace of the SVoD original content production industry is especially significant when taking into account the rolling release dates of new content which subvert the ‘Pilot Season’ culture of traditional television broadcasters (Miller, 2015). Rather than creating content during the customary periods, releasing series in competitive timeslots with other series made for similar demographics, streamers can release full or partial series at any time of the year, regardless of other programming is available (Landau, 2015). The made-for-online scripted fictional television field has experienced significant growth in the past eight years (Adalian & Fernandez, 2017) and that has led to an increase in the production of scripted fictional series.

This rising popularity can be attributed to two key factors. First, video-on-demand television offers viewers more freedom, choice and flexibility in their viewing than linear television. They can select from a wide range of content and watch as much or as little as they wish, at any time, and on nearly any device. In short, this could be deemed a democratisation of access. Second, SVoD providers are more willing and able to take risks in their choice of commissioning, because they are less accountable to advertisers or networks who set

restrictions (for example, on behaviour, language and story) on the content of their fictional series (Landau, 2015).

Each of the major SVoD industry leaders has staked its claim on the online space in its own way. While Netflix routinely releases original series in full rather than at one episode per week, for example, as it does with *The Crown* (Morgan, 2016-) and as it did with its very successful series, *Orange Is the New Black* (Kohan, 2013-2019), Amazon Studios further disrupted the traditional production process by using its (now-defunct) open commissioning process. In this system, anyone could pitch an idea for an original series via an online portal, and subscribers could vote on the content they wanted to see (Miller S. , 2015).

These innovations have the potential to open up opportunities for previously unproduced writers and creators and widen the range of content that we see in scripted fictional series. In 2019, Netflix launched three hundred and seventy-one new original television series across scripted and unscripted formats, which *Variety* reports was a greater number than the entirety of the U.S.' 2005 original series across all platforms (Bridge, 2019). Hulu currently boasts sixty-nine original series on its platform (Hulu Originals, n.d.) and Amazon lists forty-two original series in Drama and Comedy, with a plentitude of additional animation, children's programming and docu-series (Amazon Originals, n.d.).

With these numbers in mind, the next section will address the actualities of diversity within writing for scripted SVoD originals, covering not only gender, but racial and physical inequalities.

1.4.1 SVoD, Writing and Diversity

The evolution of scripted television from linear broadcast and cable to multi-platform has resulted in more content being produced (Adalian & Fernandez, 2017). So, with the production of television increasing, it is interesting to examine how the traditionally unbalanced representation of women writers for fictional series is affected by this new production model.

Interestingly, while the employment of television writers in general has increased, women's percentage share of that employment in the United States grew just 2%, from 27% to 29% between 2012 and 2014 (Hunt, 2016a). Production is moving out of Hollywood and spreading across the world (Allan-Ebrahimian, 2014), suggesting that one need not live in Los Angeles to write for SVoD fictional television. In addition, the leading online commissioners (Amazon Studios, Hulu and Netflix) claim to be seeking 'new voices' to relate to their varied audiences (Landau, 2015). Yet, despite a rise in the production of these series made specifically for online distribution, women's representation on the credits in the broader, industry inclusive sense remains low, at just 29% in the U.S. (2014), and 30% in the U.K. (Reeves, 2016).

Basic data collected by *The Guardian* on the 2016 Emmy nominations showed significant disparity in hiring practices across directing, writing and editing for nominated programmes in the U.S. Of those analysed, four were series made specifically for premiere broadcast on SVoD channels. The *Comprehensive Annenberg Report on Diversity* (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2016) showed that only 25.2% writers for streaming/digital content in 2014-2015 were women. However, with such a rapidly changing industry, it is difficult to keep pace with changes in practice.

The following section will address the subversion of the genre of television as caused by the growing SVoD market, and the implications of these changes on the greater industry.

1.4.2 Subverting the Genre of Scripted Television

SVoD has also changed the way in which writers and producers create original scripted content. Netflix is perhaps most significant here, best demonstrated by the increase in binge viewingⁱⁱ that maximised its manipulation of the addictive nature inherent in delivering full seasons of both archive and brand-new scripted content directly to its viewers. In fact, Jenner (2017) argues that Netflix and its SVoD counterparts rather rely on this model of binge-watching to "bind" its customers, who are less likely to cancel a subscription while participating in a 'media marathon' addictively watching several episodes in one sitting (Deloitte, 2017).

This all-at-once delivery model, however, has particular impact on the creative writing and production team, because it changes the way a programme is written. In traditional ‘linear’ television, seasons (or series) of a scripted television programme would usually run to twenty-two episodes per year. This allowed networks and channels to fill their ‘season’, which runs from September to May, with one episode per week (Engber, 2005). As such, the production of these series would run concurrently with the release of weekly episodes, with episodes being written, shot and prepared for broadcast while earlier episodes were airing on linear television.

The impact of the Netflix ‘season dump’ model was that writers and producers could not rely on the reactions of their audiences week to week in order to tweak and make changes to storylines, casting or actors (Wolk, 2015). Consequently, the style of writing has been reshaped by the binge culture, with writers aiming to encourage audiences to continue their viewing into another episode, essentially altering the structure of an episode so that each one ends with a tantalising hook. Additionally, where linear weekly schedules required episodic stories that might be followed easily by audiences who had missed previous episodes, SVoD platforms are able to develop much more complex and stretched-out story arcs which can be followed by viewers more likely to watch multiple episodes within a shorter space of time (Wolk, 2015a).

It has been suggested (Goldsmith, 2016; Landau, 2015; Lotz, *The Television Will Be Revolutionized*, 2014; Wolk, 2015) that one of the reasons Netflix, Amazon and Hulu are considered the leaders in ‘edgy’ original programming is that they are not held accountable to the standards of advertisers and networks. Whereas traditional, linear broadcasting, episodes must run to exacting time codes, including commercial breaks and full run times, SVoD broadcasters can be flexible (Keating, 2012; Landau, 2015). For example, Netflix’s *The OA*’s (Batmanglij & Marling, 2016-) episodes run between thirty-one and seventy-one minutes across the eight-episode first season (Mulligan, 2017). Of their unique approach to the structure of their episodes, co-creator Batmanglij told *The Hollywood Reporter*, “We wanted to take what we love about [...] the novelistic experience and put it on the long-format series experience — not having all the characters in the first hour, not having all the chapters be the same length... So we thought to ourselves about those constraints.” (Bentley, 2016).

It is this sense of flexibility that gives Netflix its edge over traditional broadcasters – freed of constraints and structures, streaming services have the opportunity to widen the spectrum of the meaning of “television”. While this programming freedom has garnered acclaims, it has also had the effect of drawing criticisms from the public and industry.

1.4.3 Acclaim & Criticism

Adapted from the BBC drama of the same name, *House of Cards* was Netflix’s premiere into the realm of original quality programmingⁱⁱⁱ. *House of Cards* met critical acclaim, and won awards from the Golden Globes, Primetime Emmys, and a variety of guild-based societal awards including the Screen Actors’ Guild (SAG), American Cinema Editors, Art Directors’ Guild, Casting Society of America (CSA) and Costume Designers’ Guild (IMDb, Updated 2017). However *House of Cards* has also been criticised for its representation of women, particularly in its presentation of the character of political journalist, Zoe Barnes (Kate Mara), who, in its first season, uses her sexuality to secure intimate political details from Kevin Spacey’s lead, Frank Underwood (Rosenberg, 2013; Gavin, 2013; Cillizza, 2015).^{iv} Shortly after *House of Cards* came *Orange Is the New Black*, which featured not only a majority female cast but a heavily-weighted female writing team. *Orange Is the New Black* showed, in a way, the opposite side of the *House of Cards* coin. Created and led by Jenji Kohan (*Weeds*, 2005-2012), it addresses issues such as racial profiling, racism, sexual assault, sexuality and a broken justice system (Blake, 2016). Trans actress, Laverne Cox, said of the programme that, “A conversation is being had that really is about humanizing people who are incarcerated.” (ibid) However, despite championing women in the writers’ room, *Orange Is the New Black* has received a different kind of criticism: its writers’ room is almost entirely white (McGirt, 2016; Reign, 2016). In contrast, Netflix’s broader reputation appears to be positive in terms of diversity. It has been applauded for the production ethnically diverse series such as *Dear White People* (Simien, 2017-), *Master of None* (Ansari & Yang, 2015-), *On My Block* (Gonzalez, Haft, & Iungerich, 2018-) and *Narcos* (Bernard, Brancato, & Miro, 2015-2017). But diversity is just one element of the “Netflix Effect” (Landau, 2015).

An additional but key element to the success of SVoD programming is its flexibility and capacity to connect with and engage fans. Wolk (2015) explains the concept of the ‘second screen’, whereby viewers watch content passively while also using their handheld device to

tweet, discuss or share information about that content. This fan engagement allows programming to gain online traction and informs content makers and distributors about their viewers' opinions without the presence of traditional viewership monitoring (Jenner, 2017; Wolk, 2015). *Narcos* used Facebook as a marketing platform in order to increase viewer engagement. The fan page for the series gained one million followers within its first month of release, and the marketing team encourage engagement by the fans with the brand by commenting, asking questions and featuring the programme's stars on Facebook Live videos (Fullerton, 2016). By integrating online audience communities and online viewing practices, Netflix contributed to the democratisation of television, breaking down barriers that restricted online platforms' access to professional industry acknowledgement, and creating a system whereby audiences felt involved and connected with content. However, academic discussion has suggested polarised views of the streaming platforms' contributions to television as a whole.

1.4.4 Is SVoD Killing TV?

In a piece for *The Guardian*, Alan Wolk (2015a) suggested that the culture of watching scripted series on SVoD platforms had 'trained' consumers to watch television that did not feature regular advertising. This was significant, Wolk stated, given that advertising revenue (approximately \$83bn in 2018 in the U.S. alone) funds the production of television programming, and has resulted in a threat to the production of quality television.

Traditionally, the production of scripted television was split between two entities: the studio which produced them, and the network which distributed them. While this system is still in place, the creation of SVoD programming has altered the power held by the networks (Lotz, 2014). While studios can re-sell successful series into syndication, or into other markets, to maximise their profit on already-produced products, the deficit financing system^v described by scholars and industry commentators such as Lotz (2014) and Sims (2017) commonly priced out independent producers of television who could not afford to create scripted series that would ultimately lead them into debt, with little to no fiscal recourse to be gained in future sales (Lotz, 2014, p. 102).

Perhaps the most visible change, however, is the length of seasons (or series) of programmes. With the growth of the interest of cable networks such as AMC, HBO and Showtime in the creation of original programming, shorter seasons of scripted series became normalised, and then adopted by linear network programming (Lotz, 2014). This change was driven by several key factors. First, new content makers were edging into industry, taking enormous financial risks on projects that might not be successful (Wolk, 2015a). Second, finance could be spent on higher production values, star casts and creatives (Nededog, 2015). Not only could the finance be directed more intensively in shorter episodic runs, but those key creatives whose names would attract viewers are more easily contracted for shorter filming periods, which allow them to take on additional projects such as feature films (Keveney, 2013).

This move to shorter seasons has affected the creation of drama series in several ways. For the purposes of this research, the most important effect is that it reduced the amount of available work for writers of scripted television. The process of syndication, or the on-selling of old episodes of successful programmes, required approximately one hundred episodes to be held in backlog, to allow the outside markets such as local television stations or foreign markets to broadcast re-runs on a weekly basis (Adalian, 2015). Because the income structure of SVoD platforms relies on subscription rather than onward selling or advertising as mentioned earlier, the need for long seasons has been mitigated for those platforms. Netflix, Amazon and Hulu require inventory and catalogue which incentivise viewers to pay monthly subscriptions in order to view, and it does not matter in a financial sense to the platforms what their customers view (Adalian J. , 2015; Wolk, 2015a). This has opened up the opportunity for writers whose voices might previously have been lost in the formulaic commissioning structure to find an outlet for their stories. Amazon, Netflix and Hulu have provided a platform that actively seeks niche audiences, seeks originality, and seeks artistic recognition.

This is what Lotz (2017a) has described as a “conglomerated niche strategy”, in which, she explains, the platform targets multiple specific markets (for example, those who love serial dramas, or those who enjoy watching horror) and ensures that there is enough content in those genres to keep viewers paying their monthly subscription fees. This has meant the development of series such as *Sense8* (Straczynski, Wachowski, & Wachowski, 2015-2018), which features a group of characters who covered multiple nationalities, classes and

sexualities. It is interesting to note that, despite the cancellation of the series after just two seasons, the outcry from fans of the programme led Netflix to agree to fund a two-hour finale episode in order for the viewers to gain closure since series two had left fans with many unanswered questions (The Guardian, 2017b). Despite the anger at the series' cancellation, it was the programme's LGBTQI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex) audience that drew the most attention (Smith A. , 2017; Shaw, 2017; Boisvert, 2020). For them, this was a niche series that not only featured two transgender creators, but also approached being LGBTQI in a representative way.

Hence the SVoD "portals", as Lotz calls them (Lotz, 2017; 2017a), offer a platform for women and under-represented minorities to have their voices heard, and to present new 'niche' series to keep the online platforms' subscribers paying their monthly fees. The revolutionising of the format of 'television', however, has brought undesirable repercussions for those whose livings are dependent on the traditional model of television series sales, deeply affecting the financial income of television writers, which will be discussed next.

1.5.5 Rights of Writers: Strikes and Impacts

In 2007-2008, a strike by the Writers' Guild of America (WGA) caused disruption for the entire scripted industry, losing Hollywood's film and television industry alone an estimated £374m (BBC News, 2008). The strike was due to contractual disputes between the WGA and the Alliance of Motion Pictures and Television Producers (AMPTP). The writers, having missed out on rights to financial residuals from home-video sales of their work in negotiations in the 1980s, wanted to capitalise on the-then new realm of online streaming of programmes. That is, they wanted a share of the digital revenues that producers were claiming (BBC News, 2008; Banks, 2010). A vast majority (93%) of the WGA voting members authorized the strike which began in November of 2007 and lasted one hundred days. Due to the hierarchical structure of American writers' room and guild membership, it was not only writers but also many producers who downed tools during this strike. As a result, popular studio series were placed on hold. The Screen Actors' Guild (SAG) refused to cross the picket line, culminating in the downsizing of awards ceremonies (BBC News, 2008). Additionally, the 2008 pilot season was affected, resulting in an estimated seventy lost development deals for writers (Carr, 2008). Ultimately, the strike was resolved when the

WGA and APTMP reached an agreement (although it was not strong for the writers) on digital residuals. Shortly after the strike, SVoD broadcaster, Hulu, was launched, ushering in the era of online viewing.

In 2017, another strike authorisation was issued by the WGA. This strike authorisation was, in part, driven by the trend of the shorter season. Writers for fictional scripted content are often required to remain exclusive to one contract, which, for a shorter season, results in less lucrative compensation than a longer-running series (Alexander, 2016; Writers Guild of America, 2017). The WGA listed the following key points in answer to the question, “why is the average TV writer seeing their income go down?”.

1. The number of episodes, and therefore, episode fees are half the traditional number on many series.
2. These fewer episode fees are being amortized across more than two weeks per episode.
3. Writers are held exclusive and under option even when not working on these short season series.
4. Residuals are too low in the emerging rerun markets.
5. Script fees remain unequal to the network rates for the growing areas of the industry (Writers Guild of America, 2017)

Ultimately, the WGA and the AMPTP came to an agreement which curbed the 2017 writers’ strike, but throughout negotiations, one thing was clear. Echoing the 2007-2008 strike, in 2017 network and cable programming would suffer in the case of a strike, with series production grinding to a halt and some series possibly facing early ends. The online service providers, however, had been creating original programming disproportionate to its release schedule. That meant that, had the strike gone ahead, online distributors would have held the only original scripted content to be released during and directly after the strike (Alexander, 2016).

The most recent WGA action had, perhaps, the most profound effect on the American screenwriting community. In 2019, an increased resistance to the ways in which larger representation agencies were building their income led to a guild-sanctioned group action against the agencies. The practice under objection is one called “packaging”, in which the agency offers a package of their clients to a studio or production company in order to increase their own income from the series (Handel, 2019). Under this structure, the agency, who represented multiple talents (for example, the actor, the showrunner and a director)

would collect not the traditional commission from its clients, but what is referred to as the “3, 3, 10” financial return (ibid). In the 3, 3, 10 model, agencies would receive:

3: First, 3 percent of the "base license fee" per episode; the base license fee is a negotiated figure much lower than the actual license fee the network pays the studio. These front-end fees paid to the agency range from \$15,000 to \$75,000 per episode, or about \$300,000 to \$750,000 per season.

3: Another 3 percent of the base license fee per episode, but deferred and payable out of 50 percent of "net profits." This is almost always zero, because only major hits achieve net profits.

10: Up to 10 percent (typically 6.5 percent or 7.5 percent) of Modified Adjusted Gross Receipts (MAGR), a form of revenue minus certain costs. MAGR is zero unless the show runs multiple seasons and is sold into aftermarkets like syndication (rare for shows made for streaming platforms). In the past, a hit could generate \$50 million to \$150 million for the agency; today, perhaps only \$20 million — and even less for shows made for streamers, which is why front-end fees are higher. (Handel, 2019)

While these payments to the agency may appear innocuous enough, the packaging system actually causes damaging loss to the agencies’ clients themselves. This is due, in part, to the fact that, when an agency is making this considerable amount of money from a series without taking into consideration the commission earnings from their clients, there is no incentive for them to enter strong negotiations on behalf of their clients when it comes to salaries, bonuses and yearly increased payments, and writers have seen their weekly earnings drop by, on average, 23% (Writers Guild of America, 2019).

In addition to packaging fees, agencies, in particular the “Big Four” of WME (William Morris Endeavour), CAA (Creative Artists’ Agency), UTA (United Talent Agency) and ICM Partners, began to buy into production, with WME, CAA and UTA all launching production arms of their companies. This, in turn, creates a conflict of interest in which the agency is synonymous with the studio. Where, usually, the agency would negotiate a higher salary from the studio for their client in return for a 10% commission of the client’s earnings, the agency now does not pay the commission, but, instead, take the 3, 3, 10 payments and, in the case of an agency/studio, they are seeking to pay less to their own clients as the purchasing company (Writers Guild of America, 2019). In fact, under the packaging model, the agencies stand to continue making their 3, 3, 10 earnings from a show created by their client, regardless of whether or not that client remains with the series. As such, while the clients no longer have to pay commission to their agents, their overall earnings decreased, and the need for their agents to advocate on their behalf was removed (Ingber, 2019). As a result of this

dispute, the WGA requested that all agencies sign an agreement that would protect their clients' rights from packaging deals and hold agencies accountable for their "fiduciary duties [...] to represent the interests of a client (or "principal") with a legal and moral obligation to put the client first" (Writers Guild of America, West, 2019a, p. 3). Ultimately, as the WGA claims, the Big Four had created an oligopoly in Hollywood, whereby their exponential growth into content and private equity was funded at the expense of the client. Therefore, the WGA's agency agreement requested that agencies sign a Code of Conduct (see Appendix) which protected the writers' interests and committed the agency to acting in the best interests of its clients and to remaining open about its own financial interests in production. The WGA made the request of all agents representing its guild members via the ATA (Association of Talent Agents), and proceeded to take the drastic action of requiring its members to fire their agents if the agency would not sign the Code and cede to this request (Ingber, 2019). The WGA provided form letters to its members, who were required to complete and sign them for mass distribution by the Guild (Andreeva, 2019a). WGA members, using the hashtag #IStandWithTheWGA, tweeted images of their form letters, along with their personal feelings. Writer, Patton Oswalt, tweeted his own letter, along with the statement, "I have an amazing agency that represents me. But I have an even better guild which stands for me. #IStandWithTheWGA." (Oswalt, 2019)

Between April 2019 and June 2019, multiple agencies agreed to sign the franchise agreement, and were able to resume representation of their clients where the clients wanted to return (Fleming, 2020). The Big Three (WME, UTA and CAA) refused to submit to the Code, and a legal battle commenced that is anticipated to run through to 2021, in which both sides, the Big Three and the WGA, claim antitrust breaches (Robb, WGA Drops Lawsuit Filed In State Court Against Big 4 Agencies, Consolidates Claims In Federal Court – Update, 2019). However, amid the mass-firing of agents, writers who were members of the WGA developed new ways of gaining employment, negotiating terms and supporting new writers. On its website, the WGA provided a guide to members who had questions about their representation after firing their agents. For example, they made available platforms through which writers of all levels could apply for open staffing positions, which were posted by showrunners. Additionally, they advised that negotiations on behalf of writers could be delegated to managers and lawyers (Writers Guild of America, West, N.D.). Effectively, these measures strengthened writers' positions against the agencies in the dispute, allowing them to continue

working and applying for work without their agents, and, as a result, without having to pay agency commissions.

Nevertheless, the 2019-2020 dispute has placed writers in an awkward position, which, understandably, raises concerns among younger or earlier-level writers, in particular, how they will get representation. As it stands, one hundred and six (106) agencies have signed the Code of Conduct, including larger agencies such as Girsh and Curtis Brown (Writers Guild of America, West, N.D.1). However, with these the only agencies permitted to represent WGA members (and these do include literary agents for stage and more, located across the U.S.A.), it remains to be seen how those early-level writers will fare going forward.

Conclusion

The first chapter has served to demonstrate the current position of women writers for SVoD original series, situating their work within the infrastructure of the contemporary film and television production industries in the United Kingdom and the U.S., and across a variety of job roles. In covering the guild disputes, it has been further demonstrated that the industry is ever-changing in its processes and systems while television writers and women in particular face unique obstacles when it comes to gaining and retaining employment. While women directors face a notable lag in professional development when compared with their male counterparts in both the United States and United Kingdom, it was also demonstrated that women actors had been demonstrably lacking in compensation, necessitating public action in order to ‘shame’ studios and producers into paying them fairly, as demonstrated by Jessica Chastain, Amy Adams and Jennifer Lawrence, although public and industry sympathy were not always with them.

In terms of writing for television, it was shown that, although the British system of career progression was less-defined, with a loose path of writing for continuing dramas and then ‘high-end’ television, the American system is more rigid, depending upon a hierarchical structure that relies heavily on networking and demonstrated commitment to the role.

It was also demonstrated that women writers lagged behind male writers in both industries, and that women from BAME backgrounds in the U.K. and women of colour in the United States faced even more significant blockages in their career development.

The rise of the streaming services, in particular, Netflix, Amazon and Hulu have been shown to have contributed to the ‘democratisation’ of television, allowing creatives more flexibility in the structure and content of their series, and audiences more interaction and user control when it comes to their viewing practices. Despite critical acclaim, Netflix’s systems in particular have provoked criticism in-industry, suggesting that they had ‘killed’ television.

Most importantly for the role of writers, this chapter examined the guild-orientated American system, which fights for the rights of writers, especially when it comes to technological advances in television and the resulting changes in rights, episodic payments and the employment quality for writers. More specifically, this includes the reduction in overall episodes per series or season, which reduces the writers’ opportunities for earning episodic fees in addition to their salaries, which causes real impact to their overall earnings. In the following chapter, using the areas discussed above as a baseline from which to build this research, we will now present the research questions for this thesis.

Chapter Two: Research Outline and Methodology

2.1 Key Theoretical Propositions

It can be seen from the existing literature, discussed in the following chapter, that women experience employment in the CCI differently to men. As such, and drawing from data provided by those previous studies, which will be further discussed in Chapter Three, it is possible to place theoretical propositions within this research, acknowledging that there is an anticipation of likely results, or, in simpler terms, a hypothesis.

Based on the existing texts, it is anticipated that women writers for scripted SVoD series will experience sexism in the workplace; they will experience gendered working assignments, and they will experience difficulties in their career progressions should they start a family or assume any at-home caregiving responsibilities.

2.2 Critical Framework and Research Strategy

In order to situate the study of women writers for SVoD, SVoD itself must be situated within the realms of its forebears, namely television studies and the study of film. Ann Kaplan wrote in 2004 that, “although film studies is strong and healthier than ever, it requires new attention. As a body of scholars trained in this field, we need to open ourselves to new technical realities and to situate our discipline in relation to them” (p. 88). The influence of technologies and digital platforms on the production and distribution of television has been significant, altering not only the means of production, but also on what is being produced. In addition, the forms of consumption of media entertainments have altered dramatically. In short, almost all forms of media worldwide, and thus, in the U.K and United States, are accessible to almost all audiences, at the click of a mouse or the tap of a smartphone screen.

Essentially, the evolution of entertainment media has drawn scholars into a new phase of critical analysis. This digital age calls for a reflection on the existing critical theories on television studies, an acknowledgement of social and cultural theories such as Pierre Bourdieu’s forms of capital (1986) with a focus on feminist analyses for the purposes of my research, and an understanding of the digital implications of the evolution of television entertainment media. Kellner (2009) states that, “media stories provide the symbols, myths and resources through which individuals constitute a common culture and through their appropriation become part of the culture and society” (p. 95). This thesis argues that the creation of SVoD original scripted series constitutes, in itself, the creation of such media stories, in that its contribution to culture can be marked expressly by its ready availability and far-reaching distribution, which is demonstrated by Pulliam (2020).

The production of the content itself cannot be properly situated without acknowledging the effects of the further areas of the production process as it stands in its meaning for television studies. The study of people in the workplace can be simply placed under the heading of Organisation Studies. However, the importance of gender in this research complicates that over-simplified identification. Further to the relevance of gender (and sex, as discussed further on) is the importance of the acknowledgement of other distinguishing factors in the working life of writers of television. These include race, class, (dis)ability and sexual orientation and identification to name a few. It is important to acknowledge the influence of these factors and their contributions to the personal experiences of women in their professional fields, in particular, women writers of television in the U.K. and U.S.A. for streaming originals.

For that reason, the discourse on Bourdieusian field theory (Bourdieu, 1986) is included, which can address the influences of otherness on the lived experiences of workers in a specific field. This theory holds that one's journey through the sociological side of life is rooted in pre-determinism, based upon the field (the sociological location and environment of one's living); the capital (further discussed later on, but, in brief, the advantages and disadvantages we are born or raised into), and the *habitus*, the personal pre-disposition and mode of thinking and acting that each individual possesses and lives by, influenced by both the field and the capital (Bourdieu, 1986). In a study of help-seeking practices, Sigita Doblytė writes that, according to Bourdieu's theory, "any 'choice' of practice as a position-taking including help seeking can only be analysed in relation to embodied dispositions (*habitus*) and structures of positions or of capitals distributed unequally within social fields" (Doblytė, 2019). When taken into consideration, placed within the study of this thesis, there is a suggestion overall that, according to Bourdieu, we are near destined for one outcome or the other, depending on our upbringing, background and the resultant opportunities presented to us.

The use of field theory is illustrative in its analysis of people in workplaces, social capital and the field of organisation studies. However, it does not have the capacity to be used solely to analyse the field of scripted television production, or the influence of this kind of media on cultural contributions (Hesmondalgh, 2006). In conducting the literature review for this thesis, we encountered multiple references to frameworks which are considered by scholars to be more adept in their handling of entertainment media and its place in modern society. In 1981, for example, Douglas Kellner wrote that, "American television is rooted in the fundamental economic processes of corporate capitalism" (1981). Thus, it is difficult to pinpoint one all-in theory which can be considered to cover every aspect of this research. We must, in order to encompass the true theoretical groundwork for this research, also include feminist theories.

Feminist theory is enormously important in its questions of "what is a woman?" (Moi, 1999), and the identification of women's social conditioning (Browne, 1998), lived experiences in the scripted television production field, as demonstrated in this research, and the identification of social, cultural and psychological barriers to women's success in the field (Allen, 2013; Baehr, 1981; Banks & Milestone, 2011; Bielby & Bielby, 1992). Equally,

organisational studies must be carefully sectioned to focus specifically on gender and the production of scripted series television in order to maintain purity and accuracy in this study. Women writers for SVoD original scripted content enter the field of writing for television, not specifically writing for SVoD television. The writing of content for Netflix, Amazon, Hulu or the other multitude of SVoD original platforms is a relatively new and niche area, which must be analysed both separately and as part of the whole that is the production of scripted content. As such, SVoD writing must be approached as a sub-field of writing for scripted television, but also as its own entity. Therefore, the field analyses applied to the organisational study of television writers, such as those conducted by Bielby and Bielby (1992) can be equally applied here, but with additional considerations.

Within the above considerations the implications of class, race, ability, orientation etc which directly impact on the gendered experiences of writing for SVoD television, whether in the United Kingdom or United States, must be acknowledged and applied. It is important to create a “gender-aware” framework (Brush, de Bruin, & Welter, 2009) that accurately encompasses these differences between the lived experiences and opportunities presented to women and men writers. Bush, de Bruin & Welter (2009) in their creation of such a gender-aware framework for the study of women entrepreneurs, built upon the concept of the “3 Ms” of market, media and message (Kennedy, 2018), which are considered by entrepreneurship scholars the cornerstones of business. The authors re-identified the “Ms”, which, they argue, must influence the chances of women entrepreneurs. In adding both “motherhood” and “meso/macro environment”, Bush, de Bruin and Welter refurbished the marketing cornerstones to be more considerate of women specifically. The idea of motherhood, in this work, is a broader definition, to include the division of domestic labour and family life. Also relevant to this research is the implication of the meso/macro environment. Here, the authors describe the macro environment as being larger societal and cultural condition (whereby, for example, women are posed as caregivers, mothers, wives and so forth) and the meso environment to be a more regional or industry-specific environment. In this case, we can use the meso environment to identify barriers that prevent entry to industrial workgroups or engagement organisations (e.g. the Writers Guild).

In the following sections, the critical framework upon which this research is based is laid out. To begin with, it will be identified where, within the realm of television, organisation and gender studies this research is placed. Secondly, the positioning of this research within

Bourdieu's field theory will be explained, along with deeper analysis of the concepts of human and social capital. In this section we will also address the challenges of applying Bourdieusian analyses to this study, and the ways in which his theoretical concepts have been utilised. The final analytical section of this chapter will identify the application of feminist analyses to the theoretical framework of this thesis, and how this links back to field theory and the situation of this research within television and organisational studies.

2.2.1 Situating SVoD within Television and Organisational Studies

Television Studies as an area of academic interest dates from the 1970s (Brunsdon, 2008). Within Television Studies, there has been an artistic focus, on the one hand, of the creative element of television (for example, the study of television auteurism (Newman & Elana, 2012), or the representation of women on-screen (Lauzen, 2016; 2018; 2019)). On the other hand, there has been some study of the organisational element of television production. For example, Bourdieusian or capital analyses of the film and television industries (Antcliff, Saundry, & Stuart, 2007; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Randle, Forson, & Calveley, 2015). SVoD is a relative newcomer to the scene of television and media studies. The first scripted original series to air exclusively on an SVoD platform dates back only to 2012, with Netflix's *Lilyhammer* (Skodvin & Bjørnstad, 2012-2014). While SVoD originals are produced in a similar way to network or cable programmes, it cannot be said that they are produced in the same way. As such, there must be a space created within television studies for SVoD original scripted production as its own entity. The space created for SVoD in this research must fall in between the study of television and the study of organisation, due to the research's examination of the creative role of writing for the organisational structure of scripted television. The key outcomes of this research are central to the question of women's access to and opportunities within the production of scripted series television for SVoD platforms. Therefore, this study cannot be complete without considering several elements: that of the study of field theory and the capitals (Bourdieu, 1986), the study of television production, and the study of women in organisation. These latter two elements, those of women in organisation and television production, have been addressed successfully together by scholars such as Allen (2013), Cobb, Williams & Wreyford (2016), French (2014), and Grugulis & Stoyanova (2012) to name but a few. And to follow, this research must also take into account the impacts of the digitisation of media in contemporary television entertainment, which, as

previously stated, has been addressed somewhat but not extensively, by scholars including Jenner (2016), Keating (2012) and Lotz (2017).

With an understanding of the crucial cross-sections of the theories from which a framework can be built for this research, each section is now examined and analysed in its connectivity to the related theoretical approaches.

2.2.2 Utilising and Challenging Bourdieusian Field Theory

The concepts of capital, field and the *habitus* stem from Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) foundational work on the concepts of how we become the person we are, and the effects that advantages and disadvantages may render upon our lived experiences. In his own words, Bourdieu lays out varying forms of capital thus:

Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as social capital, made up of social obligations ("connections") which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16).

Bourdieu's presentation of the theories of "social capital", or the structural benefits or shortcomings we experience based on our personal and professional networks (ibid), addresses the benefits of upbringing and, to an extent, race, but largely neglects the theorisation of gender as a contributing factor to social capital. For example, he states that children of wealthy families will have better access to education, therefore connecting them socially to more people who also benefit from higher levels of education. It is, therefore, interesting to apply Bourdieu's field theory to this gender-based study, as has been previously demonstrated by scholars such as Randle, Forson & Calveley (2014), who examined the British film industry in a social context using Bourdieusian analysis. Similarly, Natalie Wreyford (2015) uses a field theory approach to examine how men and women screenwriters in the United Kingdom experience social capital differently, with resultant effects on their social and professional networks, ultimately varying their experiences in career.

This field theory centres around the concept of the *habitus*, which can be described as the *end result* of ‘social capital’ (Bourdieu, 1986), or the access to resources and networks which a person does or does not have. It is the culminative mind-set of each person developed over the course of their lifetime based on social experiences, upbringing, and encompassing issues such as class and race. As Randle et al (2015) explain, the *habitus* “refers to the implicit assumptions and values that underlie the processes through which people are evaluated, marginalized and excluded.” (p. 594). That is, that the social capital one gains throughout life is effectual in influencing one’s inclusion or exclusion from areas of society. So, when discussing the experience of women in organisations, such as the writing of scripted television for SVoD original broadcast, this thesis applies the theory of the *habitus* to the differing experiences of women and men in one chosen field.

In this research, the barriers facing women writers for scripted series television are examined in terms of industry entry, gendered stereotypes, the performativity of gender in the workplace and the career hurdles that are influenced by motherhood or caregiving. While these issues may affect writers of any gender, they are explicitly experienced, in the majority, by women. In applying this framework of social capital and the performance of gender in order to fit into an existing field, this thesis can better analyse the position and experiences of women writers for original scripted series in the SVoD space. Bourdieu’s own analyses of culture and cultural production (1984; 1996) are focused primarily on two forms of production: mass production and restricted production. In Bourdieu’s work, he identifies that mass production is the realm of the bourgeoisie, while restricted production, having by its nature a more autonomous operating procedure, is the work of the ‘pure’ artist, whose art is not influenced by outside factors. Bourdieu, however, fails to identify the corporate media market (Hesmondalgh, 2006) and its significant influence on culture in general. That is to say, the popular culture streams such as popular music, film and television, for example. If as Hesmondalgh (2006) states, Bourdieu “misses the importance of the rise of the cultural industries for understanding the changing social relations of cultural producers” (p.220), then it is even more important to apply, challenge and adapt Bourdieusian field theory to encompass a more holistic view of the CCI as they are today.

The concept of social capital applies to any research of organisations and workspaces, and extant research indicates that women experience work in television production differently to men (Allen, 2013; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; French, 2014), which is discussed further in

the literature review in the following chapter. Women are under-represented as writers, have more difficulty in securing agency representation, and will experience a wage gap across their careers (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; 1999). In another interpretation, which is helpful to acknowledge, Kim (2014) defines social capital as, “the assets that result from connecting to certain others (networks), trusting certain others (trust), and being obligated to certain others (norms)” (p.2). Women’s networks are affected by their gender in that the “closed” network created by particularly, middle-class, white men presents a preventative barrier to industry entry in fields such as business, construction (Styhre, 2011), finance (Atkinson, 2011) and television (French, 2014; Allen, 2013; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). While the positive aspects of social capital (such as building and gaining trust and the acquisition of additional capital) are extolled, Lutter (2015) points out that another side to the social capital coin is social exclusion. In this case, where those with more capital are better positioned to acquire more social capital, while those on the outside face an uphill battle. In simpler terms, the “rich get richer”, or, in the simplest terms, the continued dominance of privilege (Polacheck, 2012). It is fair, then, to say that women enter the industry with a different level of social capital. Not only do they enter a male-dominated workforce, but they must also then adjust their behaviour, and perhaps even their art, in order to adapt to the habitat of their work environment.

As was mentioned in the introduction, writers for television sit in a descriptive place that is between artist and worker, and both productive and creative. Bourdieu describes art as being first symbolic and then practical (Bourdieu, 1984; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002) which opens the discussion further when addressing the professional role of the television writer. More explicitly, whether it is the drive to create, write and to produce art, or whether it is the career prospects and financial incentives that attract them to the work. If, as Bourdieu (1984) states, an artist wishes to be “entirely master of his own product” (p.xxvi), then surely the very commercial nature of the production of television is restrictive to the artist’s desires. That is, that an artist, or, in this case, a writer for scripted television, is driven by the artistic desire to exercise complete creative control over her own work. As Hesmondalgh (2006) aptly argues, Bourdieu himself did not truly engage with entertainment media, focusing more on the production of art (visual) and literature, and ceasing to engage with publishing that took place after the early twentieth century. The production of scripted television is, while being considered mainly a commercial endeavour, also most certainly a creative one. The

production of fictional entertainment television has become, of late, even more concentrated on artistic merits, with a focus on winning awards and industry accolades (Goldsmith, 2016).

This “Quality TV” (Jenner, 2017) mindset separates, again, the commercial from the artistic, but can be brought back to Bourdieu’s theories of art. For example, Bourdieu’s division of the production of art into mass and restricted production, could be theoretically applied to the differences between network or cable television and the SVoD markets. While network and cable productions must attract viewership in the quantitative sense, SVoD producers seek to engage audiences in two key ways. First, that potential audience members will find a piqued interest in new offerings, which will encourage them to purchase a subscription to a platform such as Netflix, Amazon or Hulu. By offering the best (in terms of quality) television originals, platforms can compete with one another for the custom of these audiences. Second, there is that more artistic endeavour, whereby platforms and producers seek to win industry recognition for the artistic merits of their programming. For example, Hulu made history in 2017 by becoming the first platform to win the Primetime Emmy award for Best Series for its original series, *The Handmaid’s Tale* (Hipes & N’duka, 2017). These different approaches to the production of scripted television (or, more specifically, to the *purpose* of its production) fit comfortably within Bourdieu’s theories of art. However, there are differences that have been created by the passing of time, and the development of the industry. As Hesmondalgh (2006) states, the new media cannot be contained within these restricted realms of Bourdieusian theories of the production of art. As such, this research will seek out more contemporary theories which will be used to build upon Bourdieusian approaches in order to best offer an appropriate framework upon which to present this research. In the following section we outline the use of feminist theories within the research, in order to build upon that foundation of Bourdieusian field theory that is described above.

2.2.3 Feminist analysis of the framework/application of a gender analysis

It was outlined above that Pierre Bourdieu did not specifically include gendered barriers in his development of the theories of field, capital and the *habitus*. Bourdieu did, however, state in his writing, *On Male Domination* that, “Male domination is so rooted in our collective unconscious that we no longer even see it...What are the mechanisms and institutions which make possible the continued reproduction of this age-old domination by men? And is it possible to neutralise them in order to liberate the forces for change which they are

instrumental in blocking?” (1998). Toril Moi (1999) argues that Bourdieu was guilty of “undertheorising” the place of gender in his sociological criticisms. Indeed, feminist scholars such as McCall (1992) and Lovell (2001) have agreed with this estimation. Roslyn Arlin Mickelson (2003) points out that, in order to utilise Bourdieu’s theory of the *habitus*, we must assume that our gendered socialisations in early life (male/female/man/woman) influence the positions that we take later in life, linking the home to the workplace and our places within those settings based on our gendered upbringing. Arguments are made for the fact that women as a group, are far too generalised by the simple concept of women as oppressed, when, in fact, womanhood itself cannot stand alone in explaining the oppression of individuals without taking into account other influencing factors (Moi, 1999). For example, women of colour will experience “othering” by way of both their gender and their race (Henderson, 2011), and women who come from working-class backgrounds will hold lesser social capital than middle-class counterparts (Warr, 2006). In this way, the additional barriers facing women who experience multiple forms of othering, at the least, and oppression, at the worst, must be addressed, and will be, in the consideration of the *habitus* in this research. In acknowledgement of this, this thesis has been planned to actively avoid a single-demographic participant pool, in order to encompass the wider range of experiences of women writers for SVoD scripted series, and to avoid telling just one part of the story of women in this job role. More on this can be found under the methodology.

Acker’s work (1990; 2006) and that of Elliott & Smith (2004) addresses the imbalance of gender in workplaces and organisations in general, and examines the construction of this disproportion of opportunity in terms of the network or social capital that is affected by gender (and race, in conjunction with gender). The study of women in cultural work by Banks & Milestone (2011) and Wolff (1993) addresses the issues of art and organisation, and women’s place within those organisations. This background has been helpful for the placement of this research into the structural imbalances for women writers of television within the realms of cultural art production.

Finally, the theoretical frameworks behind the work of Antcliff, Saundry & Stuart (Antcliff, Saundry, & Stuart, 2007), who researched the role of network capital within the British film and television industry, and Cobb, Williams & Wreyford (2016), who analysed the credits of British feature films to measure the representation of women on film crews, has guided this work towards the Bourdieusian theories of capital (1986), and the study of organisation

theory as it relates to the production of scripted television. In the following section, we identify key areas of interest in feminist theories which pertain to this thesis, beginning with the concept of performativity and the construction of gender itself.

2.2.3.1 The Construction of Gender and Gender Performativity

The performance of gender is deeply relevant to this research. This performance may account for the practise of conforming to heteronormative ideals of gender (such concepts as man as breadwinner and woman as caregiver/homemaker) or the performance of gender in the workplace. This workplace gender performance may be subtle or outgoing.

As an example, Tyler and Cohen (2010) analyse the performance of gender in organizational spaces, inspired by comments from a colleague that the display of family pictures in workspaces was both deeply gendered and “unfeminist” (p. 175). For Angela McRobbie (2007), this results in the paradigm of the performance of womanhood in the workplace, in one of the binary senses. Women must either be “one of the boys” (French, 2014; Jones & Pringle, 2015) and work additionally hard to prove to colleagues and management that they can perform a role at the same level as a man, or they must adapt to the post-feminist, individualised performance of womanhood. Of this performance, McRobbie states that, “the masquerade exists as mode of feminine inscription, an interpellative device, at work and highly visible across the commercial domain as a familiar (even nostalgic), light hearted (unserious), refrain of femininity” (2007, p. 723).

To situate the study of these women writers in order to identify the difference that they might experience in their careers when compared with men, one must initially identify the definition and description of the term, “woman”. In her essay, “What is a Woman?” (1999) Toril Moi describes the way in which feminist theorists such as Butler (1990; 1993) and de Beauvoir (1953) have separated the concepts of ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ (p.73). In the sense that one is born with a specific set of physical sex distinguishers, Moi compares the theories of de Beauvoir and Butler in terms of their approach to the human body. For example, de Beauvoir’s identification of ‘woman’ as one embodied in a female body from birth to death, regardless of behaviour, is in contrast to Butler’s suggestion that one who is born into a female body is a woman only if she conforms to societal and patriarchal norms (Moi, 1999, p.

77). In Butler's own words, that, "in order for feminism to proceed as a critical practice, it must ground itself in the sexed specificity of the female body" (1993, p. 4). It is this understanding of the distinctive designations of sex and gender that must be adhered to and addressed. One may be born into a woman's body, with the requisite genitalia. However, the word, 'womanhood', in and of itself, is descriptive of not only the "biological determinism" (Moi, 1999, p. 74) that designates those born into female bodies as women, but must also encompass the 'lived experience' of women. This experience of the conditioning of women (how they are raised, how they are treated by society) is what constructs gender. Butler's conception, then, of the body as sex, which is "materialised" by its performativity (Butler, 1993, p. xi) is one that is ideally situated for this research in terms of the meaning of gender, and in McRobbie's (2007) reference to the performance of gender as it relates to the adaptation of women's behaviour in the workplace. This performance of womanhood becomes especially relevant when identifying the gendered stereotypes made both in historical (Francke, 1994) and contemporary contexts as discovered during the course of this research.

Patricia Yancey Martin (2004) argues that gender is a social institution, and generally agrees with the practice of the separation of sex and gender in a similar fashion to Moi and Butler. She argues, "The body is there, the body acts and interacts, the body transforms and is transformed. Gender "does things" with and to bodies but gender is not explainable by or reducible to the body." (p.1260) Martin persistently argues for the consideration of the sociality of gender, as a practiced and performative state. This performance of a state of being/of gender, as discussed by feminist scholars such as Moi and Butler, is often summarised or debated using de Beauvoir's statement that "one is not born, but rather becomes, woman." (1953). However, the simplest summation could be that the state of womanhood is an effect of the accumulated capital a human being carries with them in their day-to-day lives. That women are programmed or conditioned to perform in a certain way, and that this performance of womanhood is compulsory, at the risk of being judged by the society in which we must function (Cameron & Kulick, 2003).

Christie (2000) suggests that feminist theory should be viewed as changing and changeable in order to account for the sociological and historical contexts of the state of gender. She suggests that "the diversity that characterises feminist research is at least in part a function of the desire not to lose sight of the cultural and historical conditions that give rise to any

theoretical standpoint, and the desire not to repress the tensions that arise from these different standpoints in the search for a spurious coherence” (p. 37). This diversity, interestingly, is one that Beasley (1999) claims is one-sided: where feminist theorists often cite ‘classical and mainstream’ theorists in general, rarely, Beasley states, do those in the mainstream refer to the feminist scholars (1999, p. 4). Again, a marginalisation of women in the stream of work, ironically marginalised in their study of the assumption in mainstream theory of women’s subordination (ibid). As such, these feminist theories must be incorporated into the study that makes up this thesis; that sex and gender are separate states; that sex is the biological determination of ‘man’ or ‘woman’ (not to disregard intersex people, but with the binary in mind). That ‘gender’ is the socialised construct of our identities in terms of ‘man’ or ‘woman’. That we are raised as one or other, and that this socialised concept of gender is contributory to the capital which we each possess. The writers surveyed in this research identify themselves as women, and are identified by colleagues as women, and, thusly, experience their working lives in a way that can be experienced only by women in their field.

2.2.3.2 Gender and Capital

To consider an extension to the theory of social capital which, inarguably, affects the careers and working lives of women writers for SVoD scripted series, I turn to Schneider (1987), who lays out a framework for discussion of homogeneity in the workplace. Schneider’s ‘attraction-selection-attrition’ framework suggests that the environment of a workplace is a result of the collection of people within it, and that those people essentially ‘self-select’ to perform a reproduction of their existing dynamics and attributes. This homosocial reproduction is repeatedly referred to within feminist and Bourdieusian scholarship. If, as Wolff (1993) does, we view the creation of film and television as ‘the collective production of art’ (p. 32), then the ‘collective’ must be seen as an organization of project-based labour (Gill, 2002; Lutter, 2015; Rowlands & Handy, 2012), and, as such, as an environment in which both Bourdieu’s capital theories and Schneider’s sense of attraction-selection-attrition must come into play.

In the following section we outline the use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and its application in the analysis of the qualitative data collected as part of this thesis. In addition to description and explanation of the framework of analysis, its specific relevance

to this research and its connection with Bourdieusian and feminist theories outlined above will be laid out.

2.2.4 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

When researching the lived experiences of human beings within what could be considered a normal or everyday existence, that is to say, an existence that is not particularly unusual in its day-to-day activity or actions, it is important to examine what, exactly, about that existence creates phenomena worth studying. For the purposes of this section, and the resultant analyses further on, the term “phenomenon” is defined as, “something that exists and can be seen, felt, tasted, etc., especially something unusual or interesting” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.). Brinkmann (Oxford University Press) writes that, “People talk with others in order to learn about how they experience the world, how they think, act, feel and develop as individuals and in groups, and in recent decades such knowledge-producing conversations have been refined and discussed as *interviews*” (p. 1). The purpose of such conversation is to identify “the individual lived experience” (ibid, p. 2), and to extract data that relates to the way in which each participant makes sense of their own experiences so that I may in turn, make sense of their experiences. Vagle (2018) describes phenomenology as the practise of studying the mundane, but altering one’s perspective in order to extract the unusual out of that mundane “Lifeworld” (or German *Lebenswelt*). This Lifeworld is outlined by Harrington (2006) in simple terms as, “the taken-for-granted ‘common sense’ reality of the social world as it is lived by ordinary individuals” (p. 341).

When selecting the appropriate methodology for this research, it was important to assume that the lived experience of women television writers would not be so unusual to the everyday human experience. As such, a deeper methodology was required in order to examine more fully the intricacies of the Lifeworld of the participants, for example, what it is about their experiences that are unique; and how their own interpretations of their lived experiences affected the manifestation of the meaning that they make of that experience. IPA takes into account not only the phenomena themselves, but firstly the subjects meaning-making of those phenomena, and, secondly, the researcher’s meaning-making of the subject’s responses. When discussing “meaning-making” it is simpler to explain that this term, for our purposes, refers to the subject’s ability to reflect upon their experiences and, in hindsight, to

associate meaning upon those happenings (Smith J. A., 2019). In one sense, a cyclical study. In another, a multi-level theoretical research method in which the phenomenon itself, the subject's interpretation of the phenomenon and then the researcher's interpretation of the subject's meaning is interlinked and used to build a fuller picture of the reality, or rather, the perceptions of reality.

Max Van Manen is credited by Vagle (2018) with using a more free-flowing form of methodological research, in which structure and methodological frameworks are avoided in favour of a more philosophical approach when studying the human experience. Van Manen himself described the phenomenological researcher as, "driven by a pathos to discern the primordial secrets of the living meanings of the human world" (Van Manen, 2014, p. 17). So, perhaps, as Van Manen states, is the approach of interpretational phenomenology in the study of lived existences more appealing to those wishing for a deeper or more "metaphysical" analysis of the Lifeworld of the subjects (p. 17), and, in turn, asking the question, "What is real?". In this sense, IPA takes on what could be considered a more philosophical approach to qualitative research: it takes into account what is "real", that is to say, what we can see that exists, but also what that reality means to those who live it, and how the researcher herself can make meaning of that reality. Therefore, this methodological (and philosophical) approach to the research takes a strong focus on reflexivity, or the awareness of the effects of one's own interpretations, lived experience and motivations in writing up the results of case studies. In terms of this thesis, the researcher's own interest in the advancement of women writers and opportunities available to them can be easily identified: she is a woman writer. It is reasonable to suggest that, were she not, she may have selected another subset of people to study. Were she not a woman working within the film and television industries, she may have selected another industry within which to set up this study.

As Van Manen suggests, those considered the experts in phenomenology offer a variety of radical different ways in which to approach the analysis of qualitative research findings. Therefore, IUPA seeks to discover not only what the reality of a situation may be, but also examines the question of, "What is real?" and acknowledges that reality is also reflexive, influenced by, as Bourdieu might say, the *habitus*, or the experiences and circumstances that make us unique human beings with different interpretations of reality. In essence, this provides a more intimate portrayal of the meanings of experiences when examined with

consideration to the past, present and metaphysical existences of the subjects and the researcher.

2.2.4.1 *What is Reality?*

Van Manen (2014) suggests that perspective, such as it is in the physical realms, is also affected by the effort a researcher makes to “see” in a certain way. For example, if we were to examine a physical sample from a distance, and then at a closer range, perhaps with a microscopic device, we would encounter two very different perspectives. Both perspectives are real in the sense that they are both true. However, if we take into account only one or the other, rather than both at once, the samples could be considered vastly different, and one or the other not to exist at all.

In this way, the study of the participants in this research is approached from both an external (or surface) interpretation, but also from a microscopic approach. To examine, for example, how these women view and/or interpret their experiences. Each experience is real, as is their perspective. An event that is described by a participant is true in the sense that it happened, but, equally, is true in the sense that the participant’s *habitus* has shaped her interpretation of it. While two people may interpret an experience in a different way from one another, both are correct in their interpretation of the truth of the event.

2.2.4.2 *Phenomeno-logy*

In explaining the ontology of IPA, Van Manen (2014) refers back to Heidegger (1967) whose (in)famous quotation from *Being and Time* states that the word ‘phenomenology’ means, “to let what shows itself be seen from itself, just as it shows itself from itself...But this expresses nothing other than the maxim formulated above: “To the things themselves!” (p. 32). So perhaps this explanation takes us into a further philosophical area, in which we ask, “what is the thing, and how do we experience it?”. When discussing phenomenology in general, we can separate experience into two phases. Firstly, the phase in which the experience happens to us. Or, rather, the objective experience prior to any opportunity or notion to reflect upon it. For example, a conversation between a writer and a producer, which is a factual occurrence, is an experience through which both writer and producer have lived. It is only in the reflexive

reflection upon the conversation that the participants may impart meaning upon the experience (Van Manen, 2014). One may remember the conversation as pleasant and mundane, while for the other, it may have been a conversation that caused distress, made her feel inadequate, or question her value as an artist and worker.

With the above explanation in mind, the research aims firstly to demonstrate the experience of the writer from a more factual point of view; secondly, to reflect upon her own interpretations of the themes addressed (how she felt, what she now makes of the events described) and, thirdly, to assess reflexively upon the researcher's interpretation of the participant's experience, which, in a broader sense, could be considered the absolute purpose of a thesis in itself. In the following section, the above theoretical frameworks are woven together to provide the theoretical basis for this thesis.

2.2.5 Summary of Critical Frameworks

As has and will be further demonstrated, women are demonstrably underrepresented in an industry which is dominated by middle-class, white men (Lauzen M. , 2015; 2016; Lauzen M. M., 2017). Women already in the industry have reported feeling the need to assimilate to masculine company cultures or behaviours (O'Brien, 2015; Allen, 2013; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; French, 2014; Jones & Pringle, 2015), or else participating in the performativity of their gender as exaggerated femininity. This is described by McRobbie (2007), who discusses the performative approach of these women to their work; mimicking the masculine behaviour of male colleagues while still maintaining enough femininity to conform to stereotyped attitudes.

The concept of taste, as discussed by Bourdieu (1984) is subjective, and heavily influenced by our *habitus*, or the make-up of our Selves according to the experiences and advantages or disadvantages we have experienced. In discussing any form of art, and, as mentioned, scripted television can be identified as both business and art, one must address the issue of taste, even more so, given the heavy reliance of scripted series to appeal to its audiences. As discussed in the introduction and deeper within this research, SVoD platforms are less reliant on traditional audience ratings, but do require their audiences to be excited by their new and

returning offerings as a means of encouragement of subscription sales (Landau, 2015; Cunningham & Silver, 2013).

In this case, it could be argued that our tastes are gendered. While network and cable broadcasters have always created and marketed their series towards existing or anticipated audiences (for example, the CW network markets towards tweens^{vi} and young women), SVoD platforms have the capacity to release programming aimed at a wide and varied array of audiences. They can appeal to smaller, niche markets, analyse programmes which have performed surprisingly, and replicate accordingly based on audience feedback. To return to Bourdieu, this creates a paradigm, whereby our tastes are influenced by our social conditioning, and our gender is constructed societally.

Therefore, it can be surmised that the SVoD networks studied in this research rely heavily upon the changing tastes of their audiences, who are demographically varied. As such, SVoD original series programming sits in that space between business and art, and its employees between the spaces of artist and worker. If, then, the concept of gender is socially constructed, and is separate from the concept of biological sex, as discussed by Butler, (1990; 1993), de Beauvoir (1953) and Moi (1999), then this must interlink with Bourdieu's (1986; 1998) theories of social capital, and the concept of the *habitus* as it relates to gender. That is, that the effects of this conditioned and compulsory performativity of gender on industry entry and work environments for women writers of SVoD scripted series. In addition, taking into account Schneider's (1987) theory of homogeneity in organisations, it can be seen that members in the workplaces of television writers' rooms participate in homosocial reproduction, leading to homogenous work teams.

From these contributing factors, it is surmised that women as a group are disadvantaged in the male-dominated workspaces of writing for SVoD television. They lack the ideal social capital to gain industry entry, and are then subjected to othering in their workplaces, while experiencing pressure to perform their gender in order to either e at one with male colleagues, or conform to gendered stereotypes. These factors have all contributed to the significant gender imbalance in writing for television, and, as a result, in writing for SVoD original scripted series.

In identifying the meaning of these experiences, as described and observed, the IPA approach is adopted in order to construct and identify the deepest possible meanings derived from the data. In keeping with the philosophical theories of phenomenology, the data is analysed both objectively and then subjectively. As such, the researcher in this case is aware of her own biases and privilege; as a white, middle-class and educated woman, there has been little lived experience in the way of tangible obstacles in terms of career development, disregarding the normalised difficulty of networking issues which are described elsewhere in this thesis. It is with the understanding of the need for self-reflexivity in the research that this thesis committed to seeking the participation of women from varying backgrounds in terms of race, class, education and sexual identity.

In the following section, the full research methodology will be outlined, covering data collection, analysis and presentation of qualitative and quantitative data.

2.3 Research Methodology Overview

This research uses both quantitative and qualitative methodologies for data collection and analysis. A mixed-method approach is necessary in order to provide a well-rounded overview of the position of women writers for streaming television. While quantitative data provides precise, mathematical information on the representation of women in writers' rooms, qualitative interviews allow for a deeper understanding of why women do not experience equitable opportunities within the industry.

Mixed-methods approaches are those which combine multiple methods of data collection and analysis in order to present a wider viewpoint of phenomena. As Watkins and Gioia (2015) surmise, "Methods are the techniques that are used to confirm the methodological underpinning in a study. In other words, if methodology is the theory behind the research, then methods are the tools used to collect the information needed to understand (either confirm or contradict) the research." (p. 3). Therefore, the methods and the *methodology* of this research, while separated in terms of functionality, are connected in their support of one another. The methods of data collection (quantitative and qualitative) which constitute a mixed-methods approach, support the methodologies of the situation of this data within the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieusian Field Theory (Bourdieu, 1986) and the Circuit of

Culture (du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1996). That serves to provide a comprehensive insight into the research on and the particular situations of women writers for SVoD original scripted series.

A purely quantitative consideration would necessarily provide only evidence concerning the patterns of the disparity under review. Conversely, a qualitative-only investigation of the experiences of survey participants would not reveal the overall patterns and impact of that disparity. The combination of these two methods of data collection, then, allows for a holistic understanding of the placement of women in the organisational context of writing for scripted SVoD series, using coded data from participant interviews to explain and support the presentation of quantitative data collected from one central source (in this case, the Internet Movie Database), and interviews with women writers for SVoD scripted series. The successful use of such combined methods has been demonstrated in a similar field by Natalie Wreyford (2015). She used discourse analysis to identify key themes in discourse during interviews with screenwriters of both genders, discussing their careers and the gendered barriers to entry to reflect on and confirm the quantitative data available to her through industry reports on gender inequality.

The research in this thesis differs not only in the specific gender but also in the approach: this research interviewed only female writers of SVoD series in order to identify specific trends within their discourse that may reflect experiential concepts of gender inequality. As such, key questions have been designed specifically to target the specified research areas detailed in the research outline earlier in Chapter Two. A similarly-structured first-person interview with women approach was also conducted successfully by Anne O'Brien (2014), who studied women's reasons for leaving media work in Ireland, with a focus on factual television. Similarly, Leung et al (Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015) examined the difficulties faced by women in the United Kingdom rising through the ranks of the film and television industries. However, there was not a specific focus in those research studies on women writers of scripted television, and did not account for the significance of SVoD series production that is the focus of this research. In examining existing studies such as those mentioned above, it was clear that women's experiences and their perceptions of those experiences are phenomena that cannot be supported fully with only quantitative analysis. For example, while we can see the numerical representation of women rise and decline across time periods, we cannot identify why that may be. As evidenced by the fact that women can be seen mostly to

leave the British television industry after the age of 35 (Creative Skillset, 2010), more qualitative studies focus on the experiences of interviewees to demonstrate that one of the reasons for this is the link between extended and demanding work hours and the inflexible availability of childcare (Creative Skillset, 2008).

To return to the questions of this research specifically, we ask:

1. What has been the impact of the rising production model of original scripted content made for subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms on the employment of women writers for television?
2. Do those issues which affect women in other areas of scripted television production employment, and employment in the wider creative media industries, affect women writers for SVoD scripted content in a different way?
3. How, if at all, is the industry adapting to this new model of production in order to improve conditions and representation for the women writers of scripted fictional content?

In order to link the data back to these key research foci, thematic analysis of interviews is structured around the following themes, which became deeply apparent throughout the course of research, both through the literature review and the original data collection:

- Gaining work and industry entry
- Promotion, opportunity and job retention
- Gendered hiring practices and homosocial reproduction
- Freelance working for women writers, and informal and flexible working patterns
- Racism and racial inequalities at work
- Representing women on screen
- Performativity at work
- Motherhood
- Sexism and sexual harassment at work
- How SVoD differs to network and linear television

The questions for interviews were formulated to engage participants around these themes, but open-ended answers were also analysed as they related to the themes above. This allowed for the organisation of responses into manageable groups, allowing clear and productive analysis in order to answer the research questions.

Run conjunctionally, the quantitative and qualitative methods implemented in this research study complement one another in revealing, first, the extent of the disparity in the employment of men and women writers by way of numerical analysis and description. Secondly, in revealing the cultural and organisational practices and constructs surrounding gender that lead to the underrepresentation of women in the specific field.

To begin, presented is an overview of the quantitative data collection process that informed the gathering of numerical data for a period of five years, 2013 – 2017 inclusive.

2.3.1 Quantitative Data Collection

The first stage of data collection involved the compilation and analysis of the credits for scripted series made over the period for three major SVoD platforms (Netflix, Amazon and Hulu). Initially, in order to ensure that a robust and interrogable data set underlay the final analysis, the following guidelines for inclusion were established:

- They must be a scripted series (fictional) developed by and/or created for the online platforms
- They must qualify as a series or miniseries, meaning that they contained three or more episodes or parts
- They must have screened initially on the platform.

Clearly, this allowed for a significant number of individual screenplays to be included within the survey, with those scripts sharing the characteristics of being on specified platforms over a substantial amount of time (at least one season), and with a meaningful number of writers involved. That ensured the analysis would be soundly based and that any conclusions drawn could be forwarded confidently.

The further purpose of defining the qualifying series in this way was to ensure that the data collected from SVoD series might be segregated from data collected externally from other distributors and platforms, such as broadcast, cable or network television. This discounted several series. For example, Sally Wainwright's *Happy Valley* (2014-) was created initially for the BBC^{vii} in the U.K., but was later acquired exclusively by Netflix for foreign territory access (Landau, 2015). Restricting consideration for these research purposes solely to series devised, scripted and produced for SVoD platforms ensured that analyses of the data produced clear patterns of the identified gendered disparity.

Following Cobb, Williams & Wreyford (2016), who tracked credit listing of U.K.-made feature films, the credits list for each identified SVoD series was examined and coded to identify the number of women writers employed on each series, and to create percentage and numerical totals to demonstrate the male/female writer ratio. Lauzen's *Boxed In* reports (2015; 2016; 2017) employed a random sampling method, by which one episode from each series is randomly selected for analysis. However, while Lauzen's research examines the content of episodes, as well as their credits, here only the credits themselves of each episode are scrutinised

From here, writing credits were coded for every episode of every season of each fictional scripted series made specifically for the three major SVoD platforms for premiere broadcast throughout the data collection period of 2013-2017. Each time a writer's name appeared on an episode, it was counted as one separate entry, for example, writer "Smith" writes three episodes of television series "X", so receives three entries under "written by" and any further titles such as "producer" would be entered as a separate entry. The purpose of this coding was to identify the number of times women's names appeared in writing and producing credits, leading to a numerical and percentage total per programme and per season of writers who were women.

It is important to note that, while women may be part of the season writing team, the number of episodes allocated to each writer, and the seniority of roles, is key to understanding the total contributions of women writers. There is also the consideration of the hierarchy of series producers, which accounts for seniority in writers. This is why all those listed in the "written by" section on the IMDb credits list for each series have been checked and logged also under "producers". The hierarchy of these roles is further explored in section 3.6.2.

The coded approach adapted allowed for the tracking of the progress of women writers across original SVoD scripted series for the duration of the project, and to identify particular genres, streaming services or producers who reflected particular patterns in employing women writers. A demonstration of the coding of quantitative data can be found in the Appendix.

In order to gain information on the writing credits of SVoD original series, the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) was accessed^{viii}. Ostensibly, the information on cast and crew on IMDb is taken from the credits of each project. The listings of cast and crew are often added by the production company itself, although any person with an IMDb account can apply to change, add or delete information. Any information submitted, however, must be then verified by IMDb staff before publication (Chew & Elhard, 2005). While this system does allow for error margins, the IMDb is owned by the amazon.com company, and is considered by industry professionals to be a reliable source of credits information because of the verification process (Haber, 2009). With this in mind, this research acknowledges the margin for error presented by the use of the IMDb. As Hakim (1987) states, “Some understanding of the nature and original purpose of any set of records is important not only with reference to the quality, consistency and completeness of the data they provide, but also for the interpretations that can be placed on the results.” (p. 42).

For this thesis, original series created by Amazon, Netflix and Hulu were examined. While these three platforms are not the only sources of scripted original series broadcast to SVoD audiences, they are the market leaders of the online SVoD space (Cunningham & Silver, 2013). These three behemoths of online distribution are used to demonstrate the backbone of this niche space that grows and changes constantly. Ultimately, though, the trinity of Netflix, Amazon and Hulu remains intact, in competition (Frankel, 2017) and at the leading edge of the industry. Writing trends displayed by their productions, therefore, carry meaningful implications for the industry and, in this specific case, for women writers of these series.

We now examine the way in which the data was checked, extracted and coded. A full listing of each platform’s original series which were included in the data catchment can be found in the Appendix.

Each programme’s IMDb entry was checked, first under the “Series Writing Credits” section. For example, the “Series Writing Credits” for Amazon’s *Hand of God* lists seventeen names as demonstrated by Figure 2, listed the number of episodes each writer is credited upon.

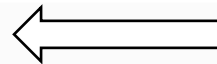
Figure 2: Series Writing Credits (*Hand of God*, Amazon) (IMDb, n.d.)

Series Writing Credits		
Ben Watkins	...	(created by) (20 episodes, 2014-2017)
Daniel Tuch	...	(19 episodes, 2015-2017)
Ariella Blejer	...	(10 episodes, 2017)
Dawn Kamoche	...	(10 episodes, 2017)
Ben Cory Jones	...	(7 episodes, 2015)
Michael Angeli	...	(2 episodes, 2017)
Jim Dunn	...	(2 episodes, 2017)
Sam Ernst	...	(2 episodes, 2017)
Sam Forman	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Ali Garfinkel	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Becky Hartman Edwards	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Mark Hudis	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Theresa Rebeck	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Deborah Schoeneman	...	(1 episode, 2015)
Shernold Edwards	...	(1 episode, 2017)
Michael Kastelein	...	(1 episode, 2017)
Chris Wu	...	(1 episode, 2017)

Because the American writers’ room system is unique in its promotion process, whereby writers are elevated to producer roles as they gain more experience (Miyamoto, 2020), each credit was analysed individually. Once clicked through to the writer’s individual IMDb listing, their various credits on multiple productions can be viewed, under crew department headings such as “Writer” and “Producer”. The three crew headings checked for each individual writer were “Writer”, “Producer” and “Miscellaneous Crew”, which is where credits such as “Writers’ Assistant” or “Script Co-ordinator” might be listed. For example, the credits listing for writer Ali Garfinkel, listed under “Series Writing Credits” for *Hand of God* with ten credits, is actually listed as “Assistant to Writer” for that series for nine episodes. The tenth episode, *Bird in Hand*, for which Garfinkel is listed with a credit for “Story by”, then has its own episode entry on IMDb, under the “Writer” department heading, as demonstrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Ali Garfinkel IMDb personal credits listing (IMDb, n.d.).

Additional Crew (5 credits)		Hide ▲
Hand of God (TV Series) (assistant to writer - 9 episodes)		2015
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Tie That Binds (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - A Flower That Bees Prefer (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - One Saved Message (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - A Bird in Hand (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - For the Rain to Gather (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - Welcome the Stranger (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - Your Inside Voice (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - Contemplating the Body (2015) ... (assistant to writer) - He So Loved (2015) ... (assistant to writer) 		
Show less		
Writer (2 credits)		Hide ▲
Millennial Mafia (TV Series) (Creator - 9 episodes)		2018
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Junk Male: Part 1 and 2 (2018) ... (Creator) - Pawn Girl (2018) ... (Creator) - Good Golly, Miss Molly (2018) ... (Creator) - Is Coke Okay? (2018) ... (Creator) - Dismembers Only (2018) ... (Creator) 		
Show all 9 episodes		
Hand of God (TV Series) (story by - 1 episode)		2015
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A Bird in Hand (2015) ... (story by) 		



Individual IMDb listings allow viewers to see the specific credits granted, allowing the analysis of seniority in roles. In this case, Garfinkel received a “Story by” credit, but was also “Assistant to Writer” for that season of *Hand of God*. She shared her “Story by” credit with Mark Hudis, who also wrote the teleplay for *A Bird in Hand* (Fig.3).

Each listed writer was coded with one entry for each credit title. Therefore, in data coding, Garfinkel received nine credits in 2015 for “Assistant to Writer” and one for “Story by”, as is demonstrated in Figure 4 below, which breaks down the coding for *Hand of God*.

Figure 4: Original coding sheet for Amazon's *Hand of God*.

PLATFORM	TITLE	FORMAT	GENRE	WRITER NAME	WRITER TITLE	GENDER	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Creator	M	0	1	9	0	10	20
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Executive Producer	M	0	1	9	0	10	20
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Written by	M	0	1	3	0	3	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	Staff Writer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	1	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Writer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ariella Blejer	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ariella Blejer	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Dawn Kamoche	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Dawn Kamoche	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Cory Jones	Staff Writer	M	0	0	7	0	0	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Cory Jones	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	6	0	0	6
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	6	0	0	6
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Co-producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ali Garfinkel	Assistant to Writer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ali Garfinkel	Story by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Becky Hartman Edwards	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Becky Hartman Edwards	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Story by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Theresa Rebeck	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Deborah Schoeneman	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Deborah Schoeneman	Producer	F	0	1	9	0	0	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Shermold Edwards	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Shermold Edwards	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Kastelein	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Kastelein	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Script Consultant	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1

The combined total for each writer was then displayed in the final column. Once each credit for each writer was established, writers listed on their IMDb and/or public profiles as women were noted in the GENDER column for ease of identification (see Fig. 4).

For a secondary analysis of data, Figure 5 identifies how many individuals received credits for each role in each year. For these purposes, the amount of credits for each person in each job role each year was not counted, simply the number of people who received, for example, a “Written by” credit in 2016. This was then displayed with a gender split. For example, in total, thirteen individuals were credited with “Written by” on episodes of *Hand of God* between 2014 and 2017. Of those thirteen, one was broadcast in 2014, seven in 2015 and eight in 2017. Of the seven episodes written in 2015, three were “Written by” writers listed as female. In 2017, only two of the eight were women writers.

Figure 5: "Written by" credits on *Hand of God*, 2014 - 2017

Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	M	0	0	1	3	0	3	0	7
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	M	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	M	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ariella Baker	F	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Dawn Kamoche	F	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Cory Jones	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	M	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	M	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Becky Hartman Edwards	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Theresa Rebeck	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Deborah Schoeneman	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Written by	Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sherold Edwards	M	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1

Data is presented in order to answer the questions that were raised during the data collection process. For example, to demonstrate whether women were more represented in more junior positions, such as Staff Writer and Story Editor. Another purpose was to demonstrate whether, as Lauzen (2015; 2016; 2017) suggests, the presence of more senior women influence the number of more junior women employed on writer/producer teams. Additionally, to identify whether women writers were more likely to succeed in comedy or drama, and those sub-genres therein.

2.3.1.1 Purpose of the Data Collection

This specific collection of data allowed for varying viewpoints. For example, we can track the career progression of a writing team member across seasons and the series as a whole. So, if a writer is credited as “Staff Writer” in 2014 and “Story Editor” in 2015, it can be reasonably assumed, based on the continued employment, that the writer received a repeat contract for the series, and was promoted, as is traditional in the writers’ room system, to the next level of the hierarchy. It is important, from there, to identify the gender split between those writers who received promotion, and those who did not. Additionally, the data can show us whether or not the gender of executives (“Creator”, “Executive Producer” etc.) bears any influence on the employment and promotion of the writing team where gender is concerned^{ix}.

This information allows the gender split to be displayed at varying levels of seniority. This information links to existing research on the gender imbalance in management roles across the CCI (Dodd, 2012) and identifies the roles in which women are most commonly employed (this is further discussed in the literature review in Chapter Three).

Using this quantitative data, this research is able to meaningfully analyse the roles and seniority of women on the writing teams of original scripted series made for SVoD platforms. In the next section, we examine the data collection as it pertains to the qualitative element of this research.

2.3.2 Qualitative Data Collection

In addition to empirical data, the complicated, and, essentially, personal nature of the experiences of women writers in television necessitated that qualitative research was also conducted. Qualitative data, or data retrieved from non-numerical sources (Silverman, 2016), allows insight to first-person narratives, and, therefore, a record of the personal experiences of research participants. In addition, by conducting qualitative research as a complementary data collection to the numerical, it enables us to analyse thematically recurring phenomena which can be linked to the theoretical propositions of this research project.

In order to investigate more deeply the field of gender inequalities in writing for television, with a new focus on SVoD series, ten women writers were interviewed. These writers had written for SVoD platforms including Amazon, Netflix, Hulu and CBC All-Access. All identified as women and ranged in seniority from staff writer to showrunner. For the purposes of this thesis, and in order to gain a more in-depth insight to their Lifeworlds, six varying interviews were selected for deeper case study, which is further outlined in the following section.

The purpose of these interviews was to record first-hand accounts of the writers' own perceptions of their experiences, in order to then analyse them. For the analysis, we have used the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method, as was discussed in section 2.2.4. IPA allows the creation of an experiential base (through the thematic analysis of participants' responses based on their own perceptions of their experiences), while allowing the researcher to analyse common themes repeated throughout the six selected case studies. The selection of IPA as a framework for the analysis stemmed directly from the need to make sense of participants' responses as their actual and perceived experiences (Smith & Eatough, 2007). Once conducted, interviews were transcribed and analysed, in order to identify key

themes and repeated emotional responses. Their responses are categorised into sections to reflect the information sought by this research.

This research aims to identify how women experience writing for SVoD television, and to complement it with the quantitative data relating to women's placement as writers in the SVoD television space. Experiences in such an intensive job role must carry emotion, as does the experience of womanhood in a male-dominated space (Moon, 2018; Nicholson, 2018; Lauzen, 2018). Therefore, IPA, with its roots in psychological studies, offers a useful theoretical and methodological framework for this research. As a result, the research is able to present the data, analyse the meaning behind it, and also draw out the meaning behind the words of participants.

In the next section is outlined the process of selection and recruitment of the participants, as well as the conduction of interviews.

2.3.2.1 Participant Selection and Recruitment

The purpose of this process was to record first-hand accounts of the experiences of contemporary women writers in the area of original scripted series content made specifically for SVoD broadcast. Interviews followed a set of open-ended questions based on the themes outlined in the opening section of 2.3. This allowed for deviation of answers to encompass additional information proffered by participants. In addition, some questions were added for those with particularly notable or unique careers and/or experiences.

All participants in the study self-identified as women. A minimum of ten participants were sought, with a range of varied experiences. Of these ten, six were selected for more in-depth case studies, which can be found in Chapter Five. This selection of six was based on Van Manen's suggestion that, using IPA, smaller numbers of participants should be studied in-depth to allow for a more detailed examination of their real and perceived experiences (Van Manen, 2014). The decision was made to gather as many interviews as possible before selecting six which would allow for a varied and balanced extrapolation of interpretations of work and professional environments. Potential contributors were approached via social

media, and by way of personal and professional networks, which were both successful means of introduction to prospective participants.

In particular, the list of women writers created during and by the end of the quantitative data collection process formed the basis of the database of women writers to approach for contribution. Once completed, there was a list of over sixteen thousand writer and producer credits for the period of 2013-2017. Eight hundred and twenty-seven individual names appeared on this master list of writers. In order to qualify for participation, subjects must have had at least one writing credit on an original scripted series made for SVoD broadcast. The ten eventual participants in the research were the cumulative result of successful contacts through all methods.

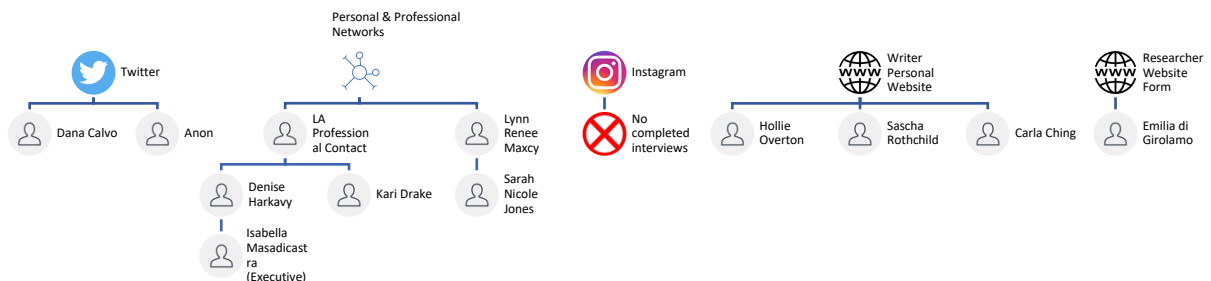
It is important to note again that ethnic minorities, workers of a more mature age and those from working-class backgrounds are statistically underrepresented in the film and television industries (Hunt, 2016; Creative Skillset, 2010), as was demonstrated in Section 2.2. Despite that, this research aimed to avoid selecting only white, middle-aged or younger women from privileged backgrounds, and sought out a broad range of participants so as to accurately represent the experience of the full range of women writers for online television. In order to achieve this wide variety of perspectives, focus was placed on contacting as many writers as possible and following up with additional perseverance to contact writers from these lesser-represented demographics. Unfortunately, however, it became apparent that those particularly who came from BAME backgrounds responded with less frequency than those who did not.

In order to identify potential interview participants, a database of women writers of SVoD series was created, drawing from the overall quantitative data collection. For each writer on the list, direct contact information was initially sought. In some cases, this was available via the writers' personal websites. This first approach yielded three interview participants (Overton, Ching and Rothchild). Writers were then also approached where possible via social media channels, including Twitter and Instagram. This allowed access to one further interview (Calvo, via Twitter). No interviews were completed with writers initially approached via Instagram. Where direct contact via email or social media was not accessible, agents or managers of writers were contacted. This was occasionally not possible, and, despite numerous contact attempts, did not yield any successful interviews. The final approach for recruiting participants was through a personal website which outlined the

research and allowed interested parties to make direct contact. While several approaches were received via that channel, only one of these (di Girolamo) completed their interview. That interview, as with Ching, was completed in writing, as opposed to in person or via video call.

The data collection implemented, on a small scale, the so-called “snowball” recruitment process, wherein participants were invited to nominate one or more other participants (Hicks Patrick, Pruchno, & Rose, 1998). This proved more helpful once in Los Angeles, after meeting interview subjects in person. For example, Maxcy referred Sarah Nicole Jones, while Harkavy (a contact via professional network) referred an executive from her management company (Masadicastro) who provided yet another perspective on women’s placement as writers, and how management and agency companies can guide and aid in the careers of women writers. The recruitment and networking processes ultimately fell into five streams: Twitter, personal and professional networks (researcher’s own contacts), Instagram, direct contact with writers via their personal websites (the stream with the highest rate of successful interview), and the contact form on the researcher’s personal website. In all, two successful interviews were completed via contact through Twitter, one through the contact form on my own website, two via a professional contact in Los Angeles, one via professional contacts in the U.K., three via writers’ websites, and one via introduction by a previous participant, leading to a total of ten interviews with writers, and one with an executive as demonstrated in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Recruitment and network processes



Despite widespread and numerous attempts, no interviews were secured by approaching writers' management teams or agents. While some did respond, those interviews did not confirm participation during the research period. Similarly, while several prospective subjects responded favourably via Instagram direct messaging, none of those completed their participation. In the following section, the interview process itself is described.

2.3.2.2 Interview Process

Interviews were conducted by way of live video call (Skype or FaceTime), in writing or in person. Each interview was video or audio-recorded, with the participant's prior permission, to allow for transcription. Participants received the interview information, including the questions included in the semi-structured interview, ahead of the event. This proved most helpful in that it allowed participants to think about their answers ahead of time. Using open-ended questions allowed for any variance in experience that may be presented by different participants to emerge. For example, particular participants had strong views on the role of motherhood in women deciding to leave the industry. Other women had no personal experience of parenthood and its effects on writers for scripted fictional television for SVoD broadcast, but had new insights into different reasons for women departing the industry.

Interviews conducted averaged forty-five minutes. This provided ample time to cover the list of questions (outlined below in Fig. 7) in an informal, conversational manner, and allowed the flexibility for longer answers where a participant had more to say.

Figure 7: Participant Interview Questions

EQUITY ON DEMAND: The effects of the rise of subscription video on demand on the employment of women writers for scripted television.

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

Date:	Name:		
In person	Skype/Video	Email/Written	Telephone

Writing Career / Trajectory
How would you describe your job to someone you've just met?
Are you an independent/freelance worker or do you have a full-time job?
Could you please briefly describe your path into writing for television? How have you progressed in this industry?
Is there someone or some people who helped you in particular with your career? Could you describe how?
From personal experience, how would you describe the gender balance in your area of work?
Could you describe what it's like to do your job and to be a woman?
What would you say has posed the biggest obstacle to you so far in your career?
How do you get a job as a writer on a series?
SVoD and Writing for Television *IF APPLICABLE*
How is writing for a series made for online distribution different to writing for a series that airs on cable or network television?
How did the hiring process work?
Do you all work in the same writers room? Do you ever work remotely?
How do you feel about the new original content that's coming out of SVoD providers like Netflix, Hulu and Amazon?
Do you think women are represented well on screen in these series? Do you think they're better represented than on linear TV?
Motherhood / Caring / Career Breaks
What has been your experience, or experiences you've witnessed, of motherhood for television writers?
Do you think that women have a harder time in their careers based on parenting?
Do you feel that motherhood impairs women in the hiring process?
How about in promotions?
Do you think that women in industry generally are judged based on whether they have children, or whether they are going to have children?
How does scriptwriting for television work for people who have caring duties at home?
Gender Bias / Workplace
Finally, to wrap up, have you ever experienced workplace sexism?
Do you feel you've been fairly assigned writing tasks, or do you think stereotypes come into play sometimes?
Do you feel you've had to adjust your behaviour in any way in the workplace?
Finally, is there anything about all this that you'd like to add/bring up?

While in-person or video interviews were preferable, some participants requested to provide their answers in writing due to time constraints. The five interviews selected for IPA analysis were all conducted in person or via video link, and written responses were not included in the case studies.

2.3.2.3 Transcription and Analysis Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

The data collected from these interviews was transcribed using both human and digital methods. In the case of audio recordings from in-person interviews, audio files were uploaded to Trint (www.trint.com) which transcribes digitally using voice recognition. Due to

the constraints of computer-based transcription, the subsequent downloaded text files were then checked manually and adjusted for accuracy.

The positive aspect of this method was that the digital system transcribed with a high level of accuracy within a short space of time (up to two hours per interview audio file) and provided me with a base document from which to check the transcriptions. Additionally, the manual adjustment of transcriptions allowed me to listen repeatedly to the interviews to gauge tone and emotion in speakers' voices and thus show in written documents where emphasis lay within their responses. Because the digital transcription did not show full accuracy (approximately 70%), I would not recommend that researchers rely wholly on its services. However, for this research this proved the most efficient way of transcribing responses; not only did it reduce the time involved in manual transcription, but it also allowed for a more detailed cross-check of the automated responses.

Once transcription files were manually checked, I used a manual coding method to identify key themes by colour-coding responses that matched with the identified areas of interest. As Margarete Sandolowski puts it in her discussion of thematic analysis, "the narratives (or stories) that are prized in qualitative research, and which typically make up the largest portion of data in qualitative studies, are themselves actionable research texts because they function as agents of understanding." (2004, p. 1373). These narratives provide personal perceptions of experiences and conditions in-industry. As such, these "actionable" research texts allow for analysis that provides a clear understanding of the issues that face women writers.

In order to delve deeper, this research uses thematic analysis in conjunction with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), which is used to identify recurring topics which demonstrate the emotion of the participant. IPA is considered a hermeneutic phenomenological approach, as stated by Laverly (2003), "concerned with the life world or human experience as it is lived." (p. 24). Similarly to Bourdieu (1986), Martin Heidegger considered that one's experience and perceived experience of the world was influenced by the culture in which one is raised (Laverly, 2003). Therefore, it is not only a person's experiences which affect their views of the world and their own experiences within it, but also their "historicality" (p. 24), or, as Bourdieu put it, their *habitus*. That is to say, the Lifeworld of each participant will ultimately impact on their own interpretations of their lived experiences. However, as Finlay (2011) points out, IPA itself varies particularly in that it is

not only the lived experience of the subject or participant that affects the interpretation of the data, but also that of the researcher. In this way, a duality of meaning is created; the sense-making of the participant, and the sense-making of the participant's response by the researcher. Finlay (2011) describes the three key elements of IPA as, "A reflective focus of subjective accounts of personal experience; an idiographic^x sensibility; and the commitment to a hermeneutic approach." (p. 140).

Combined with a thematic analysis approach, in which patterns of meaning are identified (Clarke & Brown, 2017), IPA provides an opportunity for a deep-dive analysis, with a focus on meaning, interpretation and effects on a personal level to participants. When used in conjunction with quantitative data, this approach offers the opportunity to provide a wholistic picture of the position of women writers in streaming television, with an emphasis on the physical and emotional effects of sexism within industry. Based on the projected and investigated areas identified in the research outline, the key themes were also apparent in the responses from interviewees. Those key themes are:

- Industry entry for writers of scripted television
- Gendered hiring practices (pre-conceptions, stereotyping and genre-based assumptions)
- Parenthood/caregiving (including planning a family, pregnancy, and work/family balance after birth)
- Work environmental concerns (gendered comments, sexual or gender-based harassment)

The purpose of using IPA to analyse these recurring themes in the responses of participants is due to the nature of the information this research aims to uncover, namely how do participants experience their careers and interrogate their own perceptions of those experiences? The further analysis then becomes how the researcher makes sense of those participants' perceptions (Smith & Eatough, 2007), rooting the analysis in the way that the participants perceive their work as writers for SVoD original series.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was sought and granted from the University of Salford (please see the Appendix).

All interview participants received an information pack prior to the interview taking place (included in the Appendix). This pack included an overview of the research, a discussion of the interview structure and purpose, and a consent form. The consent form offered participants the opportunity to withhold their names for anonymity if desired, to take into consideration their personal concerns about negatively impacting their own work. Participants were also offered the freedom to withdraw from the research at any point throughout the process. While this posed the risk of losing data access within the research process, it was important to acknowledge the preferences and feelings of participants. Their co-operation and comfort were paramount to this data collection.

All interviews were backed up on two separate hard drives (not online), and password protected for security. Upon completion of the research, interviews will be stored on a password-protected drive for a period of up to five years, to be reconsidered with the participants' consent at that time, should the need arise for deeper or further analysis. The maintenance of these records is important in order to consider potential future developments that may provide opportunity for extension of the research. The SVoD originals production industry is developing at a considerably fast pace, so future reconsideration and research may be helpful in providing additional study at a later stage. This would allow me to consider a longer time period, where, currently, only five years of data are available. For example, within the period between 2017 (end of the research period) and the beginning of 2021 (thesis completion), there has been a notable increase in the number of streaming platforms as well as an increase in original content. As was mentioned in the introduction, the Covid-19 pandemic has altered the way in which audiences view content, leading to more original content debuts on digital streaming platforms.

In the next chapter, we review existing literature in the field of women in media, the creative industries and those facets of writing for television relevant to this research.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

This thesis addresses specifically the problem of gendered disparities in the profession of writing for original scripted series for SVoD platforms. We will first establish that the creation of scripted ‘television’ series for SVoD platforms, within the context of scripted television more broadly, belong to the creative industries, often described together with ‘cultural industries’ as the “creative and cultural industries” or CCI (Gander, 2017) before we can examine the overall disparities experienced by women in creative industries work as a background to the experiences of women writers for SVoD. From there, it will be demonstrated that in writing for SVoD, those broader gendered disparities are sharpened and pronounced.

We study the broader literature, then, from the viewpoint of the SVoD scripted writer as both of these entities, and then with a narrowing focus on the work specifically of women who write for SVoD original scripted series. In analysing the texts and existing research on this broader topic, this research on gender disparity in one field of the Creative and Cultural Industries emerges more clearly as being symptomatic of a broader problem of inequality.

3.1 Gender Inequalities in Creative and Cultural Industries (CCI)

The term “creative industries” generally describes those industries where the products of creativity are marketed for economic value, for example, in museums, literature, fashion, and television and film. Candace Jones, Mark Lorenzen, and Jonathan Sapsed choose to focus upon the products of creativity in their analysis of the creative industries, describing the relationship of those products with society: “It is the product by which artists generate new meanings and experiences and are judged as creative; it is the product that peers, critics, and consumers experience. In short, products link artists to audiences” (Jones, Lorenzen, & Sapsed, 2015). It is from this description of the relationship between creator and consumer that we draw clarity on the creative industries, and the link between them and scripted television. The television writer is placed awkwardly between the positions of *artist* and *worker* - the creation of art for the purposes of economic gain.

Fiona Dodd writes that, in British CCI, “females make up a particularly large proportion of the workforce but are anecdotally assumed to make up a diminutive proportion of senior figures”(2012, p. 155.) She concluded that women made up between 15% and 45% of executives in British CCI, with the lowest representation being in the music industry and the highest in design (p. 162). She also found that although the heritage sector had the highest concentration of women workers, it did not display an extraordinarily high representation at executive level, with only 38% women leaders (p. 162). This point is particularly relevant to this research: it is not for the lack of interest by women in CCI roles that they are underrepresented. It is a failure of those industries to promote and to provide opportunity. The reasons behind women’s difficulty in advancing and succeeding in CCI become central to this investigation.

In their examination of sex segregation in the creative and cultural industries in Britain, Hesmondalgh and Baker found that, in these sectors, women and men were naturally and informally assigned roles based on societal concepts of gendered behaviours and skills (2015). They raised the issue of pay disparity, as do O’Brien et al, who found that women in British CCI made, on average, around £12,000 less per year than men of a similar class background (O’Brien, Laurison, Miles, & Friedman, 2016, p. 123). The same study found that women in the concentrated sector of film and other media (including television) experienced an even greater average pay disparity industry-wide, at £15,000 per year (p. 125).

Hilary M. Lips, in her analysis of the evidence relating to a sexually discriminative explanation for gender pay gaps, matched the findings of Hesmondalgh & Baker, stating that:

Women and men are seen, not only to be physically different (e.g., women get pregnant, men don’t), but to behave differently: to make different choices with respect to education, work, and family, for example. The apparent differences are used to explain and rationalize explicitly the different outcomes reaped by women and men—and they also seem to form the underpinnings of implicit stereotyping and biases that often produce gender discrimination in employment, performance evaluation, pay, promotion, etc. (Lips, 2003, p. 224).

Equally, the systemic stereotyping of 'typical' gendered behaviours can have an adverse effect on the success of women as leaders in their field. Catalyst, a 2007 study by women in business organisation, found that,

When women leaders act in ways that are consistent with gender stereotypes (i.e., focus on work relationships and express concern for other people's perspectives), women are viewed as less competent leaders, as too soft. When women act in ways that are inconsistent with such stereotypes, however (i.e., act assertively, focus on work task, display ambition), their behaviour is judged as too tough, even unfeminine (Catalyst, 2007).

Gendered suggestions of how women should behave in the workplace, and the innate assumption that men are better leaders together contribute to the significant disparities of women in the workplace in general and are reflected equally in research on CCI workplaces and organisations. Kim Allen (2013) found that creative roles in CCI in the United Kingdom were more commonly filled by men, with women relegated to stereotypically female-designated roles such as makeup or costume, or in caregiving roles such as those which placed them in charge of organising male creatives. This is also reflected in both Taylor (2010), who found that female participants who were creative workers were reticent to aggressively push for their success as it contradicted societal ideals of 'feminine' behaviour, and in O'Brien (2015) whose participants feared speaking out against recognised gendered assignments and assumptions due to network-reliant nature of gaining further employment in Irish television. These culturally conditioned workplace concepts in CCI, particularly in the perception of the artist or creator as inherently male and the caregiving roles as female and in the gendered roles assigned to men and women, lay the foundations for gendered work in scripted television. This is pertinent when examining the auteuristic thread of the perceived creativity of successful television writers and showrunners, such as *The West Wing's* (1999-2006) Aaron Sorkin for example, and the informal working nature of the television writing room, examined further on in this chapter.

This significant disparity is representative of the creative sector in general (encompassing film and television, theatre, digital content creation, recorded music, design, fashion and more) that prizes male-oriented creativity, flexibility, autonomy (Gill, 2002), flexible working arrangements and a culture within which performance, working long hours and placing work commitments above home commitments are lauded (Leung, Gill, & Randle,

2015). An example of such a masculine culture was examined by Styhre et al, who studied the masculine domination of the video games industry in Sweden. They found that,

Rather than providing general skills and competencies that are attractive to the video industry on a broad basis (like their male colleagues do), female video game developers are assigned the role of serving the industry through their know-how regarding female gamers' interests and preferences (something their male colleagues are claimed to have failed to do)" (Styhre, Remneland-Wikhamn, Szczepanska, & Ljungberg, 2016).

Project-based labour markets that effectively favour freelancing, involving employment of individuals on contracts for specific, focused projects rather than full-time employment for example, offer rewards in terms of autonomy that allow choice on the projects selected and the power to refuse. However, they also present specific drawbacks such as uncertainty in terms of the availability of work to an individual, financial struggles if no work is available, and the particular pressures of delivering quality work in order to secure further contracts (Gill, 2002; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011; O'Brien, 2014; 2015). This working model, arguably representative of future employment patterns as Gill argues (2002), clearly poses particular obstacles to women workers. Brooke Duffy (2015), for instance, examines the case of fashion blogging where amateur content creators strive in 'aspirational labour', producing content driven by their passion in anticipation of being compensated later in their careers. However, Duffy points out that "their consumption and promotion of feminine commodities confines them to a system of patriarchal capitalism where gender and consumerism remain inextricably bound." (p. 50) The same could be said for all forms of new media. This project-based labour market allows women to work from home, work autonomously and independently, and to work flexibly, essentially creating their own careers. It is interesting, then, to reflect on the above statement by Duffy, that almost all creative media industries are still controlled by male-dominated management teams, with Nordicom finding that only 6% of the one hundred top media companies in Europe had female Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) (Nordicom, 2018).

Kim Allen (2013) explored the stories of new female entrants in order to identify the initial barriers facing women in the creative media industry in the United Kingdom. Despite a relatively equal number of women and men studying the creative industries in higher education, and attempting to enter the industry, the research demonstrates that the workplaces themselves, despite promoting an egalitarian

image, are, in fact, not conducive to successful careers for women (Allen, 2013; Gill, 2002; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). Indeed, far from living up to this image of equality, the creative industries have, over time, developed their own gender disparities, giving weight to the idea that gender roles are built into organisations, automatically placing men in creative roles and women in care-giving or facilitator roles (Hesmondalgh & Baker, 2015; Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015). Allen also found that participants in her 2013 study showed reluctance to identify the discrimination they had each experienced as inherently gendered, preferring to take an “individualistic” (p.2 44) view of their work. One participant even suggested her gender could serve as a “Unique Selling Point” while on placement (p. 244). All participants also agreed that, in order to succeed in their chosen industries, they needed to be assertive but not aggressive, and learn how to “flatter” (p. 246) their male colleagues according to personality type. That reinforces McRobbie’s (2007) idea of the post-feminist “Phallic Girl” who mimics the masculine behaviours and attitudes of their male colleagues while retaining the requisite femininity expected of her in workplace and social situations. Furthermore, in one reflection on the entry-level for the sector, it has been suggested that the underrepresentation of women in creative managerial positions originates with the perceptions of stereotyped gender qualities in leadership styles. For example, there is the idea that “men ‘win bread’ and women raise children” (Dodd, 2012), or that men are creative, and women are support workers (Hesmondalgh & Baker, 2015).

This reluctance to point the finger at gender discrimination is a common theme in research in the creative media industries. As McRobbie states, “young women are able to come forward on condition that feminism fades away.” (p.720) In short, there are no barriers to women performing roles traditionally dominated by men, as long as those women display the same masculine characteristics as their colleagues but do not object to being fetishized and treated differently from their male counterparts. Nevertheless, studies by Angela McRobbie (2007), Kim Allen (2013) and Anne O’Brien (2014; 2015) , interestingly and paradoxically show that while women in media were aware of the inequities they faced in their workspaces, they were unwilling to define their experience as inherently gendered or sexist. Effectively, they accept what Mark Banks and Katie Milestone (2011) describe as the “retraditionalization” of labour, wherein the cultural and creative industries have created new gender norms that draw influence from the traditional ideals of men as creatives and women as caregivers.

This caregiving role leads to the necessary examination of the concept of Emotional Labour, which will be discussed next.

3.2 Emotional Labour

“Emotional labour” is a term coined by Arlie Hochschild in 1983 in her study of the emotional performance required of flight attendants. Hochschild (1983) described the way in which trainee flight attendants were taught that smiling was intrinsic to their performance; that the customer’s perception of them as happy to be serving was paramount to the success of the company, and the success of the attendants at that company.

In their study, Grandey et. al demonstrate three definitions of Emotional Labour, or “EL”. First, one where specific roles require their performers to display emotions in exchange for their payment (“Occupational requirements”). Second, “emotional displays”, where the worker is required to express “role-specified emotions that may or may not require conscious effort”. Third, “EL as Intrapsychic Processes”, where the worker must manage emotions in the workplace in a way that does require applied effort (Grandey, Dieffendorff, & Rupp, 2013, p. 6). In considering these definitions, it can be seen that EL in the second and third forms, or the “Occupational Requirements” and “Intrapsychic Processes” descriptors, are most applicable to the creative media industries. That is to say, as a rule it is not an official requirement in these industries to perform overtly an emotion in order to be paid. However, the emotional labour undertaken in CCI workplaces can be directly linked to the performativity of emotion, in the form of the maternalistic and/or caring management qualities required of typically female roles, such as Producer or Production Co-ordinator, in the production of scripted television.

In addition to the underrepresentation of women in CCI sectors, those who do make careers in the creative industries must also perform an additional emotional labour. They must adapt to masculine behaviours while also accepting the gender-based behaviour of male peers, which, in some cases, lean towards the sexist or sexualised (Conor, Gill, & Taylor, 2015). In the CCI in general, this additional emotional labour is typically prescribed by gender and not reflected in financial remuneration. Another trend identified by Milestone (2016), in her

research of Manchester's creative industries, was the tendency for (male) managers to refer to female colleagues or potential colleagues as "girls". Milestone points out that, in addition to its ageist and sexist implications for women in those roles, it underlines the assumption that women's careers in creative media will not last as long as those of men (2016). Journalist Hannah Jane Parkinson argues that referring to women in the workplace as "girls" by men is both sexist and sexualising, as well as patronising (Parkinson, 2016). The accepted suggestion within these gender norms that women are better as both caregivers and organisers (Hesmondalgh & Baker, 2015; Banks & Milestone, 2011; Milestone, 2016) is repeated throughout research on the gendering of the creative industries. Common stereotypes prevail: women are better communicators, better at multi-tasking, and good at organising things. These highly gendered ideals aid and abet the assignment of roles and jobs. In addition to their specified job roles, women in media were also often expected to perform extra-curricular and unofficial roles that placed them in a position of maternity to their colleagues. That includes providing emotional support to male team members, "managing" male colleagues, and performing as the "soft face of management" (Banks & Milestone, 2011, p.80).

Mallia and Windels (2011) found that although women and men entered the digital advertising industry at the roughly the same rate, men outnumbered women in creative roles by 2.3 to 1 (p. 32). More importantly, only 18% of directorships were held by women, reflecting the same decline in senior representation as experienced by women in other creative media fields (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Jones & Pringle, 2015; Creative Skillset, 2010). Again, this was narrowed to two root causes. First, the homosocial reproduction issue that appears repeatedly in research on creative media organisations, a situation in which men feel more comfortable working with people like them; white, middle class and male (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Lee, 2011; Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015; O'Brien, 2015). Yet, this homogenous hiring methodology serves only to continue and reproduce the inequalities already systemic within the creative industries (and this is even before McRobbie's 'Phallic girl' comes into play). Second, women were typically assigned the less desirable projects, leaving more exciting or innovative ones to men, so allowing those men to progress, experience greater opportunities for promotion and praise, and create a better professional track record (p. 32).

This division of labour is also echoed by Hesmondalgh & Baker (2015), who assert that workplace sex segregation often links to the fact that those roles associated with women are generally paid less than those aligned with men. In their research on creative industry gendered labour. Hesmondalgh & Baker also found that while creative departments were dominated by men, women took on the more emotional labour of production and facilitation. Essentially, this creates an environment in which men could be creative (p. 28). This is reiterated by Nixon & Crewe (2004), whose study of gender and identity in advertising agencies focuses strongly on the hedonistic cultures of male creative environments, with women as peripheral glamour and, again, facilitators of that masculine creative culture.

Windels and Mallia (2015) reached the same conclusion as Acker (1990) arguing that creative industries are gendered organisations based on patriarchal hierarchies. As such, those traits inherently perceived as masculine are valued, while those seen as particularly female are diminished, forcing women to display behaviour that is perceived as “male”. This mimicry allows women to infiltrate male-dominated workspaces while at the same time expecting and accepting sexism, sexualisation and “locker room talk” in order to maintain their position and not appear weak, prudish or too female. This is the generalised environment within which women in media find themselves and that, as outlined in the next section, lays the groundwork for the environments within which women writers for television work. The inherently gendered systems of CCI form the broad background for this research, placing the work of women writers for SVoD into the wider context of its industrial parentage. Before moving further into the specific circumstances for these women writers, however, we may usefully consider the employment of women more particularly in the field of television and film as a subset of creative and cultural industries, and the ways in which those working environments, constraints and requirements negatively impact women more than they do men.

In the next section, we will illustrate the role of women in employment in the film and television industries more specifically, addressing career barriers that present themselves uniquely to women in those fields rather than the broader CCI, in both the United States and the U.K.

3.3 Women's Employment in Television and Film

The television and film industries in the United Kingdom and United States (sometimes referred to as the screen production industries, or SPI) mirror much of the gendered working patterns demonstrated in the CCI as a whole. In working assignments, for example, women in television have been shown to end up working as production coordinators, while men have more opportunities to excel in managerial, craft or technical roles such as those in the camera or sound departments (Leung, Gill, & Randle, *Getting in, getting on, getting out? Women as career scramblers in the UK film and television industries*, 2015; Taylor, 2010). As previously discussed, O'Brien (2014) found that women working in television and film were expected to conform to "traditionally masculine" (p. 1210) working practices which included long hours, a disconnection between their work and their home lives and caring responsibilities, and preconceived notions of the skillsets possessed by women. These gendered biases, O'Brien found, led to stereotyping of women which placed them in gendered work roles such as production co-ordinator, but, when they were allocated traditionally 'male' roles, such as director or camera operator, they were often being assigned tasks *based* on their gender. For example, there was the practice of assigning female directors or camera operators to projects which featured 'sensitive' subjects such as abuse or rape (p. 1213).

Emmy and Directors' Guild award winner, Reed Morano, discussed such stereotyping when it came to women directors: "Women can do any of these genres. It's just that the system, the way it's set up, there's this lack of trust" (James & Blake, 2017.) Women respondents also stated that they would be assigned more so-called feminine topics while their male colleagues would be placed onto projects which featured more heavily in current affairs, politics or sports (p. 1213). Similarly, Louise North reported that male news anchors in Australian television were most often given the "hard-hitting" news reports to read, while female news anchors were assigned the weekend news editions, which featured less serious (or those perceived as less serious) subjects (North, 2016, p. 91).

This gendering of roles and assignments affects women both behind and in front of the camera and can be interpreted to mean that management considers male workers more serious, and female workers more suited to those subjects they perceive as feminine,

including topics such as family, fashion and entertainment. This becomes significant when we move to consideration of career development within an industry like contemporary scripted television that generates \$51bn in wages per year in the U.S. (Motion Picture Association of America, Inc., 2017). The U.K. TV Production Sector was worth £2.5bn in 2016 (Oliver & Ohlbaum Associates Ltd, 2017).

Martha Lauzen of the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film at San Diego State University found in her 2015-2016 *Boxed In* report that, of broadcast network programs, 97% had no female cinematographers, 87% had no female directors, and 80% had no female editors (2017). 68% of broadcast network programmes featured no female writers at all. In 2019, the repeated report found that, “96% of the programs considered had no women directors of photography, 79% had no women directors, 77% had no women editors, and 77% had no women creators.” (Lauzen M. , 2019a, p. 14) This demonstrates that there was no significant decrease in these omissions across platforms: 1% for cinematographers/directors of photography, 1% for directors, 3% for editors and still only 33% of all programmes had women creators, despite the increase in total original programming made across the board. As these reports demonstrate, while the broadcast and SVoD environments differ in their structures of distribution, women remain under-represented across the board in key behind-the-scenes roles. However, gender imbalance is an issue that covers all roles, particular in those traditionally masculine or technical positions (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; O’Brien 2014).

In 1981, Helen Baehr wrote that,

The struggle against representation is basically the struggle against the structures of patriarchal economic and social relations which produce sexist media images. For feminists working in television this means fighting to develop alternative forms of organization, production, distribution and consumption which are opposed to present conditions and dominant representations (p. 134).

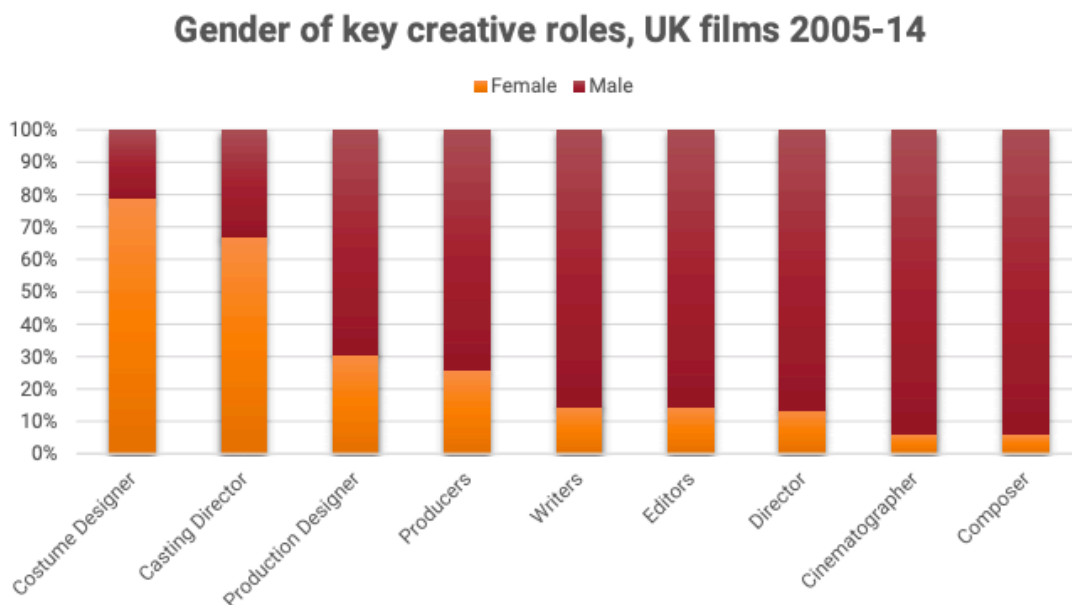
Baehr’s suggestion would surely, at the time, have seemed achievable. However, almost forty years on, the television industry in both the United Kingdom and United States remains a closed network of middle-class, white men (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; O’Brien, 2014; Allen, 2013; Lauzen, Dozier, & Cleveland, 2006).

Surprisingly, then, in conducting this literature review, very few academic publications specifically address in detail the employment of women in scripted television. Lauzen’s yearly reports provide imperative quantitative data, but little research has delved deeply into qualitative research examining the experience of women who work on scripted television crews in below-the-line roles. Those below-the-line roles include technical departments such as camera, lighting and sound, and crew members on board during the filming period, such as production team, makeup and wardrobe, unit drivers and assistant directors. These account for a significant proportion of the women working in-industry when examining seniority and its importance in studying gender equalities in organisational studies.

3.3.1 Women in Production Roles

The crew roles on film and television drama productions are numerous, widely varied and, often, heavily gendered. While certain departments such as costume, hair and makeup, art department and the production team are heavily female (Follows & Kreager, 2016) other departments show a dearth of women.

Figure 8: . Percentage of women (orange) in departments of U.K. feature film production 2005– 2014 (Follows & Kreager, 2016)



As Figure 8 demonstrates, Follows and Kreager's research demonstrated that while nearly 80% of costume designers in U.K. films between 2005 and 2014 were women, that percentage dropped notably – less than 70% of casting directors, just over 30% of production designers, and less than 15% of writers were women. Among those roles where women accounted for fewer than 10% were cinematographer and composer.

Again, the question arises: are women not interested in these job roles, or are they simply not afforded the same opportunities as men?

In her study of women in Irish television production, O'Brien (2015) found her respondents often agreed that more technical and manual roles were given to men over women entrants. "A lot of it has to do with physical strength; trainees carry a lot of equipment, and they're reluctant to hire women because of the strength" stated one participant (p. 263). Undeniably, when women are confronted with pre-conceived notions of physical capability, as well as the emotional labour (Taylor, 2010) which they are expected to carry out, they are less likely to experience a similar career path to men. In addition to these assumptions, women who do infiltrate the male-dominated spheres of technical roles such as camera, sound or electrics find that they must assimilate to the existent male-centric culture of these departments (O'Brien, 2015; Jones & Pringle, 2015; French, 2014). As John & Pringle (2015) argue it is considered a female team member's duty to conform, work hard (sometimes harder than male counterparts, in order to 'prove' herself) and not to complain, for fear of losing the opportunity to be employed again by the same team. This leads to the development of informal working networks in which below-the-line roles are gained. O'Brien suggests that the heavily gendered networking culture of television work, along with the assumption that women will leave in order to fulfil caregiving duties at home, are major contributors to the noticeable gender disparity in television, not only in Ireland, as demonstrated by O'Brien, but also in the United Kingdom and the United States.

The repeated hiring of men into technical roles harks back to the theory of homosocial reproduction (Elliott & Smith, 2004) and is also visited in Grugulis & Stoyanova (2012), who found that women in the television industry experienced homogenous hiring practices, whereby one's chances of being hired greatly improved with one's similarity to established team members. In an industry dominated by heterosexual, middle-class and middle-aged white men (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013; Bielby, 2009; Randle, Leung, & Kurian, 2011), the

homogeneity theory (Schneider, 1987; Schneider, Brent Smith, Taylor, & Fleenor, 1998) or Elliott and Smith's description idea of homosocial reproduction suggests a reason for the obstacles faced by women at every level of their film or television careers. Whether it be as new entrants, as mid-level employees looking to step up (French, 2014; Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015), those wishing to start a family (Wreyford, 2013; Creative Skillset, 2008; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012) or those even at senior level (Rowlands & Handy, 2012), women repeatedly face obstacles based on their gender. As Nancy Schreiber, a Director of Photography, told Ann Lewison, "Guys can be assholes as DP's and get places, but women have to watch their step. We have to be better than the guys; we have to work faster, be more creative, not step out of line, not get moody" (Lewison, 2003). In other words, even at the most senior levels, there exists an attitudinal standard for women to which male colleagues are not held. Moreover, with regards to age and gender, it has been repeatedly noted that women's rate of attrition in these industries rises significantly during their thirties. Respondents in several studies have confirmed that they feel pressured to leave their jobs once pregnant on account of poor maternity leave schemes, the 'family-unfriendliness' of film and television production, long, unsociable hours and poor support networks at work (Jones & Pringle, 2015; Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012; Wreyford, 2013). But in order to commence career progression at all in television, one must first 'break into' the industry which will be discussed next.

3.3.2 Who You Know: Social and Professional Networks for Industry Entry

Gaining industry entry to television and film in both the U.K. and U.S. is famously difficult. Informal recruitment and the necessity of experience in order to gain experience create additional barriers for new entrants (Grugulis & Stoyanova, 2012). In the U.K., the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) found that film and television was one of the most difficult industries to enter. It accounted for 8% of the creative job market, but 16% of advertised internships (Roberts, 2017). The relevance of internship levels indicates, again, a significant disparity in opportunity. As many internships in the U.K. are unpaid, these opportunities to build networks and make hiring contacts are limited to those whose families can afford to support their unpaid work experience, effectively cutting off those from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

Once in the industry, however, female entrants can build their own levels of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which, as discussed earlier, are those forms of capital prized more specifically in certain spaces or organisations. Other forms of capital, such as a strong network, individual acquaintance with ‘important’ people, or simply the success of having a certain company’s name listed on a resume, can be advanced once one hurdle has been crossed (Randle, Forson, & Calveley, 2015). This reproduction of the cycle of capital, however, reinforces the ultimate need for either a pre-existing network (based on social capital), or the luck required to meet the right person or be in the right place at the right time. Aside from the fact that gaining even an entry level role is equally reliant on the right connections, we already know from existing research, including Randle, Forson & Calveley (2014), Lee (2011), and Holgate & McKay (Holgate & McKay, 2009) that the informal networking culture of the television and film industries means that who you know is more valuable in securing employment than what you know. Those lacking the social capital that may ease their entry into the industry face additional barriers to gaining the initial employment required to enable progress through the ranks, and those who do possess the ideal social capital can utilise that in the field in order to cultivate other forms of capital (Randle, Forson, & Calveley, 2015). However, gender is not the only preclusive factor for those in-industry, and, in addition to femaleness, we must also consider the intersectional impacts of race, class, sexual identity, (dis)ability and other factors. As Acker (Acker, *Inequality Regimes : Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations*, 2006) points out, “Gender is fundamentally complicated” by these contributors (p .442). Essentially, however, scholars agree that the creative industries are neither welcoming nor facilitating to those from minorities (Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013). What follows is a very brief introduction to the additional hurdles faced by those minority group members in terms of race, class and disability, based on information for both the U.K. and U.S. industries that form the research basis for this thesis.

3.3.2.1 Race

In the United Kingdom’s television sector, the percentage of the workforce who identified as BAME (Black/Asian/Minority Ethnic) dropped to just 5.4% in 2012 (Creative Skillset, 2012). In 2019, Ofcom (2019) reported that this number had risen to 13% in the television industry in the U.K.; just 1% higher than the broader U.K. labour market (p.6). Ethnic

minority representation is also low at executive levels, with just 8% of senior management in U.K. sector made up of those from BAME backgrounds (p.7). Meanwhile, Lauzen (2017) found that, of behind-the-scenes crew in American prime-time programming, black women accounted for just 19% of women employed, 6% Asian and 5% Latina (p. 10). Henderson (2011) reported that being black further added to the ‘othering’ she experienced being a woman in a writers’ room, and others have described simple structural racism in hiring practices (Nwonka, 2015). The 2018 Hollywood Diversity Report (Hunt, Ramón, Tran, Sargent, & Roychoudhoury, 2018) shows that only 7.1% of creators of U.S. scripted series in the 2015-2016 season were people of colour, for example – but the U.S. population of minority ethnic people was 38.7% overall.

Scholars agree, however, that there is no ‘easy fix’ for racial diversity in the film and television industries, whether in the U.S. or the U.K.. Nwonka and Malik (2018) discuss the problematic nature of systematic inclusionary practices within the British film industry, stating that, “social inclusion strategies and policies are beset with irresolvable tensions that arise from attempting to amalgamate neoliberal economic policies with cultural approaches” (p. 14). The idea of inclusivity ‘riders’ which was coined by the Annenberg Inclusion Initiative, and brought to the media’s attention in 2018 with Frances McDormand’s Oscars speech (Kosin, 2018) calling for those in power to demand diverse casts and crews as a contractual condition, also face some criticism. Ultimately, it is difficult for an industry to staff diverse crews when those from non-white backgrounds are underrepresented to begin with.

A U.S. study (Carswell, 2020) showed that “diversity hiring”, which saw opportunities made available for television writers from minority backgrounds but with those opportunities not continuous, was essentially regarded as a “face value” exercise. One respondent stated that,

I’ve been repeatedly told by people that it was easy to get staffed as a woman of color (not the case!), while witnessing similarly-qualified straight White male writers get staffed/further opportunities right out of film school. I had to work harder to prove myself with tangible wins and fellowships before I could be taken seriously (p. 14).

A study by the Center for Scholars and Storytellers (Higginbotham, Zheng, & Uhls), based at UCLA, developed a definition of “diversity” which could be applied in a deeper sense to

content and productions, and not just at face value. Their definition was termed, “AIR”: Authentically Inclusive Representation. This was defined by the authors as:

- If there are individuals from diverse backgrounds (in terms of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and their intersections) on the screen and behind the scenes.
- If such diversity is present, whether the characters and story on-screen reflect genuine aspects of the culture being portrayed (i.e., instead of relying on and reinscribing stereotypes or tropes) (p.3).

The study then shows the cost-deficit associated with a lack of representation based on these criteria, and demonstrated that films that performed above the “normal” level of AIR also performed at a higher rate at the Box Office, proving that intersectional diversity on screen and behind the scenes resulted in a higher financial return for producers.

In addition to racial inequities in gaining access to the system of the television industry in both the United Kingdom and United States, one’s background is also important in terms of the opportunities afforded by class status, as is discussed in the next section.

3.3.2.2 Class

A 2020 report by Screenskills found that class played a significant role in concerns surrounding diversity in the U.K. high-end television industry. The investigators found that a substantial issue surrounding diversity was, “one of social class, that TV production in general is too ‘posh’ and that providing access to those from a wider social background is the key to tackling the diversity issue.” (p. 13) Similarly, Moody (2017) describes what he calls an “endemic” system of privilege in the U.K. film and television industries. In addition to the problem of racial, gender and able-bodied privilege, he describes that of class, wherein barriers are raised to those wishing to enter the industry and might not qualify for diversity programmes.

One area particularly identified (and noted earlier) as specifically detrimental to those from working class backgrounds is the prevalence of unpaid internships commonly expected of new entrants to the creative media industries (Randle, Forson, & Calveley, 2015). For those lacking the financial stability required to perform such unpaid work, class can prove a mighty

barrier to industry entrance. In 2015, Tim Hincks, president of the U.K.'s Endemol Shine network, stated that the British television industry was "hideously middle class", and revealed that an internal poll at the company had showed that over a third of senior executives had attended private schools (Jackson, 2015).

A 2018 report on the arts industry in the U.K. found that, "Currently, a key characteristic of the British cultural and creative workforce is the absence of those from working class social origins." (Brook, O'Brien, & Taylor, 2018) In the U.S., there were similar issues to access. One participant in the 2020 *Behind The Scenes* report on writers said that,

I've gone through much of my life pursuing film and TV, and I have not been able to do things that other people were able to do. Doing an internship was like, oh my God, who are they kidding? Work for free? I have to pay my bills. So, that's an access issue (Carswell, 2020, p. 13).

The sociological implications of hiring from a class perspective aside, aspiring television workers in either country may experience even more difficulty in gaining access if they differ in any way from the generic concept of physical and mental capacity and fitness, which is the next point of discussion.

3.3.2.3 (Dis)ability

While 18% of the British Population self-define as disabled, those with disabilities made up just 5.2% of off-screen contributors to the British television industry in 2019 (Creative Diversity Network, 2020). That reported figure has drawn the ire of industry bodies such as Equity, who claim that low response rates on the Diamond Reports leads to dangerously inaccurate reporting (Goldbart, 2020). However, Ofcom found that 6% of employees across the U.K.'s five main broadcasters (BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Sky and Viacom) identified as disabled (Ofcom, 2019).

Randle & Hardy (2017) suggest that, like women, those with impairments were further disabled in job-seeking in television and film by the pre-conceived notions of 'all' impaired people held by those in hiring positions. They refer to the informal 'exclusionary' mechanisms which prevent or damage the chances of impaired people seeking to enter the industry (p. 452). Once in the industry, progression is demonstrably difficult, with one

respondent in their research stating, “They almost say, ‘We’ll give you a job, you should be happy with that’. You know? Never mind that you’ve been a researcher for the last 10 years while all your contemporaries have kind of moved up to assistant producer, producer and then executive producer.” (2017, p. 454)

In the United States’ film and television industries, the issue of disability is equally under-addressed. While conversations are generally focused on representations of disabled people *on* screen, the tiny fraction of crew members who consider themselves to have a disability seems not to attract the same attention. However, in 2018, the creator of *The Good Doctor* (Shore, 2017-), David Shore, told *Variety* that he had actively sought to work as hard on the representation of disabled people behind the camera as on-screen, saying, “it would be hypocritical to put them in front of the camera and not behind. They’re capable of so much, and we should make it possible” (Shore quoted in Gray, 2018.) Two of the trainees on Shore’s set earned enough hours in that season to qualify for union membership. Editor on *The Good Doctor*, James Cude, told *Variety*,

When I’ve seen someone with a disability starting a job, the biggest hurdle seems to be their own ‘I can’t do this.’ To those people, I’d say, ‘Don’t be afraid of it.’ And to people who are hiring, I’d say, ‘Don’t make assumptions that the person can’t do something. Assume that they can’ (Cude quoted in Gray, 2018) .

The push for further representation of disabled people on screen and behind the scenes continues although there are promising developments, such as NBC’s casting of a blind actor (Blake Stadnik) to play a blind character in Season 4 of *This Is Us* (Fogelman, 2016-), which made Stadnik one of the first visually-impaired actors to play a leading role on a network television role (Ng, 2019).

Therefore, with the considerations of gender, race, social class and disability to contend with, it is plain that the industry in terms of behind-the-scenes employment is inaccessible, and, indeed, sometimes impenetrable to those who do not present as, “macho, mobile and resilient” (Randle & Hardy, 2017). The natural progression, then, is to identify what effects the lack of diversity has on the representation of women on the screen in scripted television, the characters they play and the nature of those roles.

3.3.2.4 On and Off Screen

Lauzen (2015; 2016; 2017) has shown that where at least one woman is present on the creation team of a scripted series, the representation of women behind the camera improves significantly. Smith, Choueiti & Pieper (2017) showed that this was equally true of SVoD original scripted series. Not only did the representation of women on production crews increase, but the authority of a female creator also improved the presentation of female characters onscreen.

According to Lauzen (2019a), programmes with no female Executive Producers featured, on average, 12% female directors, 12% female writers and 38% major female characters. However, on programmes that had at least one female Executive Producer, those percentages rose to 28% female directors, 38% female writers and 46% female major characters (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Percentage of women employed as directors, writers and major characters across all platforms in the 2018-2019 U.S. television season based on gender of executive producers. From Lauzen, 2019a.

	% Female Directors	% Female Writers	% Female Major Characters
Programmes with no female Executive Producers	12%	12%	38%
Programmes with at least one female Executive Producer	28%	38%	46%

Behind the scenes, then, women are underrepresented in all off-screen roles despite a slight increase in representation in 2016-2017. That year, 32% of all those employed behind the scenes on streaming programmes were women, an improvement of 5% from the 2015-2016 season (p. 9). Across broadcast, cable and streaming services alike, however, only 22.5% of series creators were women (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2016). The inference here is that, until the number of women commissioned as showrunners and executive producers by SVoD original productions increases, the representation of women behind the scenes and onscreen will not improve, either.

The importance of improving women's representation onscreen is complex in itself and connects ultimately to the improvement in women writers' presence. Lauzen (2019a), for example, also analyses the nature of female characters' roles. Female characters were, on average, younger than male characters (58% of female characters were in their twenties or thirties, while male characters were in their thirties and forties at the same percentage share). 73% of female characters on streaming programmes were white. Across all platforms, the majority of female characters were defined by their personal life roles (for example, being a wife or mother), while men were more likely defined by occupation. There is a clear suggestion then that the predominance of male writers is a direct contributor to this imbalance.

Significantly, it is important to also address the shift in societal discussions around the experience and abuse of women in the workplace, with an emphasis on the film and television industries, which is further examined in the next section.

3.3.2.5 The Me Too and Time's Up Movements

On October 5th, 2017, the *New York Times* published an explosive expose which claimed that producer, Harvey Weinstein, had been paying off women who accused him of sexual harassment (Kantor & Twohey, 2017). This publication led to a series of events that changed Hollywood. In the wake of Weinstein's exposure, women and men alike began to come forward to publicly speak of their experiences of sexual harassment and assault by those in power. As well as Weinstein, Roy Price, chief of Amazon Studios, was placed on a leave of absence and subsequently resigned after allegations of sexual harassment were raised against him by a female producer, Isa Hackett (Masters, 2017). In the following weeks, Weinstein was dismissed from the Producers Guild of America, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, and resigned from his own company, The Weinstein Company (BBC News, 2019). Weinstein was charged in 2018 with rape and sexual misconduct by New York police (BBC News, 2018) and released on bail. In February 2020, Weinstein was convicted of third-degree rape and first-degree criminal sexual act (BBC News, 2020), and, in March of 2020, Weinstein was sentenced to twenty-three (23) years' imprisonment (BBC News, 2020a). Since then, four more women have come forward to accuse Weinstein of sexual assault (BBC

News, 2020b), and victims cited in two lawsuits have been awarded a settlement of \$19m (USD) (Wagmeister, 2020).

The wider ripple effect of these accusations and indictments caused a shift in the culture of Hollywood and the entertainment industries as a whole. Actress Alyssa Milano set off a flurry of internet activity when she used the hashtag, #MeToo, while encouraging her followers to show solidarity for their sisters who had experienced sexual harassment or assault (Sayej, 2017). However, it was not Milano who created the #MeToo hashtag or movement and this fact was raised by those who had followed the initial movement, which was created by activist Tarana Burke, with a focus on women of colour who had experienced sexual harassment or assault (Garcia, 2017). Burke spoke out on multiple occasions, stating that her original movement had become “unrecognisable” and that, “I felt a sense of dread, because something that was part of my life’s work was going to be co-opted and taken from me and used for a purpose that I hadn’t originally intended” (ibid). Burke and fellow activists were effectively suggesting that the explosion of attention on the hashtag and the surrounding support for white actors who were using it demonstrated that white feminists showed more support for fellow white women and largely ignored the experiences of women of colour. Burke argued that showed, “a great lack of intersectionality across these various movements” (Garcia, 2017). Despite these disagreements, Milano eventually reached out to Burke and amplified her name, movement and voice in order to place the focus back onto the victims of sexual assault (King, 2018). However, the #MeToo hashtag has become, in the public sphere, synonymous with the Harvey Weinstein scandal and its Hollywood-based repercussions.

Hollywood women then banded together to create a new, practical movement for the improvement of gender equality in their industry and all industries, The Time’s Up movement. It was founded by leaders in the entertainment industry and raised money for legal defence funds for women who had experienced workplace harassment, inequalities and assault. The movement drew widespread attention when actors brought survivors of sexual assault to red carpet events, promoting the movement and raising the flag for their mission (Time's Up, n.d.). That increased activism of Hollywood’s women, and their support for women outside of their own industry, has awakened what was previously swept under the rug in Hollywood and in the wider workforce: that gender inequality is not a thing of the past, but that it is widespread, consistent and notable.

Due to the cathartic effects of the amplification of women's voices in the film and television industries in both the U.K. and the U.S., as well as worldwide, those industries now face more accountability in their actions, from the hiring of their key crew such as directors (Time's Up, n.d.) to writers, composers and producers, with *The New York Times* finding that, of two hundred and one (201) men who were sacked or resigned following the #MeToo scandals, fifty-four (54) of the one hundred and twenty-four (124) replacements were women (Carlsen, et al., 2018). However, in this post-Weinstein industry, gender inequality is still rife in both film and television spaces. And, as Shelley Cobb and Tanya Horeck (2018) state, "Though this feels like a watershed moment, it is important to proceed with caution and determination, and to not assume that the new visibility of feminist arguments about gendered inequality in the workplace will necessarily lead to the long-term structural changes so desperately needed" (p. 490). It is clear that further work must be done in the media industries in order to maintain momentum and build upon the work already done in both research and practice. Not only is gender inequality apparent, but also the prevalence of unequal power dynamics, sexual harassment and sexual inequalities in the workplace. And that applies particularly to women writers involved in the produced series under discussion here.

3.4 Motherhood and Employment in the Creative Industries

In 1986, Kathleen Gerson wrote in her book, *Hard Choices*, that women faced distinct options when it came to work and motherhood. She stated that, "The capitalist organization of labor creates and reinforces the conditions under which women are exploited as unpaid workers at home and as paid workers in the labor force" (Gerson, 1986, p. 26). Instead of such a starkly binary choice, women in today's workforce in the U.K. and the U.S. benefit from maternity leave and pay. Many companies also offer general parental leave which allows non-birth parents to also take part in care-giving responsibilities for their children. Companies with more radical HR policies have begun to increase the flexibility of parental leave, with Netflix offering 'unlimited' leave for new parents as we have seen (Zillman, 2015). But that is far from saying that the problem has been solved. Scripted television, for example, is an industry reliant upon project-based labour in which the majority of employees are freelance workers without full-time contracts (Lee, 2011). In the absence of holiday pay, sick leave or maternity leave, motherhood can be a major barrier to women in film and

television (Wreyford, 2013). In fact, research demonstrates that the percentage of women workers in the U.K. creative media industries decreases after the age of thirty-five (Skillset, 2010). Research by Leung, Gill & Randall (2015) showed that men were hired over women for roles due to pre-conceptions held by hiring executives that women might have children. Additionally, such executives also believe that women who already had children would be less committed to the long, unpredictable and unsociable hours required of media workers (p. 61).

In her paper, *The Real Cost of Childcare*, Wreyford (2013) argues that women are disadvantaged by motherhood in three separate ways across their careers, using the U.K. film industry as an example. First, she argues, they are judged on their potential for undertaking motherhood, on whether or not starting a family is a consideration for them. Second, they must then make the decision on whether or not to have a child and decide if their precarious project-based work will be jeopardised because of that decision. Third, once becoming parents, they are expected to perform dual labour (work and home), while also making sacrifices to their careers in order to maintain a balance of family and work lives. It is in these three terms that we can consider the implications of motherhood relating to a career in television. Firstly, we will examine the assumptions surrounding motherhood for workers in the creative industries in the U.K. and the U.S.

3.4.1 Perceived and Pre-Conceived Notions of Motherhood

Respondents in O'Brien (2014) felt the pressure of balancing parenthood and a full-time career. One interviewee, expecting her first child, left the industry altogether, unable to envision a situation in which she could perform both roles. Another, a female camera operator, was turned down for voluntary redundancy, then offered the same redundancy a few short months later after revealing her pregnancy (p. 1212). This management pre-conception of all young women workers being potential mothers is both discriminatory and damaging to the achievement of gender balance in industry. As Wreyford (2013) points out, there were three ways in which women suffered in their careers in television based on their gender when it came to parenting. Firstly, that, regardless of their personal plans or ambitions, young women would be perceived as potential mothers. Secondly, that women may be in the position where they need to make a decision on either a career or becoming a mother; and

thirdly, that women were expected to take more time off and place their careers above their family life in order to prove their dedication to work, while also sacrificing career progression in a way that men were not. This is echoed by Leung, Gill and Randle, who found that there was a form of what was considered “reasonable sexism” (2015) in not hiring young women who were, or could potentially become mothers. As a result, women face a choice when it comes to planning a family, and must navigate a system more complex than that which faces their male colleagues.

3.4.2 Decisions on Motherhood

Skillset (2008) found that fewer workers in the U.K. audio visual industries had dependent children than those in the U.K. workforce in general. Those who did felt pressure from multiple sources upon their return to work. Some felt their work could not carry on without them. One respondent said that, “When my second child was born, I was back at work within twenty-four hours. I was directing a show. I didn’t have any choice” (p. 8). Making the decision to start a family was a serious consideration for women who worked in television. O’Brien (2014) writes that workers in media were expected to display a “rigid separation of career and life” (p.1210), with parenthood considered a workplace disadvantage. In making the decision to become a parent, workers in more senior positions felt they had more freedom and job security and could more confidently plan to take the required time off when becoming a parent for the first or subsequent time (Creative Skillset, 2008, p. 9). Others feared their role would not be available to them when they came back, and still more responded that the financial strain of childcare costs was a serious consideration in their decision to return to work. On the blog, The Anonymous Production Assistant (TAPA), an also-anonymous guest poster writes,

If you plan to work through your pregnancy, my “let’s get real” advice is this: do not announce your intention to start a family and if you become pregnant, hide it as long as you possibly can... In other industries, there are at least basic worker safety laws that are followed. These are routinely flouted in the entertainment industry (Anonymous, 2015).

In 2010, a further Skillset study found that, among women, “There is a common fear of taking full advantage of maternity provision, for fear of being marginalised in a competitive area or losing touch with a fast-paced industry” (Skillset, 2010, p. 20). The 2010 study also

found that those parents who had endeavoured to reduce their work commitments after becoming parents had generally not succeeded, and that women were more likely to continue working right up until the birth of their child in order to remain in the workforce for as long as possible to avoid missing out on opportunities.

It is therefore clear that motherhood and taking the decision to become a mother is a serious consideration for women working in the film and television industries in both the United Kingdom and the United States. If a woman does choose to become a mother, she must then find a way in which to navigate a challenging career with the challenging task of raising a family.

3.4.3 Balancing Motherhood and Career

The predominant attitude among workers in the creative media industries is that work and career come first, with parenting and home life a secondary concern. A female respondent in the Creative Skillset Survey stated that she would “rather use a guy who has got no responsibilities and is available all the time [...] completely no tolerance policy for me I’m afraid because it directly impacts my business.” (2008, p. 8) In other words, she considered that women with children were less reliable and committed than a potential male employee with no children or care-giving duties. The pressure and, in some cases, guilt experienced by respondents was significant. One respondent in O’Brien (2014) pointed out that an on-set, television job was not a role one could leave early any time a child required care for illness. Equally, women employed did not feel they could pursue their legal rights in relation to maternity leave, for fear of negatively impacting their professional networks and jeopardising future employment.

O’Reilly (2015) states that writing for television is a form of freelance career, much glamourized by audiences and media alike. But the reality involves long and unsociable working hours and unquestioning commitment to work. For those workers with parental and care-giving commitments, there is an additional pressure to perform at high capacity in dual spheres: as a one hundred percent committed worker, and a one hundred percent committed parent.

It is these stereotypes which academics undertaking research in women's experiences of working in CCI seek to debunk. In addressing the role of women in CCI, and the experience of women and minorities in the contemporary film and television (screen) industries, we can see plainly that disparity does exist on a broader level.

Since the purpose of this research is to address the experience and role of women who write scripts for SVoD original series, the discussion to this point confirms the barriers faced by women in not only gaining positions in industry, but also attaining further seniority in that field. In order to progress this, we next examine the significant disruptor of those norms, SVoD, how it is disrupting, and its differentiating features in terms of production practices when compared with the more traditional network and cable models.

3.5 Women in Television Screenwriting: representation and the gender pay gap

Television screenwriting covers a broad spectrum. In terms of format, it can cover drama, comedy, children's or family; it can vary in length (sixty-minute drama, telemovie etc.) and cross the genres of thriller, romance, crime, fantasy and many more. With this broad reach in mind, it would be easy to assume that women were well represented in screenwriting for television, however, writing for television has long been dominated by men, as demonstrated by Bielby (2009) and Lauzen (2014;2016;2019). It is still apparent that:

- i) Women are under-represented on the whole across television writing in the U.K. and the U.S. (Lauzen, 2015; Skillset 2010; Hunt, 2014).
- ii) Women are more likely to be hired as writers for a program where an executive producer is also female (Lauzen, 2015).
- iii) Women screenwriters for television will experience a significant gender-based pay gap when compared with male counterparts (Hunt, 2014).

The 2014 Hollywood Writers Report, for example (Hunt D, 2014), shows that women in 2012 accounted for 27% of employed writers in the television sector in the United States, which was 1% lower than the previous year. The average annual earnings for female television writers in the U.S. in 2012 were \$112,081, which was on average \$9,109 less than their male counterparts, which can be translated to 92 cents for every dollar earned by a male

writer (p.2). This is in stark contrast to the 2008 figures, where Hunt states that the financial recession showed women suffering the hardest, with their average annual income sitting at \$88,207, compared with \$102,086 for male writers (p. 3). In recent U.K. figures, women can be seen to earn around 15% less than male writers (Skillset, 2010). Lauzen further (2015) notes that the highest rates of employment for women in the 2014-15 prime-time season were first as producers and then as writers, with female writers accounting for 26%.

Lauzen (2015) also shows that women are more likely to be hired as writers on television programs helmed by female executive producers. For example, only 6% of programs with no female executive producers featured female writers, compared with 32% on programs which had at least one female executive producer (p. 1). It has been theorised that informal, gendered hiring practices and the rules of reputation can drastically affect the chances of employment for any film or television freelancer, including writers. This is described by Wing-Fai, Gill and Randle (2015) as a “reputation economy”, in which freelancers are hired based on word of mouth, recommendation and, often, as system of “homophily”, “the practice of insiders recruiting in their own image, or selecting candidates with whom they feel they have an easy rapport” (p. 57.) With this in mind, it is clear to see why male producers could feel less comfortable in hiring women writers, while women producers show a much higher rate of female employment in their writing staff (Lauzen, 2014; 2016; 2019).

While it is evident that women working in television face meaningful disparities in their working environments, expectations and opportunities, as has been demonstrated in this chapter, we must now address the conditions specific to writing for SVoD series. In the following section, the differences between the British and the American scripted television industries will be examined in more detail to analyse the differences in the role of writer transnationally.

3.6 Women Writing SVoD

3.6.1 Making American Television

The making of scripted series television is a highly profitable enterprise (Radosinská, 2017). As we move further into the “Post-Television Era”, the dynamic of episodic television, both drama and comedy, evolves further. Without the constraints of advertisers’ demands

(Herbert, Lotz, & Marshall, 2019), series can develop in their own manner, with more autonomy wielded by creative teams. However, traditional television and its production model is fascinating in its complexity and doxa, and the effects which have been caused by the increasing popularity and subversion by SVoD original production are important to analyse.

3.6.2 The American writers' room system

While the American feature film writer is considered expendable, the television writer is considered the boss. To engage with this hierarchical system of American scripted television, one must understand and outline the differing roles performed by writers and producers in the production process, as well as the life cycle of a scripted programme.

To begin with, a series emerges as a concept. The creator of a series is the person who originates this concept, then pitches it to the market. For example, Jenji Kohan was the creator of *Weeds*, which followed a newly widowed middle-class mother called Nancy, who deals marijuana to her well-to-do neighbours in order to support her family. The concept is then developed into a pitch taken to the content creators that covers the synopsis, characters and overall details of the project. In times past, this was the lone domain of the networks (both terrestrial and cable), who would commission several pilots which showed promise (as was previously discussed, however, this traditional model has been altered by SVoD platforms and their original series).

Once a series is picked up to pilot, that is to say, selected for the first round of a pilot season, the creator is given a budget and the means to hire a cast and crew to make one episode of their series concept. Upon completion of filming of the pilots, each one is shown to focus groups in the target demographics, as described by Gitlin (1994). These focus groups indicate their level of interest in each pilot, influencing the network's decision on which programs they will pick up for a series, that is, develop into a full season of episodes. At this point, the series creator often becomes the showrunner. The showrunner is the most senior writer and executive, exercising the majority of the creative control. The showrunner usually acts as executive producer, driving the employment of the crew, casting, and liaising with the network or commissioner.

For research purposes here, the most important part of the showrunner's role is selecting and managing the writing team. The role of various grades of writer varies between series, according to the model preferred by the showrunner. In broad terms, all series writers meet daily in the writers' room where they work together to plot out the story arcs for the season of episodes. Once the season and episode stories are marked up, writers are assigned individual episodes to write. They generally do this alone, or in pairs, supervised by the showrunner and executive producers (Martin, 2013). Upon completing their individual drafts, the writers meet again to feedback on each other's scripts, with ultimate authority and veto-power held by the showrunner (Nededog, 2016).

These processes are explained more by Gitlin (1994) and Martin (2013), but, to provide a brief background, showrunner, Jane Espenson (*Caprica, Battlestar Galactica*) describes it well as,

the sleazy hotel room in which stories are conceived. On most shows, this is where the writers spend the majority of their time, coming up with ideas for episodes and then breaking those stories into acts and scenes and moments before an individual writer is sent out to turn the story into an outline and then a script. On a traditional multi-camera sitcom, the room is also where the script is rewritten by the entire staff working as a team to improve the jokes and story after the script is written. Some drama shows don't have rooms at all — each writer works one-on-one with the showrunner to conceive and "break" their own episode (Espenson cited in Bernardin, 2010).

Something that identifies American television structure as unique is the fact that writers for American television are also producers. Former MGM Studios Director of Creative Affairs, Stephanie Palmer (n.d.), explains further:

Taking several years to climb the hierarchy in TV is necessary because you have to learn more than how to write for TV. You have to learn production as well. There's a reason TV writers have the title of "producer." You not only have to write, you have to write the TV show in a way that meets the immutable demands of production, and you are part of the team responsible for that production including: casting, sets, locations, props, and more.

For the purposes of this research, the basic structure for writer/producer credits (Douglas, 2007) explains the hierarchy in simple terms. At the top rung of the ladder are the executive producers (EPs), who may be creative or non-creative, and then the producer credits become less senior until you reach the bottom rung, reserved for those “baby writers” who may not even receive a written by credit in their first year. But from the top down, Douglas’ structure explains well the hierarchy. Executive producers may include the creator/s, the showrunner, and/or executives from the network or production company and may also include very senior writers.

Nevertheless, at the beginning, writers typically enter the industry or a series as a “baby writer”. Television writer describes the staff writer for *Script Magazine* as, “someone who’s still got some dues to pay” (Haywood, 2015). This is the most junior role in the writers’ room, and these writers often will not get the opportunity to write a standalone episode in their role as baby writer, or “staff writer”. Their job is to learn, contribute and gain experience. They are paid a weekly salary, regardless of how much or how many episodes of the series they may write whereas other writers, who receive credits such as “written by” or “teleplay by” are paid additional episodic fees on top of weekly salaries (Cook, 2007).

Following on from staff writing is the role of story editor, which Haywood (2015) describes as, “basically just code for “second-year writer””. The progression of roles moves up to executive story editor, which is considered mid-level, and it is after this that writers begin to be awarded the titles of ‘producer’, in the order, co-producer, producer, supervising producer, co-executive producer and then EP. Along with episodic fees, writers who reach the ‘producer’ level also receive profit share, and significantly higher earnings in general than story editors or staff writers. Douglas (2007) cautions, however, that, despite the high fees received by these writers, earnings are diminished heavily by agents’ fees, tax, lawyers’ fees, management fees and guild fees.

The writers’ room then involves and develops a specific hierarchy. Writers become more senior with each additional season and begin receiving varying producer titles according to that seniority. Jenji Kohan (IMDb, n.d.) runs multiple writers’ rooms in the U.S. The staff of writers for both *Orange Is the New Black* and *GLOW* (Flahive & Mensch, 2017-2019) were majority female. Kohan has also mitigated the common complaint of childcare and hours as

discussed in section 2.4, by providing a nursery space at her premises, where staff can bring their children and their own child-carer (Rothchild, 2017). These, however, are exceptions to regular working practices in American television, and it is interesting to note that these current series of Kohan's are SVoD originals. The reality is that most writers' rooms are not inclusive, and do not offer flexible childcare options. They also do not offer fair representation for women or people of colour, and this is a result of the homosocial reproduction evident and systemic in the creative media industries (Gill, 2002; Lee, 2011; O'Brien, 2015).

The Writers Guild of America, West, shows in its annual Hollywood Writers Report (Hunt, 2009; 2014; 2016) that women consistently make up fewer than 30% of employed television writers in the U.S., and writers of any gender from minority backgrounds just 3%. This demonstrates the continued experience of being overlooked or ignored by writers who are not white, male and/or middle-class. While affirmative action policies, which are defined by Schteynberg et al as, "organizational policies designed to improve employment outcomes for racial minorities in particular" (Schteynberg, Leslie, Knight, & Mayer, 2011), as developed by networks and productions in general may seem positive, the rooms remain consistently staffed by a majority of white, male, middle-class writers, with one woman and one person of colour employed for appearance's sake.

The implementation of such affirmative action policies has elicited some criticisms. For example, in 2015, a *Deadline* article claimed that some agents had suggested that the increase in "ethnic casting" held its own difficulties, and that,

Instead of opening the field for actors of any race to compete for any role in a color-blind manner, there has been a significant number of parts designated as ethnic this year, making them off-limits for Caucasian actors (Andrews, 2015)

Matthew Weiner, creator of *Mad Men*, suggests that sexism was common in writers' rooms. "You know how many emails I get, 'We're looking for our female writer.' It's a diversity issue. 'We're going to have either a black person or a female, and we can knock 'em off two at a time'" (Marine, 2015). Sascha Rothchild, interviewed for this original research, agreed:

Every writers' room is all white men and then there's one woman because they feel like they have to have one, and one person of colour because they

feel like they have to have one. So, it's like eight white guys, one black guy and then a woman" (Rothchild, 2017).

Such anecdotal reports aside, academic research has shown the same trends. A 2017 report from UCLA stated that,

The 'diversity slot' hire program itself appears to have created a perverse disincentive to true inclusion, whereby showrunners give the appearance of inclusion by cycling through people of color writers for the year or two they get them 'free of charge,' and then disposing of them once they require a real budget to support (in favour of another, junior 'free' writer). And that limits the ability of any critical mass of writers of color to build seniority over time, which is so important for building influence in writers' rooms (Hunt, 2017).

In a vein similar to Lauzen's (2014, 2017, 2019) discovery that, where there is at least one woman on the creation team of a series, more women would be employed in key roles, Hunt's study found that black showrunners always employed at least one white writer, while white writers did not show the same consideration to diversity.

Hunt (2017) shows the percentage totals of original streaming services for the three big streamers, Netflix, Amazon and Hulu, across first-run (new) original streaming series in the 2016-2017 season. His research found that for Netflix, 43% of series had no people of colour in the writers' room, and only 6 of 36 series had a non-white showrunner. Amazon and Hulu showed significantly worse representations when it came to showrunners (1% and 0% non-white showrunners respectively), however, Hulu did show a better representation overall of women writers within the rooms. It is clear from these statistics that there is not only a gender problem, but also a race problem in these writers' rooms, and that streaming services overall do not present a more elevated rate of inclusion.

It can be questioned, then, why arguments against inclusivity initiatives are made at all. Common arguments against affirmative action policies include the idea that more qualified candidates might miss out on opportunities. However, as it is demonstrated in the makeup of writers rooms and by utilising field theory, it is difficult for underrepresented writers to gain qualifications in the way of experience if they cannot gain entry to homogenous working spaces in the first place; as Douglas emphasises, social networks are very important in gaining employment in a writers' room, reinforcing in simple terms the role that social capital

plays in hiring practices. In Douglas's words: "Producers hire whom they know." (Douglas, 2007, p. 168).

It is, then, the fact that the streaming services have the opportunity to subvert the traditional working model of the television and film industries, and, as a result, the working conditions of women within writers' rooms. In the next section, we explain the ways in which the SVoD distribution systems have dismantled tradition and re-worked scripted television as a genre.

3.7 SVoD and Turning Tradition on its Head

Production practices for SVoD original content have disrupted the tradition of making television. Not only do SVoD platforms circumvent the conventional pilot season system, they have also sparked a trend for high-profile "event" or "limited" series, such as Amazon's *11.22.63* (Carpenter, 2016) or Netflix's *Alias Grace* (Polley, 2017). These limited series allow content makers to produce under fifteen episodes and leave the product as a standalone, one-off series, or continue onto series two if they perform well (Adalian, 2015). This model of flexibility has become a hallmark of the SVoD platforms and maintains the flexibility and liquid budgets to fund upfront a full season and gauge audience responses (Adalian, 2015; Adalian & Fernandez, 2017; Geddes, 2016).

In addition to the limited series, SVoD original content production has contributed to the increase of the industry-wide adoption of shorter season runs. While traditional broadcast and cable series ran on average twenty-two episodes per season, recent series across all platforms are more likely to run between eight and fifteen episodes (Adalian, 2015). Consequently, while this has allowed for growth in budgets and production values, it has reduced the profitability for writers. Some writers for scripted television may have an overall^{xi} or company deal, but most are contracted per series, and receive episodic fees. This, in turn, reduces the amount they are paid when a series runs only ten episodes.

It is the purpose of this research, however, to examine women screenwriters' employment in SVoD, which will be further examined in the following section.

3.7.1 SVoD and Women's Employment

Each year, the Centre for the Study of Women in Television & Film at San Diego State University releases reports accounting for women's participation in the production of film and television. In 2017, Martha Lauzen found that only 28% of key creatives on television production in the United States across broadcast and cable networks, as well as streaming services, were women. In this instance, "key creative" is defined as a creator, director, writer or director of photography (Lauzen, 2017). The 2018-2019 season showed a marked improvement of 3%, with women making up 31% of key behind-the-scenes roles overall (Lauzen M. , *Boxed In 2018-19: Women On Screen and Behind the Scenes in Television*, 2019a). However, in streaming programmes alone, the representation of women in the key roles of creator, director, writer, executive producer, producer, editor and director of photography actually decreased by 2%, to just 30%.

Across all platforms, women writers made up 30% of the total in episodic television in the 2018-2019 season, second only to women producers, who take 40% of the roles in that position. Only 25% of all creators of programmes were women, an improvement of 3% on the 2017-2018 season. However, that season saw a reduction in women creators, and, as Lauzen states, "It is unclear whether 2018-19 marked the beginning of an upward trend in the percentage of women creators or if it represented a single year of improvement" (2019a, p. 4). The importance of women in senior roles in the creative team is clear from Lauzen's research. Where at least one woman is on the creation team of a series, the writing team was typically 65% female, while all-male creative teams typically showed female representation on their teams of just 19% (ibid). As for streaming services in particular, Lauzen (2019a) found that, although the number of women in key creative roles had risen from 27% to 30% in the 2018-2019 season, it had, in fact, still represented a lower percentage of representation than was presented in the 2016-2017 season, at 32%. However, women writers fared rather better, increasing their share of writing credits in the SVoD space from 27% to 35%. In their analysis of the 2018-2019 television season, the DGA (Directors Guild of America) found that, for the first time in their history, women and people of colour made up half of all directors on episodes made in the U.S. Their figures showed that 31% of episodic directors were women (up from 25% in the 2016-2017 season) and 27% were writers of colour, up a more marginal 3% from the earlier season (Directors Guild of America, 2019).

In 2016, the DGA President, Paris Barclay, told *The Hollywood Reporter* that, “Employers will need to implement new hiring practices — from getting more people in the door and interviewing more diverse candidates, to hiring experienced directors instead of handing these jobs out as perks.” (Sandberg, 2016) The “perks” referred to by Barclay can be related back to homogenous and capital-based hiring, more particularly social capital. For example, “the widespread and growing practice of employers giving ‘perk’ directing assignments to series insiders – i.e. those employed on a series in another capacity,” (Directors Guild of America, 2019). Not only was this a concern for those trying to break the industry. It was also a concern for those wishing to pursue a long-term career in directing:

While we’re encouraged to see nearly half of first jobs went to women last year, and nearly a third went to directors of color – we still have a lot of concern over the underlying hiring practices that reduce the number of jobs available to budding and experienced directors alike. The heart of the issue is that producers aren’t factoring in that every job given to someone who does not pursue a directing career equals an opportunity withheld (Directors Guild of America, 2019).

Of the top eight employers of television directors in the U.S., Netflix is the only SVoD-only platform. Of their 238 new episodes, 24% were directed by women, and 33.8% were directed by people of colour. At a total of 52.3%, this placed Netflix in fourth place when it came to the combined women/people of colour figures, behind Disney/ABC Companies (57.7%), HBO (56.0%) and Twentieth Century Fox (52.4%). The poorest performer was Sony, with just 46% of its episodic directors being women or people of colour (Directors Guild of America, 2019).

While SVoD leads the episodic television industry in its commissioning of series created by women (25%), it lags behind other platforms in terms of female executives, with only 20% of top executive roles filled by women (Smith, Choueiti, & Pieper, 2016). In a broader sense, Amazon and Hulu have been shown to strive for a higher level of diversity (ibid, p.17) across gender, race and LGBTQI inclusivity. It must be noted, however, that the study of Smith, Choueiti & Pieper (2016) focused on broadcast rather than production. Whatever small margins may be caused by this key difference must be analysed to examine whether SVoD platforms make more inclusive programmes.

It is not only the systems of programming and distribution that set the SVoD leaders apart from other broadcasters; it is also their new-wave ways of running their companies. In the next section, we will examine the company cultures and environments that make the streamers unique.

3.7.2 Company Cultures in SVoD

Netflix has established itself as a leader in innovative human relations and company culture (Fairchild, 2016). On the Netflix recruitment website (Netflix, n.d.), a full list and detailed description of expectations and requirements can be seen. By its own admission, it offers generous salary packages, and generous severances for employees who only display average performance. This system was developed by Netflix CEO, Reed Hastings, and Patty McCord, who served as Chief Talent Officer for five years. McCord stated that she and Hastings wanted to implement an innovative system which allowed employees to self-manage their HR policies such as time off and working hours, so long as they worked productively (Seitz, 2011; Giang, 2016; Henn, 2015). Ultimately, however, McCord was the victim of her own system, asked to leave Netflix after supporting a company move that lost eight hundred thousand subscribers (Henn, 2015). In 2020, Netflix founder, Reed Hastings, co-wrote a book about Netflix's subversive company cultures. *No Rules Rules* (Hastings & Meyer, 2020) suggests that the three pillars to successful company culture are "talent density" (a highly concentrated level of talent and commitment, with adequate performances not considered good enough); a high level of candour between employees and management alike, with all employees encouraged to provide "feedback" to others, regardless of their seniority, and the removal of restrictive policies on leave and working hours (ibid). In this way, Hastings and Meyer claim, they maintain an environment of excellence, honesty and dedication among their employees. In respect of its treatment of female employees, Netflix has been praised. In 2015 it announced an unlimited maternity and paternity leave policy, whereby employees could take as much time as they felt necessary after the arrival of their new child (Wojcicki, 2017). Equally notable, however, has been the development of a company culture that instigates fear among employees who feel that they could at any time be let go for a dip in performance (Zillman, 2015; Hastings & Meyer, 2020). Amazon Studios, on the other hand, experienced significant criticism in 2017. Following revelations about Hollywood producer,

Harvey Weinstein, being an alleged and later convicted sexual predator (Kantor & Twohey, 2017), the chief of Amazon Studios, Roy Price, was also suspended after accusations of sexual harassment (Masters & Goldberg, 2017). Price was accused of crude talk and sexual harassment of staff, and, shortly after his suspension, stepped down from his position at Amazon Studios (Holloway, 2017). Perhaps predictably, in addition to his personal conduct, Price had long been held accountable for his lack of support when it came to female showrunners compared with male series creators.

As noted, Amazon Studios received negative attention in 2016 when it cancelled its surprisingly successful new feminist series, *Good Girls Revolt* (Calvo, 2015-2016). Show creator, Dana Calvo, was openly critical of the decision, which, she claimed, was made by Amazon Studios executives, none of whom were women at the time (Sandberg & Goldberg, 2016). Following Price's removal from Amazon, Jennifer Salke was installed with the aim to restore order and trust in the company, which was, "hobbled by low morale and confusion over the direction of the company" (Faughnder, 2019). Salke also claimed that her strategy was to give a sense of confidence to filmmakers and television creatives to ensure that they felt their voices were heard and that the company felt connected to the material (ibid). Regarding the negative reports of the company culture under Price, Salke told *The Hollywood Reporter* that,

Having someone like me, who celebrates women and diversity, is a huge first step...I had two or three weeks of executives across the company on my sofa, many of them women, talking about their experiences, and how they were feeling and wanting to be someone who could listen and be an advocate for them. At the same time, I walked into this company at a time where they were already fully embracing change. Sometimes it takes negative things to get to those places and for Amazon, this was a real moment months ago to step up and make a big change. It has been a welcome change here and it does take intentional outreach, which were doing a lot of (Salke quoted in Goldberg, 2018)

While Amazon Studios' unique piloting programme was presented as an open network where even newcomers could pitch an idea for a series, critics suggest that its lack of consistency could still be construed as sexist (Framke, 2017). For example, while experienced showrunner Amy Sherman-Palladino (*Gilmore Girls*, 2000-2007) was required by Amazon Studios to make a pilot of her new series, *The Marvelous Mrs Maisel* (2017-), male showrunners with little to no experience in television, such as Woody Allen, David O.

Russell (*Silver Linings Playbook*, 2012) or Billy Ray (*The Hunger Games*, 2012) were given immediate, straight-to-season (no pilot test) starts (Framke, 2017). However, that trademark pilot-streaming model was relatively short-lived, with Price stating in 2017 that, “The reality of the marketplace is it is competitive, and often you have to go to series.” (Adalian, 2017a). By 2018, their pilot programme was no longer in operation, with Salke confirming that, “We will use our own testing barometers and some audience-driven data to make decisions” (Schneider M. , 2018). In the wake of Price’s departure, further shifts developed. Joe Lewis, the most senior Amazon Studios scripted executive, also ceased to work for Amazon Studios. He, too, had been investigated for misconduct toward women. These departures made for an interesting change: the most senior scripted executive at Amazon Studios was now a woman (Holloway, 2017a). As of 2020, Salke remains in position as Head of Amazon Studios, DV Prime Video TV (Kim E. , 2018).

As a stark contrast to both Netflix and Amazon cultures, Hulu, the third streamer studied in this research, prefers its employees to “embrace their individuality and teamwork alike” (Krajewski, n.d.). In 2020, Hulu was listed at number 31 in “Best Workplaces for Women” by Fortune (Fortune Best Workplaces for Women™ 2020, 2020), citing their commitment to empowering women to lead, and stating that, “the success of Hulu’s D&I^{xii} work is tied to each and every Hulgian^{xiii}” (Inside Hulu, 2020). It is a noted ambition of the company to remain a forerunner in positive company culture, with one HR professional stating that,

Hulu is the sort of company which strives to make each person feel comfortable, appreciated, and accepted, from its friendly and non-intimidating interview process, to its dedication, to putting on fun and creative company-wide events, Hulu is unlike any company that I've ever worked for. When I'm interviewing candidates for positions, they often tell me that they feel that there is a positive energy in our office. I have to agree. It is a warm and inviting place, and filled with smart people actively striving for the same exciting goal. It's just the Hulu way (Anonymous employee cited in Bymark, 2017).

Taking this into consideration, the discussion of women’s representation in the writers’ room and in SVoD is the main focal point for this research. However, it is important to note that there are wider implications. When we have more diverse teams behind the camera, it is reflected on-screen. The on-screen representation of minorities increases with minority writing teams, and the same is true of women writers and their impact on the demographic of characters and the employment of actors.

Conclusion

Certain outward measures on improving gender equity have been taken as we have now seen, such as Netflix's statement about hiring female executives, Amazon's promotion of Sharon Tal Yguado to a temporary key creative executive role in 2017, subsequently replaced by Jennifer Salke in 2018. Additionally, Hulu has publicly demonstrated a commitment to championing women in leadership roles, as well as offering a strong diversity and inclusion policy. As a result, there have been additional effects reflected within the broader SVoD culture.

In 2017, Hulu's *The Handmaid's Tale* (Miller, 2017-) became the first ever SVoD original series to win the Emmy Award for Outstanding Drama Series (Pedersen, 2017). This marks a clear change in the scripted series production industry: streaming is to be taken seriously. In fact, Hulu is, in some ways, leading the way for other SVoD original content makers. Its 2017 series, *Harlots* (Buffini & Newman, 2017-2019), features an entirely female creation and writing team, and hired only female directors (Stanhope, 2017; de Moraes, 2017). Hulu's success with the heavily female-written *The Handmaid's Tale* may also build traction for female creative teams, but, for the moment, the specific impact on the wider industry to come is still unclear. Netflix is open about its intentions to populate its executive staff with women in key leadership roles. Speaking at an event for women in leadership non-profit, Visionary Women, Netflix chief, Ted Sarandos said, "We've filled our executive suites with women. It starts with female executives, who hire female story-tellers, who hire female directors" (Robb, 2016).

As Chapter Two's discussion of social capital and homogenous hiring practices has demonstrated, this is the same for men, and can be seen as a case of a repetition of the social capital element of network hiring. The fact remains that Amazon, Netflix and Hulu are in a change-shifting position. Their freedom to take risks and bend the rules of scripted series commissioning and production allows them the capacity to affect the gender balance in scripted television by placing women in key roles in their executive teams. Very little research has been conducted thus far into the employment statistics of Netflix, Amazon and Hulu. While broader research such as Lauzen's *Boxed In* reports (2016;2018;2019) and

Hunt's (2014; 2016, 2017; 2019) has begun to encompass streaming services' data into their quantitative research, specifically targeted data on the SVoD original content producers is lacking so offers significant research opportunity.

This literature review has covered the key focal areas of women working in creative media, providing a brief history of women writers for television and the employment of women in scripted television, as well as an overview of the American scripted television production process, including the writers' room system. In addition, this chapter has surveyed the working practices and cultures of the SVoD streaming services which are a focus of this research, identifying that, while Netflix and Amazon may have higher public-facing profiles, Hulu is, perhaps, leading the way in terms of providing an equitable and safe workspace for women.

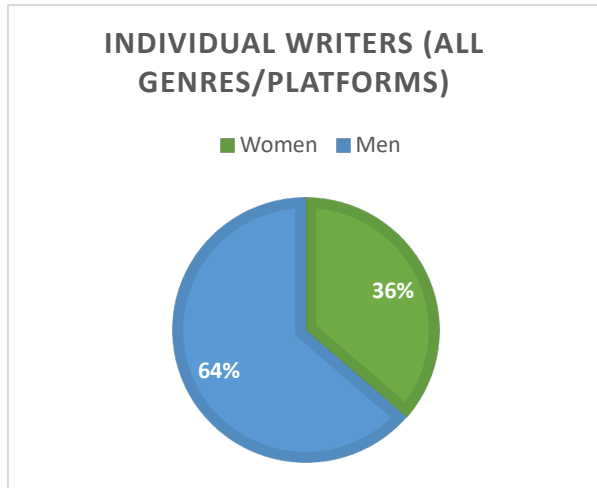
Chapter Four: Quantitative Data Findings

The quantitative data for this thesis was collected by analysing the credits of each original drama and comedy series made by Amazon, Netflix and Hulu between 2013 and 2017. By utilising the IMDb, which is an industry standard tool used to track credits and film performance, it was possible to identify the names of each person credited as a writer/producer on each episode of each series.

Although an arduous process, this data collection was imperative for various reasons. Firstly, to identify the solid number and percentage of women accounting for writer/producer credits on streaming originals. Secondly, to identify the additional factors that are relevant to this research; for example, the seniority of writers; the number of women creators of series (which, as we have seen, influences the overall number of women employed on scripted series (Lauzen, 2014;2016;2019)), and the number of women across genre, across platform and by year. The information provided here is a result of that original data collection.

4.1 Key Statistical Areas

Figure 10: Individual Writers - all platforms and all genres



The total number of *individual writers* whose names appeared at least once in the writer/producer credits of a scripted series was eight hundred and twenty-seven (827) during the entire research period. Of those, three hundred and one (301) were women, and five hundred and twenty-six (526) were men. This translates to thirty-six percent (36%) women and sixty-four percent (64%) male writers in total.

The total number of credits gathered for the research period of 2013-2017, including repeated names and multiple episodes, was fourteen thousand, four hundred and twenty-eight (14,428).

The number of credits in total in the first year of the study was five hundred and sixty-two (562), of which one hundred and seventy-two (172) were allocated to women, and three hundred and ninety (390) were allocated to male writers (see Table 1).

In 2014, there were a total of eight hundred and three (803) credits, with three hundred and eight (308) belonging to women and four hundred and ninety-five (495) to men.

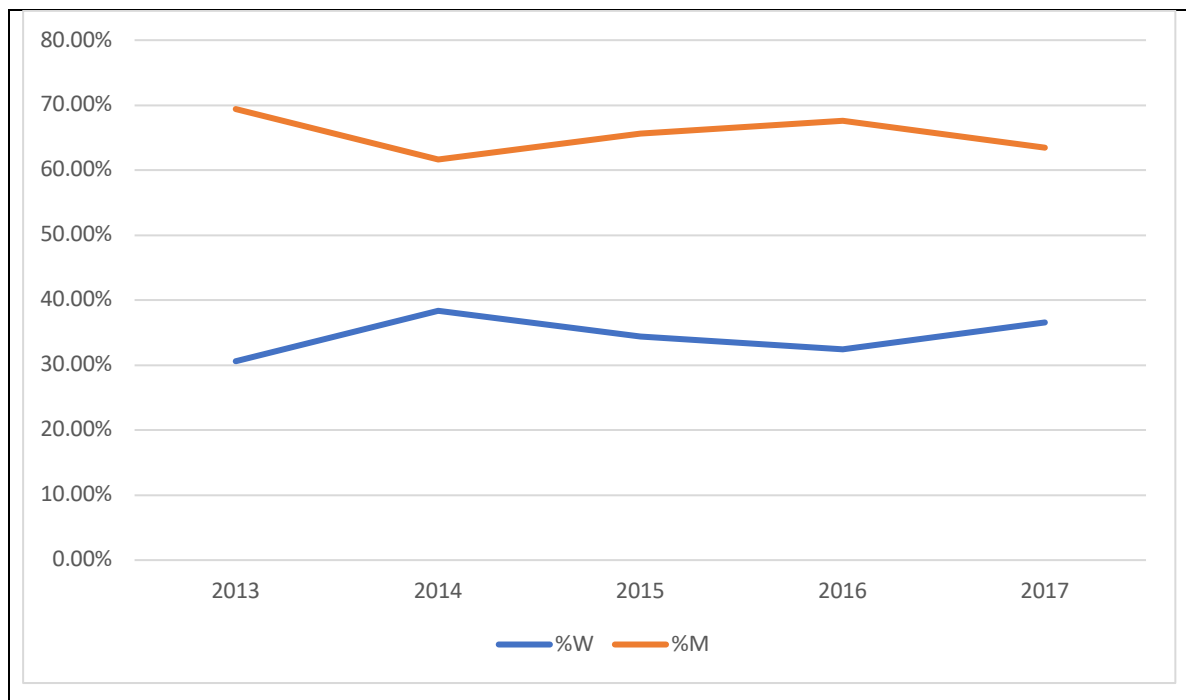
	F	M	Total	%F	%M
2013	172	390	562	30.6%	69.4%
2014	308	495	803	38.36%	61.64%
2015	874	1667	2541	34.4%	65.6%
2016	1431	2979	4410	32.45%	67.55%
2017	2235	3877	6112	36.57%	63.43%
TOTALS	5020	9408	14428	34.79%	65.21%

Table 1: No. and percentage of credits allocated to male and female writers across all three platforms and both genres during the study period 2013-2017

2015 saw a significant rise in the overall credits, coinciding with a boom in SVoD original productions. In that year, there were two thousand, five hundred and forty-one (2,541) credits, of which eight hundred and seventy-four (874) were credited to women, and one

thousand, six hundred and sixty-seven (1,667) to men. In 2016, there were a total of four thousand, four hundred and ten (4,410) credits, of which one thousand, four hundred and thirty-one (1,431) belonged to women and two thousand, nine hundred and seventy-nine (2,979) to male writers. In the final year of the study, women accounted for two thousand, two hundred and thirty-five (2,235) of the total six thousand, one hundred and twelve (6,112) credits, while men claimed three thousand, eight hundred and seventy-seven (3,877).

Figure 11: Percentage of credits assigned to women and men across the three platforms throughout the research period.



It can be seen from Figure 11 that, while women’s share of the credits overall rose during the research period, the percentage of credits assigned to women peaked in 2014, before dropping again in 2015, further in 2016, and rising slightly to the end of the data period. The overall average of women’s share of the credits was 34.49%. At its peak, that share was 38.36%, and, at its lowest point, just 30.6% at the commencement of the data collection period in 2013.

When taking into consideration the genre of the series, it can be seen that the gender disparity is fairly comparable across drama and comedy. In drama, women accounted for one hundred and thirty-five (135) of the three hundred and ninety-nine (399) total writer/producer credits, while men accounted for two hundred and sixty-four (264). This equates to 34% women and 66% male writers with individual credits for the drama genre.

Figure 12: Women and men writers in the drama genre across all platforms

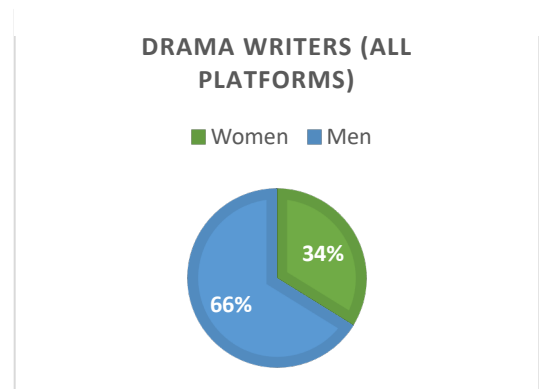
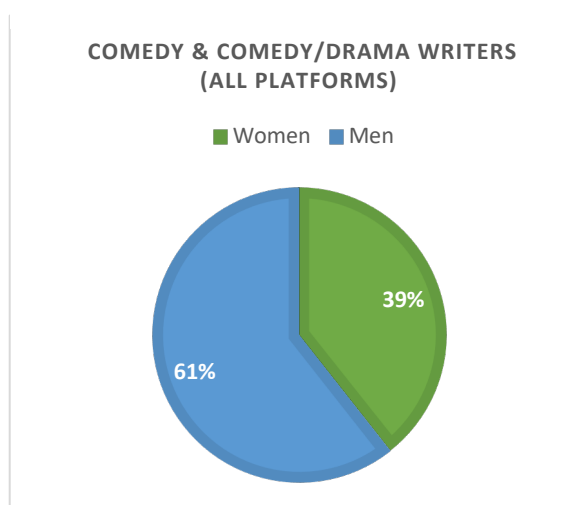
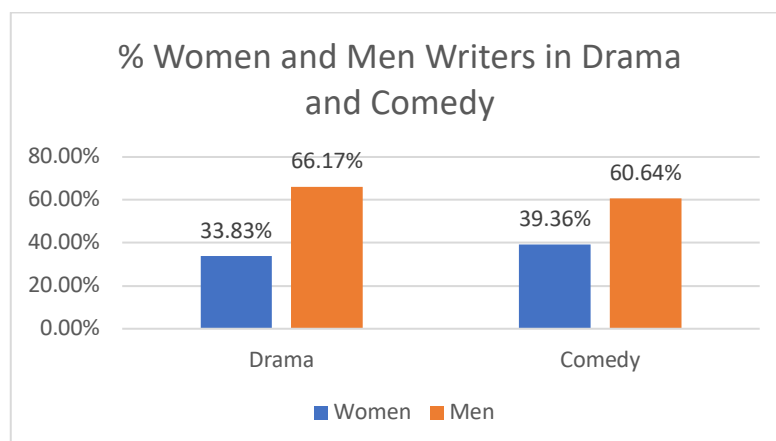


Figure 13: Women and men writers in the comedy and comedy/drama genres across all platforms.



In comedy and comedy/drama series, women accounted for a slightly higher percentage of the writer/producer credits. In these genres, women accounted for one hundred and seventy-two (172) of the four hundred and thirty-seven (437) individual writers. Men made up two hundred and sixty-five (265). This raised women’s share of individual writers to thirty-nine (39%) percent, with men taking up 61% of the individual spaces.

Figure 14: Percentage of women and men writers in drama and comedy across platforms



It can be shown, therefore, that women were marginally (approximately 5%) better represented in the writers’ rooms of comedies, which directly conflicts with the assumption

(Anonymous, 2018) that women are better-suited to writing in drama rooms. While genre shows a continued disparity, it is important to assess the differences in representation between women and men at varying levels of seniority in the writers' room. The next section will analyse the distribution of writers at different levels, as well as in the writer credits for specific episodes of scripted series.

4.2 Job Titles, Seniority and Episodic Credits

The number of job roles analysed was extensive on the whole, and the full extent can be seen in the Appendix. For the purposes of this data, more focus was specifically placed upon the key roles within the writers' room and within writer/producer credits on relevant series.

Seventeen (17) key roles were addressed for this data presentation of gender by roles. These range from the most junior (writers' assistant or assistant to writer/s) to the most senior (creator, showrunner and/or executive producer). Roles were grouped into five sections using the concept of a hierarchical ladder:

1. Junior/entry level, including assistants (ladder level 1)
2. Story editors (ladder level 2)
3. Producers (ladder level 3)
4. Writers who receive episodic writing credits at all levels
5. Executive/senior (ladder level 4)

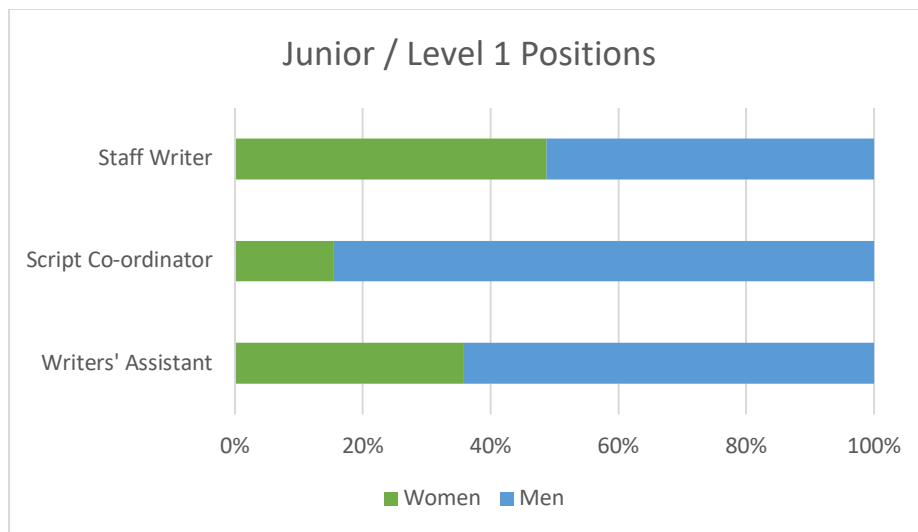
The purpose of separating job roles in this way is to address particular disparity when it comes to levels of seniority. For example, although women may make up the majority of a writers' room, they may also make up all of the junior roles, with senior roles taken by men (Overton, 2018).

Only fourteen (14) assistant positions were recorded during the time period studied. These were credited as writers' assistants or assistant to writer. It is important to note that it is not necessarily guaranteed for an assistant to receive a credit *at all*, which increases the difficulty of analysing the true entry-level roles in writers' rooms. Of the fourteen that were recorded,

nine (9) were men and five (5) were women, which displays a gender disparity of 28.57% between women (35.71%) and men (64.29%).

A script co-ordinator (ladder level 1), which is primarily an administrative role that can lead to further creative employment in the room, showed a significant disparity, but, similarly to writers' assistants, a low number of opportunities. There were thirteen (13) script co-ordinators credited, with eleven (11) being men and two (2) women. Following the position of assistant, it is ideal to move to staff writer, although it is also the case that writers without relevant experience in writing for television, or who are new creative hires, are sometimes hired as staff writers. Of the seventy-eight (78) staff writers surveyed, thirty-eight (38) were women and forty (40) were men, displaying a fairly even balance between the genders in this junior writing role (Fig. 15).

Figure 15: Women and men in junior/Level 1 positions.



As writers progress to Level 2, they may receive the title of story editor. There were sixty-two (62) total story editors credited within the research period, of which twenty-seven (27) were women and thirty-five (35) were men. At the next step up, executive story editor, there were fewer roles overall, with just forty-one (41) executive story editors. Of these, nineteen (19) were women and twenty-two (22) were men. This brought the gender disparity closer than at lower entry levels, with just 7.32% difference between men and women executive story editors and 12.9% difference between women and men story editors (Fig. 16).

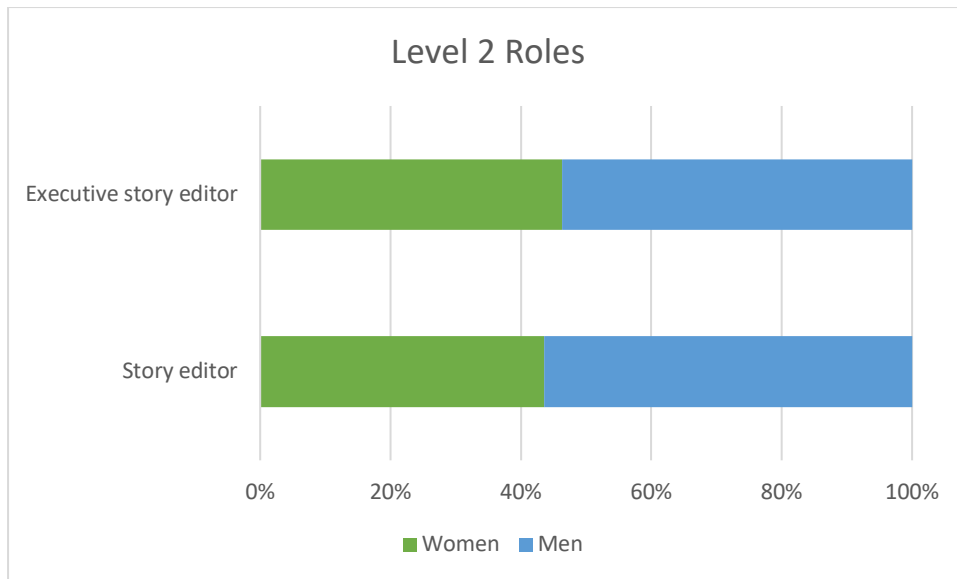
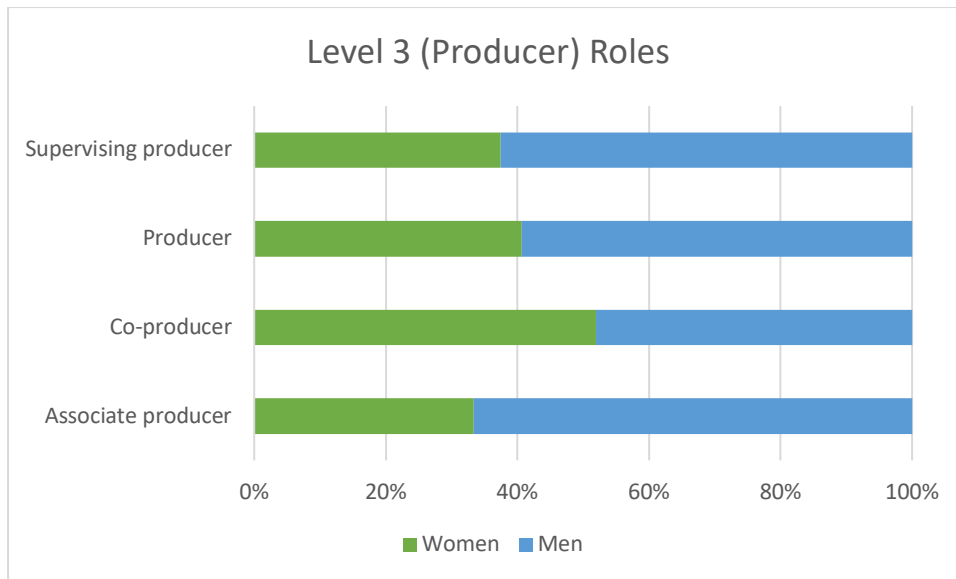


Figure 16: Women and men in Level 2 positions.

It is as the roles become more senior that the difference in representation between women and men becomes more variable. For example, at Level 3, the most junior-level producer is the associate producer. There were only six (6) total associate producers in the data set, of which two were women and four were men, showing a disparity of 33.33%, although the small number of credits in this role causes a larger difference in the percentage points. However, as writers move up, it appears to open up more opportunities with seniority. At the co-producer level (one step below producer), there are significantly more credits recorded, with fifty total roles. Of these fifty, there was nearly an equal distribution between women and men, with women taking two more credits than men at twenty-six (26). At the level of producer, however, the difference in employment between men and women rises to 18.75% in favour of men, with thirty-eight (38) of the sixty-four credits going to men and twenty-six to women. At the final level of producers is the supervising producer, where we see, once again, a great number of jobs filled (eighty in total) but an increase in the gender disparity with only thirty of the eighty credits accounted for by women, and fifty by men (Fig.17)

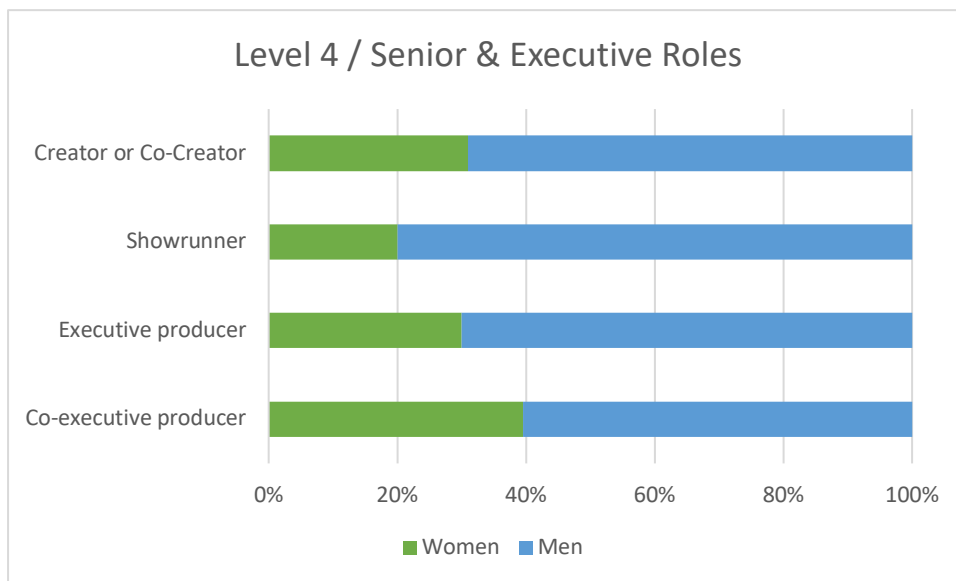
Figure 17: Women and men in Level 3 (Producer) positions.



At the level of co-executive producer, credits are moved into level 4 accreditation, with the consideration of executive-level power. At this level of co-executive producer (or ‘co-EP’), there were one hundred and twenty-nine (129) total credits, with fifty-one (51) filled by women, and seventy-eight 78 by men. This drops the disparity difference from the step below by nearly 10%, with 39.53% of co-EP’s listed as women and 60.47% as men.

At the level of executive producer, the numbers become more difficult to discern. As previously mentioned, executive producers can fill a great many roles; some are writers, some are more financial in their roles and some may be the creators or highest-level writers of a series^{xiv}. As such, it displays a clearer idea of disparity to analyse the creator, showrunner and co-creator roles. Not all executive producers are showrunners, but almost all showrunners are executive producers (Producers Guild of America, n.d.). Overall, there were sixty-three (63) women EPs and one hundred and forty-seven (147) male EPs, giving a difference of forty percent (40%), which rises significantly at the showrunner title to 60% (with a very small sample of just 5 total credits). At the level of creator or co-creator, however, men accounted for 69.99% of credits (89 total credits), while women creators received just 31.01% at forty (40) credits total (Fig. 18).

Figure 18: Women and men in Level 4 / Senior / Executive positions



What is interesting, however, is to identify the disparity in the largest data set of the group, when analysing the credits that are made up of ‘written by’, ‘teleplay’ and ‘screenplay’. These credits signify additional payments; when a member of a writers’ room is credited with the actual script for an episode, they receive an episodic payment. Therefore, alongside seniority (accounting for higher pay grades), written by credits identify who is making the most money. As laid out by the WGA, it is not only the payment on completion/airing of the episode; these credits have repercussions as content is played, replayed and sold on to platforms for repeat screenings:

The credited writer(s) on a produced project receive(s) the residual compensation. Regardless of how much you are paid or what you contribute to the final shooting script on a project, you only receive MBA residuals if you receive writing credit.

For television motion pictures, including episodic television:

Residuals for theatrical and television motion pictures, including episodic programs, are allocated as follows: “Written by” — 100%; “Screenplay/Teleplay by”—(if a “Story by” or “Screen/Television Story by” credit is accorded)—75%; Story by” or “Screen/Television Story by”—25%. In general, if no form of “Story by” credit is accorded, 100% goes to the writer(s) receiving “Screenplay/Teleplay by” credit. The residual for minor credits such as “Adaptation by” is 10%. In that instance, the residual is allocated as follows: “Adaptation by”—10%; “Screenplay/Teleplay by”—65%; “Story by”—25%.” (Writers Guild of America, Rev. 2018).

According to the most recent WGA Minimum Basic Agreement (MBA), outlined in Table 2, the schedule of minimum payments for television writers lays out considerable financial gains for each credit from ‘story by’ through to teleplay and screenplay. For a story by credit on a programme of between 30 and 60 minutes, a writer’s minimum compensation at this level is \$11,392.00. With a minimum weekly salary of between \$3,905.00 and \$4,904.00 (p. 112), for termed contracts, this additional earning is significant. Once a writer is credited with a ‘written by’ role, their earnings rise again. For completing the story *and* the teleplay for a single episode, a writer may earn a minimum of \$11,222.00 in addition to their weekly salary.

Table 2: Minimum episodic payments (Writers Guild of America / American Motion Picture and Television Producers, Inc. 2017, p. 94)

High Budget	5/02/17-5/01/18	5/02/18-5/01/19	5/02/19-5/01/20
Story	\$ 5,057	\$ 5,183	\$ 5,313
Teleplay	9,428	9,664	9,906
Story and Teleplay	12,646	12,962	13,286

Low Budget	5/02/17-5/01/18	5/02/18-5/01/19	5/02/19-5/01/20
Story	\$ 4,266	\$ 4,373	\$ 4,482
Teleplay	7,028	7,204	7,384
Story and Teleplay	10,681	10,948	11,222

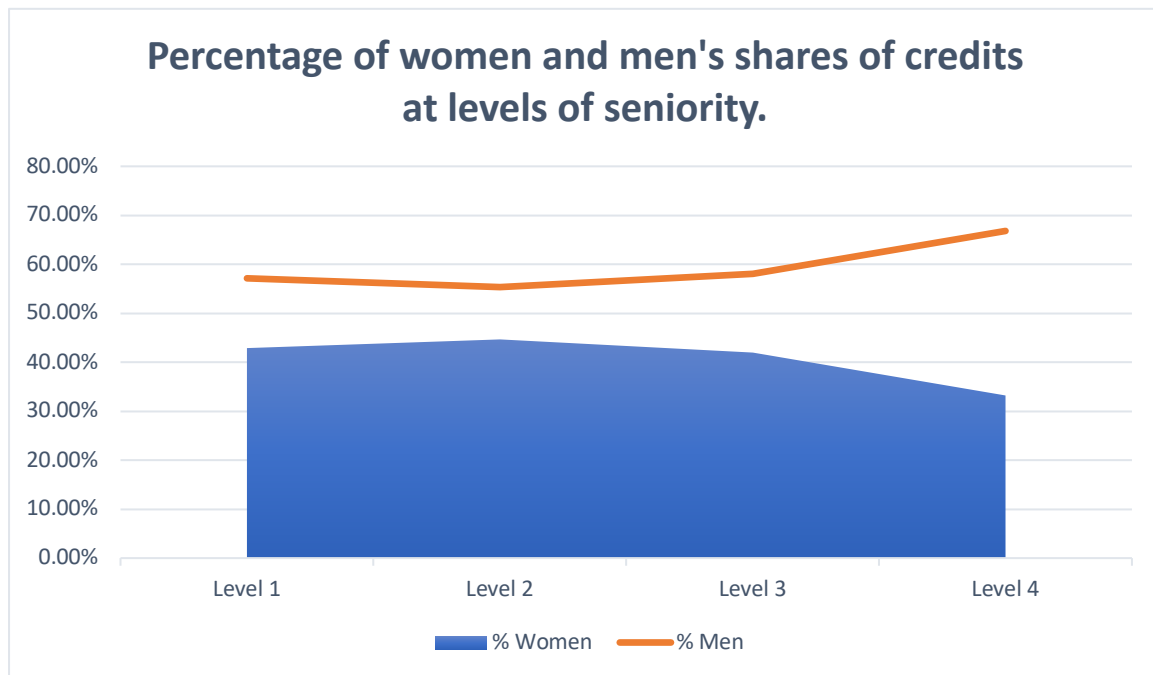
There are payments due for rewrites, polishes, and significantly larger payments available where a writer is hired to compile a show bible or outline (p. 94). There are variances on minimum payments dependent on the *form* of production; for example, serial (soap operas) earn lower payments, while network prime-time episodes are paid at much higher rates. For those working in SVoD writers’ rooms, they work to the basic

drama minimums.

It is clear, then, that it is not only seniority but also the allocation of “written by” credits that affect the writers financially, as well as in terms of career progression.

Overall, the progressive seniority of women writers is demonstrated below in Figure 19 shows that women’s representation commenced at Level 1 at a rate above 40%, rising slightly at Level 2, but then dropping as the roles became more senior. At Level 4, the highest level of seniority, representing showrunners, executive producers, creators and co-executive producers, women accounted for just 33.19% of credits, giving men a two-thirds share of those most senior (and highly-paid) roles.

Figure 19: Percentage of women and men's shares of credits at levels of seniority.



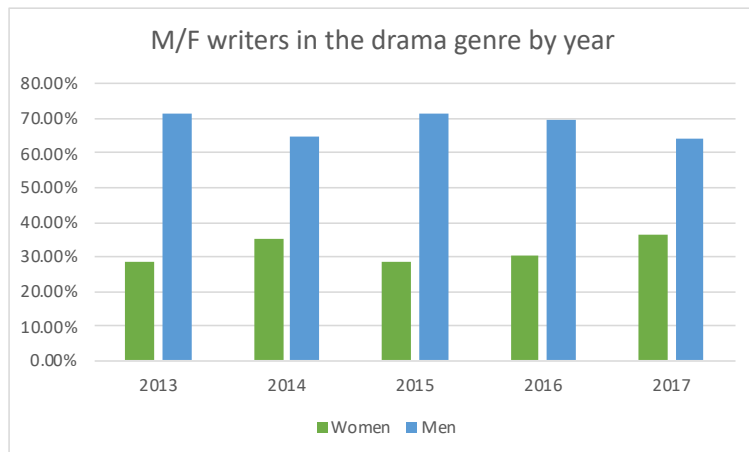
4.3 Genre Specific: Drama

In the genre of drama, which is the area of the highest production value (therefore, cost per hour) (Ryan & Littleton, 2017), 34% of the 399 individual writers analysed were women, across all platforms (Figure 13, in Section 4.1). As demonstrated in the previous section, this shows a marginally smaller representation of women writers compared to men, although it is, again, important to address the issue of seniority, which impacts both general representation and the earnings and career progression of women writers. In this section we will further analyse the distribution of women and men writers in the drama genre across the three streaming platforms between 2013 and 2017.

4.3.1 Drama by year

The percentage of women writers in the drama genre across all platforms ranged from 28.74% in 2015 to 36.15% in 2017 (Fig. 20). However, the growth across the years was not sustained, with a rise from 2013 (28.79%) to 2014 (35.01%), but a drastic drop back to 28.74% in 2015. Again, the data shows a significant rise between 2016 (30.35%) to 2017 (36.15%). As a result, the average percentage of women writers across all credits in the drama genre is 31.81% when analysing by year.

Figure 20: Women and men writers in the drama genre across all platforms by year



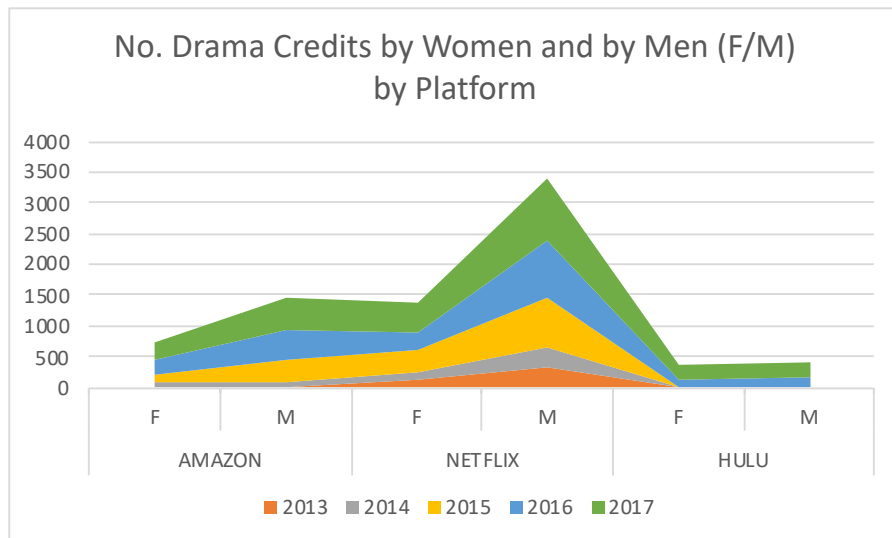
4.3.2 Drama by Platform

Table 3: No. and percentage of credits (drama) per platform

DRAMA by Platform	Credits	% Credits
Netflix	4771	61.62%
Amazon	2197	28.38%
Hulu	774	10.00%

When examining total writer credits by platform (Table 3), Netflix leads by volume, showing a total of four thousand, seven hundred and seventy-one credits (4,771), while Amazon recorded two thousand, one hundred and ninety-seven (2,197), and Hulu just seven hundred and seventy-four (774).

Figure 21: Number of women (F) and men (M) writers per year by platform



The annual numbers of writers show continued disparity across all platforms, although Hulu displayed a less marked gender gap (Fig.21).

Figure 22: Number of women (f) and men (m) writers per year by platform (b)

No. WOMEN Drama Credits by YEAR						
	AMAZON		NETFLIX		HULU	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
2013	0	0	140	329	0	0
2014	93	99	128	303	0	0
2015	119	351	328	820	0	0
2016	224	496	299	922	116	150
2017	300	515	467	1035	264	244

While Amazon and Hulu recorded zero (0) writing credits on *original series* whatsoever in 2013 (and Hulu did not record original series drama credits until 2016), Netflix's debut original year featured one hundred and forty (140) writer/producer credits (in total) allocated to women, and three hundred and twenty-nine (329) to men. The number of total credits for Netflix dropped in 2014, with one hundred and twenty-eight (128) credits for women and three hundred and three (303) for men, but rose significantly overall in 2015, with three hundred and twenty-eight (328) drama credits for women and eight hundred and twenty (820) for men. This sharp incline in total credits, however, saw a difference of four hundred and ninety-two (492) credits between men and women, become even more pronounced in 2016, with just two hundred and ninety-nine (299) credits for women in drama, and nine hundred and twenty-two (922) for men. This came to a difference of six hundred and twenty-three credits between women and men, which totals a percentage of 51% in difference.

Both Amazon and Hulu showed a steadier growth in writing credits in general. Amazon began its original drama series broadcasting in 2014 with an almost-equal ninety-three (93) women writers and ninety-nine (99) men. However, while the male writers the following year in 2015 grew to three hundred and fifty-one (351) credits, women's credits in the drama genre increased by only twenty-six (26) credits to one hundred and nineteen (119). Neither Amazon's male-assigned credits nor women-assigned credits fell at any point across the study period, unlike Netflix, but Amazon's overall **women's credits increased by 320%** across the five-year period, while **men's overall credits increased by 520%**, from ninety-nine (99) to five hundred and fifteen (515). Hulu showed a smaller overall growth, although its original drama programming began only in 2016. In its debut year, Hulu drama presented one hundred and sixteen (116) credits for women, and one hundred and fifty (150) for men, and, in 2017, the representation of women grew to outnumber men in the writer/producer credits

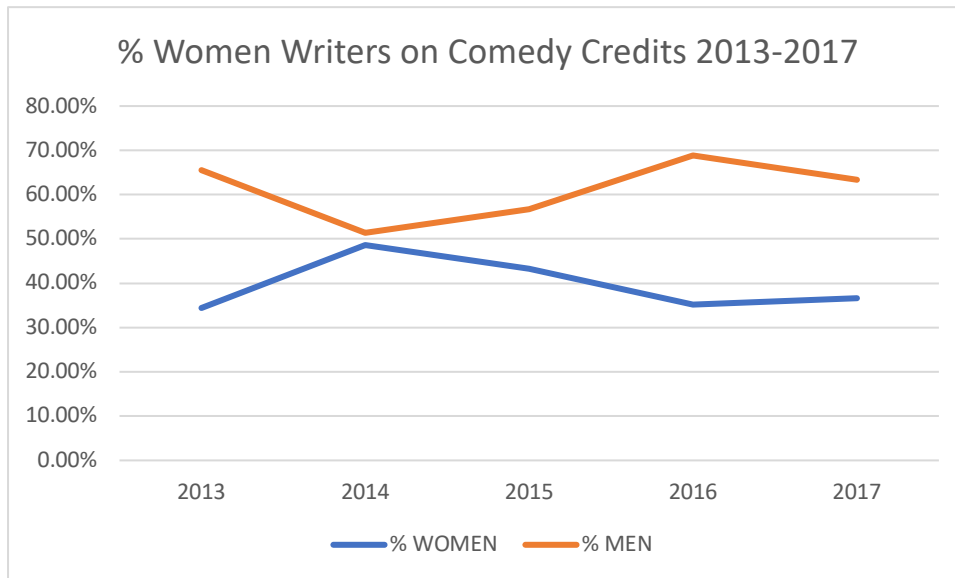
4.4 Genre Specific: Comedy

When analysing the representation of women in the field of television comedy, it would be simple to assume that due to the high-profile success of women writers and producers such as Tina Fey (*30 Rock*, 2006-2013; *Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt*, 2015-2019) in the United States and Phoebe Waller-Bridge (*Fleabag*, 2016-2019) in the United Kingdom, that perhaps women's representation as writers would be higher than in the dramatic space. However, the data collected for this research showed a similar disparity when comparing women writers' credits with men's.

4.4.1 Comedy by Year

The data collected showed that women's representation on writing teams in the time period studied peaked at 48.62% in 2014, which showed the closest match to 50/50 equity in the study. In 2013, at the commencement of the study, women's representation was at 34.41%, and, in the years following the peak in 2014, it dropped to 43.43% in 2015, starkly to 35.15% in 2016, and closed the study period at 36.58% in 2017 (Fig. 23).

Figure 23: % share of credits on comedy series 2013-2017



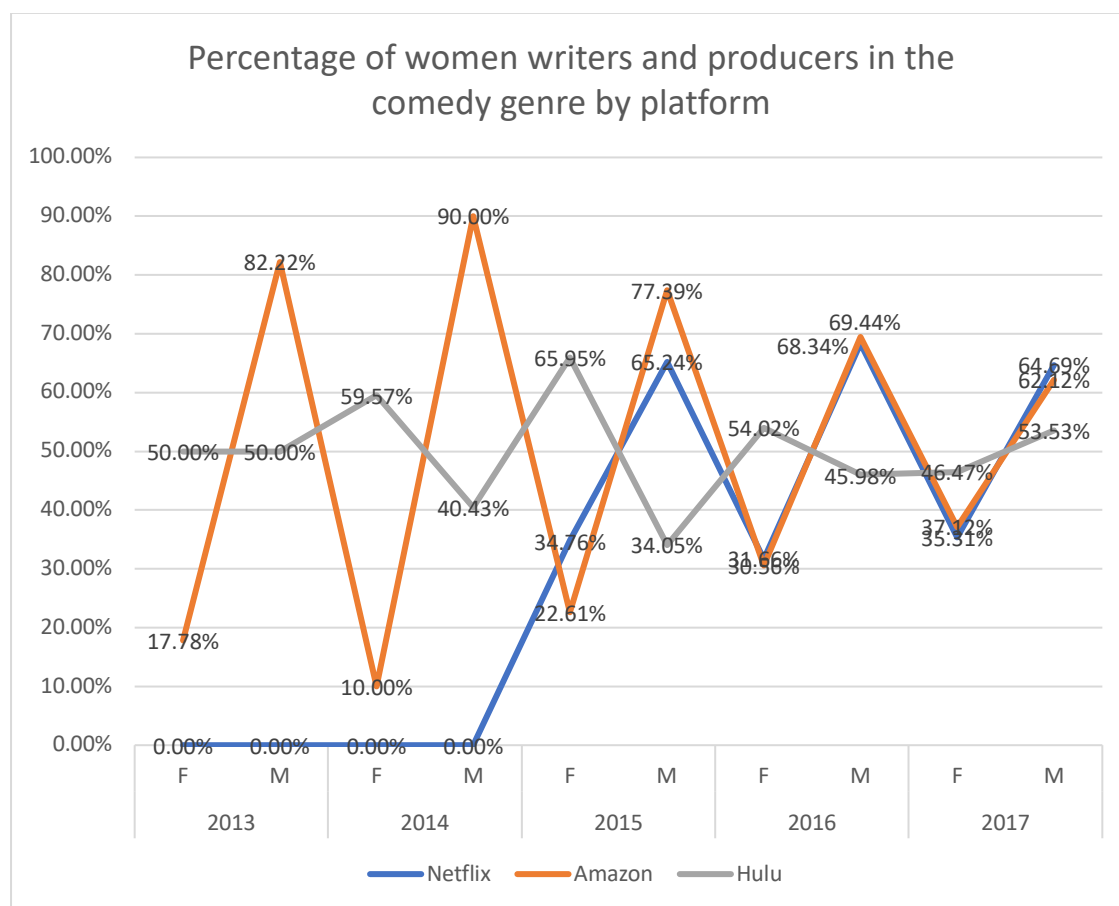
It is important to note the potential causes of this significant rise in women’s representation in the years 2014-2015 contextually. For example, in 2014, the overall number of writer/producer credits rose notably, from ninety-three (93) writers total in 2013, to one hundred and eighty-one (181) in 2014, and then, astoundingly, to one thousand and twenty-five (1,025) writers in 2015. At the close of the research period, in 2017, there were three thousand, four hundred and sixteen (3,416) total writer/producer credits in the comedy sector across the three platforms examined. However, it can be seen that Netflix’s comedy series, *Grace and Frankie*, (Kauffman & Morris, 2015-) accounted for a large share of those women’s overall credits, with Marta Kauffman receiving thirteen (13) episodic credits in both 2014 and 2015 for Creator, for Executive Producer, and three (3) and two (2) respectively for Written by. In addition, at the lowest level of the ladder, Brooke Wied received thirteen (13) credits in 2014 for Writers’ Assistant. It is plain to see, then, that one series can make a contribution to the overall representation of women in these roles, similarly, as one long run of a series can contribute exponentially to the overall representation of women across the platforms and years by including women on its writing staff.

In terms of growth, women’s share of credits rose by just 2.17% from 34.41% to 36.58%, suggesting that, despite the peaks in 2014 and 2015, overall, women’s credits in comedy remained fairly stagnant overall.

4.4.2 Comedy by Platform

In 2013-2014, Netflix did not create any original comedy content, which led to a baseline of zero (0%) for this platform across these years. However, Netflix entered the comedy sector with a 34.76% share for women. It did, thereafter, drop again, and met Amazon's performance, sharing almost identical patterns in the rise and fall of women writers and producers across the remainder of the study period (Fig. 24).

Figure 24: Percentage of women writers and producers in the comedy genre by platform



Hulu performed at a more static level, with their highest share for women at 65.95% in 2015, and their lowest at 46.47% in 2017. This demonstrates an overall pattern for Hulu, performing at a higher level of equal representation. In the first year of the study, 2013, Hulu showed exact parity, with 50% each for male and female writer/producers.

The number of comedy series was lower overall, however, than drama productions. As can be seen in Table 4 below, only Hulu showed more than one hundred (100) overall writer/producer credits in the genre of comedy by 2014.

Table 4: No. women writer/producer credits in comedy genre across the research period.

PLATFORM	Netflix			Amazon			Hulu		
YEAR	F	M	TOTAL	F	M	TOTAL	F	M	TOTAL
2013	0	0	0	8	37	45	24	24	48
2014	0	0	0	8	36	44	84	57	141
2015	203	381	584	4	89	93	215	111	326
2016	542	1170	1712	55	125	180	195	166	361
2017	1030	1887	2917	49	82	131	171	197	368

Netflix’s first year in comedy was 2015, showing five hundred and eighty-four (584) total credits, of which just two hundred and three (203) were assigned to women. In contrast, by 2017, Netflix had a total of two thousand, nine hundred and seventeen (2,917) total comedy credits, with only one thousand and thirty (1,030) credits for women writer/producers. In contrast, Hulu began in 2013, as mentioned, with exact parity. This platform assigned twenty-four (24) credits each to women and men. By 2017, Hulu’s credits had risen to three hundred and sixty-eight (368), and one hundred and seventy-one (171) of these were assigned to women. Amazon’s performance in comedy was somewhat lower overall. Their peak for overall credits was 2016, showing one hundred and eighty in total, of which fifty-five (55) belonged to women.

As has been discussed throughout this thesis, the influence of women in positions of power directly affects the employment of women at more junior levels. In the next section, the roles of women writers will be more deeply explained to demonstrate the dispersal of senior roles between women and men in SVoD scripted series.

4.5 Showrunners, Creators and Executive Producers

In section 4.2, it was demonstrated that having at least one woman creator or executive producer directly impacted the number of women employed on writing teams. Showrunners are not only the most senior writer, but also dictate hiring, firing and set the overall tone on and off set. The resultant trickle-down effects of women in power have been demonstrated by Lauzen (2014; 2016; 2018; 2020) where there is at least one woman executive, women’s representation is increased across writers, directors and directors of photography.

As Table 5 displays, Hulu showed a substantially higher rate of women in senior roles, with an average of 52.07% across both drama and comedy, throughout the whole research period. Netflix and Amazon, however, showed respective shares for women in senior roles at an average of 26.65% and 25.07%. While the overall percentage of women in senior roles across the platforms was 30.87%, it is notable that, while Hulu achieved relative parity in general, both Netflix and Amazon represented senior-level women writers at marginally above one quarter (25%) of their workforce of seniors.

Table 5: No. and percentage of credits allocated to women writer/producers at senior levels across the three platforms 2013-2017.

	NETFLIX		AMAZON		Hulu		TOTAL	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Showrunner	0	34	0	0	1	26	1	60
Creator	371	1075	109	320	217	203	697	1598
Co-Creator	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
Original Series / Developed by	0	0	0	30	0	0	0	30
Executive Producer	517	1335	146	412	270	220	933	1967
	TOTAL F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL M
	888	2444	255	762	490	451	1633	3657
	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL	TOTAL
	3332		1017		941		5290	
	Percentage % Female		Percentage % Female		Percentage % Female		Percentage % Female	
	26.65%		25.07%		52.07%		30.87%	

This directly relates to Lauzen's theory in demonstrating that Hulu's higher rate of women writers in senior-level positions (52.07% overall) is reflected in Hulu's higher representation of women writers in drama.

4.6 Conclusion

When comparing the data between 2013 and 2017, it is clear that, although women's share of the titles rose at points, overall they ended up much where they had begun. That is to say that the influence of individual series had significant impacts upon the representation of women writers as standalone variants. If, for example, one series aired that employed only women writers, then there would be a marked rise in women's share of credits for each year that this series aired. Overall, it has been shown in this chapter that women remain underrepresented in the statistical sense across all three platforms, making up just 36% of all writers considered in the quantitative data gathering. It is not adequate, however, to lay out only the quantitative data for this research. While numerical data can demonstrate clearly the actual disparities, it is the disparities within the Lifeworld of the writers and their lived experiences which contribute a deeper meaning, and offer insight as to why this inequity exists. In the next chapter, we will present the six case studies chosen for this research.

Chapter Five: Case Studies

The qualitative data collection process outlined in 2.3.2 offers the opportunity to access information that would not otherwise be available. In this case, six case studies are presented, selected from the ten total interviews conducted for this thesis. This selection was made in order to allow time and space for a deeper analysis of those case studies, delving into the Lifeworld of each participant. As suggested by Van Manen (2014) and Heidegger (1967), when utilising IPA as a technique for analysis of individual cases, smaller subject pools are more favourable, allowing the researcher to extract made and subjective meaning from participant responses. Each case study was chosen for a particular purpose, in order to gather data from the widest possible variety of women from different backgrounds, ethnicities, sexual orientations and levels of seniority in their careers.

Each case study here is presented using the participant's own language where necessary, indicating the sense of conversationality that was present during the interviews. This was

important to this research due to the nature of analysis; using IPA, it is necessary to gauge and assess the participant's own meaning-making of true events (Van Manen, 2014) in order to form an analytical opinion of their recollections. Each case study is taken from thematic grouping of the responses to the interview questions laid out in Chapter Two (Fig. 7) and presented in a narrative way to better understand the personality and mannerisms of the interviewee. The case studies are now presented, beginning with Hollie Overton, who was the first writer successfully contacted for this research, and subsequently interviewed in person.

5.1 Hollie Overton

Hollie Overton is one of the successful industry figures who set out to become something other than a writer. Born in Chicago and adopted at just six days old, along with her twin sister, Overton was later encouraged by her single mother to try acting in a local theatre production. Hollie then moved to New York to study acting and writing before going to Los Angeles with the intention of becoming an actor. Once there, however, she discovered she was more suited to a life of writing. As well as becoming a television writer, she has also published three successful crime novels: *Baby Doll* (2016a), *The Walls* (2018) and *The Runaway* (2019).

Overton was interviewed in person in West Hollywood, California, in September 2018, after two years of contact. She had recently completed her first streaming original series as a writer: CBS All-Access' *Tell Me a Story* (Williamson, 2018-2020).

...I'd always been writing and I ended up winning a contest for this short film and getting a mentor," she explains. "This writer by the name of Steven Sasco who is, like, awesome. And he'd written a bunch of movies and he basically mentored me. He was the person who said, he was reading all these scripts I was writing, a bunch of these features [films], and said, 'you've got a really great voice for TV. You should try TV. And so I took a writing class, a UCLA¹ extension, and my screenwriting teacher was Bruce Miller, the creator of *The Handmaid's Tale*.

¹ University of California, Los Angeles

As part of her class, Overton wrote a spec script for *Friday Night Lights*, which landed her a place in the highly-contested Warner Brothers Writers Workshop – “which is ... a fellowship program that helps bridge our non-working TV writers into the next phase...like it opens up all the doors.” After completing the Warner Brothers Writers Workshop in 2008, Overton was staffed on several network dramas including *Cold Case* (CBS), *The Client List* (Lifetime) and *Shadowhunters* (Freeform). Overton considers that she was inexperienced when she entered the workshop.

I don't want to say, 'to my detriment', but I probably wasn't as ready as some people. And so once [my first show] ended, it was about another ten months before I got on a new show, because really I didn't even have, like, you know – the industry changed at that point.

The change Overton refers to here is that, instead of requiring spec scripts, or scripts written for existing television series, producers and networks now wanted to read writers' original pilot scripts. “I hadn't even written a pilot yet when I got my first TV job.” This shift within the industry to original versus spec scripts has been significant. While, in the time of longer-running series, spec scripts (episodes written for existing series) were common requirements for writer recruitment, the advent of shorter-running series and the demand for content has led to an increase in the demand for original ideas, pilot scripts and marketable original series. Her ten-month gap was not unique. Television writers are often without work due to the contractual nature of each writing job. “I'm an independent freelance worker, meaning I'm employed by a show and when that show ends, I'm unemployed again. So I'm constantly, you know, anywhere from every five to ten months, looking for a new job.” This cycle of flexible and informal working, discussed in Chapter 3, can impact the careers of women, in particular.

A recurring theme for all film and television workers in Hollywood is the social capital – who you know.

My boss from *The Client List*, which was my second job...he really liked my work and he was always like, 'we should develop something together-we should write, produce something', which my agents didn't want me to do, [and that was] another mistake on their part. He ended up creating *Shadow Hunters* and hiring me on that. So, you know, I hadn't worked from the time I worked with him on *Client List* to the time I got *Shadow Hunters*. Like, almost two years that I hadn't been on a show. And so I got

that job, like, without even interviewing. They just called me in and offered it to me based on him saying, ‘I want this writer’.

Overton reiterates the importance of having someone who is willing to support and “take a chance on you”.

Writers in Hollywood television have a distinct system of promotion and crediting, which affects not only their status as writers in terms of seniority, but also their financial income. “When I sold my first show, it was to Warner Horizon. And my agents at the time, who are not my agents anymore for this and many other reasons ... it was very sexist.” As it turned out, despite selling her own original pilot, her agents and Warner Horizon claimed that they ‘couldn’t’ give her the Executive Producer credit on the pilot, and that she would begin as Supervising Producer and get a ‘bump’ each year.

“[They said] ‘it’s just the way they do things over there’. And then like two days go by and you see in the trades someone you know, or some guy you know, has sold [his pilot] and has no experience whatsoever. And you’ve been doing this for four years. And so, even on the last pilot [that I sold] I said to them, my number one priority is I want to get paid, but I also want to make sure I get my EP credit. And they just... they don’t buy it.

The increase in seniority each year is important for writers. Overton experienced disappointment when her agents did not push for her title bump on her second season for *Shadowhunters*.

I found out later in the season that this other agent, who is now my agent, by the way, did that for my friend who was on the show, and she got a title and a money bump. Or maybe just a title bump. But you know, titles are just as important [because] I’ve been doing this a lot longer.

She felt she should be further up the career ladder, and that this was probably due to the content she creates. “The work that I create that is very feminine and very female-driven – I think it’s given less value sometimes.”

Asked about her experience of gender balance in the writers’ rooms she had worked in, Overton stated that, although she had had, “a pretty good experience as far as gender balance”, that was not just a simple matter of how many men and women were in a room.

I think, you know, it's interesting, because people, you know, nowadays, it's like...you look at a picture on Twitter, 'look at how balanced this room is! There's so many women!'. And you're like, yeah, but if you really look at those pictures, there might be six women. Three of them are men, but they're upper levels. They make all the decisions, they call the shots. So, you know, you could put a hundred women in a writers' room – it wouldn't matter.

This led to discussion on the way that Overton, as a woman, had experienced the writers' rooms she'd worked in. She spoke passionately about some of her own experiences of sexism in the workplace. "If you were, like, pitching the best stuff in the world, if a guy is making the decision and he doesn't like the way you tell a story, or he just doesn't like you, you're not getting your pitches in."

She went on to relay a particular story which took place directly after, on one of her TV series, a new pair of showrunners were brought into the room to take over from the previous showrunner.

They assigned us all to write a bunch of scenes for this episode that was in trouble. And my...scene was like, supposed to be a kickboxing match, like a Ronda Rousey-type woman who's kicking these guys' ass [sic], right? The lights go out and everyone, like, all the fighters in the gym, including the woman, are gone, right? And so they come back and they give us notes and are like, 'we know production, and it's not a kickboxing gym, it's like, an old-school Rocky gym.' And I'm like, 'cool. So, a female boxer-' and they are like, 'oh no, Hollie. A female boxer is just cheesy.'

At the time this took place, Overton points out, the first African-American woman had just won a gold medal at the Olympics. While Overton was outraged, she said, her friend pointed out that she had eight to ten months remaining working on the show. "That was my first lesson into, like, this is the way these guys are going to tell stories." Despite the new showrunners, that writers room did have other women in the room.

In that room, there's only one person of colour... one Muslim woman. And then there was like, one, two, three, four women. One of them was not supportive to any of the females on staff, at all. She was just out for herself. And so it was very, like, even though...by the numbers it looked very even, it wasn't.

That particular job brought Overton her first of many experiences of sexism in the workplace. In one especially shocking story, Overton's mother passed away during the season.

...They said, 'we're going to let you write a later episode, right, because we understand, you know, it's a big deal your mom died'. And then, I got this text from my friend, this guy who is [at a] lower level than I am, who was writing the episode, and it was the next day I was supposed to come back. And he was like, 'yeah, you're up next. Like, they weren't going to tell you, but I felt like you should just [know] so you come in tomorrow and you're not like, what?'

Overton goes on to explain that this writer was still pitching his episode while she was breaking hers. "And they let him pitch his whole episode. And when I got to mine, they were like, 'oh, we changed the rules. We're going to let this (male) EPA ^{xv} pitch for you. We just think it will streamline the process more.'" Being in an exhausted state, Overton chose not to argue the point, despite her feelings of disparity. "I found the women that, like, argued back with them, and pushed back, ended up getting, you know, just buried. Like, their episodes didn't make sense. They got rewritten. And so it was really about not making waves." Ultimately, Overton resigned from that position, which was, in Hollywood, a bold move for a lower or mid-level writer. "I said to my husband, I don't care how much money it pays me, like, my sanity is worth more than it [the money]. And he was like, 'I agree'".

Overton discussed the way in which women were treated creatively in the writers' room. She explains that on one series (*Shadowhunters*), they were creating from the original novels, and the showrunners decided to change the story of an episode written by a woman due to budgetary constraints.

It was supposed to be these Amazonian women who craft weapons, right. Like, they're these badass women warriors who craft weapons. And my friend is writing this episode, and they're trying to pitch... We're expecting, like, fight scenes or whatever, and they're like, 'Oh no, I think it's just going to be too expensive and last episode was expensive. The next episode is expensive, so...' And the first episode was by a man, and the other one is by a man. And this was the woman's episode." Overton felt that the showrunners wanted something 'quieter' for this episode. "So they ended up doing, like, a purity bath. I was like, do we realize the historical content connotations of women being unpure and bathing?"

Overton describes herself as, “a late to life feminist”. She explains that she feels this might be because she grew up in Texas. “My household and the product [of that], and my father was kind of a violent man, and patriarchy everywhere is very strong, but in Texas, it’s like it’s built into the life force. And my mother was the opposite of that, and I sort of inherited this...innate deference to people in power, and especially men in power because of our childhood.” Interestingly, Overton describes herself as experiencing ‘Imposter Syndrome’ when she first started working in Hollywood, with regards to working with men. However,

The more that I got into rooms and I saw these men...[I realised] they’re not better, they’re faking it. It’s all fake. It’s all confidence. It’s bravado.” Overton’s own analysis of the gender-biased system is that the men she worked with approached their level of experience in a different way to herself. “They’re coming in there and acting like they know everything. And I’m coming in there like I want to learn and ... I’m not coming in with the confidence of a, you know, mediocre white man.

In terms of sexism in the writers’ room, Overton reiterated that she did feel there was a level of performativity in her work environments for the most part. She describes times when she had pushed back “in any way that triggered”, and said that being a ‘strong woman’ would sometimes lead to repercussions from male colleagues and superiors. “[They would] come after you in a way.” She said she felt targeted, and that her episode could be taken away from her despite her hard work. “So you start to question, should I even raise these flags? Should I even put up these fights?” Often, these ‘fights’ were for the women characters on a series. “Every single woman on that show was a victim, was weak. And even when you tried to write her strength into it, they’d always give the men the hero moments... we pitch something cool for the women, and we get vetoed for the men. The men would get the better moments, simple as that.” She adds that she did not feel she could speak freely.

Absolutely I at some point was getting a little strident, and I wanted to... defend myself and to defend my ideas and defend my stories. But like, in some ways, you could have said, ‘Don’t be the angry woman’. And I think I was. If I’d been a man, I would have just been passionate about defending my ideas. But as a woman? Don’t get too upset. Let’s all take a breath. And then I would watch the men in the room and they were like, just literally steam pouring out of their ears as they argued their point ardently. And I just couldn’t be that way.

In addition to sexist notions within the writers’ room, Overton also points out gendered inequities in the hiring processes. “Why would you assume I just want to write about, like,

rainbows and ... babies, and falling in love?" Overton is a successful crime fiction author as well as writing for television. Her three novels, *Baby Doll*, *The Walls* and *The Runaway* have achieved great success in the genre, but despite this, Overton finds herself judged for her previous television writing credits more than she feels a man would be.

If a guy takes a job on a show like *Chicago Fire*, right, it's a procedural. It does well but it's not like it's a sexy crime [show]. It's not Netflix. It's not *Ozark*. And then that show ends and his reps want to try to get him into something. They'll be like, 'oh, he took a job, he was between work. He has a kid to support'. But for women, I think it's so much harder. Like, you are judged so crucially on your credits and it's definitely affected me.

In spite of desiring to work on darker, more crime-driven shows, Overton points out that writers do not always have that choice.

There are writers [who] are like, 'oh, I wouldn't take that show', and I'm like, you take what you can get. And so my credits are pretty schizophrenic at some point. But they've been considered 'soft' credits, and I've had trouble even getting meetings with some people based on The Client List, because it was about, you know, a woman giving hand jobs. The men on that show did not have trouble getting jobs after that. They just didn't.

When asked about any pre-conceived notions of women writers, Overton could relate, specifically with sexist stereotypes. She explains that she was told, "Oh, you're [that woman]". She confessed that these kinds of experiences had occurred prior to Hollywood's "Me Too" movement, and that she doubted she would experience any discourse such as that in the present time. "I think they'd be a little more careful." But she admits that there are still remnants of these outdated ideas.

Even on my last show – I loved the job, but when a woman would speak, my boss would look at his phone... and then when an alpha male writer would speak, he was present, right there. 'Oh, that's great Oh, that's a great idea'. And honestly, he was a nice guy and would have been horrified if he could have seen it, but it was there every time.

She explained that, eventually, the women in the room stopped pitching their ideas. That the effort expended being met with ambivalence was not worth it for her, personally.

Men did experience easier career paths in Overton's opinion. She described the way in which men now (following Me Too) would proclaim that their lot was harder now in Hollywood.

"Like, show me who's suffering right now as a white man," she laughed.

I know a lot more women out of work than I do men. I mean, even those showrunners were sitting in the writers' room talking like ... they've been showrunners for nine years and you know, like, they were story editor [then] showrunner, which never happens as a woman. And you know, the other thing I've noticed is when it comes to getting sales, getting credits, [you always get paid last]. You're always having to fight for a title.

Overton gave an example of the attitudes towards women and motherhood in the writers' room.

This is from someone I consider still a mentor. I'd just gotten engaged, and we weren't even trying to have kids yet. I came back to the writers' room on Tuesday ... and so we were in the writers' room, were all eating. The whole staff would eat lunch in the writers' room. And I was talking like you know, I probably said offhand that when I get married and have kids... and my boss, like totally serious, and having a wife, said, "Oh, so someone else is going to raise your kid."

Overton explains that she was stunned, however, was thinking, "Well, someone else raised yours." She said that most of the women she had worked with in writers' rooms were older, so their children had been teenagers or adults. As for herself, Overton reveals that she had a miscarriage in 2016.

I was pregnant and I went to my interview for *The Handmaid's Tale*. And so I'd just read this terrible pilot about this woman who lost her [child], and so I talk about everything but that in my meeting. And I thought that was really interesting, because at the time, of course I didn't know I was going to lose the pregnancy.

In retrospect, Overton wished she had mentioned it. In terms of women colleagues' experiences of motherhood, Overton was disappointed.

[My friend] and I worked on a different show together, and at the time I think her son must have been four or five. I remember my boss being like, 'you're leaving again?'. She probably took off, like, three times the whole seven months of the show.

Overton points out that the times her friend had left were, in her words, “very mandatory” circumstances, such as a meeting at the child’s pre-school and when he was home sick with a fever. Overton’s colleague eventually left for another series, to which their boss explained that she would find it more difficult, telling her, “you’re not going to be able to leave all the time for your kid” [on a network series]. However, Overton’s colleague found that, despite the new role being ‘terrible’ for many reasons, restrictions around her childcaring responsibilities were not one of them. However, ‘allowances’ made for mothers in the workplace were not always commonplace.

I remember... this Texas guy telling me a story ...I guess they weren’t in charge, so this woman was allowed to bring her baby, like, the nanny was there... She was nursing. And she had fed the baby, but you could hear the baby, I guess, from the writers’ room, just crying. Fussy. And the door was open, and he goes, ‘and we were all just waiting to see if she was going to get up and go to the baby. But instead, she just got up and she just closed the door.’”

Overton’s response to hearing this story was bafflement. “I was like, so good for her for ignoring her child? She proved she loves writing more? ... But these are some of the things [we deal with].” In terms of gaining employment while pregnant, it is important to note that, legally, pregnancy is not a valid reason for termination of contract or for failure to hire. However, in practice, Overton admits, the lines are blurred.

We had a discussion in the writers’ room earlier this year about... whether we would hide our pregnancies or not, and for how long. I mean, obviously once you show, you’ve got to... but I do think I would [hide it] if I got a job I wanted offered, I would wait and see if they interview and then...

She describes her (male) boss’ reaction to the discussion. “He said he had had that happen, and he was like, ‘I was kind of trapped’. I mean, he was being honest, but he was like, ‘I would have hired her anyway’ ... [but] she knew she would have a lawsuit if they suddenly said, [because she was pregnant], ‘now you don’t have this job.’”

I have a friend who just had a baby, and she’s not in this industry. She works twelve hours a week, and says, ‘I’m such a bad mom, I miss her [the baby] so much’. I wish she wouldn’t say that, because I’m going to be a working mom. I’ve seen writers do it. I have a friend who is on *Outlander*. She said it was very friendly. She was pregnant, she got the job, and she said she needed six weeks [off]. They gave her the six weeks and then she started the job. They did say it wasn’t going to be late nights, and that was

not true. She [was] getting home at eight-thirty every night. But, you know, it was a dream job. So she just had to navigate, probably never sleeping, because she had a new-born, and was on a very demanding show.”

Overton also describes the gendered language used while filming away on location, explaining that, while her male colleagues would say that it was difficult to be away from their children, it was often implied that she and her female colleagues must be missing their husbands. Overton laughed. “I was like, it’s two f*cking weeks, like, no. He’s not in Afghanistan, he’s in L.A. and I’ll see him in two weeks. That kind of mentality of, ‘I can’t imagine you’d leave your baby’”. Overton’s response was mixed when asked if she felt that motherhood impeded women’s careers as television writers.

I don’t know if it does, but women have this perception that it will. You’ll hear a lot of younger writers saying, ‘well, I can’t have a baby until I’m, like, Executive Story Editor’. I mean, I wouldn’t have had a baby at Staff Writer / Story Editor. I was worried about how hard it would be. But the thing is, I still worry now even having a baby, you know, trying not to freak out. When we get the job, it [can] figure itself out, but you do know that you will lose out on jobs. You do know that someone’s going to say, ‘this is a seven-month job, and if she goes out at month four, then do we keep her?’

Overton recalls a particular female colleague from a previous job, who was an upper-level writer. “And I remember one day she said something about how she made the decision not to have kids. She didn’t want it to affect her career.” Overton was early in her career at this stage, and she said it reinforced her resolve to “not be that woman. I will not let this career dictate my other choices in life.”

Rather than improving her chances of working within her preferred genres, Overton often finds that her other literary work has been a disadvantage.

Even when people in this business want to see you do well ... people that are your mentors, they want you to *see* [that] they want to see you do well, but they don’t want to see you do better than they do. Especially if you’re a woman. I made the mistake of ...not knowing enough about ego and male fragility ... saying [in the writers’ room] I write all my books. It got very [sarcastic voice] ‘Oh, that’s great...’. And then, ‘I mean, nobody makes money selling [books], you make, well maybe ... [a financial number].’ And I was like, ‘probably a little more than that’, [but] I’m not telling an entire room of people what I’m making. [And they assume] ‘Oh, is it YA [young adult]? Romance?’ It was shocking to me, because they were all

acting like they were happy [for me]. But it was these comments like, ‘you should get it made into a movie. I bet Lifetime would be great for it’. They haven’t read it. They haven’t even asked what it was about. They were saying ... without even being aware of it, like, this accomplishment, ‘let’s be real, it’s not like what we’ve done.’ I could not [believe it]. My friend was in the room, and she was literally texting me, being like, ‘I can’t believe this’.

Overall, Overton felt that although things were changing for women writers, there was still a level of systemic inequality within her workplaces.

I’ve learned... to speak up, and I’m learning [not] to be so deferential in a way. And I think the more I move up the ladder, you know, like I’m a Producer now, I’ll continue to do that. But it’s a constant thing of, like, challenging your belief system. When you’re in a room like that where sexism is sort of ingrained, it does weigh on you. So it’s definitely a challenge. But I do think the way the world is right now is really reflected in the writers’ room. And you really get to see it like, come to life now, and just disparities of where people are.”

Ultimately, however, she still fears for the industry in terms of achieving equality, feeling that the progress may cease once employers feel that they have met the ‘targets’. “I hope there’s more women content, but I do have this fear that people just want them... [hope they] will just stop talking about it. Like, ‘it’s fine’. When you see the numbers, like, ‘oh, we’ve met [the target]’. But it’s still like, thirty percent female. It’s not [equal].

5.2 Sarah Nicole Jones

Sarah Nicole Jones was born and raised in New Orleans, but moved with her family to California and later graduated from Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles.

Unusually, in her final year of college Jones secured a manager, and that allowed her to move more swiftly into working in television. She then secured her first staff-writing position at the extraordinarily young age of just twenty-three, working on the series, *Longmire* (2012-2017).

I was lucky that, you know, I was really young, I was still in college, and I got a manager and then I graduated and did the thing everybody who graduates with a film degree does. I knocked around in a few odd jobs, but Greg [her manager] and I settled on this kind of attack mode that he said, “Write me an original pilot” because that’s how a lot of people were getting

staffed. The goal was to get that staff writer position which was very coveted... It's very hard to get those but he's like, "if you write a pilot that gets people's attention, I can see what I can do."

This approach seemed to be effective, in that Jones was called in to meet several showrunners. "It was insane to be getting those meetings. I was very lucky". Throughout this thesis, the importance of networks and connections in achieving career progression is emphasised, but Sarah Nicole Jones' early start, as it were, also underlines the importance of talent and guidance. Most writers struggle to get representation at such an early career stage, but it is clear that breakthrough was instrumental for Sarah Nicole Jones. Jones frequently refers to "luck", but it was more likely that professional management and her pro-active and assertive personality that saw her become a Co-Executive Producer on *Waco* (Dowdle & Dowdle, 2018) by the remarkably young age of thirty-two. When asked further about how she navigated that early-entry point of her career, Jones replies,

I got a writer's assistant position. And the way I got that was I was an NBC page, so like Kenny the page from *30 Rock* (Fey, 2006-2013). And when you're a page, you go to different departments and you work, like, as a temp. And I worked at studios production so the studio executives who fund all the shows and I chose that department because I knew you talked to showrunners every day, you talked to assistants. And I found an executive who didn't have an assistant and just made myself invaluable, and I became her assistant and talked to people on all the shows she covered and *Eureka* (Cosby & Paglia, 2006-2012) was one of them. And so when a position opened up they hired me over there.

By the time she was offered that position, however, Jones had received a better offer.

I got a call from my manager saying that I had gotten a staff writer job on the show called *Longmire*. It was a western... It was the day of my 22nd birthday. I was in a writers' room, which is insane. You were, like, waiting. This is an amazing thing and then, oh my god, you're writing the second episode of a brand-new series. It's like... [high voice] "OK? Great!"

It should again be emphasised that Jones' experience of entry to industry is rare, but again, not just down to luck. Jones was very analytical in her approach to career development, targeted some key areas she knew would help advance her career, built on her professional networks, and now works with the integrity and determinedness that comes with a full career lived in the television drama world. Jones knew that she wanted to be a showrunner, and

again thought strategically about how best to develop and advance her career. After three years on *Longmire*, and despite loving her work there, she decided to move on.

That show [*Longmire*] could go on for seven years, and you don't want to be a Co-EP who only has one credit to their name. So I left with their blessing and went on to some network shows because they do twenty-two episodes, and if you can do network shows, it's kind of like your boot camp.

Jones' gamble paid off, and she began to receive calls to help on other shows whose showrunners needed the sort of specific assistance that Jones was well-placed to offer. "I had a good relationship with the boss and they said, "I know you're capable of doing this, like, just, can you run my room, can you run this set?", and just did that". Jones, initially, was not interested in writing for television. It was only when she was 'forced' to look into it during her university studies that she realised television had changed dramatically since she was a teenager.

You had to take a TV writing class and I was like, do we have to? And she [the instructor] was really encouraging, she was like, "don't worry, TV has gotten good." Because when I was growing up it was like, *Law and Order* (Wolf, 1990-2010)...I wasn't really interested. And then I did start watching TV because we had to write a spec of an existing show, and I was like, TV got good.

In fact, Jones is very grateful to that instructor for opening her eyes. "I owe a lot to a woman called Erica Burn who was my TV one-hour drama teacher, and because I thought I was going to write features, I was going to be like that *Auteur* of features." Since then, Jones has served as Co-Producer on *Forever* (Miller M. , 2014-2015) ; Producer on *DCs Legends of Tomorrow* (Berlanti, Guggenheim, Klemmer, & Kreisberg, 2016-); Co-executive Producer on *Waco* and on Netflix's *Altered Carbon* (Kalogridis, 2018-). That is a remarkable trajectory but when she first entered the industry she recalls that there was a certain air of sexism about the writers' rooms.

I'm kind of the second wave. The generation before me was the generation where there were no women. And when I started coming in it was at the tail end, when I was working for the people who were that one woman, like, the first woman hired, or the first woman to like blaze trails. So when I was going out originally, there was a mixed bag [of experiences].

With her early experiences in writing for series in the genres of western, in the case of *Longmire*, action and superhero (*Waco*, *DC's Legends of Tomorrow*), Jones found that she often surprised employers or colleagues when she arrived in the room. "(I would) walk into meetings and people see me and then they look at the title page like, "Oh. Oh, you're a woman". I'm like, yeah, what did you expect?" That reflects the research literature, of course, from which it emerges that there has long been a gendered view within rooms about "what" women writers are best at shaping. That is to say, there has been a perception that they are best at "soft" romantic material rather than action, thriller or fantasy-type materials. With her background, for people with those perceptions Sarah Nicole Jones was a surprise. As she notes, she was among the first to be able to start breaking those gendered perceptions. But Jones also discovered, as many participants in this research stated they had, that there was often a purposeful strategy to hiring procedures in writers' rooms. "You get that call of, "oh, they only want one woman in the room or they're only hiring a woman at this level or, "they only have money for that" sort of stuff". And while her own experience on *Longmire* was pleasant, she adds that there was an in-industry expectation of performativity from women writers.

[There was] this attitude that you had to... They wanted you to be pretty, but not too pretty. Like, you couldn't be too girly. Wearing a dress to work would never have happened early on. You know, you wanted to be taking it seriously. But you also had to be like their mother. But also, their, like, *bro*. I got by easily I think because I grew up around a lot of guys like I had a lot of guy friends. So easing into the bro-ness of it.

That recollection from Jones sits squarely within the literature where the necessity for women to "play out" to gender stereotypes is readily evident. And herself-referencing as being a second-generation woman writer is telling here, noting as she does that her predecessors clearly had expectations of specific performance laid upon them. Theoretically, as second generation she is implying that some things might have changed, but not all. In fact, this concept of 'bro-ness', or 'masculine' versus 'feminine' performativity to which she refers, is repeated throughout interviews with women writers. Jones herself goes so far as to suggest that, at times, she even employed a secondary persona.

It's always a line that you have to walk. Sometimes, I would be in a situation with different male writers, and I called that my '1950s voice' of just like, "That's so interesting. Of course, that's wonderful" and it was just so nonconfrontational and so nonaggressive just to make them feel better. I'm using all this energy just to make someone feel better so they don't hate

me. Because if they hate me, I will internalize it and I won't get all the things that I want.

Jones' willingness to perform in this way, however, diminished as she rose in seniority.

When I started to run sets, I had to learn how to be respectfully confrontational and have to – it was the most liberating thing - “this is what is going to happen because I believe it's best for the show. And I don't care if you like me”. And just to be able to say, I don't care if you like me. It was like, oh my God, this is the greatest feeling in the world. And I never want to be rude, of course, because that's a human nature sort of stuff. But no, I don't have to bat my eyelashes. I don't have to do all of this. You kind of earn that little bit of caveat but you always have to keep yourself on track. Constantly.

In addition, however, was the insidiousness of that conditioned gender performativity – referring back to her statement about wearing dresses to work, Jones realised as she was traveling to our interview that,

Altered Carbon is the first show that [I've worked on where] I wear skirts. I wear dresses to work. And of course, if I'm on set, I'm in practical clothes and stuff, but going into like my writers' room. Never did that before. Because you don't get to be too girly, or you don't want to be the one who's scared of breaking a nail, or you know, like you're trying or something like that. You're playing dress up. You never want to call attention to yourself in a way that like you know could be talked about negatively or like, “Oh, Sarah doesn't care about story, she's doing a fashion show” it's like, no. I'm going to wear heels because I like wearing heels. I can still do my job and look nice. They're not mutually exclusive.

These recollections reflect perfectly the research literature in general on this issue of performativity, the need for women effectively to play out and up to gendered expectations of how they should conduct themselves, irrespective of the quality of their skills and outputs. Put simply, they are expected to behave in specific ways as dictated largely by males in the workplace, with those males having been by and large the gatekeepers on entry to the workplace. For Jones, it was not only the performativity of gender, but also the assumptions that went along with it in terms of gender, race and gender identity. While Jones admits that she has been fortunate to work steadily for ten years, and across genres unusual for women writers, she has still encountered the assumptions that women writers must write women's

stories, and, similarly, that her colleagues of colour would be expected to take the lead on stories or characters centred around or reflecting those of colour.

They didn't know it was kind of a sexist thing to say but I did work for a boss who was just like, "this episode really focuses on the women, so, Sarah, we really need you to like step up to this" and I was like, why do you assume that just because I have a vagina, that I am the one to write the female characters? Because I try to write everyone well.

The essential point here is that (always bearing in mind issues of cultural and other appropriation) all writers should be attempting to write all characters well. But as the literature and the research here demonstrates, women are far more likely than men to have writing "specialities" assigned to them simply on the basis of gender. While that approach dominates writers' rooms, advancement for women will remain problematic. Discussing performativity further, Jones references several times the internalised sexism with which she believes women are raised, and how that plays out in the workplace.

I think that there always has to be a self-awareness when you're a woman or you are a minority because you, and it's not even is in the workplace, of how you are raised, to always be aware of your surroundings. You know, it's a terrible thing and we're trying to kind of fight against it now but when people say, like, "oh, you were wearing a tight dress. You were asking to be flirted with" or all of that. No, no-one is asking to be harassed. But because you kind of grow up in that culture, you're so super aware of your actions.

Delving deeper, we discuss apology culture^{xvi} and Jones' approach to counteracting it. She explains that, in their writers' room, they have a 'no apologies' policy.

Don't apologize unless you did something wrong, because you often find that, in a writers' room, for example, we talk and we interrupt one another and it's never meant to be rude. You just get into it and you're talking over [each other]. And nine times out of ten, when the woman interrupts, she says sorry. "Sorry, let me just...". Or she'll interrupt and then say sorry afterwards. Why are you saying sorry? We all do it. Nothing was done with malicious intent.

When asked about the difference in apologies between women and men, Jones agrees that there is a gap.

I saw just a lot of writers, male writers, actually [say], “Why are you apologizing?” It really didn't occur to them. It's just like, oh, because like you think if I interrupt you [if a woman interrupts a man] it's a slight, but if you interrupt me it's fine because you've never had to be self-aware because you're [as a woman] so focused on being liked, because if you're not liked you won't get the job. If you're not liked then you won't get married or you won't get the money, or if you were just likable or if you just smiled, that's a thing. And the smile – I'm just, I can't. We do this [roll our eyes] a lot when people tell us that. But it's a feeling that has been an interesting thing for me to work through. [But] I've worked around amazing women or just very lovely people, we all try and keep one another in check of like, “you don't have to apologize”. You don't have to just take a dude yelling at you. That's another thing, men are allowed to yell but a woman raising her voice, suddenly you're considered ‘emotional’.

The persistent thread here, then, concerns the perceived different reactions and responses by men and women to the same workplace incidents, when those workplaces operate under a set of behavioural norms as laid down by the more senior males. It is, again, an environment in which women struggle to set the right “tone.” Jones demonstrates further with an anecdote from her career.

I can get impassioned on a call. But I had a boss who is just like, “you know, you don't have to be so emotional”. I was like, you yelled at them, how is that not emotional? I was like, “across the board, you are way more emotional than I. You're saying I'm not allowed to have any emotions whatsoever?” No, that's not how we're going to play this. I'm not going to go away crying, I'm not going to be upset. You know, if I need to make a point, I'm going to make a point... But you get this idea of, women are going to be emotional so maybe, “I don't want to tell her upsetting news” ... I'm a big f*cking girl. Secondly, you know, “oh we don't want to tell this joke around you” or “you won't get it” or it's kind of like the boys club sort of stuff, that level of sexism I was pretty quick to shut off.

Jones was asked about her experiences of dealing with any barriers that had occurred even within her remarkable career – as a new entrant, but also as an experienced worker. She referenced ‘politics’, recalling that as a younger writer,

You're just happy to have any jobs, so you put up with whatever you'll put up with like egos and yelling and that sort of stuff. And then luckily, hopefully, you get to a point where also you just have to be very judicious with the way you process things.

She stated that, as has been referenced previously, writers need to have a thick skin.

I don't really take things personally but if anyone, male or female, comes at me yelling I'm just like, no. Use your indoor voice, use your words. And it's so tough because you know, you are having to delicately deal with people and their own problems and inhibitions and sometimes they're going through something that they don't want to tell you. And being able to navigate that and still do your job is sometimes an obstacle but not bad. I'd say it's just, it's kind of a fun caveat of the job, [and] that's where the therapist comes in, of just, "oh you're yelling at me, and this isn't really about the budget. You're yelling at me because of something completely unrelated."

This links back to Jones' own assessment of her job as a whole, being,

You're a therapist. You are a cat wrangler. It depends on which hat I'm wearing, if I'm wearing the writer's hat then it is like the therapy session. But it's also just trying to manage story, but if I'm wearing the producer hat it becomes like I'm the manager of a household in terms of money and what we can do and then I'm sometimes a bad guy and the good cop bad cop sort of stuff. It's all across the board. Most of the time I say I'm an over glorified babysitter who also just writes some words, top to bottom, left to right.

Here, Jones is simply confirming what all women writers in this domain experience as they develop through the seniority levels. There is a constant need to navigate not only the new and varied responsibilities that come along, but also the persistent and unstated issues around gender, recognition, expectation and performativity. Even for someone of her stature in the industry, these are still matters of issue. Stellar though it has been, then, Jones' career has not been without its challenges. "I would say like the bigger obstacle has probably been the politics of something ... like the Greg Berlanti situation." This 'situation' was one in which Jones, among others, experienced what is referred to as the 'killing' of one of her own projects.

I was free to develop (which means do my own show and stuff while still being on that show). I went to them for permission – just – it's a courtesy. And they all said yes and then I ended up selling something. And then Greg found out and killed the project to keep me there, which is a violation of my contract. It's also just a sh*tty thing to do.

The imbalance of power here is the key to understanding the significance of this story – while Berlanti had allegedly (according to Jones) done similar things to other writers in his employ, they had generally been writers who were loyal to Berlanti.

I never heard of his f*cking name before I came on to the show at all. So I was like, no. I'm leaving. I'm quitting. And Warner Brothers threw a fit and Greg had blackballed people in the past who had tried to do this and thankfully I had great manager and a great agent who got ahead of this and were just like, she's quitting.

The deeper repercussion of this episode in Jones' career swung around her deepening understanding that politics in the industry are not fair. It might also be said here immediately that such a deepening understanding is a skill that all women writers need to learn quickly. While Jones' superior admitted that she was in the right, he had also admitted that he could not side with her in the fight against Berlanti.

I'm not saying it was a boys' club. It was more just because I've heard that happening with men and women, empire people, who you know, you just got to side with the guy who's that powerful. But I was just like, no. And everybody sided with him for different reasons. You have an overall, you have kids, you have a mortgage, I'm not asking anyone to fall on a sword for me. But at the same time, I was lucky that they didn't try and come after me, too.

Jones considers that it was her own background that led her to stand up for herself in this situation.

Thankfully I'm a Southern woman who... we are masters at the whole just sniping at one another and backdoor politics of things and you take it in stride. But that's [politics] been, I think, one of the biggest things.

Jones is now in her early thirties, and employed as Co-executive Producer, one step down from Executive, on the Netflix series, *Altered Carbon*. When asked how writing for streaming services differed from her experience in writing for cable and network television. Her immediate response was, "Format". She explained that, in more 'traditional' forms of television, the writers would prepare only some of the season ahead of time, as the filming would take place concurrently with the writers' room.

So, in cable you will try and get a head start. Sometimes you have a camp with the writers, and you figure out what the season is and the show runner kind of has their idea. You get a general thing going, you pitch it to your network or your studio... So [if] you do ten episodes, you want to have five written before you start production, because you do both the same time. It always gets crazy, but that's been across the board on cable shows that I've

worked on. You know, not everything is written when you start production. Network is the same.

But in writing for streaming services, she describes a completely different system, one in which the preparation is almost similar to making film.

With Netflix, was that everything will be written in advance. So we are prepping on a whole season... It's pretty much an eight-hour movie because we have an eight-episode order and all of it will be written... right now we're just doing revisions. As we go into prep, we'll be prepping off of those eight episodes and we pretty much had a whole season written even before we got the pickup.

This change in format/production issue in scripted series has been a major recurrent theme within this present research. As we have seen, the impact of that change in approach has ramifications that run through from the basic writing tasks all the way to industrial conditions that emanate from reduced numbers of episodes being mandated. This has been difficult for all writers, but the clear implication here is that it has been demonstrably more difficult for women writers than for men. Jones went on to describe in more detail the different levels of involvement in writing for a streaming service when compared with a more traditional network commission.

The overall development of the season process is a lot different. That they're [Netflix] very involved. And I don't know if Amazon or Hulu is the same way, but they [Netflix] were they were very involved with the progression of characters and even as we were breaking the sixth episode, they wanted to know where the eighth episode was going, and that's the biggest thing of having everything written beforehand.

She also referenced the Netflix reliance on algorithms and matrixes as a direction setter - these essentially register audience behaviour when it comes to viewing content. However, Jones states that this is one of the difficulties in writing for streaming services – it is frustrating not to be able to track where they 'lost' an audience, while, with more traditional services, the viewership numbers would lend some indication.

I always like to think, alright, when did people stop watching? At what point, but also like, when in the day? Because I can watch four episodes of something if I really love it. But if it's two o'clock in the morning then of course I'm going to stop watching, because I have to go to bed.

This [*Altered Carbon*] is the first show that I've had that premieres on a streaming service the entire season. Because I was used to week to week to week, and I personally love week to week because I love the anticipation. I love talking about it and guessing, and when you're on Netflix, it's like it's a binge-able commodity. It's like they expect people to watch thirteen episodes in a day. And, yeah. I mean, I do that too, when I have a break, [but] It's I think it's tough to register what impacts people then. Because if you have a week between things, remember a *Breaking Bad* episode and then you'll hear reactions like, oh people really didn't like this, or they really did like this. When people are bingeing an entire season, it gets lost, you don't know what they really liked because even if they like or really don't like something, they'll just go on the next episode and it's kind of a blip. It just kind of disappears. It's always nice when you can do a course correct. We can't do that.

As well as the challenges, the benefits of the advent of streaming are also apparent to Jones, especially when it comes to showcasing new voices.

There's a reason I think network TV dies a little bit, because it's like, you're using the same formula over and over and over again. And then there isn't room to promote women or different voices because people are scared it's not going to work and they're going to be throwing away money. But when you have all these streaming services, they're just like, 'let's just take a risk'. And also I know that a lot of streaming services, at least globally, they want to target certain markets, and *Castle* (Marlowe, 2009-2016) isn't you know, [going to] target certain markets in India, say, but if you have unique stories like that, you know, Indian writers [have written]... [that] sort of stuff that it can play there, you get so much more story, you get interesting characters.

It is this foray into new territory for dramatic television that heartens Jones.

I get so excited about the different worlds to go into. Because I lived there, in network and stuff, where I knew it was probably always going to be an angsty middle aged white dude that I was going to have to write which I would, and they're lovely, but I just remember when streaming services were really taking off and I was talking to my manager about writing another sample or coming up to pitch he said, "Oh okay, well just know that the overall note that I'm getting from everywhere is everyone's tired of middle-aged white men in crisis". And I was like, I never thought I would hear that uttered in my lifetime. So I do love the opportunities that it's given people across the board, men, women and minorities, to tell different stories. For those stories to go out and be impactful. And I think it's an amazing thing for social change, as well.

That aspect of change is somewhat under-represented in the research literature to this point, and provides an excellent avenue for further investigation. Jones has been among very few writers who have seen in large form the opportunity to broaden the viewing palate and, of course, for women writers this may well represent one of the major opportunities for growth. Jones noted some drawbacks to SVoD, however.

Now, on the other side there is, I guess, the more business side of my head, which is, when we live in a world where there are so many streaming services and so much content that your role as a writer is diminished, because there's always something new, there's always something big, and a lot of times they're rushing through it. So stories suffers in that time. You don't get the most impactful thing because people are just trying to push it out as quickly as possible, so it diminishes it as a medium sometimes.

Jones declared herself conflicted on whether SVoD is better than linear television, stating that it is less about the functionality, and more about the role of the writer in the mass-production market that streaming services have created, and that, eventually, the writer's power is reduced.

It used to be that if you would create something amazing, people would tell you and really, they want to give you more money. They want to give you more time. And then when you're in a world where, let's just say, and I don't know her or work for her, let's just say tomorrow, Jenji Kohan wanted to do something crazy on *Orange Is The New Black* and somebody has the power to say, like, *no*. It doesn't matter how good your show is, it doesn't matter how many people love it. There's ten more shows to take your place tomorrow. And it will be easily forgotten, and I think that is the sad thing, because especially TV is where writers have always had power, and where story has had more power, especially with the "Golden Age of Television", quote unquote. And when you make us [writers] a disposable commodity that can be binge-watched in a weekend, then it kind of takes away the majesty and you almost feel like you're not necessary. You are not necessary to the process, that you don't have a voice, that you don't have leverage, you know? And Netflix is wonderful to us, so please don't think this is any jab against them at all. But I know that if Netflix says one thing and I say another thing - sometimes you can banter back and forth and reach a middle ground - [but] I know ultimately that they hold all the cards because they could cancel us. And it wouldn't even matter, because they have ten other shows. They have another thing coming down the pipeline.

Overall, however, Jones sees the benefits of the changes that streaming services have brought to story, if not necessarily to the employment of writers specifically.

I have friends who work at other streaming services, when they say, “oh I'm working on the show because it's targeted towards this group and that's how we sold it”. And it's just nice to see them targeting different groups, based on completely different things. And sometimes I love the shows, sometimes I hated the shows, but we talked about them and that [discussion around new communities or issues] didn't exist. *Transparent* is a show that wouldn't have existed seven years ago. Even *The Marvelous Mrs Maisel*, that wouldn't have existed seven years ago. [With] Netflix, we can go through their whole roster of international shows that they pick up, and just the development they do of these stories would never get traction in network for sure. And cable would be seen as taking a risk by doing certain shows but like cable really did push the envelope as it were... Cable is where you can have *The Wire* (Simon, 2002-2008), *The Sopranos* (Chase, 1999-2007), you can show violence, you can show nudity, you can show, you know, someone other than a middle aged white guy. But I think streaming has built upon that... When you think of something like *Orange Is The New Black*, there is no lead male. They're all supporting. That is a whole woman show. And because for the longest time, network was like, oh the female shows are like the weepy *Brothers and Sisters* (Baitz, 2006-2011), which again, has its place, and then like the 'male shows' were, you know, like you know your *NCIS* (Bellisario & McGill, 2003-), your *24* (Cochran & Surnow, 2001-2010), *Friday Night Lights* (Berg, 2006-2011). Even though it was cable, I always thought the funniest thing was that the highest viewership of *Friday Night Lights* which was network, and *Sons of Anarchy* (Sutter, 2008-2014), that was cable, was women. It was not men. And now? We get shows which is female characters that aren't bound by like a male gaze.

Sarah Nicole Jones, then, is a woman writer in SVOD series, then, who has by way of her career both demonstrated and challenged the perceptions and expectations of writers rooms in relation to the presence of women writers. She has challenged stereotyped perceptions about what genres women might write, but has at the same time experienced and had to deal with the range of gendered behaviours and trajectories displayed throughout the literature and this research project.

5.3 Denise Harkavy

Denise Harkavy was born in Tehran, Iran but grew up in Berlin, Germany, after her political activist parents fled the Islamic government (Heroes and Villains, N.D.). Harkavy later moved to Los Angeles and enrolled in the TV Writers' Program at UCLA, a calculated decision because she knew that she wanted to work in the creative field. She later told interviewer Ben Blacker that she took the UCLA extension programme in order to learn structure, because she was “really fascinated by... how Americans have turned storytelling

into a science” (Burke, Hardy, & Harkavy, 2018). I came out here just knowing that I want to do something with storytelling. I worked in development and in post for a long time. And I wrote screenplays in the evenings when I got home” (Harkavy, 2018). But, she says, there is no one way to get into writing for television. “I’ve found that there is no path... Because everybody has had their own path. Some people entered through development. There are some people who have been agents or managers before. Everybody has their own path. In fact, in one interview Harkavy pointed out, “I didn’t even know TV writing was a job” (Burke, Hardy, & Harkavy, 2018). That “no one way” to enter the profession characterises the views of most women writers interviewed here as well as portrayed in other sources. In that sense, perhaps, women are no more disadvantaged at the outset, but what this research and the literature also indicates, of course, is that if entry is equally difficult, progression is far more so for women.

For Harkavy, winning a competition gave her the necessary career breakthrough. A professor at UCLA’s Extension Program had suggested she enter. “UCLA Extension... they have an annual contest... after [winning] that I got a manager and an agent and then they slowly started taking over and telling me sort of what to do and where to go, and who to meet with”. At this point, then, Harkavy’s career has developed steadily and strongly. After her early writing credits, she became a staff writer on *Franklin & Bash* (Chais & Falls, 2011-2014), a story editor on *The Brave* (Georgaris, 2017-2018), an executive story editor on *The Expanse* (Abraham, Fergus, Franck, & Ostby, 2015-), and more recently has been elevated to co-producer and producer on *Manhunt* (Sodroski, Clemente, & Gittelsohn, 2017-) and *Batwoman* (Dries, 2019-) respectively. In that, she has demonstrated a strong ascent through the ranks and, as demonstrated throughout this thesis, that is remarkable for a woman because, generally, the higher up that seniority ladder a woman writer goes, the harder it is to keep progressing.

Harkavy worked hard for her career, and admits that she wasn’t lucky enough to step directly into writing for TV. “[I was] working every single job that I could get in this town while at the same time going to UCLA Extension classes and writing as many scripts as I could based on concepts that I really believed in...” Those scripts, for the most part, were feature film scripts. “I think probably just south of thirty scripts.” By “luck”, she also effectively references opportunity because, compared to others, she did not have the same networks or effective agency that is so critical for a successful entry to the industry. The barriers to

breaking into an industry that is ruled by “who you know” can be especially difficult to overcome for someone like Harkavy, a woman not native to Los Angeles, and not even from the USA.

I'm going to be very honest with you. There were times when I was like I'm never going to have a manager, I'm never going to have an agent, I'm never going to get hired on a show because I don't know anybody, I don't have a way in. I'm complete outsider. I didn't have an uncle in the business. I didn't have anybody to help me in, and so I thought it was a pipe dream. And then when it happened I realized, you actually can control your destiny to, you, know, a certain amount.

In that respect, Harkavy's interview is unique for multiple reasons, a notable one being that she does not indicate feeling the same impact of sexism on her career development as some of her contemporaries have described.

I think doing this job is hard for everyone and everybody will reach their limits and have to deal with obstacles and limitations, and no matter how successful you get there's always going to be disappointments and rejection. So maybe it's just because I don't perceive it as an amplified problem, the fact that I'm a woman. You know, it might just be my own personal perception of things.

While she does not dispute that the industry is difficult to navigate, she also does not feel that her nationality and/or gender have had a particularly adverse effect on her career. “I don't go through the world thinking, “oh I'm a woman, I'm a minority, so I'll have it ten times harder than everybody else”. I just perceive like, hardship. But I also see some of my white colleagues who are female or male have similar issues to deal with... I personally haven't felt that I had it harder as a woman.” Harkavy's point of view here differs substantially from the points of view expressed by many of her female television writing counterparts, and she is aware of that.

Some people would argue, perhaps, that it's more difficult to get respected as a woman. But, again, I think that it's not a woman or man thing. I think that's an asshole thing, you know what I mean? Like there can be people will take you less seriously because you're a woman.

In that respect, Harkavy's views do respect some central strands that have emerged from this research, especially that which relates to the ideas around performativity. What she refers to is anticipated and expected behaviours within the writers' room environment and, as all

indications have it, those patterns are largely drawn from and formed up by the male domain. This is reinforced when, on reflection, Harkavy states that she has had more difficulties with female bosses than male bosses, due to a sense of competitiveness. “I think from my own experience and also other people's experience sometimes women can be a lot more competitive and, you know, abusive, than male bosses can be.” Again, she reiterates, “It's not a male or female issue, I think it's just - it's a human issue. I think that I personally have never felt that I was at a disadvantage as a woman.” Although, she puts it at the “human” level, it is evident that such behaviour by women is directly related to the issue of performativity: they are expected to and do behave in ways that fall within the bounds of the customary male behaviour. And it is that behaviour that other women writers and researchers have analysed as performative.

Harkavy is unique among the interview sample as an Iranian-born woman who emigrated to Germany and then the United States. She was asked her opinions on diversity and quota systems^{xvii}, and agreed that those systems were “very well-intentioned...but...I just believe as somebody who's really into Buddhism that everything has consequences. Everything has a cause and an effect.” In Harkavy’s opinion, this effect is not always positive, but she admits that she perhaps got her own break due to systems such as these.

If anything, I think I probably got my first job because they said specifically they need a woman. So I think the first door that was opened for me was because I was a woman.

Again, this is a not atypical situation as demonstrated throughout this research. Several sources express similar sentiments, to the point of thinking that their appointments had been as much to “tick a box” as it had been to recognise their talents. Harkavy here reflects that sense significantly. On expanding further her opinions on these quota systems, Harkavy explains what she identifies as her “cause-and-effect” theory.

‘Diversity’, as they call it, because that's the politically correct term - it's led to a lot of people getting their first shot, which is great, which is, like, a lot of people who otherwise wouldn't have gotten a seat at the table getting their seat. That's the positive news. A lot of people getting hired who totally deserve it, who have the talent, who just didn't have the access. That's the positive news.

However, she points out, the systems can also lead to, essentially, the devaluation of the labour of people hired under diversity schemes by networks, in particular.

The negative news is those people get recycled. Because the network offers them to work for free essentially. And... I don't know, it's a psychological thing. If you buy your dessert for eight dollars or it just comes... if it's just a free add on to your dinner, you're probably going to appreciate it less. And it has nothing to do with the quality of the dessert. It's just the way you perceive it. And so I think that what happens is a lot of these people, they are paid for by the network, and then they are just seen to be lesser writers, which is not necessarily the case at all.

Her point here is that, often, writers appointed to “tick a box” sometimes get typecast, as it were, so that their skills are undervalued and underpaid but, because they accept that, they keep being reappointed. The net result is that the special schemes may in fact narrow rather than broaden opportunity for minority writers. Harkavy described a further twist in that, according to the system of bringing in ‘underrepresented’ writers, who are often provided (free of charge to the production) by the network or studio, the turnover is high, and those writers do not always necessarily receive the recognition that they deserve. That is to say, they are sometimes not re-employed in the following season, in the natural progression of writers’ room hierarchies. “A lot of times they don't get renewed and they're just sort of removed and then somebody new who is also free is brought in for the next season. That's one problem.” The other issue here, in Harkavy’s opinion, is that creating quotas or diversity schemes specifically creates a perception among those writers themselves, leading them to believe that they must ‘fight’ for their place in the industry.

The other negative side effect is, you are conditioning a generation of women and minority women, or minorities in general, to think that there are only a limited amount of spaces for them to have a career. And what happens is there's a lot of unhealthy competition.

This competitive feeling among women and minorities can create a viciousness, Harkavy says.

I've heard stories of women targeting other women. I've heard a lot of stories about, you know, minorities targeting other minorities in order to get ahead because they know that how rare these opportunities now are and their one chance is to be, you know, the Latino guy on the show or the black guy on the show. So, if there's a second person [in that category], they have to eliminate that person in order to get ahead.

This competitive environment is not specific to race, either, according to Harkavy.

Actually, to be quite honest with you, I think the worst boss that I've ever had was a woman. The most abusive. And - because I think some people mistake strength for abuse- the most abusive, like borderline batsh*t crazy boss that I've ever had was actually a woman. And I think I'm not the only one, from what I'm hearing from my other co-workers.

Again, this is a clear practical example of the behaviours surrounding performativity to be found in the research literature. Leaving aside issues of specific personalities, the behaviour Harkavy describes here is almost classic performativity as it applies to scripted series writing. In Harkavy's experience, then, getting employed as a television writer is less about what you are (your identification, racial, gender or otherwise), and more about who you are and what you have to offer the room. Again, in relation to the wider research findings, this is clear reference to networks and decision-making on the basis of past experience.

Hollywood has been such a boys' club for such a long time, and it's about the guys that you play golf with. People are always pretending like you need to have all your ducks in a row to get the job, but really there are no qualifications for getting a job because if somebody really likes you, it doesn't even matter if you're a good writer or not because they're going to cover for you. And if you're friends with a showrunner they're going to give you a job, no matter what. But the thing is, I also understand the showrunners because this is a very cutthroat town and people try to come at them from all different ways... it's very comforting to be surrounded by friends and by people that you just trust. And even if they're not Shakespeares, you know that if they give you a certain amount of work you can fix it for them. I also understand where they're coming from. So the most honest answer I can give you is it's not a black and white issue. It's very grey it's very complicated and it always depends on your boss...

The common theme of "it's not what you know, it's who you know" resurfaces often during Harkavy's interview.

I've always been very focused on doing the work and being creatively in tune with what it is that I want to do and what I want to write. I didn't really think [about] understanding the business side of things and that you have to have a lot of salesmanship and you have to have a lot of ...you have to be able to present yourself to people in a certain type of way. I didn't really realize how important that was, and how important relationships and friendships are. I think I put way more work into doing the actual work than I ever did into networking. And I think that was my own personal

obstacle, because this town is not a meritocracy. It's not about how good you are, how talented you are, how many scripts you've written. It's the people who have a combination of both - or sometimes, honestly even don't. I've seen a lot of people who are below mediocre as writers but who have all the right connections and they shoot straight, like, rocket straight to the top.

Harkavy's view is that gaining traction in a career as a television writer is mostly about the state and strength of one's own attitude.

Honestly, I think people's biggest - I mean this sounds like the biggest cliché, but people's biggest enemies are... it's usually yourself. Because you're trying to limit yourself by thinking, I can't do this, or I will never be able to do that, which is completely untrue." Rejection is, of course, one thing that she admits is not easy to deal with, but again, relies on one's own reactions in order to move past. "People will say no to you. And I think the healthiest way to react that is, okay I think you're making a choice that's not smart but I'm going to move on because there's going to be somebody else who's going to make a better choice, and not let it affect you at all.

In terms of sexual harassment and sexism within the workplace, Harkavy, again and somewhat singularly, does not believe that it is an overt issue.

One time on set a guy said to me, "come sit next to daddy". And I told him to go f*ck himself, and after that, he didn't even dare open his mouth in my presence. So I think that, once again, I don't think it's a gender issue, I think it's an asshole issue. Like wherever you go, whether you work at a jewellery store or at a restaurant, I'm sure people who are restaurant owners or waitresses experience different kinds of treatment all the time, and sometimes it's sexist, sometimes it's racist- sometimes it's just the person is just a jerk. So have I met jerks in this town? Sure. Have I had specifically targeted sexist experiences from men in a work environment? No.

All that notwithstanding, however, Harkavy believes that the #MeToo movement was a key turning point within the industry for women.

I'll tell you why... They are really careful, especially after everything that happened. I mean before #MeToo, I think it was a little more evident that this was a boys club. Now they are so careful that if a person reaches out and accidentally ... as much as like brushes past you, they're going to apologize profusely because they're so scared of being, you know, targeted in return. So, no, I haven't [experienced sexism in the workplace]. I think actually, to be quite honest with you, the vast majority of men that I've encountered in this town, that I've worked with, that I've had as bosses? I would say ninety-nine percent of them were incredible human beings. They

were good mentors. They were not predators. They were not sexually aggressive. They were very encouraging and, you know, they're all about uplifting their workers, whether you're a man or a woman. All they care about is can you do the job? That's really it.

While this does initially seem to be at odds with Harkavy's initial statement and position that "this town is not a meritocracy", it would appear that she believes that once a writer is in work, then the ability to continue getting work does itself draw more upon a meritocratic process. In Harkavy's opinion, then, Hollywood is no different to other industries when it comes to sexism. "I don't think sexism is the issue in Hollywood. I think it's abuse of power that's the issue in Hollywood. And that's not a gender related issue." Attaining and applying power (or conversely, being subjected to that power), of course, lies at the heart of much of the research relating to women within the creative industries more broadly and within television writing more specifically, so Harkavy's views here are significant. Where she differs from much of the research data is in her clear view that women and men manipulate and abuse power in these situations at much the same level.

When it comes to the writing of fictional characters, Harkavy does not believe that she has experienced gendering writing assignments. That is to say, it has not been her experience to be assigned "soft female" characters to develop, or specific genre characters.

Never at all. I think if anything, I've been very surprised how – especially on *The Expanse*, I feel like Ty and Naren really understand that women - they don't even write women as women. It's like men with, like, you know what I mean, like happen to have uteruses. Like, they just have the same ambitions and dreams and wounds that the men would have. I actually think I've been able to work with men who understand the female characters that they're writing better than I understand them.

However, she does observe that she has witnessed some gendered writing of female characters.

I don't even remember what show it was on, it wasn't my script, but it was somebody else's script. And the line was, "a hysterical woman runs up to someone" and I just pointed out that maybe you wouldn't want to have a line that says "hysterical woman" in the script because that's kind of a cliché. And they took it out. But I've never felt that my bosses had [a] strange or, you know, distorted perception of what women are like because a lot of artists, and again, this doesn't apply to everybody, I can just speak

to my own personal experience, but artists are very much empathetic and they're in tune with society and the human experience, right?

In another sense, though, Harkavy feels that there are some unreasonable representations of women on-screen in television, especially when it comes to sexuality.

I think sometimes what I've seen is... there's a lot of, "let's have this woman just have casual sex with somebody. Because that's empowering". And I don't always agree with that. But that has more to do with my personal views on that. I just disagree. I think empowerment and feminism should be about being able to make the choices that you want to make... And I think that when we see shows like *Glow* or even *Sex and the City*, which, by the way, was written almost entirely by gay men, it paints this picture of womanhood and modern women and the sort of sexual freedom which I'm very much for. But I also think we're forgetting that there are some women who are not necessarily... That's not their lifestyle.

To clarify further, Harkavy's theory is that some of the 'empowered' female characters that we see on television are, essentially, cut from a similar pattern.

Maybe I've seen some of that in storytelling, where I'm like, you are essentially picking an archetype that you perceive to be a strong woman. Which is the woman who is essentially a man, who could have meaningless sex, and walk around and beat people up, and do all these things. But at the same time, she's vulnerable and all these things, and I'm like, there are as many women as there are men in the world. There are just as many different types of women in the world. And I think that's difficult to fathom. But again, I think somebody can be ignorant, but it doesn't necessarily come from an evil place where they actually want to harm you. It's just that they don't know any better. I've never seen overt sexism where I was like, oh my god that was so sexist... I've not experienced that.

Further on the subject of performativity, Harkavy agrees that one's workplace behaviour sometimes needs to be adjusted - but, again, she does not consider this to be a gendered issue.

But that has nothing to do with being a woman. You have to adjust your boss' work method. Like some bosses don't like to be criticised. They just don't. Even if they ask you what doesn't work about that, this act or this premise. They actually don't want to know. What they want to hear is, "No, I think it's perfect what you did". So what you really have to do is, you have to learn to assess your co-workers and your boss.

This is an important observation, in that as a whole individual workplaces do reflect different patterns of behaviour, and that comes back to the leadership patterns established within those workplaces. That leadership is the key, in Harkavy's view, irrespective of whether the leader is female or male. That is undoubtedly true, but the evidence does suggest that in a vast range of sites, gender does have a strong influence. Ultimately, in Harkavy's view, it does all link back to the "who you are" question, and adjusting your behaviour to match your environment, rather than performing as a certain type of woman as other interviewees have suggested.

Sometimes they're looking for somebody who's more intellectual. And then you can use that aspect of your personality to shine. Sometimes they're looking for somebody who's more casual or somebody who likes to talk about baseball. And just hang out with them, or somebody who loves comic books, and likes to talk about Dungeons and Dragons. So it's about which aspects of your personality do you highlight to fit into the room. And that is to me, being an immigrant, that's just survival skills that has nothing to do with... You're not changing yourself. You're not pretending to be somebody you aren't, you're just choosing to highlight a certain aspect of who you already are in order to fit better into the work environment.

Harkavy's background emerges as an influencing factor in her consideration of the place of women writers in these scripted series. To some extent, that also applies to other case studies here, as with Sarah Nicole Jones, for example. That is certainly an area for broader research beyond this present project. For Harkavy, too, 'quality control' is extremely important, and that comes down to the showrunner.

I take it as a positive sign when your boss pushes back on your idea because it means that they're selective. The worst thing is a boss who says yes to everything. That's terrible. Because it means that there's no quality control." In fact, she prefers to be challenged on her ideas and pitches. According to her, the ideal boss, "says, 'Well I don't know about that' and then gets into a discussion why that might work or it might not work. That's always the best situation that you want to end up in.

There is one area in which she does feel men cause the adjustment of women's behaviour specifically, that of volume.

Sometimes you just have to raise your voice a little so that men hear you. Because men always -I don't know why- they have the loudest voices... And I'm like, "oh my god, stop screaming." But they're all like that because they get really passionate and I feel like women are a bit more...

Even though we might be passionate about something, I think we just have better command of the volume of our voices. So sometimes, I've learned that, when you're trying to interject while they're talking, they may really not hear you. And it's not because they don't care what you have to say... and you just have to raise your voice a little bit so that they actually hear you.

While Harkavy's points of view differ in some ways from those of the other interviewees, when it comes to sexism and gendered hiring practices, for the most part she still acknowledges and in some respects accommodates those micro-sexisms described by her counterparts. For example, men talking over (or at least at a higher volume) than female colleagues; the importance of being able to 'gel' with showrunners and male colleagues, and the additional challenges faced by immigrant writers in the United States. Then, while she herself describes a good many of her work experiences as examples of "human" rather than gendered behaviour, it is clear from her descriptions that many of her workplaces have exhibited the same or similar restricting work experiences as those described by other interviewees for this project. Harkavy's specific cultural, professional and personal "makeup", it may be suggested, has shaped her overall views in some instances. In some ways, in fact, she generally demonstrates what she has herself described as a "German discipline" (Burke, Hardy, & Harkavy, 2018) in her work and work life, and that does seem to influence her perceptions of experience in the writer's rooms work environment in ways that are slightly different from others.

5.4 Dana Calvo

Dana Calvo was the highest-ranking, hierarchically speaking, of the participants interviewed for this research. She currently holds the title of Showrunner / Executive Producer. She was also the first interviewee to respond to the interview request. Calvo is a freelance worker, as most writers in Hollywood are.

I say I'm a TV writer. If I get into the whole 'producer' thing they don't seem to understand. You're never trained to be a Producer, you just keep moving up the ranks in the union. So, I just make it easier and say I'm a writer even though I'm a writer-producer. I don't have an overall deal with a studio, so yes, that makes me a freelancer. I don't feel disenfranchised, I have an agent and a lawyer and a manager so I don't feel like I'm floating out in the wind.

Although she has achieved immense success in her career, Calvo did not set out to become a writer for television. After majoring in English literature at Swarthmore College near Philadelphia she knew she wanted to be a writer, of some sort. After six months being a paralegal in Washington DC, she got a break and became a copy girl in the Washington branch of the *New York Times*, and that set her off on a decade of being a journalist that included a stint at the *Los Angeles Times*. It was as a successful journalist that Calvo was introduced to renowned Showrunner, Aaron Sorkin, at a social gathering.

I loved being a journalist and I had a mentor in journalism who introduced me, just socially, to Aaron Sorkin... And we became friends. He came to our wedding, he was lovely. But in a nice way, I needed and wanted nothing from Aaron, which I think is a very rare and unusual position for people of his stature to be in.

Calvo's initial reluctance to make the transition into writing for television is the aspect that differentiates her from other participants in this research project. She enjoyed her work as a journalist, and took some convincing that she should make the switch

He [Sorkin] kept saying 'come to the dark side, you should do it. You'll make so much more money'. But money didn't really turn me on. I had enough to live and I was super young at the time." However, when Calvo became a mother, her perspective shifted, and she found that her career in journalism was not comfortable for her as a new parent. "As soon as I had my daughter I was like, 'oh, I don't want to be getting on a plane, I'm broke.' Coincidentally, [Sorkin] seemed to know that, and when my daughter turned six weeks old, he called and he said, 'Are you ready to come to the dark side?'.

Initially, Calvo worked remotely as a researcher for Sorkin's film, *Charlie Wilson's War* (Sorkin & Crile, 2007).

I was in Texas at the time. And I was helping him along with two other researchers... Over the next few months I would work, I mean, a couple of hours a week to a couple of days a week. And then a few months went on and I would travel and work for a couple of days in LA with him.

Despite her initial reluctance, Calvo found the work fulfilling.

It was so creatively satisfying and so interesting because it was real life. It still satisfied that journalist in me. And then, after that was completed, about two years later, he said, 'come work in TV. I'm writing this new

show'. So, I always say I transitioned... I broke into Hollywood from Houston, Texas, while breastfeeding my child.

Moving to Hollywood was a difficult change for Calvo to make, but she feels that having had a career in journalism prior to 'breaking' into television worked to her benefit.

You know, I was such an old lady when I broke into Hollywood. I was 36... I was married, with an infant. So, thank god, it took me out of the hookers and blow, being someone's mistress... That [lifestyle] wasn't in my realm. I don't know what it would have been like had I come to Hollywood in my twenties, single, broke, disenfranchised, scared, I don't know would I have made good decisions.

Additionally, she points out that her career status, as an accomplished and well-regarded journalist, gave her a confidence that, she believes, helped her navigate the writing and television industry far better than she might have had she entered the industry fresh from university.

It also helped that I was an award-winning journalist. I was [a] high, mid-level, upper-middle-class reporter. I don't know how to say that better. So, I had that confidence and that competency, knowing that I was competent and good at something.

That background saw her work consistently as a writer (on *Greek* (Smith P. S., 2007-2011), *Covert Affairs*, *Franklin & Bash*, and *Narcos* (Bernard, Brancato, & Miro, 2015-2017), among others), then also developing through the ranks as the creator of shows like *Made in Jersey* (2012). In her view, working in television can be confronting for new entrants, especially women.

What Hollywood does often, especially to women, is tell them they don't know anything. They're a blank slate. They need to learn and listen and watch. And instead I was like, you know I'll do all that, but I have a lot to offer.

Her different entry to television writing and her subsequent success, in many ways serve as the exception to prove the rule. Her views on the experiences of new entrants to Hollywood, television writing particularly, mirror exactly the delineations to be found in the bulk of the research literature and data as well as in the testimonies of other participants here. For women especially, it is a very tough profession in which to succeed. She was able to by way

of bringing credibility from another profession by way of a massively important network link in Aaron Sorkin. For Calvo, it was Sorkin who opened the door for her to Hollywood. However, the series that eventually brought her to Los Angeles fell through after one season, and she found herself needing to find work again. Calvo had worked remotely onto *The West Wing* (Sorkin, 1999-2006), where she met a Co-Executive Producer called Kevin Falls.

I met him because he ran the room on *West Wing*. He was the Co-Executive Producer... [he] won an Emmy with them. He hired me right after *Studio 60* (Sorkin, Studio 60 on the Sunset Strip, 2006-2007) went down.

It was Falls who mentored Calvo for the next few years, and introduced her to the art of producing, as well as writing for television. “I worked off and on for Kevin for I think four years after that, and Kevin really taught me everything I know. And most important, how to be a producer. How to run a shop and how to treat people.” It is this skill that Calvo credits for her professional success in the industry, and for her ability to navigate the politics. “The better producer you are, the more authority you have. I’m learning that as I go.” Again, this part of the Calvo story reflects the importance of networks and connections as well as skills, the importance of navigating the writer’s ladder to the hierarchy, and the importance of learning new skills appropriate to the tasks at new levels once reached.

In terms of her gender, Calvo admits that she has been fortunate in her rooms, for the most part.

I’m in one-hour drama rooms, which is [very] different than comedy rooms. Half-hour comedy rooms are its own animal. I should just really emphasize that. I am in one of the more integrated writers’ room in Hollywood. More women represent in drama, more than features, more than half-hour comedy, more than one-hour dramedies. And for that reason, it’s still sort of appalling, but I’ve never walked into an all-male room. It’s always me and one other woman.

Despite her confidence (“I felt like I could do anything the boys could do, or whatever”), she suggests that she has felt pressure to perform a certain version of femininity at work.

I don’t really know where I’d be had I not had his [Falls’] influence. But I have also worked for people who are not as generous or as gallant [as him], and it just becomes a f*cking grind. You’re sort of like, here I have to go into work, and I have to be sort of adorable and non-threatening, but smart,

and show that I can write violent scenes and show that I can write rough sex scenes, or whatever turns them on.

She points out further that, although this kind of inherent expectation of women exists within writers' rooms, she has not, herself, experienced targeted 'sexism' as she says.

It's so insidious. I don't think they would ever say, 'you have to present that way'. I'm picking up cues because I'm normal and perceptive and awake in the world. But it's one of the insidious things they would say. 'Well, I never told her she had to look or act a certain way'. But sexism, I don't feel that I have [experienced it].

The essential point here is that Calvo has observed exactly some of the performative traits to be found in writers' rooms as outlined in the broader research, all the while suggesting that she has been able to avoid much of that personally because of her different entrance profile and because of the strong male mentors she has had. That suggests, in turn, just how "different" a woman writer in those rooms has to be in order to avoid the direct impact that is reported by other interviewees in this thesis. In a similar way, Calvo feels that women who have children present themselves in a certain way in the workplace because of the stigma attached to motherhood in Hollywood.

...In LA, it's not uncommon for women not to have kids out here...I think, like in any industry, no one is going to go into a job interview and say, 'well I'm going to get pregnant'. She would rather say, 'I am selling state secrets' than say that.

However, Calvo was already a mother by the time she began her career as a television writer, and that changed her experience.

I had a baby, so I already had ground rules. I wasn't going to relocate. Like for *Narcos* I was like, 'I'm not going to relocate to Columbia, I'll run the room in LA'. I remember I went to Toronto for one episode, which was a month, and the longest I'd been away from my daughter, 'cos you do pre [production] and production. And then for my pilot for CBS, I was gone for five weeks, and then for my pilot for *Good Girls [Revolt]*, I was gone for five weeks. That's over twelve years.

That is a very important point in this respect. Calvo was in a position to dictate her own approach to being a mother while continuing to write and work. For many other women, that has simply not been possible. In some respects, too, that has to do with seniority – it is, of

course, easier for Calvo at her level to set the terms than it would be for a far more junior woman writer. It was on her own terms, then, that Calvo found the power to control the balance between motherhood and work.

I'm exceptional in that I would go in and I would just own it... because I thought, I want them to know the contract they are getting into, which is, I would say 'I have to leave at six. Unless we are really working'. I had to leave at six every day, because I had to get home, and, at the time, I could barely give her a bath and get her to bed. And so, oftentimes, they were very surprised at that, but what I wanted them to know was that I'm not going to sit there and do fantasy baseball and shoot the sh*t from six 'til nine p.m.

Calvo realises that she had a unique point of view and, of course, position in this way of setting boundaries. She likens it to, "being a call girl: get paid first and *then* take your clothes off. I was really clinical about it." She decided to be upfront in order to mitigate any confusion or expectation surrounding her at-home responsibilities.

This is just my situation. It's non-negotiable. I'm not ashamed of it. I'm not going to shuffle my feet and complain. I have a child, and so I leave by six, unless you need me to be here, and if you need me to be here, I'll be here all night.

Calvo was asked if she felt the prevailing attitudes held towards parenthood within the television industry as a whole and the writing profession more specifically was a problem experienced particularly by women.

Yes, because in the overwhelming majority, the kid is sick or having problems or something is going on, [and] it falls to the woman. And then, with every kid they have, I only have one, with every child it just quadruples.

The work-life balance is challenging, Calvo admits.

...you cannot overestimate just *exhaustion*. You know, you're sitting in a TV [writers'] room, you have to be 'on' the whole time you're in there. Many times, we eat lunch in the room and have, like, a half hour break. And so, for the first six weeks of a job, nine hours a day, you are fully engaged, which is really hard to do when you've had seven hours of sleep. If you've had two hours of sleep it is super-duper hard.

The benefits of her seniority are again apparent here. This workload is difficult enough without having to manage children in addition, yet by virtue of her senior position Calvo was at least in a position to manage it. A more junior woman writer would find it almost impossible. The long-term effects of this experience of motherhood is damaging overall for women's careers, according to Calvo, because, not only is there a hesitance to hire women with children, or women planning to have children, but there is also an aversion to hiring women who are not *young*.

I think that's [pause in hiring mothers] not nearly as damaging as age discrimination. As women get older and get soft in the middle and are considered not beautiful or hip or interesting, in touch with all these edgy things. I think that is a death knell for so many female writers.

For those who have taken time out of the industry or their careers in general to raise children, it is,

Horribly pervasive... for women who are still toiling, trying to climb up the ladder and maybe took many years off for kids or bypassed a job, so they sort of alternated with their partner at home. That slows them down, and so, by the time they're fifty, maybe they haven't had the success they were hoping to have when they were thirty-five.

And this is frustrating for Calvo, because "they are still amazing writers, obviously, and, in a way, as we get older and learn about life we get better and better at writing characters." This is another point at which Calvo confirms the findings on these matters seen in the literature and wider research. We know that woman writers thin out at more senior levels of responsibility, and that one correlate is that older women also leave the ranks more significantly than men. This is one of the biggest challenges facing women writers for scripted television series. For women in the industry, in general, though, Calvo suggests that, on the surface at least, there is the opportunity to progress in seniority.

We have a great guild which means the next season you are automatically bumped up unless something has happened. I don't know many people who are fired, I feel like once you are in the door you sort of bump along.

However, the opportunities for quick trajectories are not as available to women as they are to men.

... [what] I don't almost ever see is the baby writer who is a female tapped for the next season to run the show, which happens often with men. They catapult up six levels because the showrunner or an executive or creator recognises themselves in that young man... hiring a young hip version of themselves.

Her observations here correspond again with findings elsewhere, because we have observed already considerable evidence that demonstrates that skill and experience alone do not guarantee a positive career development pattern for women writers. Men with less experience and fewer credentials are far more likely to be elevated quickly, according to the data. In Calvo's view, however, it is ultimately down to level of skills required in the craft itself – she lauds skill in writing as the overall upper hand in a woman writer's career journey.

I tell younger women this too, make yourself indispensable in a writers' room. I say to the younger writers, make your skills so necessary that they never thought they needed it until they saw it, and now they can't do without it. If the women are more multi-dimensional and more fleshed out, your male characters will benefit from that because you will like them more and respect them more for being with an interesting and complicated woman.

This is one area in which Calvo stands a little aside from the opinions of some other women writers investigated here. First, a number of other women hold the view that superior writing skills do not of themselves guarantee a strong career pattern. In Calvo's sense, that may again be down more to her seniority status. Second, some other women writers take different views on the writing of female characters; some resent the automatic assumption that women will write female characters. Those 'complicated women' to whom Calvo refers may be more visible today than they were at the beginning of her career, but she admits that they must still make way on occasion for the stereotyped female roles rife within Hollywood.

"Five or six years ago, I'd be asked to do 'emotional passes' on scripts. Or a 'female pass', and I'm sort of being funny, but sort of not." These 'emotional passes' would involve bringing a female writer in to fluff a script that had been written by a man, and Calvo found these particular frustrating.

There were often times when I'd be asked to look at a script and they would have two women at a bar, or a female alone at a bar, which is hilarious, like when was the last time a woman you know went to a bar and sat there waiting for Prince Charming to animate her, bring her to life?

Oftentimes they'll have her alone at a bar, hilarious, or two women at a bar with no dialogue, and then a man comes up and starts talking to them. It's literally like they've had lobotomies until the man enters stage left.

As for the 'wife/mother/girlfriend' stereotype:

You had a man saving the world, with all the pressures of everything, and the only time you saw the woman was, very often, holding a whisk or a spoon, kissing him goodbye for the day. And I'm like 'what is she going to do today? What happens to her after her leaves the room? Does she have any needs or wants? Anything?'

That summation confirms the difficulty faced by women writers in this regard. They would prefer to write across all character arcs, but often see the need for and are sometimes asked to create credible female characters who must then nudge up against what are really stereotyped male characterisations. This is something of a vicious cycle, and is part of the on-going dilemma for women writers. Perhaps things are changing, according to Calvo, but it has been a struggle for her.

I find that less and less now. But it's really incredible when you look at scripts that way, or if you look at them as if Meryl Streep were reading this script and was going to audition for this. Would she want to audition for 'hottie', 'girlfriend', 'hooker with big tits' who says one line?

But Calvo has remained strong in her creative stance. "I always say that my job is to go in there and write characters, not caricatures."

Calvo is best known outside of the industry for the controversy surrounding the cancellation of her original show, *Good Girls Revolt*. The series was based on the book by Lynn Povich that detailed the 1970 lawsuit for equal pay run by seventy women employed at *Newsweek*. The series drew excellent reviews, critical acclaim, and a lauded audience reception, but it was cancelled by Amazon Studios boss, Roy Price, who was later removed from his position due to sexual harassment allegations (Andreeva, 2017). Calvo stated in "multiple interviews" that she believed the cancellation had come as a result solely of Price's personal tastes (Holloway, 2017).

Based on data provided to us from Sony, Symphony Advanced Media reported our show was a hit, and we have loyal viewers... Eighty percent of people who watched the first few minutes of the pilot stayed until the last

minutes of the finale. We had twice *Transparent's* audience. We were stunned by Amazon's decision... (Aurthur, 2016).

However, when interviewed for this research, Calvo circumvented discussion of Amazon and Price, saying, "I've said everything I'm going to say publicly about my Amazon experience" (Calvo, 2017). Here is a case where a successful series is written and run by a woman, concerning an important issue for women in the form of equal pay, and receives widespread acclaim (Andreeva, 2017). That series is then cancelled by a male boss well-known for gendered views and, it turns out, aggravated behaviours towards women in his employ. Despite her public dispute with one of the most recognised streaming providers, however, Calvo remains optimistic about the future of streaming television.

[It's] so, inspiring, cool, so creative. I feel like years ago there was this pressure in broadcast to just create shows that appealed to the biggest audience. "Let's just get f*cking numbers", you know? And now I feel, in a good way, the pressure is 'let's do the coolest, most transgressive, interesting, weird thing that we can. And if only this small slice of people watch it, that's fine. But if it wins a bunch of awards, that's great.

Streaming, says Calvo, offers the opportunity for writers to flex their creativity.

I do believe that the streaming people [the commissioners] really read the scripts more carefully. They really want you to turn in drafts that are at a higher level. Because I think, I may be wrong, streaming channels prioritise awards and artiness more than ratings. Actually, I know I'm right. They don't care so much about numbers, they really want status, they want artistic street cred and so they playwrights and experienced writers who are handing in cleaner drafts than broadcast demands.

In this sense, writing for streaming services might be interpreted to be more demanding than writing for network or studio television programmes. Perhaps, even, higher stakes, considering the ease with which a new series can be cancelled or renewed at whim, as demonstrated by Calvo's own experiences with *Good Girls Revolt*. It is also the structural differences in writing for streaming services that Calvo enjoys.

The biggest difference that I've observed is that...and by the way this is changing a little bit because now you can binge, even broadcast, you can wait and watch it all on your demand TV. In theory, shows like say *Game of Thrones* (Benioff & Weiss, 2011-2019) on HBO or a CBS show like *NCIS* (Bellisario & McGill, NCIS, 2003-) or something, you have to wait week to week. What they have to do at the end of every episode is create a

cliff hanger within each episode that keeps you thinking about it for six and a half days. Or at least keeps you recording on your DVR. With streaming, all you need to do is have a moment of a character reveal that just allows the needle to move one degree so that you hit next episode. And so, the threshold for these ‘holy sh*t’ moments is so much lower... and that I think is the biggest difference between streaming and broadcast..

Calvo feels that this “longer burning, more in-depth character work” gives women an advantage in writers’ rooms. “And women are so well equipped to write character and emotion (not that men aren’t). I think men do stereotypically lead with action and women lead with emotion.” Calvo, then, is an outstanding example of what can be achieved by women writers in this field, but at the same time effectively confirms the contours of gendered barriers met by the bulk of women writers and as outlined in this thesis. She was able to circumvent enough of the major barriers by coming across to writing from her successful journalism career and, along with the network connections she had, was able to transform that into a good seniority run. Her skills are clear, but she would be among the first to say that a broader range of factors must be assembled, on average, by women writers, if they are to match the trajectories achieved mainly by men in the industry.

5.5 Anonymous

The fifth case study interviewee requested to remain anonymous, due to the danger of incurring negative effects on her career should she be named. As a Black woman in Hollywood, this writer was already facing an uphill battle.

They say it takes like nine years on average to break in, which is a long time,” she says. “I did it in three. But I started at thirty-one.

Like Calvo and entering the industry at what is considered a ‘late’ age, this writer had already enjoyed a successful career as a lawyer.

All my other friends who stuck with law or whatever, like, they have houses and money and, you know, I'm like, I started over as a researcher I had a law degree from a top-ten law school when I was a researcher with a bunch of young women who had a bachelor’s degree. So I imagine that there's a point at which I’ll be like, ‘oh, this is amazing, I'm so glad I did it’, but I'm still kind of in that beginning stage, where, like I was on [REDACTED] show for two years and our show got cancelled.

Breaking into the industry is difficult at the best of times, and writing for late-night comedy, as this writer does, has an additional element of other-ness that comes into play.

There's so much you just don't know [about] how to navigate this industry... I consider myself a late-night comedy writer and I've only been on one late-night show... That's where I spend most of my time. So I think when people talk about the breakdown in gender [in writing] they think of... Drama. I'm thinking strictly a TV drama, tends to have the most women. And then comedy has less women. And then late-night comedy, [which] is a subset of comedy tends to be, like, the last holdout of the 'old boys network'. So it's mostly just a bunch of older white guys. And that's the area that I've chosen. So the way I've chosen the whitest, most male sector of the TV writing industry? Stupid, mostly.

This insight confirms helpfully a number of clear strands in the research outlined in Chapter Three (3.3). There are certain genres, like late night comedy as in this case, where women writers are found most rarely. Then is also the overall domination by older, middle class white males that is aggravated in certain genres, like late night comedy again and the fact that this woman writer is of colour makes her appearance in that genre even more rare.

Interestingly, this writer has also struggled with women superiors as well as white males.

The showrunner did not like women, and she preferred - she's kind of used to being the only woman, and so she made it very difficult on us. By the time we got to the second season they hired another woman and then also got a [female] writer's assistant, so the gender balance worked out where we were suddenly half and half. Which made a difference because people could advocate and speak up and we learned how to amplify each other, like, "oh, now, what did you say again?" just to make sure that our voices were heard. But I would say that being a woman of colour was a whole different experience that they don't even really get.

Here again, we see further reference to the performativity issue, the adoption by a female superior of a set of character traits and performances exhibited mostly by the white males dominating the hierarchy. This is one of those situations where the female felt the need to match those behaviours in order to "fit in". In general terms of women working with women, however, this writer described an experience in which she had worked with a group of women who had a strong and supportive work environment, only for that to be disrupted by an event that edged well into the territory of sexual harassment.

I worked on a show where it was all women and I will say – so different. There were three of us, we got along. We respected each other's ideas. We didn't interrupt each other, we didn't take credit for each other's stuff. And, like, never got contentious if we disagreed. I mean, the energy was amazing. After we finished the script, we wrote all the episodes together before they started shooting, and then we brought in two guys, two stand-up comics that we knew, to do punch-up. And it is amazing how quickly the energy changed with the presence of just one of the guys. The other guy was cool. This [first] guy showed up, and immediately sat at the head of the table. Immediately spread all of his sh*t all over the place. And he cracked some joke about sending me a d*ck pic.

This was not the first time this writer had experienced masculine-dominated rooms, nor the questionable humour.

I've been in a room of mostly men before and like a late-night room where everybody's crass and slightly racist and all kind of stuff. But that might be the first time where I felt like, violated a bit. And like, I'm not sensitive, like I am... We have cracked jokes about d*ck pics before but there was something about him, talking about *his particular d*ck*, to me in a way that was like... he was trying to like shut me down.

Of all the interviews conducted for this research, this was one of very few where overt sexist behaviour in its worst forms was recounted. Given that is so much of an outlier it is difficult to generalise too far. That said, there would appear to be at least some correlation between the staffing profile of this particular show and the nature of the behaviour as described. In turn, that would lead to the suggestion that some genres might well be more prone to some forms of unacceptable behaviour than others. It is in this vein that, it might be tempting to look at late night comedy as one area where such behaviour might appear in a writers' room.

As with other writers, however, this anonymous participant felt that she had had to alter her behaviour, and, in many cases, take on the labour of educating her colleagues when they used language or had discussions that were not appropriate.

The show I did after that I was the only woman, but I happened to be with a really good group of guys. And there were a couple of times where like they said things and didn't appear to know that they were offensive. But were super receptive. Like, I was playful and I was like, "You know, we don't use that word." And they had never heard that before.

In particular, there was a case of heavily gendered and derogatory language that she recalls.

Some guys use the term 'female' to describe women. So it's almost their way of saying 'broad', right, like 'this broad'. So like, 'these females'. Rappers use it a lot. And it's, like, permeated the culture so I'm in this room. And these guys, I don't think they mean any harm. No one has ever said that, like, you shouldn't say 'female', you should say 'a woman', right? So I mentioned it, and like, everybody was like, "What?! I hadn't heard that."

This is an interesting twist on the performativity aspect. The woman writer has taken on the role of educating the male-dominated room in what might or might not be acceptable speech. It is also interesting to note the potential impact on a room of a different cultural perspective, as it were, where the woman of colour was able to draw on rap culture to explain how a specific term might be interpreted in a way that an ageing white male group might not necessarily understand. In one particular writers' room, this writer found herself in one of two writing teams, working on the same event.

The host had his own team of white, older men who have been in the industry for a long time, and then my group was a younger group of guys. And you could really tell the difference in ages, where like... the older men...all of these things. Like, it was like they were unaware of the "MeToo" movement. Like, they hadn't 'heard' that you shouldn't say certain things in the writers' room. And so they were just immediately offensive and disgusting. And I was grateful that my group of guys, who were under forty, weren't that way. But you could see it, and I think I was the only woman on my team... allegedly there was a woman who worked on their team, but I never saw her. I don't know if they killed her or they just gave her her pay check and said, "Don't come back, we don't need you." I just remember thinking that it would be horrible to be in that room with those guys.

This is an excellent encapsulation and reaffirmation of much of the available evidence concerning sexism in writers' rooms. It is to be found predominantly among older white males, and especially those who have moved through the industry almost as a cohort. That is to say, they have reinforced each other in this behaviour even though broader society may have moved on, and that means any newer, younger and more socially aware writer inserted into such an environment would be in a distinct minority. The broader point, then, logically, is that members of that older white echelon have been dominant in the industry so, a few exceptions noted, most of those behaviours in teams might well be reified in contrast to what has been happening externally. This is what our writer of colour would have had to deal with

in contrast to the struggles of, say, Sarah Nicole Jones and Dana Calvo in other, very different settings.

Regarding sexism in the workplace generally, this writer said she had experienced it, “One hundred percent.”

All the guys would get the best assignments, and they would hand the assignments to the same three guys. And there was two guys who were, like, senior and worked on [REDACTED]’s old show. It would make sense like they knew [their] tone, [they] trusted them, blah, blah, blah. But then they would pluck in the most junior guy on the staff who just got promoted from writers’ assistant, so [he’d] always worked with them. So, they gave him more opportunities than us [the women], and gave him more shots. He was included in more of the closed-door meetings. We’re friends and he talks about it all the time. Like how they definitely showed him favouritism.

For this writer, “[Race] to me raises a bigger issue than being a woman.” In an odd twist of fate, she had found herself as being more ‘employable’ at the time of interview.

It’s interesting, because I come into the industry at a time where like black women are suddenly very, like, trendy. Or, like, if a show was trying to like get around criticism... virtually, they will find a black woman somewhere. So I happen to be in a strangely in demand group right now.

For her, the behavioural adjustment was more acute, perhaps, due to her race.

“What I’ve found is that people in the room where I was the only person of colour, people seemed to not understand the harm they do in the things they talk about or say, or how they silence you or marginalise you or like...overtalk, or... won’t refer to you on certain issues. Where like, I’m telling you this was offensive to me and I can’t comment.”

In her bid to avoid being labelled ‘difficult’, the writer found herself engaged in a balancing act, caught between speaking up and maintaining an ‘approachable’ demeanour.

You’re not supposed to get offended and you get quickly labelled as like a problem or a challenge or difficult. Or like, “Don’t work with her” and “why, she’s no fun”. When you’re really just kind of advocating for your own humanity. So that has been the biggest problem for me. Learning how to navigate like, “Hey guys, I’m still fun but please don’t call women bitches! Ha ha!”

Once again, this is an added twist in the performativity story. Not only has the generally gendered nature of the writing room environment to be navigated by this woman of colour, but she also has the added task of informing a predominantly white male writers how their words might have a different impact across different audience segments. That is a significant added task for any writer already struggling to establish a presence.

This writer herself acknowledges that the performativity aspect of working within writers' rooms is a completely different learning curve from the actual writing of the work.

It's a skill set learning how to be fun and funny and politely get your point across without hurting anybody's ego... You have to learn how to say it once, and then let it go. Which is tough because then you're like, "I work with a bunch of assholes who don't respect me."

Adapting to this environment was a difficult adjustment for her, especially with her background in corporate law.

I find it like it's the reverse, where it's like I'm mostly 'fun and feminine' and, like, "don't forget about the fact that I'm smart!". That has been a challenge because I come to it from a law firm. So, like, one, being a lawyer, but two, being a corporate lawyer, so having been in a corporate environment where everybody is efficient and no one's feelings get hurt because we're on the clock and people are paying a lot of money.

The writer found that her behavioural adjustments extended, in a particular way, to giving feedback within the writers' room.

Somebody might give you a piece of sh*t script and you're supposed to go, "Oh! That's really funny! I was just wondering if maybe we can kind of sort of adjust this word... But it's really great!". I've had to learn, especially when it comes to men, and white men in particular, you have to do a whole lot of, like, "You're so funny and great! This is amazing. I was just wondering if maybe, I mean, I know I'm stupid and not that funny, and I haven't been doing it that long, but maybe...". It's a real pain in the ass.

That is a powerful reminder of the power of the writers' room hierarchy. It is tough enough being at the bottom of that hierarchical ladder, but especially so if one is a woman of colour. That subject of race is raised further when it comes to this particular writers' perceptions

about the quality of the work that she submits as compared with that of her co-workers, in particular her white, male co-workers. She suggested that,

By the time it gets on the air, I want it to be the best that can be. I think, and this goes back to race - I think, there's a saying that's like, like most black children grow up learning that you have to be twice as good to get half as much... I would never submit a first draft, it has to be the best. And I feel like a lot of these white guys show up and nobody has ever said that whatever they offered isn't the best that they've ever seen. So they throw out a first draft. They won't spell check it... They haven't learned how to use grammar... I'm like, you basically turned in a text message or a tweet, and submitted it with your name on it. And I'm looking at it like, I'd be horrified. I'd be horrified. And I had to learn that it's not well received when you're like, "but this is...where's the commas? And the spelling? And this makes no...". It's funny, but it makes no sense and is also harmful and... contrary to what we're trying to do as a TV show. I had to just learn like... "Sure, sure, if you want to turn in sh*t. I mean, we got cancelled but, hey." That has been interesting to me, where men have not been... in particular, white men have not learned they need to second guess themselves or read things twice because people are like, "this must be amazing".

The entitlement of white writers, in particular men, is something that this writer has encountered especially when it comes to the content that is written. And that, of course, again has implications in relation to the writers' room hierarchy.

Comedy has changed in the same way, that you can't use certain words... There's this whole debate about being politically correct that comedians need to just let go. They feel entitled to be offensive and edgy or whatever and they call it censorship and First Amendment [breaches]. People, like white men in particular, just don't like to be told that they can't do things.

In her experience, it was not only the Black community that was addressed in this way, and part of her work became to speak up for other people of colour who were not represented.

My presence in the room, I think, quieted down a lot of the racist stuff. Not all of it. It was tough, too, because only one person of colour in the room, and I'm black. But I had to like advocate for like Latinos and Asians... And it's amazing to me. I have found that white people's definition of racism is way more narrow than what racism actually is. So, like, I know you don't actively hate black people.

She found that she would not only have to speak up for other racial minorities, but also actively fight for them within the room.

I think with Trump in office, people are even more sensitive now about how they talk about Muslims, how they talk about the Latino community, how they talk about Black people. But Asian people are like the last frontier.

She describes a situation in which a room was working on a sketch that used Asian child labourers.

They were going to do a sketch where it's, like, a sweatshop parody. They were going to get little Asian kid actors. And it was so horrifying to me. Like, there are some things called 'room jokes', where, like, "we're never going to put this in the show. This is some f*cked up sh*t I'm about to say." But I was like... to me it was too offensive for a room joke. But the fact that they literally said it to the Line Producer to figure how much it would cost, like they were really going down the road on this. And one of the women in the room was like, "you can't do this." But it hadn't occurred to anybody.

When racism and sexism intersect, however, it can be particularly pointed. "In one room and in "one of the jokes he's like, "I can't believe I found a black woman attractive" and it's like, I don't know how you thought you could say that in front of me." It is not only racism against Black women that this writer noted.

There's a lot of that, "well that I didn't think it was offensive to talk about black women having big asses" or whatever. Or some joke about an Indian woman smelling like curry. And it's just like, how is this still happening? It's horrifying. But also, if you were to even insinuate that they were racist that means we just shut everything down and like, and then you get labelled, like, 'difficult'. A problem. And easily offended.

However, one of the more insidious and less-discussed issues within writers' rooms for this writer and others like her, is the relationship between women of different races.

There is the extra layer of conflict that I don't know if anybody spoken to you about, but the interaction between women of colour and white women on a show. I don't feel like they were my allies, and at the end of the day, they would prioritize... they would pick being white, they would side with like that before...with me. For sure. Black women, I found in this industry we are supportive. We can go back and we can shut the door and be like "did you hear that sh*t? Oh my god!". But I wouldn't do that with a white woman. They've just proven time and time again not to understand things the same way.

Because women of colour have been and remain significantly under-represented in this field, that specific issue has arisen rarely if ever elsewhere in this research, and it remains largely undeveloped in the literature. But it has a clear and significant link with both the aspects of hierarchy and performativity. Women of colour have to deal with white women effectively as part of the hierarchy, as well as adapt and mould behaviour in relation to those white women as well as any males on the team. This issue becomes even more pointed when not only have white women not supported this writer and other black writers, but have also actively pushed back against uncomfortable observations about their displayed racisms.

[There is] this phenomenon called ‘white tears’. So white women will play a victim card. I’ve seen it happen where, like, a woman of colour then has to go apologize to the white woman. H.R. has said to ‘smooth this over so we can get rid of all the negative feelings in the air. Could you just go and tell her it’s okay?’”.

She cites one particular story that has stayed with her from early in her career.

There’s this one show, it’s like the most horrifying example, and I heard it very early in my career, so I was very well aware of it, where a white woman in the writers’ room used the N-word. In front of a black guy and a black woman. And like, it was chilling, right? Like, everyone’s like, “oh my god...”. But everybody kind of pretended like they didn’t hear it. So, the person of colour is kind of stuck out there on their own. So, the person of colour goes in to the showrunner, who is like, “Oh what happened? I didn’t hear anything!”. It turns into this whole big deal. The white woman is embarrassed – she starts crying. She feels victimized. She’s “not a bad person”, blah, blah, blah. And H.R. made the black guy apologize to the white woman for, I guess, making her feel bad for saying the N-word. That’s the type of sh*t that I have come to expect. It’s a horrifying example to me. But I came into it like, yeah, no, at the end of the day, they will stick together. You know that hash tag, #solidarityisforwhitewomen? At the end of the day, I have found that to be true.

This story also effectively confirms the power of structure and hierarchy within the scripted series environment. Women writers have to confront that as a matter of routine, but for a woman writer of colour it is even more challenging. It is no surprise, then, that for this specific writer, the implications of the intersection of race, sexism and class make a difficult industry more difficult.

Intersectionality... it’s a big piece of this. We are not all similarly situated. If I could just go to work every day, and worry about sexism, my day would be much easier than adding sexism and racism.

For her, she adds, she was financially in a better situation than others when she first made the move to Los Angeles.

I happen to have come here having worked for seven years as a lawyer, so I had a lot of money when I got here. And that ran out at some point... I also just was older and had worked. Like, having a law degree from a very good school just helped me to kind of come to the table just like, "I'm not twenty, coming off of a bus, waiting tables for a living". But I imagine that my road would be even more difficult if I... You know, and I also have two parents who are alive and have money. And like, not a tonne, but like, I'm not going to get evicted. Like they can patch things together for me. So I imagine that like, just the peace of mind that I have, like even if I don't work for a while, I won't starve to death - helps me to be more creative and finish scripts. When I first moved here I met three people who were living in their car and they were like comedians and working and I was like, "that's crazy". Because even though I know that I could call on people [for help], I just wouldn't. I mean, things would have to get really dire. So I've seen my savings get really close to the bottom, and I tense up. Where like, I can't think, I can't focus, I'm not funny, I'm not creative, where am I going to get my next paycheck? I gotta sell everything at my house... It causes you to not be able to operate from the same place.

In general, as with someone like Dana Calvo, this writer's story demonstrates that personal experience and background may and often need to make the real difference for an aspirant writer in being able to break into the industry then sustain a development path. The message is that the path is never easy, and definitely less so if you are a woman, and even less again if a woman of colour.

Regarding the new content systems of Netflix, Amazon, Hulu and more online distribution platforms, this writer was positive.

I can only speak to Netflix. I just I'm not familiar enough with Amazon, but on Netflix it has opened for all these kind of niche, small shows. Like I don't know who's watching some of these shows that I've never heard of. But Netflix - I feel like it's giving people a chance, they have enough money to blow where they can afford to experiment with new talent, less familiar faces.

This representation of new 'niche' communities (rather than the more common mass-appeal content previously favoured by networks and studios) provides opportunity, and, when white

people in power use their privilege to amplify the voices of people of colour, and *women* of colour, there are improvements that can be seen.

There was a white woman who created and developed a show, she had a black female lead and she just deferred to the two other women of colour in the room about what her dialogue should be. Whether she would or wouldn't say that, or what she would wear. I feel like in the room before that, they wouldn't defer to me.

When asked how she navigated the industry in terms of employment opportunities, the writer cited her management and other writers as resources.

I'm going to get on the phone with my manager, and we just have a strategy. We're like, okay, here are our connections at this network, and they like you over there, they would love to see something new from you. So basically I will blanket the industry with this script and hopefully it will set up some general kind of "what have you been up to" or "what do you want to work on?" kind of deal. So much of it is who you know so it's just a matter of people knowing you and having a sense of your voice and what you like and what you want to write, so that when an opportunity comes up you're on somebody's shortlist.

As with all other writers, the "who you know" aspect is a major determinant for both entry to the industry and further progression within that industry. For a woman of colour in a white male-dominated world, that is a degree of extra challenge. In our writer's view, however, her chosen path of late-night comedy was not necessarily the best fit for streaming services' platforms.

Our show that was on Netflix and got cancelled at some point... they don't tell you [why]. And I think they had a more hands-on approach at first, but from what I get, I don't have a ton of experience, but they are very hands-off, kind of like, "You do your thing". I mean, they'll come back in six months to say, "We won't tell you exactly what we heard, but here are a few notes based on what we heard". And they give you a chance. They haven't done as well with top late-night shows. Like a bunch of those just got cancelled. I feel like Netflix was not built for... having to come back and watch your show every week, as opposed to just binge watching an entire season. So that format hasn't worked so well for them.

Overall, the experiences recounted by this anonymous writer largely confirm the broader trends identified more generally: breaking in is difficult, so is progression in an industry dominated by older white males. But she also demonstrates that any slight advantage (in her

case, a previous career provided an initially stable financial platform from which to launch as a writer) may be leveraged to gain momentum. But on all aspects, she also demonstrates unquestioningly that to take on all those challenges as a woman of colour is a whole new order of things. Although the career path for this writer has been challenging, then, she maintains a pragmatic approach.

I think you learn how to pick your battles. You're like, "Well, sh*t, it's not my show. So until I get my own show, I don't get the final say... What I think does change things is when the person on the top of the call sheet says, "Hey, where are the people [of colour]?"

5.6 Lynn Renee Maxcy

Lynn Renee Maxcy, who has won two Writers Guild of America awards for her work on *The Handmaid's Tale*, grew up in Denver, Colorado, and knew from the age of eight that she wanted to be a writer. That goal never shifted so, after high school and university and with no prospects whatsoever, she moved to Los Angeles at the age of twenty-three with her husband (now an assistant director in high-end television, including 2020's *Little Fires Everywhere* (Tigelaar, 2020)). After working in assistant positions in several production offices, including two years at Heyday Films' Los Angeles branch, Maxcy was able to gain positions in writers' rooms as an assistant. Perhaps her most notable position and important breaks was that of writers' assistant in the room for *Eureka*, which is where she met the showrunner, Bruce Miller, who later hired Maxcy for his Emmy award-winning series, *The Handmaid's Tale*. It was with what Maxcy refers to as "tenacity" that she gained her foothold – she started at the bottom and worked her way up, writing in her out-of-work hours. When viewed through the prism of the research literature and the data gathered for this thesis, Maxcy is one of those writers who demonstrates most fully the typical career trajectory and highlights the key breakthrough moments. There is the absolute desire to be a writer, the hard grind of finding the breakthrough, the importance of a leveraging contact, and the developed ability to build a profile once "inside the tent".

Maxcy was interviewed in Los Angeles in 2018.

I started as a writer's intern in the writers' office on *Smallville* (Gough & Millar, 2001-2011). Which was great. Everyone was lovely and kind and I kind of got thrown into seeing how TV got made and I fell in love with it, and just kind of worked my way up there. I worked in a production office

on a TV series. I spent two years working at Heyday films as a reader and then as their...Associate...Person...

Maxcy enjoyed her work at Heyday Films, but made the decision to leave in order to begin her career in the writing department.

I knew I wanted to write and I knew that if I didn't leave right then I was never going to leave and I was going to stay at Heyday for decades, because it was amazing... And so, after I left with their blessing, I, a couple weeks later, met Bruce Miller. And he had an opening for his showrunner's assistant job on a show called *Eureka*. So, I followed Bruce from *Eureka* to another sci fi show called *Alphas* (Karnow & Penn, 2011-2012).

Maxcy left Miller to take a position as a writers' assistant on *Covert Affairs*. In this room, Maxcy wrote her first fully-credited episode.

I wrote the season four - I should say cowrote - the season four finale with my showrunners, which was amazing... they're like, "Oh, we're gonna write it with Lynn". And I was like, "Lynn? Lynn who? Because it's not *me*. What?!" It was insane.

Maxcy's career-changing role in the writers' room for *The Handmaid's Tale* also came about as a result of her successful and ongoing professional relationship with Bruce Miller.

I was beginning to work with Bruce on another project and he said *Handmaid's Tale* and I said, "I know where you live. You have to hire me. I am not above sitting on your front porch until you hire me." And then we started on *Handmaid's Tale* in 2016.

Aside from his ability to employ her, Maxcy credits Miller with mentoring her in the intricacies of writers' rooms and television politics. Without this element of knowing the 'right' people (that is, the social capital), Maxcy may have struggled to gain entry to writers' rooms and to learn how the industry functioned.

He... has always believed in me and taken me under his wing and let me listen in on calls. You know, explained all of the weird inner workings of TV to me. And again, taught me how to, you know, what it would look like to lead a very creative, wonderful life where you were good, and filled with joy at this weird job that we get to do.

Of all the writers interviewed for this project, Maxcy perhaps offers up the best example of the power of a strong and influential mentor. Of course, for that connection to be a continuing one, the mentee needs to be able to produce the appropriate and continuously improving work, but there is no doubt that being able to engage with such a mentor is one of the most significant factors in helping to build a writing career.

Maxcy considers that she has been fortunate in her experience of writers' rooms, especially with her interest in the spy and science fiction genres, which are predominantly male-oriented in their creative teams, as the research data has confirmed in several of these case studies. "It tends to be just a more male dominated industry, and specifically a more male-dominated genre." It is useful to note here that Maxcy considers herself to be something of a "geek" in that she has been interested in both technology and science fiction throughout her life. However, it is in Miller's rooms that Maxcy finds a balanced working environment.

Right now, on *Handmaid's Tale*, I think specifically because this is something that Bruce sought out, out we are a majority female office. And three of our four assistants are female. And there's nine of us in the room and six of us are women. But, with that said... (which is amazing and it actually kind of definitely fits the story we're telling and the experience of being a woman in the world. There's not just one experience, it's many experiences that could be totally different from each other. We wanted that). But with that said, it's the only show that I've ever been on where there are more women than men, especially in any of sci fi, spy stuff, which is what I love to write...I would love to work for Bruce for the rest of my career. I kind of plan to.

It cannot be stressed too much, at this point, just how significant those hirings were by Miller on *The Handmaid's Tale* in an industry where, as we have seen, almost all high-end scripted shows are written by older white males. As the showrunner, then, Miller broke a mould that allowed Maxcy and her women colleagues the opportunity. Their talent ensured the success and Miller had the confidence to back them, but in its exceptions the show effectively reflects the rule of the older white male; it was just that this specific one made a change.

Maxcy repeats throughout her interview that she has been "lucky", "fortunate" and "in the right place at the right time." This idea of luck, which is a repeated theme within the world of television writers, comes with the knowledge that, in addition to hard work, a person's career can change dramatically with one meeting.

I feel like I worked really hard and worked really hard at being a great writer but also was completely lucky and completely in the right place at the right time with the right people... *Handmaid's Tale*, specifically, yes, I came through Bruce, but also one of the executives at MGM had been an executive at the production company that did *Covert Affairs*. So, there was also that tie-in as well, where I wasn't like a random stranger walking in, it was like, "oh, Lynn, you've worked on *Covert Affairs*, hello, lovely to see you." But for most of the beginning shows where they don't have an established group of people that they've consistently written with and created with, a lot of times it'll come through recommendations and people you've worked with like, "oh you're not available, do you have anyone, you know, who would be a good fit? You know the way I work."

As we have seen in previous responses, this repeated idea of "luck" seems to cover the basic premise of women's own valuation of their work, as demonstrated by Fisman & O'Neill (2009). This concept of luck versus hard work is further discussed in Chapter Six (6.1). Talent is a given, at least, for women writers, in that several interviewees here have suggested talent is not always present in some of the male writers who gain traction. So is the importance of a mentor; here it was Bruce Miller, whereas for Dana Calvo it was Aaron Sorkin. Then there is the ability to keep producing the work, alongside the ability to work in teams. Good management and agency become part of this. And for women, we have seen that the ability to navigate and "fit in" with the dominant culture within writers' rooms is paramount. Maxcy herself demonstrates each one of these traits as she shares her story.

This idea of social capital, then, is repeated several times within Maxcy's interview. Not only did she have the social capital required to contact Miller about *The Handmaid's Tale*, but she also knew an executive from a previous role, as noted. Additionally, she acknowledges the significance of the informal hiring practices that take place within Hollywood, wherein recommendations can mean more than writing samples, and personalities are paramount.

You look for great writing on the page because that's [writing] what you're doing. But also, then you sit down with them and have a lot of coffee and a lot of conversations. Yes, you want an amazing writer. But you also are looking for, like, can I sit across the table from you for twelve hours a day and have it be a good experience?

Maxcy also refers to her own experience of being promoted from an assistant position, which is what is considered the more 'traditional' path to joining a writers' room.

A lot of times – not with every showrunner, but with a lot of show runners - that they get a new show. A lot of times they will take a chance on one of their assistants from a previous show and say, “hey, why don't you come join this new show? You can be a staff writer.” And so, you kind of get promoted that way, which was my experience.

Maxcy reports that she did encounter sexist stereotyping as she developed her profile and work, especially within her chosen genre-field of science fiction and “girls with guns”. Interestingly, she suggested that in her case that had dwindled somewhat as she had developed her career, but that at entry-level she had noticed it much more.

Definitely when I was younger and kind of coming up in the industry... I found very early on that, as an assistant, if I played kind of, I call that my ‘dumb assistant voice’. Where if I showed up to ask someone a question and was just me, they'd be like “oh you're so pushy, you're so weird,” like, “no, definitely not a table [available at a restaurant]”, but if you could get on the phone with someone or call a restaurant or something and kind of play like “Oh I’m just like kind of, you know I'm a dumb girl!”. People were more willing to help and were, you know, would be like “oh well it's OK, hey, I mean, clearly, you're kind of dumb and don't know anything,” like that would get me what I needed. And so I totally did it.

As a writer, however, Maxcy’s genre choice became more pertinent as she discovered she was being pre-judged professionally on the sole basis of her gender and appearance.

I've been lucky, but I haven't had anything specifically aimed at me, other than probably like, walking into a lot of meetings and had people be like, “But you’re a girl. And you wear, like, cute heels. Obviously, you write rom-coms [romantic comedies].” And, you know, “you want to write on like, I don't know a soap opera or something,” and I'm like, I love romantic comedies. Like love all of it. But no, I write sci-fi. And I feel like because I was like, young, bubbly you know, crazy girl and like, bright red heels, people were like, “Are you sure you can write sci-fi? SCIENCE-FICTION [*her emphasis*].” Like, yes. Here’s my scripts.

We have seen this throughout the literature and the research gathered for this thesis. There are clear assumptions made about the abilities of women writers to create specific stories and/or characters based on gender alone, and not on writing abilities. Several variations of this have been demonstrated, but it is a clear constant in writing rooms, to the disadvantage of women writers. Maxcy feels, however, that her own experiences have been less difficult than those who went before her.

I think now that I've actually been writing...for a while, and so projects that are... in that, now people believe me whereas, you know, I do wonder sometimes if it might have been different, you know, right off the bat if I was a guy walking in, would be like, "of course you write sci-fi." Okay, girls can love sci-fi, too. Yeah. But I mean that's so - that's such a small thing compared to some of the horrendous, insane fights that other women who have gone before me in their careers...

Similar comments about possible "generational" change have come from other interviewees, and it does seem that some shift in attitude might be discernible. At the same time, the fact that shift might be happening simply confirms that the practice overall is extant and extensive. Almost all interviewees have commented that they encountered presumptions about what they might write, including late night comedy.

Maxcy and her husband do not currently have children. They have made the conscious choice to pursue their careers prior to starting a family, and have discussed how they would navigate parenthood with their careers.

You know, as we were thinking about the possibility of a family one day, there was definitely a very real conversation of... I think I'm going to end up continuing to work, basically immediately. And like, the first six months or a year, Luke might be the one to take a year off, because it's so much easier for him as a man to be like, "Taking a year off, people!" In a way that it might have been more difficult for me [to take the time off].

She does see and acknowledge the difference that the television industry makes to their life choices. "You know, my best friend's oldest is 13 years old. And so then, you know, there's me being like, "Yep, haven't had time yet!". Like, it's crazy." However, Maxcy is fully aware of and alive to the importance of the potentially negative views that some showrunners and executives can hold about hiring women, and especially those with children.

I know people who get asked [whether they have children] in a situation and yeah it's not... It's not my personal situation because I don't have kids. But also, there have been interviews where, like, suddenly I'm saying something like, "Oh yeah. By the way, I don't have kids, in case that matters to you," and it shouldn't matter. Like, I'm going to do the same amazing job whether or not I have kids... I mean, I think the fact that I'm like nervous about like, "just so you know, no kids, kid free!" is just crazy.

Yet again, this reflects in full the experiences of so many women writers in the industry more generally and writers in particular. It is a major consideration in the building of a career, and Maxcy's reference to age simply underlines the essential dilemma: at the very times a woman might consider having children, as a writer she is also at the crucial early- to mid-career stage that is so important in building a long-term place in the industry. Although Maxcy and her husband plan to have children, she shows respect for those who do have a family as well as working as writers in television, or in the television industry as a whole.

I can't speak to it very specifically just because it's not my experience. But ... I think any job in the world where you're working, you know, ten, twelve, sixteen hours a day, especially, you know, in production where it's not the *same* twelve, sixteen hours a day, it's, like, all different, yeah, I'm sure that that would be incredibly difficult and taxing on having a family and creating a family life. I have nothing but respect for all of my amazing friends who have, you know, figured out a way to make it work, but I mean, I think that's a true statement for men and women across the board. Parents as a whole.

Sexism within the workplace is something that Maxcy has experienced, although she is at pains to emphasise that, in her view, she has not experienced it as badly as others may have.

Yes [I have]. But definitely not to the level of most people that I know that have experienced it, it's just been of garden variety off-colour comments. You know, "I'd ask you on a date but your husband would mind", like, that kind of stuff. Yeah definitely never, ever, ever - none of the like really crazy stuff, and, so, it's annoying and weird and creepy but like also, I've just been able to be like, "No. No. Don't speak to me like that." And, you know, have been able to move on. It's not been like, really destroyed anything but it definitely does make you question, kind of, people in general.

It is interesting to note that *The Handmaid's Tale*, which Maxcy considers as and certainly was her breakout writing role, is an original series made for Hulu. The series has won eight Emmy awards in its three-season run since 2016, and its opening season won not only Best Writing in a Drama Series for Miller, but also Outstanding Drama Series (Television Academy, 2017). As well as making its mark on its own network, Hulu, which is owned by Disney, *The Handmaid's Tale* has made significant strides in a period during which even the powerhouse of the streaming world, Netflix, has failed to win Outstanding Series (Clark, 2019).

Maxcy's own interpretation of the effects of streaming services' original series is overwhelmingly positive, although still varied when it comes to the presentation of female characters on screen.

Interesting, because I think it depends on the show, and whether the show itself wants to represent women, you know, as kind of props, and ongoing stories. You know, the love interest, the secretary, whatever. Not that I mind all that, I love a good love story, but also you, know, if this show is specifically wanting to tell a wider variety of women's experiences, I think streaming might help with that because it is the more kind of weird, crazy storytelling like, "hey, pay attention!", you know. It's one of the things that I've loved about my show and I've loved about the writers' room is that... to be able to kind of explore all of those different facets of what it means to be a woman politically, spiritually, sexually, just in life, and the way we are treated in the world... It is very freeing, because it means that one female character doesn't have to represent, you know, the, like, three point five billion women in the world... "Oh god, imagine that 3.5 billion women might have a different experience from others!"

She thinks this is, "less about streaming versus network and totally about whether the writer and the show want to tell a wide variety of female stories." In much of this Maxcy, like other women writers, is essentially reflecting the on-going debate, as it were, about the depiction of women in film and television shows which, by definition, extends into the work of women writers, as Hollie Overton (both television and crime fiction writer) considered during her interview. That logically returns to the discussion of women writers being asked to 'take a look' at female characters whereas those writers want to make all their characters strong.

Significantly, Maxcy, with her affinity for science fiction and adventure, has embraced the newer forms of streaming and creative storytelling on a deeper level than most if not all of the other participants in this research. In 2020 her latest work was released. *The Complex* (Raschid, 2020) is an interactive film, merged with a videogame, in which viewers are players who decide which way the story will go. Produced by Jade Alexander, *The Complex* is described as a "completely live action, cinematic interactive movie sci-fi thriller", with eight ending options, and during which, players (or viewers) build scores on relationships with other characters and their own character's personality (Little Jade Productions, 2020). This production, in the vein of *Black Mirror: Bandersnatch* (Slade, 2018), takes interactive viewing to a higher level, in which audiences not only choose when and where to consume the content; they choose how, and, in fact, influence the content in real time. Maxcy's

original screenplay for *The Complex* was an eighty-page feature film script, which then became a one-hundred-and-eighty-page script upon development into its interactive iteration (Magzter, 2020). “This allowed me to explore lots of different options and stories,” Maxcy told *Magzter*. “You couldn’t make a hundred and eighty pages into a traditional movie. It would be five hours long.” (ibid) Despite this foray into new narrative territory, however, Maxcy will still continue to write for series television.

I have nothing but great things to say about Hulu, and I would love to stay in streaming and in that premium cable space for the remainder of my career. It’s the best because you get to, as a writer, too, to be able to, even thinking about development... kind of come in with a crazy, like, off-the-wall pitch and, yes, it has to be awesome. But, also, I have a much better chance of selling it today than I would have even ten years ago where they’re like, “Ummm... Yeah that doesn't fit here on this network.”

This repeated return to the genre of science fiction for Maxcy is longstanding, and, ultimately, influenced her shift in focus from fiction writing to television.

And I have a degree in creative writing and thought I was going to be a novelist, and then got to L.A., started meeting people. I'm a sci fi girl at heart, so people that had read short stories and ideas that I had, everyone kept saying, “Have you thought about TV?”

Yes. It's hard to be a woman writing what I write sometimes, but... it's the best. And I just hope that, with what I'm writing, I bring more empathy and joy and kindness to the world, and hopefully make, you know, the future - as you [KS] are figuring out - you know, this is the experience of women writing in television. That, hopefully, we'll be able to continue to make it better. Because I've seen it modelled... I work in an amazing office where it's the best that it could possibly be. It's totally possible. I live it right now. So hopefully more people will get to experience this over the next several decades.

Lynn Renee Maxcy, like Hollie Overton and Sarah Nicole Jones, might well be part of the “break out” generation of women writers in these streamed series, breaking at least a few of the stereotypes and moulds within which they and their predecessors have found themselves.

5.7 Conclusion

The case studies presented here provide an in-depth insight to the lived experiences and interpretations of those experiences of women writers for SVoD television. While the guide questions did anticipate and steer the conversation to a certain extent, it was the surprising

revelations that proved most interesting in these interviews. Firstly, that most of the women, when asked about mentors or particularly influential people in their careers, mentioned male writers, producers or managers. For Maxcy, Miller is not only her employer, but a person she admires for his instillation of solid work ethic and pleasant and creative working environments. Calvo's work with Sorkin was undoubtedly of great import when it came to her decision to enter the field of television writing at all, and an ongoing relationship of support and employment.

Another, more unexpected theme, was the raising of the issue of female bosses, and their aggression or feelings of competition towards younger or more junior writers. Harkavy, Overton and Anonymous all detailed situations in which they found themselves working in unpleasant work environments based on the management of a fellow woman writer. The recurring theme of competitiveness was interesting, and links back to the discussion of racial diversity quotas in production. For example, the concept that there are limited positions available for those in minority demographics (such as women, writers of colour or those with disabilities), and that writers who fell within the catchment of those demographics needed to compete with one another, rather than support one another, in order to maintain their hold on employment and advancement in the industry. For Anonymous, there was the added concern of "White Tears", where she was careful in her reactions to inappropriate race-based comments and suggestions in order to avoid being labelled as difficult to work with.

These themes identified factors that may not have been so visible without deeper analysis and interview. In the next section, the key themes developed throughout these case studies are divided thematically and analysed using IPA analysis.

Chapter Six: IPA Analysis

As covered in Chapter Two, IPA is the chosen method for analysis for this research. Its basis in the subject's making of meaning from their own experiences is key, for it is these experiences which this thesis aims to uncover and explicate. The six case studies chosen offered a selection of participants with varying viewpoints and world views. Their upbringings, education and career trajectories varied, and they ranged in level from junior to the most senior.

Linking back to the research questions outlined in Chapter Two, the IPA analysis is split into key themes: gaining industry entry, and freelance, and informal/flexible working patterns; promotion, opportunity and job retention; gendered hiring practices; racism and racial inequalities at work; representing women onscreen; performativity at work; motherhood; sexism and sexual harassment at work, and the points of difference within SVoD when compared with linear television.

In the first section, we address industry entry, drawing upon the language of the interview participants.

6.1 A Foot in the Door: gaining industry entry

It became apparent through the six case studies that there were two clear routes into writing for television for the participants. Firstly, those who had actively pursued a career in writing (Jones, Harkavy, Maxcy) and those who had initially pursued other careers (Overton, Calvo, Anonymous).

Recurring themes from the point of view of the participants in the first stream (those who actively pursued their writing career from the outset) were divided between luck and hard work. However, all three demonstrated particularly dedicated work ethics when it came to career development. In their 2009 publication, Raymond Fisman and Maura O'Neill found that women were more likely to consider their success as a result of luck rather than hard work (Fisman & O'Neill, 2009), and, relatively, viewed competitive success (placing promotion or reward at the mercy of "tournament" like competition) negatively. Fisman & O'Neill suggested that this attitude was the result of employment barriers such as economic restriction and caregiving to women's careers.

In this data collection, however, the professing of luck as a factor in career growth was presented with a sense of excuse; for example, suggesting that the success had not been adequately earned or deserved.

For example, the following two statements from participants Jones and Overton, respectively, meet the proposition that their early-level employments were lesser-deserved:

Table 6: IPA table - early-level success responses

Participant	Statement	Notes
Overton	<i>“I hadn’t even written a pilot yet when I got my first TV job.”</i>	Use of the word, “even” – implies had not reached certain milestones but progressed anyway.
Jones	<i>“It was insane to be getting those meetings. I was very lucky”.</i>	“Insane” – suggesting success was unexpected, not result of hard work and tactics.
Maxcy	<i>“I feel like I worked really hard and worked really hard at being a great writer but also was completely lucky and completely in the right place at the right time with the right people.”</i>	“I feel like” – self-justification. “Completely lucky” – suggests sole responsibility for success was to luck.

Overton’s use of the phrase, “I hadn’t even (written a pilot yet)” implies that she had skipped a step within the roadmap of employment for television writers, wherein they must write a pilot script to be considered legitimate.

Maxcy almost contradicts herself, stating that at the same time she “felt” like she had worked hard, but was “completely lucky”. This juxtaposition of hard work and the concept of luck suggests a reticence to take ownership of her own contributions to her success, which reflects Haynes and Heilman’s (2013) finding that women in organisations were less likely to accept credit for their work in settings that involved group or community working. Maxcy has demonstrated clear ambition and drive, working first as an assistant before entering the field as a writer. Despite her clear demonstration of personal accountability in practice, Maxcy graciously attributes much of her success to mentors and those within her professional network.

Jones, by contrast, experienced significant success early on in her career. By describing her position as, “insane”, she diminishes her own accomplishments, repeating that she was “very lucky”. However, further into Jones’ interview, she outlines the strategy with which she gained and then leveraged employment as a writer:

I found an executive who didn't have an assistant and just made myself invaluable.

This tactic was calculated and intelligent, showing drive for success. That executive went on to employ Jones as a writer, which led to her becoming a senior-level writer in her early thirties.

Harkavy, on the other hand, acknowledged the difficulties she faced when trying to step into a career in writing, giving weight to the concept of, “it’s not what you know, it’s who you know.” By stating that, “I didn't have an uncle in the business. I didn't have anybody to help me in, and so I thought it was a pipe dream,” Harkavy gives insight to the extreme pressure faced by aspiring television writers. This particular pressure point of social capital, and the professional networks achieved by a more affluent social standing, mirrors Bielby & Bielby’s (1992) finding that women suffered cumulative disadvantages as screenwriters when compared with men, due to the lower level of professional networking afforded to women professionals in Hollywood. However, Harkavy also demonstrates a drive and commitment, admitting that,

[I was] working every single job that I could get in this town while at the same time going to UCLA Extension classes and writing as many scripts as I could.

Her passion is evident, and her commitment to the achievement of career success was resultant. However, it must be reiterated that Hollywood can be a hostile environment to newcomers, especially those aspiring writers at entry level, and without the social capital to immediately integrate into professional networks (Phalen, Ksiazek, & Garber, 2016).

The other three participants (Overton, Calvo and Anonymous) had previously had, or pursued other careers entirely prior to entering writing for television. Overton had pursued a career in acting, but shifted her focus to writing early on. However, both Calvo and Anonymous had enjoyed great success in their former careers, and moved into writing for television for different reasons. For Calvo, becoming a mother led to her accepting the offer of work offered repeatedly by Aaron Sorkin. For the anonymous participant, she left a financially secure career as a lawyer to pursue her dream of writing later in her working life. Both, however, agreed, that they were “old” in Hollywood terms.

Table 7: IPA Table - age in entry-level

Participant	Statement	Notes
Calvo	<i>“You know, I was such an old lady when I broke into Hollywood. I was 36... I was married, with an infant. So, thank god, it took me out of the hookers and blow, being someone’s mistress... That [lifestyle] wasn’t in my realm.”</i>	“Old lady” 36 – late age for industry entry New mother Suggestion that had she been younger, she would have experienced it differently.
Anonymous	<i>“I had a law degree from a top-ten law school when I was a researcher with a bunch of young women who had a bachelor’s degree.”</i>	Law degree, reiterate high-quality university. “Young women” – suggesting she was old. Bachelor’s degree – not equal to her education level.

Both Calvo and Anonymous referred to “old” and “young”, reinforcing the suggestion that their entries to Hollywood were late, and that they were on the “older” end of the spectrum.

In 2000, fifty writers who were aged forty years or above in Hollywood filed a lawsuit naming fifty-one defendants including talent agencies, studios and networks, claiming that they had been subjected to systemic age-discrimination. Their suggestion was that they were, as the New York Times claimed, “finished at forty” (Pogrebin, 2001). The responses from these two participants indicate that, despite their successes, they considered themselves to be beyond the acceptable age for those beginning a career in television writing.

In addition, the anonymous participant drew attention to her high level of education. She was well-educated and qualified, and yet, as she points out, chose to leave that position to follow the career that she most wanted, rather than the career that she had. Her reference to the “young women with bachelor degrees” implies that she felt different and otherised in her new role as a researcher; perhaps overqualified, and certainly older than was expected.

Overall, analysis of answers provides a combined effect of both hard work and “luck”; that industry connections were vital. Some of those connections were made by chance, in the case of Calvo, and some through active networking and the development of social capital.

In addition to the pressures of gaining those early roles, women writers must also contend with freelance working and the added pressures that accompany it.

Working in freelance settings has been demonstrated to cause stress to employees due to a lack of financial and job security. This flexible, contract-based structure of working, in which writers sign short-term contracts and are not assured ongoing employment, is referred to by Catherine Farrell and Jonathan Morris as the “neo-bureaucratic” form of organisation (Farrell & Morris, 2017). These authors describe a system that became more common in television workplaces in the U.K. in the 2000s, and moved away from “hierarchy and vertical-integration...to one... with a flexible structure, with a core concentrating on programme commissioning and periphery on programme-making carried out by independent producing companies and an array of freelance workers” (p.119). Again, this study shows that networking is important to the gaining and retaining of employment, but also suggested that freelance and contract-based working “led to long working hours and a deleterious work-life balance” (p.122).

Similarly, the writers interviewed for this thesis displayed signs of stress and concern when considering their ongoing employment. All of the case studied participants worked as freelancers, meaning that they were not employed “on staff” or on “overall” deals with studios or production companies. As a result, their networking became all the more important. As Overton explained, she was able to get that first writing role, but experienced nearly two years of unemployment before her former employer hired her on another series.

6.2 Gendered hiring practices, promotion, opportunity and job retention

Once they had achieved their initial role within the writing team, participants must contend with the issue of promotion and job retention. While significant barriers were faced in terms of race (further discussed in Section 6.5), motherhood (6.8) and sexism (6.9), the overall career trajectory of writers for SVoD series is near-identical in the U.S.A to its counterpart series in linear television.

To recapitulate, writers under the WGA system are awarded payments through salary (based on their role and paid regardless of writing credits) but supplement that basic income with promotions through the writers’ room ranks, and additional episodic payments for scripts on which they were credited as the writer. Therefore, the issue of promotion is paramount to both career development and financial security.

Again, professional networking was key to this development. Maxcy credits her hiring on *The Handmaid’s Tale* to both having worked with the showrunner previously (“I would love to work for Bruce for the rest of my career”) and to her previous connections from a former role on *Covert Affairs*. This connection, she suggests, meant that she was already well-placed at the interview for *The Handmaid’s Tale* because those at senior-level knew her previously, which implied that they were happy with her existing and historical work –

“I wasn't like a random stranger walking in, it was like, “oh, Lynn, you've worked on Covert Affairs, hello, lovely to see you.””

Table 8: IPA Table - social and professional networks

Participant	Statement	Notes
Maxcy	<i>“I would love to work for Bruce for the rest of my career. Handmaid's Tale... I came through Bruce, but also one of the executives at MGM had been an executive at the production company that did Covert Affairs. So, there was also that tie-in as well, where I wasn't like a random stranger walking in, it was like, “oh, Lynn, you've worked on Covert Affairs, hello, lovely to see you.””</i>	Credit for good employer. Repetition of employer’s name, gratitude. Clarity of importance of networks and “who you know”.
Harkavy	<i>“Hollywood has been such a boys’ club for such a long time, and it's about the guys that you play golf with... Really there are no qualifications for getting a job because if somebody really likes you, it doesn't even matter if you're a good writer or not because they're going to cover for you. And if you're friends with a showrunner they're going to give you a job, no matter what.”</i>	“Guys that you play golf with” – reference to boys’ club culture. More likely to get work through networking than talent or hard work.

	<i>“I didn't really realize how important that was, and how important relationships and friendships are. I think I put way more work into doing the actual work than I ever did into networking. And I think that was my own personal obstacle, because this town is not a meritocracy.”</i>	
Anonymous	<i>“Late-night comedy, [which] is a subset of comedy tends to be, like, the last holdout of the ‘old boys network’. So it's mostly just a bunch of older white guys. And that's the area that I've chosen. So the way I've chosen the whitest, most male sector of the TV writing industry? Stupid, mostly.”</i>	Reference to “old boys’ network”, “last holdout” – suggesting other areas in writing have moved on. Older white guys, comedy more male than other sectors.

Both Harkavy and Anonymous referred implicitly to a variant of “the old boys’ network”. As has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, there has long been a culture of homogeneity within the creative and cultural spaces, leading to the dominance of middle-aged, white men.

Harkavy indicates that the ability and social capital to “play golf with the guys” provides a head-start in gaining repeat employment. Additionally, she reiterates the sentiment that being “friends with a showrunner” means that you will be employed, “no matter what”. This suggestion that mediocre work can be “covered” by higher and closer social connections is alarming, but also demonstrated by the other participants’ similar claims. For Harkavy, by her own admission, being an immigrant in Los Angeles was not an easy feat in terms of industry entry; but similarly, having achieved that difficult first step, networking must be maintained and worked upon. Harkavy describes networking as her own “personal obstacle”, placing the blame back onto herself. It is interesting to note this personal accountability; where other participants are reticent to accept responsibility for their successes, Harkavy does not hesitate to do so (albeit humbly), while also readily accepting blame for areas where she feels she needs further development.

Harkavy was the one participant who said that she had not experienced a more difficult career path as a woman. She reiterates that the issues she has faced have been equally experienced by colleagues, male and female, and white and non-white.

I don't perceive it as an amplified problem, the fact that I'm a woman. "Oh, I'm a woman, I'm a minority, so I'll have it ten times harder than everybody else". I just perceive like, hardship. But I also see some of my white colleagues who are female or male have similar issues to deal with... I personally haven't felt that I had it harder as a woman.

Harkavy's firm resilience to these hardships or suggestions of inequality are interesting to note. While, perhaps, in terms of "otherness", she is placed within those participants with lesser social capital in a traditional sense, due to her race, she is also the most resistant to the acknowledgement of them.

Others, however, are more insistent that women are disadvantaged in writers' rooms, and that this applies not only to retaining jobs but to speedy promotion.

Table 9: IPA Table - promotion and seniority

Participant	Statement	Notes
Calvo	<i>"... [what] I don't almost ever see is the baby writer who is a female tapped for the next season to run the show, which happens often with men. They catapult up six levels because the showrunner or an executive or creator recognises themselves in that young man... hiring a young hip version of themselves."</i>	Reference to male, inexperienced writers and fast promotions. Homogeneity – physical and social similarity to hiring authorities (Schneider , 1987)
Overton	<i>"You look at a picture on Twitter, 'look at how balanced this room is! There's so many women!'. And you're like, yeah, but if you really look at those pictures, there might be six women. Three of them are men, but they're upper levels. They make all the decisions, they call the shots. So, you know, you could put a hundred women in a writers' room – it wouldn't matter."</i>	Points to performativity of "gender balanced" rooms. Male members of the team are more senior, numerically balanced but not equal in power and control.
Anonymous	<i>"All the guys would get the best assignments, and they would hand the assignments to the same three guys."</i>	"Guys" not "men". Men hand out the assignments to other men – homogeneity.

Calvo makes reference to younger, male writers being “catapulted” up the levels due to executives’ ability to see similarities with themselves. This links directly back to Schneider’s (1987) homogeneity theory – in that we are likely to embrace into our working environments those who remind us of ourselves. While Calvo’s seniority places her in a position to make such commentaries, however, others may not feel secure in voicing similar opinions. The use of the word, “catapult” suggests movement at an unnatural pace, indicating that their success was not so deserved.

Overton points out the performative nature of “balanced” writers’ rooms on social media. While there may be an equal number of women and men in the room, the men are more likely to be senior, and, therefore, making all the important decisions, including who gets to write episodic scripts, thereby supplementing their income and prestige. The Anonymous participant was equally vocal regarding the allocation of power, explaining that, in her experience, the men would be granted writing assignments at a higher rate and quality than was afforded to the women.

While Overton referenced Twitter posts featuring “equal” writers’ rooms, she also noted that men are afforded more control over their own work, in addition to being offered more opportunity.

Table 10: IPA Table - injustice / imbalance

Participant	Statement	Notes
Overton	<i>“...They said, it’s just the way they do things over there’. And then like two days go by and you see in the trades someone you know, or some guy you know, has sold [his pilot] and has no experience whatsoever. And you’ve been doing this for four years.”</i>	Sense of unfairness – being told to accept the status quo but witnessing disparate treatment of men. “Has no experience whatsoever”

Overton’s experience of being offered a lower-level credit on a series of her own devising is an example of this. Her response indicates a sense of disparity in the treatment that she received when compared with the treatment she witnessed of a male counterpart. By

commenting that the male writer had “no experience whatsoever”, Overton demonstrates a clear sense of frustration.

Another point of difference that participants felt they experienced over men was in the area of typecasting; where a writer was considered less employable on a drama series based on their “less serious” prior writing jobs. Jones experienced interviewers’ surprise when she arrived for meetings, based on the subject matter of her writing. Similarly, Maxcy was asked if she was “sure” she wanted to write science fiction, with the implication being that being a feminine-presenting, fun woman made her more suited to writing soap operas or romantic comedies. Maxcy’s description of these interviews offers an insight to her self-identification.

... I feel like because I was like, young, bubbly you know, crazy girl and like, bright red heels, people were like, “Are you sure you can write sci-fi?”

This indicates the truth that Maxcy is aware of a certain perception of herself, perhaps to a level of self-deprecation. However, she stands firm in her desire to, and success in writing science fiction and “serious” content, as demonstrated by her WGA Award for *The Handmaid’s Tale*.

Table 11: IPA Table - sexist assumptions, previous work

Participant	Statement	Notes
JONES	<i>“(I would) walk into meetings and people see me and then they look at the title page like, “Oh. Oh, you’re a woman”. I’m like, yeah, what did you expect?”</i>	Surprise at gender of writer based on subject matter.
VERTON	<i>I’ve had trouble even getting meetings with some people based on The Client List, because it was about, you know, a woman giving hand jobs. The men on that show did not have trouble getting jobs after that. They just didn’t.”</i> <i>“...So my credits are pretty schizophrenic at some points.”</i>	Sense of “lower quality” writing credits based on female and sexual subject matter. Male colleagues did not suffer from the same typecasting. Likening career history to mental illness.
Maxcy	<i>“But you’re a girl. And you wear, like, cute heels. Obviously, you write rom-coms ... you want to write on like, I don’t know a soap opera or something,” ... I feel like because I</i>	Gendering and stereotyping in an open fashion. Suggestion that women want to write for certain genres.

	<p><i>was like, young, bubbly you know, crazy girl and like, bright red heels, people were like, “Are you sure you can write sci-fi? <u>SCIENCE-FICTION</u> [her emphasis].”</i></p>	<p>Implication that she does not understand her chosen genre.</p>
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As Overton claims, “The work that I create that is very feminine and very female-driven – I think it’s given less value sometimes.”

As regards job retention and promotion, it is clear that there are two standpoints; one that states, as Harkavy does, that women do not suffer fewer opportunities than men, but that women and men must equally prove themselves to be “part of the club”. The other is that men, by the nature of their homogenous practices, and, in particular, white men, not only hire but also promote and encourage other white men. Despite her clinical approach to opportunities in the industry, Harkavy admits that, “this town is not a meritocracy.”

6.4 Racism and Racial inequalities at work

It has been mentioned at multiple stages within this research that race is a crucial contributing factor to the multi-faceted examination of sexism within writing for television. In this research, two women of racial minorities (Black and Iranian) were included in the case studies, and it is important to further explore their points of view in order to truly obtain and interpretative analysis of the interviews.

At the time that these interviews took place, there was, as Anonymous put it, a “demand” for Black women writers.

Table 12: IPA Table - racism, diversity and quotas

Participant	Statement	Notes
Anonymous	<p><i>“It’s interesting, because I come into the industry at a time where like black women are suddenly very, like, trendy. Or, like, if a show was trying to like get around criticism... virtually, they will find a black woman somewhere. So I happen to</i></p>	<p>“Trendy” – suggesting limited time interesting, fleeting fascination.</p> <p>Performativity of production companies to avoid criticism.</p>

	<i>be in a strangely in demand group right now.”</i>	“Strangely” in demand group – this is different from the norm.
Harkavy	<i>“A lot of people getting hired who totally deserve it, who have the talent, who just didn't have the access. That's the positive news. The negative news is those people get recycled. Because the network offers them to work for free essentially ... it's a psychological thing. If you buy your dessert for eight dollars or ... if it's just a free add on to your dinner, you're probably going to appreciate it less.”</i>	Can see positive and negative points of diversity quotas, but questions value given to those writers. Likening diversity hires to free add-ons.

Her description of Black women as “strangely in demand” is jarring in that it reinforces the fact that Black women are traditionally so underrepresented in writers’ rooms on the whole, and particularly in her area of late-night comedy. Equally, Anonymous points out that companies will, as was previously discussed, performatively hire writers from racial minorities in order to atone publicly for perceived negative press.

The other, deeper criticism, as discussed in 3.3.2.1, is the merits and drawbacks of the method of “diversity hiring” employed by companies in Hollywood. On the one hand, Harkavy says, this presents opportunities to people who may not have had the access previously. However, she also likens quota systems to free or cheap desserts, lessening the value of writers and creating a sense that “diversity hires” are less talented, replaceable and more expendable than writers hired outside of quota programmes:

If it’s just a free add on to your dinner, you're probably going to appreciate it less.

Anonymous, as a Black woman writer, had experienced racism and sexism in a way that differed from the other participants; it had been present, bold and normalised. Not only was she expected to culturally advocate for Black characters and audiences, but she was also expected, as the one writer in the room of a minority race, to advocate for all minorities. In addition, Anonymous felt that she was unable to openly and assertively advocate against

racist comments and jokes, adapting her behaviour instead to ensure that she was not “labelled ‘difficult’”.

There’s a lot of that, “well that I didn't think it was offensive to talk about black women having big asses” or whatever. Or some joke about an Indian woman smelling like curry. And it’s just like, how is this still happening? It’s horrifying. But also, if you were to even insinuate that they were racist that means we just shut everything down.

This sense of permitted and non-permitted emotions and actions is described by Wingfield (2010) as “workplace feeling norms”. Wingfield explains that these permitted emotions are segregated not only by gender but also by race, and are further amplified and facilitated by tokenism (where just one or very few members of a team are non-white). This leads to the further proliferation of the situations such as that described by Anonymous above – where she becomes the “token” minority team member and feels she must stand up not only for anti-racist sentiments targeted at the Black community, but also those targeted at Asian, Latin and Middle Eastern communities, for example. The resultant (and socially required) performative nature of Anonymous’ reactions to racist comments, jokes and suggestions in the workplace are, perhaps, more light-hearted than she would like. Her voice changes to a higher, sweeter pitch as she performs a typical response to racist language:

There were a couple of times where like they said things and didn’t appear to know that they were offensive... I was playful and I was like, “You know, we don’t use that word.” And they had never heard that before.

The final point which the Anonymous writer made was a significant one, related specifically to the relationship between Women of Colour and White Women in the workplace. She refers to the concept of “White Tears”, which is closely related to the concept of White Fragility, defined by Liebow and Glazer (Liebow & Glazer, 2019) as:

The experience and/or expression of emotion that results from white fragility and that makes it more difficult for one to have constructive, meaningful thoughts and conversations about race (p. 3).

In Anonymous’ experience, she had felt overtly targeted and unsupported by white women. She uses words such as “allies” and “understanding”, implying a sense of detachment in her disassociation of white female colleagues with those words. She goes on to explain that white

women, in her experience, will, “pick being white, they would side with like that before...with me. For sure.”

In this situation, it is deeply important to note the emotionally micro-traumas inflicted upon this particular writer by colleagues, both male and female. If, as she states, that “solidarity is for white women”, then there is much work to be done in the racialised spaces of writers’ rooms to ensure that all women, and not just white women, can be heard, advance and feel comfortable in their organisations.

In the following section, we address the experiences of women writing for female characters, and how gender and sex are implicated in the building of fictional women on-screen.

6.5 Representing women on screen

The sexist stereotyping of women writers can be linked to the presentation of fictional characters in series television, their words, actions, character development and story arcs.

Table 13: IPA Table - sexist characterisation on-screen

Participant	Statement	Notes
Overton	<p><i>“I was like, ‘cool. So, a female boxer- ‘and they are like, ‘oh no, Hollie. A female boxer is just cheesy.’”</i></p> <p><i>... “this was the woman’s [writer’s] episode... So they ended up doing, like, a purity bath. I was like, do we realize the historical content connotations of women being unpure and bathing?”</i></p>	<p>“Cheesy” – sense that women in less-ordinary television roles are a gimmick.</p> <p>Purity bath – personal outrage, sense of historical inappropriateness.</p>
Jones	<p><i>“Every single woman on that show was a victim, was weak. And even when you tried to write her strength into it, they’d always give the men the hero moments... we pitch something cool for the women, and we get vetoed for the</i></p>	<p>“Victims”</p>

	<p><i>men. The men would get the better moments, simple as that.”</i></p> <p><i>“This episode really focuses on the women, so, Sarah, we really need you to like step up to this” and I was like, why do you assume that just because I have a vagina, that I am the one to write the female characters?”</i></p>	<p>Vagina – identifying physical traits, tokenism displayed.</p>
Harkavy	<p><i>[My showrunners] “They don't even write women as women. It's like men with, like, you know what I mean, like happen to have uteruses. Like, they just have the same ambitions and dreams and wounds that the men would have.</i></p> <p><i>... there's a lot of, “let's have this woman just have casual sex with somebody. Because that's empowering”. And I don't always agree with that.</i></p>	<p>Sense that women should not be written “as women”, but it is better to be written as men.</p> <p>Personal feelings about casual sex and empowerment – pointing out that promiscuity does not equal power.</p>
Calvo	<p><i>There were often times when I'd be asked to look at a script and they would have two women at a bar, or a female alone at a bar, which is hilarious, like when was the last time a woman you know went to a bar and sat there waiting for Prince Charming to animate her, bring her to life?</i></p> <p><i>“If Meryl Streep were reading this script and was going to audition for this. Would she want to audition for ‘hottie’, ‘girlfriend’, ‘hooker with big tits’ who says one line?”</i></p>	<p>Descriptions of women, “female alone at a bar”, “Prince Charming”.</p> <p>Idea that women characters are initiated by male characters.</p> <p>Meryl Streep – someone the industry respects.</p> <p>“Hottie”, “girlfriend”, “hooker with big tits” – derogatory or minimising descriptions.</p>

Participants used descriptive words that provided an insight into their perception of the female characters, such as “wife”, “mother”, “girlfriend”, and the less innocuous “hottie” and “hooker with big tits”. These descriptors are general, and do not necessarily refer to the writers’ experiences with actual scripts, however, there is evidence to suggest that women characters are written in a sexist and sexualised way for the screen. Hohenstein and Thalmann (Hohenstein & Thalmann, 2019) describe the advent of what they call “difficult

women” in new cable and streaming series, meaning, rather, that the characters are three-dimensional, experience complex emotions and do not subscribe to stereotypical television-woman behaviour. In the online space, discussion of sexist character descriptions has been equally enlightening.

Writing for *The Conversation*, Radha O’Meara (2016) examines comparative character descriptions from *The West Wing*. She points out that,

In the pilot episode of *The West Wing* by Aaron Sorkin, Leo Jacobi is introduced as “55 and professorial” and on the following page CJ Cregg, played by Allison Janney, is described as “38, compact and athletic”.

In the ensuing pages, Donnatella Moss is introduced as:

25 and sexy without trying too hard, DONNA is devoted to Josh.

Her boss Josh, on the other hand, is,

A youthful 38, JOSH is Deputy Chief of Staff and a highly regarded brain.

O’Meara (2016)

This sense of women’s existence on television to service and supplement male characters is echoed by Calvo, who describes the thought of a female character waiting alone at a bar for a strange man to arrive, “hilarious”. In addition, however, she points out that characters on-screen who are wives and girlfriends often exist simply to contextualise the male character’s life, asking,

You had a man saving the world, with all the pressures of everything, and the only time you saw the woman was, very often, holding a whisk or a spoon, kissing him goodbye for the day. And I’m like ‘what is she going to do today? What happens to her after her leaves the room? Does she have any needs or wants? Anything?’

All the writers interviewed had opinions on the representation of women on-screen, specifically to SVoD, and whether or not there was a difference. In a similar vein to the freedoms afforded to writers in other areas of scripted series on streaming platforms, there was a sense that the ‘new’ format of television allowed writers to explore more multi-dimensional female characters, with the central theme being, “what does it mean to be a woman?” and the wide variety of women characters that could exist. As Maxcy states, “one female character doesn’t have to represent, you know, the, like, three point five billion

women in the world... “Oh god, imagine that 3.5 billion women might have a different experience from others!””.

In the next section will be analysed the responses as they relate to the theme of performativity in writers’ rooms and workplaces for women writers.

6.6 Performativity in the workplace

A repeated theme within the responses from participants was the concept of their “work voice”, which was described and performed differently by participants.

Table 14: IPA Table - performativity, "the voice"

Participant	Statement	Notes
Maxcy	<i>“I call that my ‘dumb assistant voice’.”</i>	“Dumb” – found that by playing to a stereotype that was feminine and weak, she could get what she needed at work.
Harkavy	<i>“What they want to hear is, “No, I think it's perfect what you did”</i>	Building up egos – referring to all bosses, not just male bosses.
Anonymous	<i>“I'm mostly ‘fun and feminine’ and, like, “don’t forget about the fact that I’m smart!”.</i> <i>“You’re so funny and great! This is amazing. I was just wondering if maybe, I mean, I know I’m stupid and not that funny, and I haven’t been doing it that long, but maybe...”.</i> <i>It’s a real pain in the ass.”</i>	Highlighting “fun” and “feminine” as the main points to her work personality. Building up male egos in order to provide feedback or criticism.

Maxcy’s “voice” was “my dumb assistant voice”. By using this voice, Maxcy found that she could play upon feminine stereotypes to get what she required for her employers. She acknowledges that that character, as such, was not her true personality, and seemed to admit that it was not a particularly pleasant thing to do. However, the requirement to perform well at her entry-level jobs necessitated, in her point of view, the adaption of a “dumb” persona in order to get help and achieve her working tasks.

Harkavy, referring to both male and female bosses, suggested, conversely, that adapting a persona or speaking insincerely rather than providing criticism was not a gendered issue, but rather one that was naturally adapted in certain working environments where the boss required ego-boosting. “What they want to hear is, “I think it’s perfect, what you did.””

Linking back to the question of racial performativity, Anonymous felt this need to adapt a persona on a deeper level. If she did not maintain the emotional labour of being “fun and feminine” within the writers’ room, she feared that her feedback would be taken as hostile criticism, and that her career may suffer from it. She explains that her self-deprecating humour must be used as well as ego-boosting, in order to mask feedback in a way that her male colleagues did not, going so far as to say that she would sometimes refer to herself as “stupid” in these exchanges, which, as a lawyer, seems unimaginable. However, her candour in the assessment of this phenomenon is clear:

It’s a real pain in the ass.

While mustering the performativity of womanhood, as well as the naturalisation of adapting behaviours in order to fit in with a writers’ room in general, women face a double barrier where other writers may face but one. In order to be hired and retained in a room, they must adapt to the “bro-ness of it all” (Jones, 2018) while still maintaining their dedication to the feminine stereotypes dictated by the social and professional circles “feeling norms”.

In the following section, we identify how motherhood and industry attitudes towards parenting were experienced and explained by the participants in the case studies.

6.7 Motherhood

Not all participants in this study were mothers, and not all planned to become mothers. Of the case studied women, only one had children. Two others were considering or actively trying to become mothers, and three did not reference their own plans. Each participant, however, had stories to share, either from their own eyewitness accounts, or from those shared with them by friends.

The first hurdle for women writers is, as has been discussed, the subject of getting hired while pregnant, or as a mother. In this labour market which relies on short-term, precarious contracts, any preconceptions which could prevent these writers from securing a contract is taken seriously.

Table 15: IPA Table - disclosing pregnancy

Participant	Statement	Notes
Calvo	<i>“No-one is going to go into a job interview and say, ‘well I’m going to get pregnant’. She would rather say, ‘I am selling state secrets’ than say that.”</i>	Implication that admitting to planning a pregnancy is the worst thing a female writer could do.
Maxcy	<i>“There have been interviews where, like, suddenly I’m saying something like, “Oh yeah. By the way, I don’t have kids, in case that matters to you,” and it shouldn’t matter.”</i>	Volunteering reassurances to potential employers, pre-empting potential discrimination.
Overton	<i>“You do know that someone’s going to say, ‘this is a seven-month job, and if she goes out at month four, then do we keep her?’”</i> <i>“I do think I would [hide it] if I got a job I wanted offered, I would wait and see if they interview and then...” She describes her (male) boss’ reaction to the discussion. “He said he had had that happen, and he was like, ‘I was kind of trapped’.</i>	Would hide a pregnancy in order to get a job Male boss’ use of the word “trapped” – suggests that women’s pregnancies are calculated and malicious.

There was a sense of subterfuge throughout the responses. Calvo stated that she knew of no woman who would admit in an interview situation that she was planning a pregnancy, and that it would be considered tantamount to “selling state secrets”. Overton recounted a male boss’ description of being “kind of trapped”, suggesting that the woman writer who was pregnant had acted in a calculated and malicious manner, suggesting an image of diabolicism that women writers must contend with.

Spurred by this culture and these reactions, Maxcy found herself volunteering information to reassure potential employers that she did not have children, negating their desire to ask her. It is important to note that, in California, it is illegal to discriminate directly against people for having children (Workplace Fairness, n.d.). However, in this casual economy wherein workers are often hired through networks, professional or social, and where those without qualifications can be hired over more experienced options based on employers' sole decisions, all contributing factors to a worker's social capital must be considered carefully in order to maximise any opportunities that are available.

For mothers working in the industry as writers, there was also a balance to be performed. Calvo, entering the industry at a later age, and as the mother of a baby, found that she was able to set firm boundaries and leave at the same time each day in order to spend time with her child. However, not all parents experienced the same level of autonomy, which speaks to the importance of Calvo's unusual entry to the industry to her work/life balance.

Maxcy expressed that she and her husband had been discussing having children, and the gendered disparity that existed for them in terms of taking time for caregiving. They had decided that Maxcy's husband would take the time out of work to care for their baby, should they have one, because they believed that his absence from work would affect his career less than the same absence would affect hers. This fear of the effects of maternity leave is perceived by writers, but, as Calvo points out, not unfounded. She argues that the side-effect of maternity and parental caregiving time then culminates in age discrimination, making it even more difficult for women to reach points of seniority in writers' rooms:

[It's] horribly pervasive... for women who are still toiling, trying to climb up the ladder and maybe took many years off for kids or bypassed a job, so they sort of alternated with their partner at home. That slows them down, and so, by the time they're fifty, maybe they haven't had the success they were hoping to have when they were thirty-five.

It is, then, a two-fold issue; firstly, that women who are perceived to be pregnant or potentially planning a pregnancy experienced casual discrimination in gaining new jobs, or in maintaining their existing employment. Secondly, there was a fear displayed in some participants in that they worried about starting a family and the resultant effects that may have on their career progression overall.

Social perception of motherhood in television writing was a concern for these writers. Similarly, the responses amplified arguments found within existing literature (Wreyford, 2013; Skillset, 2010; Percival, 2020; Leung, Gill, & Randle, 2015) that women do suffer more than male colleagues from having caregiving responsibilities outside of the office.

In the following section, we analyse responses to the question of sexism and/or sexual harassment in the workplace for women writers in SVoD spaces.

6.8 Sexism / sexual harassment at work

Sexism and sexual harassment are paired in this section for the reason that the concepts of each were often conflated during interviews. The question of sexism versus sexual harassment is, in a scholarly sense, clear. “Sexism” is the bias or discrimination against people based on their gender or sex, while “sexual harassment” is more recognised in two forms: quid pro quo and “hostile environment sexual harassment” (Pryor & Mast, n.d.). In the first case, quid pro quo, sexual behaviours become a condition of workplace advancement or “favours”. In the second, “unwelcome sex or gender-related behaviour creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment” (ibid).

In these interviews, an alarming development was the normalisation of the experiences women writers had with sexual harassment, specifically with hostile environment sexual harassment (Table 16). The use of words such as “just ... garden variety off-colour comments” – suggesting that the harassment was minimal and therefore not serious, or Jones’ admission that she was “super aware” of her actions and how she dressed. Despite affirming that “no-one is asking to be harassed”, Jones brings self-awareness to the fact that she “grew up in that culture”, meaning that it had become normalised and neutralised that women should consider their clothing and behaviour in order to avoid sexual harassment.

Table 16: IPA Table – normalisation of sexual harassment

Participant	Statement	Notes
Maxcy	<i>“It’s just been of garden variety off-colour comments. You know,</i>	“Just” and “garden variety” – normalisation

	<i>"I'd ask you on a date but your husband would mind", like, that kind of stuff. Yeah definitely never, ever, ever – none of the like really crazy stuff..."</i>	
Jones	<i>"It's a terrible thing and we're trying to kind of fight against it now but like when people say like, "oh, you were wearing a tight dress. You were asking to be flirted with" or all of that. No, no-one is asking to be harassed. But because you kind of grow up in that culture, you're so super aware of your actions."</i>	"Because you grow up in that culture, you're so super aware of your actions" – normalisation, socially acceptable, onus on women to behave a certain way, awareness.
Harkavy	<i>One time on set a guy said to me, "come sit next to daddy". And I told him to go f*ck himself, and after that, he didn't even dare open his mouth in my presence.</i> <i>"Now they are so careful that if a person reaches out and accidentally ... as much as like brushes past you, they're going to apologize profusely because they're so scared of being, you know, targeted in return."</i>	Authoritative response, that particular man was put in his place. Sense that this matter now resolved. Men are "scared" by #MeToo – "targeted" – under attack. "In return" – idea that accountability for sexual harassment is retributory.

Harkavy's description of an encounter with a male colleague who told her to "come sit next to Daddy" exemplifies the openness with which male staff members in television production could display harassing behaviour. In Harkavy's authoritative response ("I told him to go f*ck himself") she demonstrates her corrective reply, however, she goes on to explain that this response solved the problem, suggesting that the onus is, perhaps, on women to correct negative, harassing behaviour and establish their social position on sexual comments.

In discussing the "Me Too" movement, Harkavy explains that men are "scared" of behaving inappropriately, stating that they are "so scared of being...targeted in return". However, by using this language, men are victimised to an extent within the situation, leading to the idea that being held accountable for sexually harassing behaviour is retributory. If repercussions for sexual harassment are "targeting" men in the workplace, then men become, again, less responsible for their own behaviour, while the burden is placed upon women to consider the fallout of sexual harassment allegations to men's careers.

In sexist attitudes and behaviours, however, focus is placed upon working conditions and opportunities as opposed to personal and sexual interactions (Table 17).

Table 17: IPA Table - sexist attitudes and actions at work

Participant	Statement	Notes
Overton	<p><i>“When a woman would speak, my boss would look at his phone... and then when an alpha male writer would speak, he was present, right there.”</i></p> <p><i>“Show me who’s suffering right now as a white man. I know a lot more women out of work than I do men.”</i></p>	<p>Different attention to women and men – men’s ideas more important.</p> <p>Men feeling they cannot get work because of “Me Too” – perceptions, not reality.</p>
Anonymous	<p><i>“A lot of these white guys show up and nobody has ever said that whatever they offered isn't the best that they’ve ever seen. So they throw out a first draft. They won’t spell check it... They haven't learned how to use grammar... I'm like, you basically turned in a text message or a tweet, and submitted it with your name on it. And I'm looking at it like, I'd be horrified. I'd be horrified.”</i></p> <p><i>“No one has ever said that, like, you shouldn't say ‘female’, you should say ‘a woman’, right? So I mentioned it, and like, everybody was like, “What?! I hadn’t heard that.””</i></p>	
Calvo	<p><i>“I’d be asked to do ‘emotional passes’ on scripts. Or a ‘female pass’, and I’m sort of being funny, but sort of not.”</i></p>	
Harkavy	<p><i>“Have I met jerks in this town? Sure. Have I had specifically targeted sexist experiences from men in a work environment? No.”</i></p>	

Women writers expressed that they felt they were not given the same attention that their male colleagues did. Overton expressed that one boss would pay attention only when “alpha male” writers were speaking in the writers’ room, and that, when a female team member was speaking, that boss would be paying attention to his phone. Overton’s observance of this behaviour shows that it was repeated, in the sense that this was not a singular occurrence.

As has been stated throughout this thesis, television writing has traditionally been the domain of heterosexual white men. Anonymous expressed extreme frustration that the quality of the work submitted by white, male colleagues was at a significantly low standard, and that there was a sense of entitlement held by those writers. She seems to express by her language that the work handed in was poorly written and not proof-read or thought-out, whereas she, herself, would not have submitted work that she had not spent a great deal of time and effort with. By way of explaining the low-quality of their work, she says, “you basically turned in a text message or a tweet.” This frustration is key; and, along with other normalising statements as previously discussed, suggests that there is an over-arching idea in the majority of respondents that, “this is just the way it is.”

On the whole, the responses suggested this attitude, however, Harkavy, again, was reticent to identify sexism or anti-woman behaviour in general, with her question, “Have I met jerks in this town? Sure. Have I had specifically targeted sexist experiences from men in a work environment? No.”

Again, there is a hesitancy to identify sexist behaviours by men in the workplace. Women writers must already adjust their behaviour to “fit in” with the writers’ room environment, but they also expressed the sentiment that they did not want to be perceived as “difficult”.

Harkavy was the outlier overall in her perceptions of her own experiences. “I’ve never seen overt sexism where I was like, oh my god that was so sexist... I’ve not experienced that.”

6.9 SVoD and its impacts on writers

Finally, participants were asked to identify how, if at all, they perceived SVoD as a vehicle for change in the industry. In the majority, the response was that, yes, SVoD streaming

platforms offered the opportunity for unique and fresh programming, freed somewhat from the restraints of advertisers and traditional series formats.

Table 18: IPA Table - positive responses to SVoD

Participant	Statement	Notes
Jones	<i>“I do love the opportunities that it's given people across the board, men, women and minorities, to tell different stories. For those stories to go out and be impactful. And I think it's an amazing thing for social change, as well.”</i>	Opportunities – reference to minorities, to women and storytelling. “Impactful” – social change. Idea that television has the power to impact society.
Calvo	<i>“Now I feel, in a good way, the pressure is ‘let’s do the coolest, most transgressive, interesting, weird thing that we can. And if only this small slice of people watch it, that’s fine. But if it wins a bunch of awards, that’s great.”</i>	Creative development, streamers looking for unique and ground-breaking stories to tell.
Anonymous	<i>“Netflix, it has opened for all these kind of niche, small shows. Like I don't know who's watching some of these shows that I've never heard of. But Netflix - I feel like it's giving people a chance, they have enough money to blow where they can afford to experiment with new talent, less familiar faces.”</i>	Targeting audiences who differ from the norm/mass audience. “Experiment” – newness.
Maxcy	<i>“Hopefully, we’ll be able to continue to make it better [for women writers].”</i>	Reference to working for Hulu programme. “Hopefully” – potential for future growth.

Use of descriptors such as, “cool”, “transgressive” and “interesting” suggested a positive impact of SVoD original programming on the industry as a whole (Table 18), a sense of excitement and creative positivity. Equally, the emphasis was placed on the opportunities within SVoD original content, both on and off the screen.

As has been discussed, SVoD producers have the opportunity to access and make content for new audiences, who might usually be overlooked by commissioners due to their smaller demographics. In an industry where the emphasis is placed on making content that will appeal to a wider, larger audience, and, therefore, achieve ratings success, the content will naturally be less diverse, preferring, instead, to tell stories that have been proven to be popular with ratings audiences. However, in SVoD spaces, commissioners have the financial capacity to take risks, exemplified by respondents' use of words such as "niche", "minorities" and "slice [of people]" indicate that there is now the capacity to give attention to audiences previously overlooked and underserved. There is, overall, a sense that SVoD programming offers endless opportunity for reaching those who would not otherwise have seen themselves represented on screen.

On the other side of the argument for SVoD programming when compared with traditional commissioning, there were some responses that indicated a sense of anxiety, specifically to the role, importance and power of the television writer. Both Calvo and Jones referred to the input of the streaming commissioners, with references to the heightened control that the platforms exercised over their content, and the higher quality of writing expected from the writers themselves.

They really want you to turn in drafts that are at a higher level. Because I think, I may be wrong, streaming channels prioritise awards and artiness more than ratings... They don't care so much about numbers, they really want status, they want artistic street cred and so they playwrights and experienced writers who are handing in cleaner drafts than broadcast demands. (Calvo, 2017)

Here, Calvo indicates that there is a shift in the purpose of programming on a streaming platform when analysed next to traditional broadcasters. If, indeed, SVoD platforms are seeking "artistic street cred", then the foundations of the goals of the writers' room will logically shift from the traditional goal of pleasing large audiences. They will, then, place added pressure on writers to create new, transgressive stories that spark discussion among viewers and influence online spaces such as social media.

Jones laments the loss of week-to-week viewing and the advent of binge-culture. She claims that "story suffers", suggesting that her creative and artistic role is transmuted more towards that Bourdieusian concept of the writer as artist, but in the main, worker.

There are so many streaming services and so much content that your role as a writer is diminished, because there's always something new, there's always something big, and a lot of times they're rushing through it.

If then, the writer becomes less creative and less crucial to the process of making television, the ability of SVoD original series to present a turning point for women writers and their lived experiences within writers' rooms is called into question. Ultimately, while there may be more opportunity overall, there is a sense in the responses that the "art" of television writing is lost. So, too, is the writer's ability to connect and communicate with their audiences, ultimately planning and writing the full season of content without any audience input, where, previously, in a weekly episodic series, audience reactions could impact the creative direction that the writing team might have taken with the story. The quandary of SVOD, then, is that, while it does offer the possibility of a greater quantity and variety of stories, and, therefore, for the writers of those stories, it was perceived by some writers as controlling, and diminishing the capacity of writers to work as artists rather than workers.

6.10 Conclusion

It was a challenge, in this chapter, to divide by theme. While most subjects and responses lent themselves more closely to one theme, there is an overall interlinking and intersectionality of issues facing women writers. Ultimately, it is clear that the issue of gender, sex and womanhood within writers' rooms for SVoD series is interlinked with systemic industrial issues, as well as intersecting with race, class and social capital. As Harkavy pointed out, women writers can influence their careers "a certain amount". It is really that "certain amount" that is central to this research and thesis. All the evidence indicates that women have reduced opportunities for both entry and progression when compared with men. The importance of this work and these case studies, then, is in helping identify just how successful women have made their ways, and what lessons might be learned from that. Almost every writer interviewed for this project has a similar story to tell, either about the successful connections or, in one or two cases about the gap in a career that came about because of a lack of connection. The ability to build a network lies at the heart of every successful woman's writing career.

While the majority of respondents described sexist behaviour and some described sexual harassment by the means of scholarly definition, they did not always frame it as such in their own

words. There was a trend of normalisation, in which, for example, because they had not personally experience overt sexual harassment, they did not consider themselves to be victims of any sexual harassment. Experiences were minimised, suggesting that they did not want to be considered difficult, or, in Harkavy's case, implying that women's pursuit of sexual harassment complaints had resulted in male workers being "scared" of committing offenses which they may otherwise have committed without consideration of repercussions. If, then, sexism is surmised by the behaviour of male colleagues and employers to women, it can be identified that, in addition to the sexist assignment of writing projects, as discussed in 6.2, and the credit of quality and importance given to women writers overall, the culminative effect is that women writers feel lesser-than in terms of being appreciated by their employers. Likewise, these women respondents experienced sexism within their workplaces, but did not always consider it "serious", proposing that what could be perceived as "lesser" sexism and sexual harassment was acceptable, and "just the way it is". There was a hesitancy to identify "bad" behaviour in colleagues, with participants, whether consciously or unconsciously, excusing behaviour. For example, pointing out that male colleagues were unaware of their crossing of the boundaries of acceptable discourse, or describing preferential treatment experienced by, in Anonymous' case, a "friend", who was aware of the advantages he experienced, but did not objectively take any steps to rectify the situation.

Overall, the most impassioned responses were elicited when it came to motherhood and the discrimination and career impacts faced by women due to their previous or potential decisions on family and parenting. While Calvo had put firm boundaries in place, Maxcy had decided with her partner that she could not afford to take a year off from working due to the negative impact it would have on her career. Overton highlighted bias she had observed, suggesting that women who did not disclose pregnancy to potential employers were "trapping" them, and the idea that women who had children must performatively work harder and prioritise their career over their roles as mothers in order to be taken seriously and respected in their workplaces.

These qualitative interviews provided data that could not have been elicited from quantitative data collections; the true, lived experiences of a variety of women working as writers at different points in their careers, working within streaming original series. As a result, it can be seen that women do experience work differently, being marginalised and side-lined, whether overtly or subtly. These women are placed in a position of choice. They can speak out about their experiences and the gender bias within their workplaces, and, in doing so, potentially be labelled as difficult to work with, unpleasant or "not fun". In an environment

where writers are often selected for teams based on their rapport with team members and employers, this is seen as potentially detrimental to their employment. The other option for these women is to allow a certain amount of sexism and gender-based disparity, ultimately performing within the workplace to meet expected behaviours and acceptance of the behaviours of others. In this case, they may be required to suffer poor treatment, bias, lower recognition for their creative and professional work, and lesser career progression overall.

As discussed in the conclusion to Chapter Five, there was also a sense that women felt a certain level of competition with one another, often manifesting in aggressive behaviours by female bosses. Along with the racial tensions explicitly experienced by Anonymous, this leads to issues that complicate further the Lifeworld of these women writers.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion & Implications

In the commencement of this research, the purpose was to identify how the rise of SVoD original scripted content had or would influence the experiences of women television writers. The research questions for this project were:

1. What has been the impact of the rising production model of original scripted content made for subscription video on demand (SVoD) platforms on the employment of women writers for television?
2. Do those issues which affect women in other areas of scripted television production employment, and employment in the wider creative media industries, affect women writers for SVoD scripted content in a different way?
3. How, if at all, is the industry adapting to this new model of production in order to improve conditions and representation for the women writers of scripted fictional content?

It has been clearly demonstrated that women are underrepresented across the CCIs (Creative and Cultural Industries) (Conor, Gill, & Taylor, 2015; Eikhof & Warhurst, 2013), and that, in television and film production, specifically, women are represented at notably lower rates in certain roles, namely directors, directors of photography and writers (Bielby, 2009; Brown, 2018). The crucial implications of gendered and homogenous hiring practices (Schneider B. ,

1987) were that women traditionally lacked the social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) to enter into and succeed in the field of television that male competitors had. Equally, the significant issue of motherhood for women, real and perceived, meant that women needed to fight harder to prove their commitment to their work.

In terms of workplace behaviours, it was shown that women writers in SVoD needed to adapt and consider their words and actions. This was in order to, firstly, be accepted as part of a traditionally male team, and, secondly, not to appear to be or to be labelled as “difficult”, which would impede future and present career opportunities and working environments.

The research took the form of a mixed-methods approach, analysing firstly the credits of all scripted original series from SVoD platforms, Netflix, Amazon and Hulu from 2013-2017, to identify women’s share of credits as writers/producers. Secondly, ten qualitative interviews were conducted with women SVoD writers, from which six were selected for deeper case study and analysis using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), to uncover the women’s own perceptions of their lived experiences and the meanings they made from those.

The results, overall, of the quantitative study, showed that, while the overall number of women writers had increased during the study period, the number of men writers had also increased. This meant that, despite the fact that there were more women listed on writer/producer credits towards the end of the study period, the women writers’ share of those credits rose just 6%, from 30.6

% in 2013 to 36.57% 2017 across the genres of comedy and drama and taking into account all three studied platforms. It was demonstrated that women accounted for 34% of credits overall in drama and 39% overall in comedy, despite respondents’ suggestions that women were more likely to be found in drama writers’ rooms. In account of seniority, however, it was shown that, while women commenced at the lowest level at 40% and rose just under two percentage points at Level 2 to 44.66% of all credits, their representation fell significantly at the most senior level, demonstrating that women accounted for marginally over a third of all highest-level writer/producers. In line with existing research from Lauzen (2014; 2016; 2018), this makes women writers at lower levels less likely to be employed, as featuring women in senior roles in the writers’ room ultimately leads to higher representation overall for women in below-the-line and writers’ room positions.

In the qualitative interviews, some participants raised that they felt they needed to work harder to be promoted, with Calvo suggesting that it was fairly common to see junior male writers “catapulted” to senior positions, while that would not have happened to a woman writer. Overton said that women writers needed to fight harder for their title and pay bumps, and that this often meant that women were “paid last”. She described a situation where, even though the pilot and concept were her own work, she was refused the title of executive producer, which is commonly not the custom within writers’ rooms or production companies. In this sense, the disparity between women and men writers is clear: male writers, in particular, white male writers, possess the social capital to enter into and excel in television writing at a higher rate than women colleagues. Women, once entering into the industry, which, as has been demonstrated, is difficult enough in itself, must work harder and perform at a consistently high standard in order to maintain their positions. Women writers also tend to feel that they should perform in a certain way, meeting the field’s expectation that they will be feminine, but also comfortable with inappropriate jokes and conversations, and not be “difficult”. Around the topic of motherhood, women writers do not feel they can be honest with potential or existing employers regarding their plans for starting a family, and agree that they will “miss out” on jobs based on pregnancy, maternity leave and caregiving responsibilities. In Maxcy’s case it was demonstrated that her First Assistant Director husband would not suffer in the same manner should he take one year off to care for their future child.

On the subject matter of SVoD, it was clear that, while as viewers the writers felt that it was exciting to see new and varied content, some were concerned that the role of the writer had become diminished. While television traditionally was the medium of the writer/producer (Perren & Schatz, 2015) and while most felt that writing for SVoD originals offered a broader scope for creative stories, some respondents felt that their roles as writers (artists) had lost some of the power traditionally associated with those roles. They implied that the effects of SVoD binge culture was that the commissioners (in this case, Netflix, Amazon and Hulu) exercised a greater control over storylines and characters, and that writing a full season without waiting on audience’s responses to week-to-week viewing resulted in a less dynamic and participatory method of creating scripted television. However, all in all, writers agreed that the most important outcome of increased production of SVoD originals was that a great variety of stories could reach a wider demographic of people, leading to representation on screen of those who might not otherwise have ever seen themselves on screen.

Returning now to the research questions, this thesis aimed to discover what the impact of this advent of SVoD scripted series had meant for women writers. In simple terms, it has meant, as demonstrated above, that there are, all in all, more opportunities for writers in general to gain employment, as more series go into production. However, women's share of those roles remained statistically low, at an average of 36% across the platforms and genres.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that Hulu, in particular, showed a higher rate of employment of women writers, so in a sense, it could be surmised that, while SVoD in general did not offer statistically higher rates of employment for women than traditional broadcasters, Hulu did.

In contrast, the employment of women writers has suffered somewhat from the "new" model of scripted production; shorter series runs means that, financially, there are fewer episodic fees, fewer opportunities to write episodes and an even more precarious employment market than the traditional television market offered. It has been demonstrated in this thesis that women have more difficulty in gaining and maintaining employment than male colleagues, so it can, therefore, be shown that women will experience more difficulty in maintaining consistent employment and income in this flexible and casual employment environment. To answer this research question simply, it must be pointed out that writers in general suffer from this issues, but also that, as women have been repeatedly demonstrated to suffer at a higher rate than male writers, women do, naturally, experience the effects of precarity in a more concentrated manner.

The second research questions asked whether women writers experience the broader issues faced by women in television production in a different way when working in SVoD environments. As was argued above, it is largely the precarity of television writing work that affects women differently, but there is a knock-on effect. For example, as one participant pointed out, if a contract lasts for just seven months, and a woman writer will take maternity leave at month four, then she is unlikely to be placed as a top preference for a writing role by the hiring executives. Similarly, with fewer episodic credits women face the same kinds of struggles as writers in SVoD as they do with traditional networks and production companies, but in a more serious way; fewer credits available means that there are fewer credits for women writers, and, therefore, even less opportunity in SVoD. When examining the patterns of the employment of women in SVoD writers' rooms, it could be said that their chances of

employment are increased not necessarily by working in streaming television, but by working for one platform in particular. Hulu has demonstrably created more gender balance in its writers' rooms than either Netflix or Amazon, as shown by the data in Chapter Four.

Women's share of credits overall in the

The third research question asks how the television production industry is adapting to this new model of television production in order to improve conditions and employment rates for women writers. The answer to this question is not simple.

There are demonstrative efforts by the guilds, in particular, to heighten the quality of employment for women and minorities in television writing. For example, the WGA's history of striking to coincide with inequities in the industry that have to do with technological advancement shows that the guild is conscious of the effects of changing formats and conditions on writers. It is safe to assume that they will continue to fight for the rights of writers in general, who face difficulties in this new environment, as outlined above. The guild will also continue to push for fair representation for women and minorities through their Inclusion and Equity division.

However, the industry itself, that is to say, the production companies and commissioners, do not feel the same pressure to adapt their production models. It is the role of these entities to create content at a higher rate for SVoD platforms, and, as with any commercial enterprise, keep outgoing costs at a minimum. Therefore, it is not in the financial interest of producers (in this case, networks, commissioners and production companies) to maximise comfort and quality of experience for women writers specifically.

With the #MeToo movement, women in the industry became more visible. While many companies performed virtue-signalling acts to highlight their commitment to making safe work environments for women, there was, as of 2017, little to demonstrate that this had improved the overall employment of women writers in the field. In fact, in some cases, and on some platforms, women were represented at a lower rate than they had been at the commencement of the study period.

Following the study period, the conversation about representation of women in writers' rooms has increased. In 2018, the Writers Guild of Great Britain reported that women accounted for only 14% of prime-time television writers working in the United Kingdom and

that this figure had not improved across the past decade (Kreager & Follows, 2018). Writer and producer, Kay Mellor, told the campaign that, ““No woman writer has got through without a struggle and it’s criminal that I can count on one hand how many women signature writers there are on TV right now. Sometimes it takes a collective to say ‘this is not fair’ and it’s not. It’s time things changed” (Writers Guild of Great Britain, n.d.).

In Lauzen’s 2019-2020 *Boxed in Report*, it was demonstrated that SVoD scripted series featured more female protagonists than other platforms, with 42% female lead characters, compared with just 27% on cable and 24% on broadcast programming (Lauzen, 2020). Again, this more recent research showed that 57% of writers on scripted television series in general were women where at least one woman was listed as a series creator. This factor also contributed to a higher rate of women directors; 32% on programmes with a female executive producer as compared with just 19% on series with only male executive producers (ibid). This report showed that, in the 2019-2020 season, women accounted for 36% of writers. As has been demonstrated in this thesis, this does not demonstrate any significant growth between the end of the study period in 2017 and the completion of this thesis in 2020. However, women writers in streaming programmes were shown to have a positive increase during this period – Lauzen demonstrates that 41% of writers in the 2019-2020 season in U.S. streaming programmes were women which was a meaningful rise from 35% the previous year. In this sense, then, there is an indication that women do fare better in streaming television series than on other formats; but this has been a very recent development. What will be important to note is how women writers fare, both in SVoD and also in cable and broadcast, in the years to come.

Future & Additional Research

This research was the first of its kind in analysing specifically the credits and experiences of women writers for SVoD scripted original series in the U.K. and the U.S. While the focus here was on English language programming, and during the research period of 2013-2017, there are ample resultant research opportunities to delve even further into this subject.

As demonstrated by Lauzen’s (Lauzen, 2020) most recent publication on the matter, women do appear to be faring better as writers in SVoD spaces. This could be, in part, to the more recent appearance of additional streaming platforms. During the research period, Netflix,

Amazon and Hulu retained the lion's share of the subscription streaming market. As at 2020, the number of streaming services has increased, and there has been a notable blurring of the lines between cable and SVoD, with traditional cable broadcasters launching their own streaming platforms separately from their usual subscription models (for example, HBO Max, CBS All Access and NBC's Peacock network). In a roundup of the "best" SVoD platforms in 2020, Vulture listed forty-three separate platforms (Adalian, 2020). In reality, there are many, many more, and new options become available regularly. Therefore, it will be important to broaden this research area, taking into account the burgeoning number of platforms, to analyse which of these are creating original content, and, as a result, how women's share of the credits in this new content performs year on year.

Additionally, there is a lack of in-depth analysis in existing literature of the intersection between gender, race and class as they pertain to television writing. Although women's share of the writing credits has increased on streaming platforms as demonstrated by Lauzen (2020), it has traditionally been shown that these credits belong, in the main, to heterosexual, white women (Hunt, Ramón, Tran, Sargent, & Roychoudhoury, 2018). This trend echoes racist inequalities demonstrated across the CCIs, as well as the theories of social capital proposed by Bourdieu (1987). Further research is required to ascertain how deeply those inequities run, and how they manifest in lived experiences. This would include analysis of the meaning making by writers who do not identify as heterosexual, male and/or white, and chart the career journeys of writers who fit into those "minority" categories.

The final anticipated research area would be the writers' room culture, and would include observatory data collection in writers' rooms to identify hierarchies, performative behaviours, racist and sexist micro-aggressions and environmental contributors to the experience of women writers working professionally for SVoD streaming content, with a comparative study of the writers' rooms for broadcast and network series. This would aid in establishing points of difference in day to day functionalities, ultimately answering the question of work company cultures, and how SVoD original series may differ from traditional productions in their treatment of women writers across the spectrum of demographics.

Final Comments

If scripted television content becomes a bingeable commodity (Jenner, 2017), more focused on producing quantity over quality, then, perhaps, the role of the television writer is changing. The polarity between artist and worker (Bourdieu, 1984) grows smaller, and writers must contend with multiple working issues that are improved or worsened by new forms of production and streaming technology. These effects are both environmental and financial, as demonstrated by the income reduction outlined in Chapter Four.

“Television” as an art form has shifted into a more consumer-driven space, where it is quantity and not quality that drives subscriptions, and, therefore, economics. If the major distributors (Netflix, Amazon and Hulu) were to reduce the amount of content produced, then their subscriber numbers would likely drop, having an incredible impact on the financial capacities of those companies. Therefore, the creation of new series content becomes akin to a machine, producing as much content as possible in order to appeal to as many demographics as they can. This, in turn, leads to the question of quality; is it possible to make that much content to the same standard as the original streaming series that made SVoD platforms popular? Yes, but only with careful financial investments.

On Christmas Eve, 2020, Netflix debuted *Bridgerton* (Van Dusen, 2020-), which was projected to be viewed by sixty-three million households in the first twenty-eight days after its release, which would make it the fifth most popular new original series for Netflix (White, 2021). This series is the first collaboration between Shondaland (company of Shonda Rhimes) and Netflix in their \$100m (USD) deal for which Rhimes ultimately left the network ABC after fifteen years (Katz, 2017a). The importance of this successful launch is twofold; firstly, cementing Netflix’ place as the leading streaming service when compared with its major competitors. Secondly, that the high performance of this series, which features not only Black executives, but also a “colour-blind casting” approach presents the possibility of new content. However, there has been criticism of the series for poor representation, despite its ambitions. Kathleen Newman-Bremang writes that, “Just sprinkling some light-skinned Blackness in there isn’t enough”, suggesting that the racial diversity in *Bridgerton* is performative and virtue-signalling rather than representative (Komonibo & Newman-Bremang, 2021). It is pointed out by Carolyn Hinds (2021) that,

The problem in *Bridgerton* comes when the characters' race is practically ignored for almost the entire show, except for a few vague references in their dialogue—using words like “us” and “them”... The majority of the speaking roles belong to the white actors.

Indeed, despite this high-level promotion of racial equity in *Bridgerton*, only one Black writer, Joy C. Mitchell, is listed (IMDb, n.d.). Another point of sharp contention, in the age of the awareness on-screen of gender, sex and consent, is a scene which contains action which, critics point out, is actually the rape of the male lead by the female lead, but framed in the series as a betrayal of the trust of the female character (O'Connor, 2020).

Regardless of the problematic depictions of race, gender and consent in *Bridgerton*, with its release and success, Netflix has, once again, secured itself stability within the increasingly competitive market of SVoD platforms. Between the most recent series of *The Crown* and the aforementioned *Bridgerton*, Netflix increased its subscriber base by 8.5 million in the final quarter of 2020 and recorded a 2020 profit of \$2.76 billion (USD), a growth rate of 48% from the previous year (Ford Rojas, 2021). However, as Angela Watercutter (2020) points out, there will come a time when there are no remaining households who do not subscribe, or who might subscribe, to these streaming services. Therefore, the growth of SVoD providers is limited by population, and is likely to become more about accessing the existing pool of subscribers, and competing by way of their new content rather than overall quantity of original provisions. If the access of providers to new subscribers (or, rather, maintaining their existing subscribers) relies upon the quality of their new content, then, perhaps, we will see a shift in the creation of that content. If one platform offers more diverse and authentic stories, then certain subscribers will prize that quality over the quantity of content available on other platforms. Watercutter states that, “Streaming services will likely have a few more months to sign up new users, but after that, the battle may be over. It will just be a matter of which is left streaming” (Watercutter, 2020). Ultimately, the landscape of “television” has been irrevocably changed. Initially, based on new audience accessibility and the democratisation of viewing, where the key goal for platforms was to sign up new subscribers and to maintain a schedule of new content releases. In the contemporaneous sense, the closing down of global entertainment options due to the Covid-19 pandemic has had a dramatic impact on the way in which audiences consume content, and provides an enormous financial incentive to key players to maintain their lead and share of subscribers long-term.

In the Introduction to this thesis, the idea was introduced that the disparities for women writers of SVoD reflected the broader disparities in the film and television industries. It demonstrates that, despite almost equal rates of entry into the industries, women's opportunities are limited when compared with those offered to male workers. Kreager and Follows outlined the idea that women were not as "readily viewed as potential writers" (2018), which is interlinked, ultimately, with the theories of homogeneity in workplaces and that homogenous outlook on hiring and affording creative opportunities to new entrants and experienced writers alike. With this reduced trust in creative capabilities, as was demonstrated by participants, women writers also needed to contend with gendered stereotypes surrounding the kinds of genres they were qualified to write for. This included the idea of "soft credits" (Overton, 2018), in which women writers were judged more harshly than male writers based on their credit history and whether or not the series they had written for were "serious" enough. Additionally, women who wrote science fiction or action genres encountered resistance or distrust from potential employers who perceived them as writers who should be working within family drama or romantic genre spaces rather than hard-hitting "Quality Television".

While the participants interviewed for this thesis agreed that the sense of sexism and sexual harassment in the workplace were improving, it is still concerning to see that there was a level of acceptance of certain, "garden variety" (Maxcy, 2018) comments and attitudes within working environments. Although improvements are not to be disregarded in their importance, the original data collected in this research demonstrates that there is more work to be done within the machine that is scripted series production, not only on-screen but also behind-the-scenes. The Lifeworld of these women writers is affected by sexism, whether casual or intentional, and that, in turn, affects their realities. In statistical terms, while women's shares of writing credits overall increased in streaming platforms during 2019-2020 (Lauzen, 2020), women writers still experience othering, gender bias and discrimination, and are forced to adjust their behaviour performatively in order to enter, remain and thrive in the world of writers' rooms for scripted SVoD series.

Endnotes

ⁱ Francke describes ‘women’s films’ as those with particularly emotional, family and romance-driven storylines.

ⁱⁱ “Binge viewing” can be described as watching three or more episodes one after the other.

ⁱⁱⁱ “Quality” television is described by Sarah Cardwell (2007) as, tending “to exhibit high production values, naturalistic performance styles, recognised and esteemed actors, a sense of visual style created through careful, even innovated camerawork and editing, and an aural style created through the judicious use of appropriate, even original music.” (p. 26)

^{iv} By the time of writing here, *House of Cards* had experienced wider repercussions, after Spacey was accused of making unwanted sexual advances towards the actor Anthony Rapp when Rapp was just fourteen years old (Patten, 2017). Netflix shut down production of the series within twenty-four hours of the surfacing of the allegations, and Spacey’s character was ultimately killed off and replaced with two new cast members, Diane Lane and Greg Kinnear for its sixth and final season (Kaplan, 2018).

^v ‘Deficit financing’ is a model in which content (a series or film) is financed by the producer at a higher cost than is paid by the broadcaster, with the intention that the remaining costs will be recouped and profit created through future external sales such as international distribution, syndication or foreign territories distribution once the initial broadcaster contract is completed.

^{vi} A “tween” or “tweenager” is described by the Cambridge dictionary as, “a child between the ages of approximately eight and twelve” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.)

^{vii} British Broadcasting Corporation

^{viii} IMDb (www.imdb.com) is described by Chew & Elhard (2005) as a “co-operative catalogue” (p. 40), wherein productions (such as films, television series, documentaries and short films) are listed by title. Each entry then contains a list of cast and crew, as well as more fan-oriented information like filming location, character profiles and related films. This ‘co-operative catalogue’ description stems from the source of the information listed for each project.

^{ix} The research of Martha Lauzen (2015) (2016) has shown that the likelihood of the employment of women crew members ‘below the line’ improves where at least one member of the creating team is also a woman.

^x An “idiographic” approach refers to one which takes into account the personal experiences and meanings of human beings, allowing for a great variety in responses due to the differences in our upbringings and natural and social environments (McLeod, 2019).

^{xi} An overall deal is more commonly implemented in the studio system, and involves a writer working exclusively for one studio, but across whichever projects the studio dictates.

^{xii} Diversity & Inclusion

^{xiii} “Hulugan” is a name given to its employees by Hulu.

^{xiv} The Producers’ Guild of America lays out the terms for Executive Producers as such:

“The credit of Executive Producer is to be granted to the individual whose only reporting responsibility is to the entities financing and distributing the series...Subject to the control of the Owner... the Executive Producer has

final responsibility for the creative and business aspects of the production of the series, with direct participation in making decisions concerning a majority of the producing functions...” (Producers Guild of America, n.d.)

^{xv} “EPA” is a shorter name for “Executive Producer’s Assistant”

^{xvi} “Apology Culture” is a term given to the practice of public, performative apology, usually by celebrities, when they have received backlash for something they have said or done (O’Meara, 2019).

^{xvii} Quota systems are hiring practices whereby a certain number of positions must be filled by people matching certain minority criteria such as race, gender, age or sexual identity (Louw, 2019)

Appendix

Appendix 1: WGA Agency Code of Conduct (2019)

WGA CODE OF CONDUCT (as of April 13, 2019)

This Code of Conduct ("Code") has been established by Writers Guild of America, West, Inc. and Writers Guild of America, East, Inc. (collectively, "Guild" or "WGA") to regulate the conduct of talent agents, either individually or through a talent agency (collectively, "Agent"), in the representation of writers ("Writers") with respect to the option and sale of literary material or the rendition of writing services in a field of work covered by a WGA collective bargaining agreement ("CBA"). By subscribing to this Code, the Agent agrees to be bound by all terms and conditions contained herein, including the appended Standard Representation Agreement ("Rider W") and Rules Governing Arbitration, which are incorporated as part of this Code. The works written by Writers under a Guild CBA are referred to herein as "motion pictures."

SECTION 1 – PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF REGULATION

The basis of the Guild's authority to establish and enforce this Code is its status, conferred by federal labor law, as the exclusive bargaining representative of all Writers working in fields covered by a Guild CBA. Consistent with its role as exclusive bargaining representative, the Guild is authorized by law to specify the terms under which an Agent may be delegated to perform certain representational duties.

The application of this Code (including all attachments hereto) shall be limited to the Agent's representation of Writers with respect to the option and sale of literary material or the rendition of writing services in a field of work covered by a Guild CBA. The provisions of the Code shall not apply to the Agent's representation of a Writer with respect to the Writer's non-writing services or other services not covered by a Guild CBA or as to which the Guild is not the exclusive bargaining representative.

SECTION 2 – SUBSCRIBING TO THE CODE OF CONDUCT

An Agent seeking to subscribe to the Code of Conduct shall submit a written application to the Guild using a form available on the WGA website. The Guild may revise the application from time to time in its discretion. In addition to the information required by the application, the Guild reserves the right to seek additional information or disclosure of matters relevant to the Agent's professional background and ability to represent Writers in compliance with the Code. The Guild shall approve or deny the application within 30 days after the Agent's submission of all of the requested information. In the event the Guild denies the Agent's application, it shall state in writing the reasons therefor and the denial shall be subject to appeal by the Agent pursuant to Section 5 below and the Rules Governing Arbitration.

When the subscribing Agent is a talent agency of any legal form, including but not limited to a corporation, LLC, partnership, joint venture or sole proprietorship, the terms of the Code of Conduct shall be binding on the agency and all of its individual agents, employees, partners, principals, joint venturers, and shareholders. With respect to the obligations under this Code of Conduct, the subscribing talent agency shall at all times remain vicariously liable for the actions taken by such individuals on its behalf or within the scope of the individuals' employment or agency.

**SECTION 3 – STANDARDS OF CONDUCT FOR AGENTS IN PROVIDING SERVICES
SUBJECT TO THE CODE**

A. AGENT-WRITER RELATIONSHIP

1. Agent shall at all times act as a fiduciary of Writer, and shall comply with all fiduciary duties imposed by statute or common law.
2. Agent's representation of Writer shall not be influenced by its representation of any other Writer.
3. Agent shall promptly disclose to Writer all inquiries, offers and expressions of interest regarding employment or sale or option of literary material, and shall keep Writer apprised of the status of all negotiations.
4. Agent shall maintain confidentiality with respect to Writer's employment and financial affairs.
5. Prior to submitting Writer for employment on a project, Agent shall notify Writer if the employer or producer has not yet secured underlying rights necessary for the assignment.
6. Agent shall be responsive and professional in communicating with Writer.

B. CONFLICT OF INTEREST

1. No Agent shall have an ownership or other financial interest in, or shall be owned by or affiliated with, any entity or individual engaged in the production or distribution of motion pictures.
2. No Agent shall have an ownership or other financial interest in, or shall be owned by or affiliated with, any business venture that would create an actual or apparent conflict of interest with Agent's representation of a Writer.
3. No Agent shall derive any revenue or other benefit from a Writer's involvement in or employment on a motion picture project, other than a percentage commission based on the Writer's compensation or fee.
4. No Agent shall accept any money or thing of value from the employer of a Writer.
5. An Agent's concurrent representation on a commission basis of multiple clients employed or submitted for employment on the same motion picture project shall not be deemed a conflict of interest prohibited by this Code. Upon request by Writer, Agent shall disclose to Writer the names of all other clients represented by Agent who are employed on, or actively being submitted for employment on, a project. Such disclosure shall be made in writing within ten (10) days of the Writer's request.

6. Agent shall disclose to Writer any fact or relationship suggesting or potentially creating a conflict of interest arguably prohibited by this Code.

C. AGENT COMPENSATION

1. Agent's commission shall be limited to ten percent (10%) of Writer's gross compensation, including Writer's profit participation, provided, however, that Agent shall not be entitled to receive commission on residuals or any other minimum payments to Writers for reuse of a motion picture under any applicable CBA.
2. Agent shall not circumvent limits on commissions under this Code by charging fees for other services, except that Agent shall be permitted to receive compensation for feature film financing and sales services, subject to the following limitations:
 - a. In the event Writer retains Agent to perform these services, Agent shall fully disclose the relevant fees in writing prior to incurring them, and Writer may choose whether to proceed with Agent's performance of services;
 - b. In the event Agent is retained to perform such services by a party other than the Writer, Agent shall fully disclose the financing or sales services arrangement, including the relevant fees, in writing to the Writer. Such disclosure shall be made at the earliest possible time. In the event that Agent's agreement to provide such services predates Writer's involvement in the project, disclosure shall be made before Writer enters into any contractual commitment for the project;
 - c. The services described in this subsection C.2 shall only be permitted on films with intended budgets greater than \$20 million with the consent of the Guild. The Guild will consult with the Writer and consent will not be unreasonably denied;
 - d. In no event shall an offer of employment or purchase of material made to a Writer be contingent on any other party agreeing to retain Agent for feature film financing or sales services; and
 - e. On a quarterly basis, Agent shall provide the Guild with a list of films on which Agent is performing financing or sales services. The list shall include the name of the Writer and the budget of the film.
3. Agent shall provide promptly and no less frequently than quarterly to Writer and to the Guild an itemized statement showing in standardized electronic format (a) all compensation received by or on behalf of Writer; (b) all commissions received by Agent related to its representation of Writer; and (c) all fees received by Agent that has provided feature film financing and sales services. Writer and Guild shall have the right to audit such statements. Where an Agent has provided feature film financing and sales services, as described in subsection 2 above, Agent shall provide copies of these agreements and documentation of the related fees

when Writer or Guild audits the Agent's commissions received by Agent related to its representation of Writer.

D. NOTIFICATION TO GUILD

1. Agent shall provide the Guild with a copy of the agreement or a summary of essential deal terms of any agreement engaging the Writer's services or acquiring the Writer's written material no later than 10 days after the earlier of (a) the existence of a binding contractual commitment; or (b) the commencement of Writer's writing services. Where such agreement is later amended or superseded by a long-form agreement, Agent shall also provide the Guild with a copy of the amendment or long-form agreement.
2. Agent shall provide the Guild with immediate notice of Writer's commencement of services or delivery of literary material, or other material fact triggering compensation, and a copy of any invoice or other documentation relating to the payment obligation.
3. Agent shall provide the Guild with copies of all representation agreements with Writer.
4. Insofar as the notification to the Guild under this subsection D requires the provision of confidential information relating to a specific Writer, the Guild shall use reasonable efforts to maintain the confidentiality of the information and such efforts shall in no event be less than the efforts the Guild uses to protect its own confidential information. The Guild shall maintain and use such information subject to its duty of fair representation, provided that nothing in this subsection D shall prohibit the Guild from aggregating the data in a manner that does not disclose the confidential information of a particular Writer.

E. ENFORCEMENT OF CBA AND WRITER'S INDIVIDUAL WRITING AGREEMENTS

1. Agent shall not encourage Writer to violate any provision of a CBA.
2. Agent shall zealously advocate for Writer's best interests in all aspects of the employment relationship, including but not limited to the following:
 - a. Advocating against Writer's performance of uncompensated or speculative writing services;
 - b. Advocating in favor of multiple steps in theatrical deals; and
 - c. Protecting Writer from abusive hiring practices such as sweepstakes pitching.
3. Agent shall be aware of and monitor the contractual deadline for the payment of all compensation to the Writer, and shall immediately notify the Guild in the event a payment is late.

4. Agent shall cooperate fully with the Guild in any investigation or contract enforcement action undertaken on behalf of a Writer.
5. Agent shall not encourage Writer to violate any Guild rule.

F. NON-DISCRIMINATION AND INCLUSION

1. Agent shall comply with all state and federal anti-discrimination laws in its selection and representation of Writers.
2. Agent shall not, without prior disclosure to Writer, procure any employment where there is a reasonable basis to believe that the Writer will be subjected to a hostile work environment or other forms of workplace harassment. Agent shall not schedule or refer Writer to a meeting regarding potential employment in a hotel room or other location posing a threat to Writer's personal safety.
3. Agent shall take steps to ensure the referral of qualified diverse Writers for any open writing assignment.
4. Agent shall consult with Writer regarding diversity as a factor in their procurement of employment.
5. Agent shall provide the Guild with an annual report summarizing Agent's diversity efforts and reflecting, through anonymized data, the employment history of all Writers represented by the Agent, broken down by membership in statutorily-protected classes.

SECTION 4 – STANDARD REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT (RIDER W)

Appended to this Code of Conduct as Attachment 1 is the standard representation agreement, referred to herein as "Rider W." The terms of Rider W shall be deemed to be incorporated into any representation agreement, written or oral, between Agent and Writer. Agent and Writer may negotiate additional provisions in their representation agreement, provided, however, that (A) no term or condition of such negotiated agreement shall be less favorable to Writer than the provisions of Rider W; and (B) in the event of a conflict between the negotiated agreement and Rider W, the provisions of Rider W shall prevail.

SECTION 5 – DISPUTE RESOLUTION

- A. The following controversies between the Guild and an Agent shall be resolved by a neutral arbitrator in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Rules Governing Arbitration appended as Attachment 2:
 1. Any dispute concerning the interpretation of, or the performance of any obligation under, the Code of Conduct;
 2. Any dispute concerning the interpretation of, or the performance of any obligation under, Rider W;

3. Any decision of the Guild to reject an Agent's application to subscribe to the Code pursuant to Section 2 above; and
 4. Any claim brought by the Guild to suspend or remove an Agent from the list of subscribing Agents based on an alleged material violation of the Code or Rider W.
- B. An arbitrator selected to hear a dispute under this section shall resolve the entire controversy. In so doing, the arbitrator shall have authority to fashion an appropriate remedy, which may include the award of damages, injunctive or declaratory relief, or imposition of disciplinary action against an Agent, including suspension or removal from the list of subscribing agents. Upon a finding that the opposing party acted in bad faith, the arbitrator may also award attorneys' fees and costs to the prevailing party.
 - C. The decision of an arbitrator under this section shall be final and binding, and may be confirmed in any court of competent jurisdiction. In an action to confirm an arbitration award, the court shall apply substantive law developed under Section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 29 U.S.C. § 185.

SECTION 6 – MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- A. This Code of Conduct shall be effective as to each Agent upon the date the Agent subscribes hereto. This Code of Conduct shall not apply to, nor impair the right of Agent to receive compensation based on, services rendered by Agent before such effective date.
- B. In administering the disclosure requirements under subsections 3.C.3. and 3.F.5. above, the Guild will take into account the more limited staffing and recordkeeping capacities of smaller agencies.
- C. If any provisions of this Code of Conduct are held to be void or unenforceable, all other provisions hereof shall remain in full force and effect.

SECTION 7 – TERMINATION OR MODIFICATION

- A. This Code of Conduct shall remain in effect for a period of three years after initial implementation by the Guild. Thereafter, the Guild shall have the right to terminate or modify the terms of this Code of Conduct upon written notice to all subscribing Agents. The Guild's termination or modification shall be effective 90 days after its service of such notice.
- B. A subscribing Agent shall have the right to terminate its obligations under this Code of Conduct upon written notice to the Guild. The Agent's termination shall be effective 90 days after its service of such notice.

ATTACHMENT 1 TO WGA CODE OF CONDUCT

RIDER W

This standard representation agreement, referred to herein as "Rider W," is attached to and made part of the Code of Conduct ("Code") between Writers Guild of America, West, Inc. and Writers Guild of America, East, Inc. (collectively, "Guild" or "WGA") on the one hand and a subscribing talent agent, either individually or through a talent agency (collectively, "Agent") on the other hand. The purpose of the Code and of this Rider W is to regulate the conduct of the Agent in the representation of writers ("Writers") with respect to the option and sale of literary material or the rendition of writing services in a field of work covered by a WGA collective bargaining agreement ("CBA").

SECTION 1 – INCORPORATION OF STANDARD TERMS INTO REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT

By operation of the Code of Conduct, the terms of this Rider W shall be deemed to be incorporated into any representation agreement ("Representation Agreement"), written or oral, between Agent and Writer. Agent and Writer may negotiate additional provisions in the Representation Agreement, provided, however, that (A) no term or condition of such negotiated agreement shall be less favorable to Writer than the provisions of Rider W; and (B) in the event of a conflict between the negotiated agreement and Rider W, the provisions of Rider W shall prevail.

SECTION 2 – TERM AND TERMINATION

- A. The term of the Representation Agreement shall not exceed two (2) years.
- B. The Representation Agreement may be terminated by Writer during its term for any of the following causes:
 - (1) If Writer is not offered employment which is subject to this Rider W from a responsible employer with respect to services covered hereunder during any period in excess of four consecutive months, during all of which time Writer is ready, able and willing to accept employment. Writer may exercise this right of termination by written notice served on Agent by certified mail at its primary place of business. The right of termination under this section shall be deemed waived by Writer if, after expiration of the four month period but before service of a notice of termination, Writer accepts an offer of employment by a responsible employer;
 - (2) Any material breach by Agent of the provisions of the Code of Conduct or of Agent's fiduciary obligations to the Writer;
 - (3) If Agent, during any strike by WGA, obtains employment or makes the sale or option of any literary material for any Writer with a producer or other person as to whom WGA is on strike;

- (4) If Agent represents a writer who has been denied membership in WGA or whose membership in WGA has been revoked by reason of acts prejudicial to WGA's welfare;
- (5) Agent's removal from the list of agents subscribing to the Code of Conduct, provided that such removal is final and all applicable appeal rights have been exhausted.

SECTION 3 – COMMISSIONS

- A. Agent's commission shall be limited to ten percent (10%) of Writer's gross compensation, including Writer's profit participation, provided, however, that Agent shall not be entitled to receive commission on residuals or any other minimum payments to Writers for reuse of a motion picture under any applicable CBA.
- B. Agent's commission shall be payable when gross compensation is received by the Writer (including Writer's loan-out corporation) or the Agent. If the gross compensation is received by the Agent on behalf of Writer, Agent is authorized to deduct the commission due and shall promptly remit the remaining compensation to Writer. If the gross compensation is received by Writer or Writer's loan-out corporation, Writer shall promptly remit the commission due to Agent.
- C. The following shall apply relating to commissions after termination of the Representation Agreement between Writer and Agent.
 1. An Agent terminated by a Writer having a right to do so ("Terminated Agent") can continue to collect commissions on contracts procured and substantially negotiated prior to such termination or expiration but not on improvements negotiated after such termination, except to the extent provided in subsection 3.C.2.b.(ii).
 2. The following shall apply to direct or indirect renewals, substitutions, replacements, extensions or modifications of contracts referred to in subsection 3.C.1.
 - a. In no event, other than as provided in this subsection 3.C.2, will the Terminated Agent be entitled to receive commissions in excess of the amount that would have been paid under the contract as it existed at the time of termination.
 - b. Agent shall only be entitled to commission renewals, substitutions, replacements, extensions or modifications if:
 - (i) such renewals, substitutions, replacements, extensions or modifications are negotiated terms of the initial contract negotiated by Terminated Agent (e.g., the original agreement contained options for extension of the employment term, and those options are exercised after termination), in which case Agent shall be entitled to commission on all employment contemplated by the original agreement; however, Writer's new Agent shall have the right to commission any improvements negotiated by the new Agent, pursuant to subsection C.4 below; or

- (ii) the Writer's employment terminates within one (1) year after termination of the Representation Agreement, and the Writer obtains without any break in employment (except for a production hiatus) an extended, renewed, replaced, substituted or modified employment with the same employer ("renewed employment"), in which case Terminated Agent shall be entitled to commissions for the shorter of (a) the term of the renewed employment; or (b) one (1) year after the commencement of the renewed employment. If, subsequent to termination of an Agent but within the one-year period set forth in this subsection 3.C.2.b.(ii), the Writer enters into a representation agreement with a new Agent, which provides for services and commissions with reference to said renewed employment, the Terminated Agent's commission shall be reduced accordingly, but not below five percent (5%).
3. The Terminated Agent shall continue to be ready, willing, and able to provide services, with respect to such contracts for which the Agent continues to receive commission pursuant to subsections 3.C.1 and 3.C.2 above, and upon which the Agent's commission is based.
 4. If the Writer obtains a new Agent, and the new Agent renegotiates such existing contract, the new Agent shall be entitled to commission on any excess in amount of such contract, with the Terminated Agent entitled to the commission on the existing contract, prior to any improvement, except to the extent provided in subsection 3.C.2.b.(ii).
 5. Terminated Agent's right, if any, to commissions on profit participations, royalties, and other continuing payments to the Writer, if any, shall continue regardless of the termination of the representation with respect to the contract at the time of the termination.
 6. In no case may Writer incur commission obligations totaling in excess of ten percent (10%) to one or more Agents.

SECTION 4 -- ACCOUNTING

Agent shall not collect monies belonging to Writer unless Agent has prior written authority from the Writer to do so. All monies belonging to the Writer when received by the Agent shall be faithfully accounted for by the Agent and promptly paid over to the Writer or as directed by the Writer, provided, however, that Agent may deduct from such monies any commission payable to Agent as well as any monies owing from the Writer to the Agent whether for past commission or for loans made to the Writer or monies advanced for Writer or for his account. Monies belonging to Writer shall not be commingled with monies belonging to the Agent, but shall be segregated and kept in a separate account which may be known as "client's account" or "trust account" or an account similar in nature. Agent may have one or more of such accounts and may commingle monies of other clients with the monies of the Writer in such account.

SECTION 5 - INFORMATION SHARING

Writer authorizes Agent to provide information to the Guild as required by the Code and consistent with the Guild's Working Rules.

SECTION 6 – DISPUTE RESOLUTION

- A. The following controversies between Writer and Agent shall be resolved by a neutral arbitrator in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Rules Governing Arbitration appended as Attachment 2 to the Code of Conduct:
 - 1. Any dispute concerning the interpretation of, or the performance of any obligation under, this Rider W;
 - 2. Any dispute concerning the interpretation of, or the performance of any obligation under, the Code of Conduct;
 - 3. Any dispute regarding commission due to Agent.
- B. An arbitrator selected to hear a dispute under this section shall resolve the entire controversy. In so doing, the arbitrator shall have authority to fashion an appropriate remedy, which may include the award of damages, injunctive or declaratory relief, or imposition of disciplinary action against an Agent, including suspension or removal from the list of subscribing agents. Upon a finding that the opposing party acted in bad faith, the arbitrator may also award attorneys' fees and costs to the prevailing party.
- C. The decision of an arbitrator under this section shall be final and binding, and may be confirmed in any court of competent jurisdiction. In an action to confirm an arbitration award, the court shall apply substantive law developed under Section 301 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 29 U.S.C. § 185.

SECTION 7 – MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- A. This Rider W shall be effective as to each Agent upon the date the Agent subscribes to the Code of Conduct, and shall be deemed to be incorporated into any Representation Agreement then in effect between Agent and any Writer.
- B. If any provisions of this Rider W are held to be void or unenforceable, all other provisions hereof shall remain in full force and effect.

C. Agent acknowledges that he has complied with all licensing requirements of any state in which he is conducting business.

WRITER AND AGENT HEREBY AGREE TO THE FOREGOING:

DATED: By _____
AGENT

DATED: By _____
WRITER

THIS RIDER W TO A REPRESENTATION AGREEMENT HAS BEEN APPROVED AS TO FORM BY THE LABOR COMMISSIONER OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA ON _____.

THIS RIDER W HAS BEEN APPROVED AS TO FORM AND CONTENT BY THE WRITERS GUILD OF AMERICA.

ATTACHMENT 2 TO WGA CODE OF CONDUCT

RULES GOVERNING ARBITRATION

The following Rules Governing Arbitration ("Rules") govern arbitrations arising under Section 5 of the WGA Code of Conduct ("Code") and Section 5 of the Standard Representation Agreement ("Rider W"). The Rules incorporate by reference the Code and Rider W, including the terms defined therein.

SECTION 1 – EXCLUSIVITY

- A. The arbitration procedures established by these Rules shall be the exclusive method for resolving any and all controversies as defined in Section 5.A. of the Code and Section 5.A. of Rider W.
- B. The arbitrator shall have the power to rule on his or her own jurisdiction, including any questions of procedural arbitrability and any objections with respect to the existence, scope, or validity of the arbitration agreement.
- C. The arbitrator shall also have the power to determine the existence or validity of a contract of which the arbitration clause contained in the Code, Rider W, or these Rules forms a part. Such an arbitration clause shall be treated as an agreement independent of the other terms of the contract. A decision by the arbitrator that the contract is null and void shall not for that reason alone render invalid the arbitration clause.

SECTION 2 – CLAIM

- A. A complainant initiates an arbitration under these Rules by serving a Claim on the respondent.
- B. A Claim seeks resolution of a controversy as defined in Section 5.A. of the Code or Section 5.A. of Rider W.
- C. The Claim shall be in writing and contain the following information: (i) the complainant's name; (ii) the complainant's address; (iii) a brief written statement of the Claim and the relief sought; and (iv) the name of the respondent.
- D. A Claim must be served on the respondent within two years from the date the complainant obtained knowledge of the facts upon which the Claim is based, but no later than four years from the date of the occurrence of the facts upon which the Claim is based.
- E. Any Claim brought by an Agent against a Writer under Section 5.A. of Rider W shall concurrently be served on the Guild. The Guild may but is not required to participate as a party in the proceeding.

SECTION 3 – COUNTERCLAIM

- A. The respondent may serve a Counterclaim on the complainant, which must be in writing and contain the same information as a Claim.
- B. A Counterclaim seeks resolution of a controversy as defined in Section 5.A. of the Code or Section 5.A. of Rider W.
- C. A Counterclaim must be served within two years from the date the respondent obtained knowledge of the facts upon which the Counterclaim is based, but no later than four years from the date of the occurrence of the facts upon which the Counterclaim is based.
- D. Any Counterclaim brought by an Agent against a Writer shall concurrently be served on the Guild. The Guild may but is not required to participate as a party in the proceeding.

SECTION 4 – ARBITRATOR

A. AUTHORIZED LIST OF ARBITRATORS

- 1. The Claim and, if applicable, the Counterclaim, shall be submitted to a sole neutral arbitrator (“Arbitrator”) selected from the applicable authorized list of arbitrators (“Authorized List”):

LOS ANGELES:

- Christopher David Ruiz Cameron
- Paul Crost
- Catherine Fisk
- Fredric R. Horowitz
- Barry Winograd

NEW YORK:

- Howard Edelman
- Susan McKenzie
- George Nicolau
- Joan Parker
- Janet Spencer

2. The Los Angeles Authorized List shall apply if the Writers Guild of America, West, Inc. ("WGAW") or a WGAW-represented Writer is a party to the arbitration. The New York Authorized List shall apply if the Writers Guild of America, East, Inc. ("WGAE") or a WGAE-represented Writer is a party to the arbitration. Where both the WGAW and WGAE (or both WGAW- and WGAE-represented Writers) are parties to the arbitration, the WGAW and WGAE shall decide which Authorized List applies.
3. Only an Arbitrator from the Authorized List shall have authority to adjudicate a Claim or Counterclaim or any issue arising in connection therewith.
4. The Guild may amend the Authorized Lists from time to time in its discretion and upon notice to the subscribing Agents.

B. ARBITRATOR SELECTION

1. The parties shall select the Arbitrator from the applicable Authorized List within ten (10) business days of service of the Claim on the respondent. In the event the parties cannot mutually agree upon an Arbitrator from the Authorized List, the parties shall alternate in striking a name from the Authorized List until one (1) arbitrator's name remains ("Strike Process"). The Arbitrator whose name remains shall be the Arbitrator. The complainant shall make the first strike. In the event that one of the parties fails to participate in the Strike Process, or fails to strike in order or timely, the other party may unilaterally select the Arbitrator.
2. The parties may agree in writing to extend the time period to select the Arbitrator. The extension will no longer be deemed effective if either party gives written notice to the other, in which case the parties shall select an arbitrator within ten (10) business days of service of the notice.

SECTION 5 – HEARING

- A. If the WGAW or a WGAW-represented Writer is a party to the arbitration, the hearing shall be held in Los Angeles. If the WGAE or a WGAE-represented Writer is a party to the arbitration, the hearing shall be held in New York City. Where both the WGAW and WGAE (or both WGAW- and WGAE-represented Writers) are parties to the arbitration, the WGAW and WGAE shall decide whether the hearing will be held in Los Angeles or New York City.
- B. After consulting with the parties as to their availability, the Arbitrator shall order a hearing on the Claim and, if applicable, the Counterclaim. Absent extenuating circumstances, the hearing shall commence within 60 days of the selection of the arbitrator and shall conclude within 60 days after the first day of hearing.
- C. The Arbitrator shall have the authority to issue subpoenas to compel the attendance of witnesses and/or the production of documents. Subpoenas *duces tecum* may be made

returnable on a specified date (no less than 20 days after service of the subpoena) before the arbitration hearing. Upon good cause shown, the Arbitrator shall have discretion to permit other pre-hearing discovery, including the taking of oral depositions.

- D. At the hearing, each party shall have the right to present any evidence that is relevant and material to the Claim or Counterclaim. The parties shall have the right to submit post-hearing briefs.
- E. The complainant has the burden of proving its Claim by a preponderance of the evidence. The respondent has the burden of proving its Counterclaim by a preponderance of the evidence.

SECTION 6 – DECISION

- A. The Arbitrator shall be expected to render a written decision within 30 days of the conclusion of the hearing.
- B. The Arbitrator shall not have the jurisdiction or the authority to add to, subtract from, or alter in any way the Code, Rider W, or these Rules.
- C. The Arbitrator's award shall be final and binding on the parties.

SECTION 7 – ARBITRATION COSTS

The costs of the arbitration, including the arbitrator's fee and court reporter's fee, shall be equally split among the parties, unless the Arbitrator's award specifies otherwise.

SECTION 8 – LAW GOVERNING THE ARBITRATION

- A. An arbitration governed by these Rules shall be subject to the laws of the state in which the arbitration hearing is held, unless otherwise provided in the Code or Rider W.
- B. Arbitrations subject to the laws of the State of California shall be held pursuant to Section 1700.45 of the California Labor Code. Accordingly, the complainant shall give reasonable written notice to the California Labor Commissioner of the time and place of the arbitration hearing, and the Labor Commissioner or his or her authorized representative has the right to attend the arbitration hearing. Section 1700.44 of the California Labor Code shall not govern arbitrations subject to these Rules.

SECTION 9 – SERVICE

- A. A Claim or Counterclaim must be served by certified mail or by personal delivery. All other notices or papers shall be served by email.
- B. A petition to confirm, modify, or vacate an arbitration award in any court of competent jurisdiction shall be served upon the respondent by certified mail or personal delivery.

Appendix 2: Coding Sheet Example (Overmyer, *Bosch*, 2014-)

SERIES TITLE	BOSCH		
SERIES GENRE	Detective Fiction		
PLATFORM:	Amazon		
CREATED BY	Michael Connelly / Eric Ellis Overmyer		
No. SERIES:	4	START YR	2014
Creator/s Gender	M	F	X
Total Creators	2	0	0

REF	NAME	ROLE	M/F/X	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
1	Michael Connelly	Based on the novels by	M	0	0	1	9	10	10	10	40
2	Michael Connelly	Written for TV by	M	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	5
3	Michael Connelly	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	9	10	10	10	40
4	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Creator	M	0	0	1	9	10	10	10	40
5	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	9	10	10	10	40
6	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Written for TV by	M	0	0	1	1	3	2	0	7
7	Joe Gonzalez	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
8	Joe Gonzalez	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	10
9	Tom Bernardo	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	0	10	1	0	11
10	Tom Bernardo	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
11	Tom Bernardo	Writers' Assistant	M	0	0	1	9	0	0	0	10
12	Chris Wu	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	4	5	0	0	9
13	William N. Fordes	Co-Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	7
14	William N. Fordes	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
15	William N. Fordes	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
16	Diane Frolov	Written for TV by	F	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
17	Diane Frolov	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	9	4	0	0	13
18	Andrew Schneider	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
19	Andrew Schneider	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	9	5	0	0	14
20	Tom Smuts	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	4
21	Tom Smuts	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
22	Tom Smuts	Co-Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	7
23	Daniel Pyne	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
24	Daniel Pyne	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
25	T.L. Lankford	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	8
26	T.L. Lankford	Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
27	T.L. Lankford	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	10
28	T.L. Lankford	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
29	Jeffrey Alan Fiskin	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
30	Jeffrey Alan Fiskin	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
31	Elle Johnson	Co-Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	10
32	Elle Johnson	Written for TV by	F	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
33	Jennifer Ames	Written for TV by	F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
34	George Pelecanos	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
35	Steve Turner	Written for TV by	M	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
YEAR TOTALS:				0	0	1	65	67	48	0	181

ROLES BY NUMBERS 2012-2018

Appendix 3: Full list of series on all three platforms analysed between 2013-2017

Platform	Title	Creator/s	Genre	Years
Amazon	Hand of God	Ben Watkins	Drama	2014-2017
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Frank Spotnitz	Drama	2015-2019
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Cris Cole	Comedy / Drama	2015-2016
Amazon	The Collection	Oliver Goldstick	Drama	2016
Amazon	Goliath	David E. Kelly, Jonathan Shapiro	Drama	2016-
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Dana Calvo	Drama	2015-2016
Amazon	Sneaky Pete	Bryan Cranston, David Shore	Drama	2015-2019
Amazon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Dawn Prestwich, Nicole Yorkin	Drama	2015-2017
Amazon	Patriot	Steve Conrad	Drama	2015-2018
Amazon	The Last Tycoon	Billy Ray	Drama	2016-2017
Amazon	Alpha House	Garry Trudeau	Comedy	2013-2014
Amazon	Transparent	Jill Soloway	Comedy / Drama	2014-2019
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Alex Timbers, Roman Coppola, Jason Schwartzman, Paul Weitz	Comedy / Drama	2014-2018
Amazon	Red Oaks	Joe Gangemi, Gregory Jacobs	Comedy	2014-2017
Amazon	One Mississippi	Diablo Cody, Tig Notaro	Comedy	2015-2017
Amazon	Crisis in Six Scenes	Woody Allen	Comedy	2016
Amazon	I Love Dick	Sarah Gubbins, Jill Soloway	Comedy / Drama	2016-2017
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Brian Gatewood, Alessandro Tanaka	Comedy	2017
Amazon	The Tick	Ben Edlund	Comedy	2016-2019
Amazon	Bosch	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Drama	2014-
Hulu	22.11.63	Bridget Carpenter	Drama	2016
Hulu	Casual	Zander Lehmann	Comedy	2015-2018
Hulu	Chance	Alexandra Cunningham, Kem Nunn	Drama	2016-2017
Hulu	Dead Beat	Cody Heller, Brett Konner	Comedy	2014-2016
Hulu	Difficult People	Julie Klausner	Comedy	2015-2017

Hulu	Dimension 404	Will Campos, Desmond Dolly, Daniel Johnson, David Welch	Drama	2017-
Hulu	Freakish	Beth Szymkowski, Erin Maher, Kay Reindl, Matthew V. Lewis	Drama	2016-2018
Hulu	Future Man	Kyle Hunter, Howard Overman, Ariel Shaffir	Comedy	2017-2020
Hulu	The Handmaid's Tale	Bruce Miller	Drama	2017-
Hulu	The Hotwives of Las Vegas	Dannah Feinglass Phir, Danielle Schneider	Comedy	2015
Hulu	The Hotwives of Orlando	Dannah Feinglass Phir, Danielle Schneider	Comedy	2014-2015
Hulu	Quickdraw	Nancy Hower, John Lehr	Comedy	2013-2014
Hulu	Runaways	Stephanie Savage, Josh Schwartz	Drama	2017-2019
Hulu	Shut Eye	Leslie Bohem	Drama	2016-2017
Hulu	The Mindy Project	Mindy Kaling	Comedy	2015-2017
Hulu	The Path	Jessica Goldberg	Drama	2016-2018
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Brian McGreevy, Lee Shipman	Drama	2013-2015
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Jenji Kohan	Drama	2013-2019
Netflix	Marco Polo	John Fusco	Drama	2014-2016
Netflix	Bloodline	Glenn Kessler, Todd A. Kessler, Daniel Zelman	Drama	2015-2017
Netflix	Sense8	J. Michael Straczynski, Lana Wachowski, Lilly Wachowski	Drama	2015-2018
Netflix	Narcos	Carlo Bernard, Chris Brancato, Doug Miro, Paul Eckstein	Drama	2015-2017
Netflix	Stranger Things	Matt Duffer, Ross Duffer	Drama	2016-
Netflix	The Get Down	Stephen Adly Guirgis, Baz Luhrmann	Drama	2016-2017
Netflix	The Crown	Peter Morgan	Drama	2016-
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Melissa Rosenberg	Drama	2015-2019
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Scott Buck	Drama	2017-2018
Netflix	The OA	Zal Batmanglij, Brit Marling	Drama	2016-2019
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Daniel Handler	Drama	2017-2019
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Brian Yorkey	Drama	2017-2020
Netflix	Gypsy	Lisa Rubin	Drama	2017

Netflix	Ozark	Bill Dubuque, Mark Williams	Drama	2017-
Netflix	Mindhunter	Joe Penhall	Drama	2017-2019
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Laeta Kalogridis	Drama	2018-2020
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Drew Goddard	Drama	2015-2018
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Cheo Hodari Coker	Drama	2016-2018
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Steve Lightfoot	Drama	2017-2019
Netflix	House of Cards	Beau Willimon	Drama	2013-2018
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Robert Carlock, Tina Fey	Comedy	2015-2019
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Marta Kauffman, Howard J. Morris	Comedy	2015-
Netflix	Master of None	Aziz Ansari, Alan Yang	Comedy	2015-2017
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	David Cross, Bob Odenkirk	Comedy	2015
Netflix	Love	Judd Apatow, Lesley Arfin, Lesley Arfin	Comedy	2016-2018
Netflix	Fuller House	Jeff Franklin	Comedy	2016-2020
Netflix	Flaked	Will Arnett, Mark Chappell	Comedy	2016-
Netflix	The Characters	Phil Burgers, Paul W. Downs, John Early, Lauren Lapkus, Tim Robinson, Natasha Rothwell	Comedy	2016-
Netflix	The Ranch	Jim Patterson, Don Reo	Comedy	2016-2020
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Pam Brady, Mitchell Hurwitz	Comedy	2016-2017
Netflix	Easy	Joe Swanberg	Comedy	2016-
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Christopher Ballinger, Colleen Ballinger, Gigi McCreery, Perry M. Rein	Comedy	2016-2017
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Gloria Calderon Kellett, Mike Royce	Comedy	2017-2020
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Victor Fresco	Comedy	2017-2019
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Joel Hodgson	Comedy	2017
Netflix	Girlboss	Kay Cannon	Comedy	2017
Netflix	Dear White People	Justin Simien	Comedy	2017-2021
Netflix	GLOW	Liz Flahive, Carly Mensch	Comedy	2017-2019
Netflix	Friends from College	Francesca Dellbanco, Nicholas Stoller	Comedy	2017-2019
Netflix	Atypical	Robia Rashid	Comedy	2017-2021

Netflix	Disjointed	David Javerbaum, Chuck Lorre	Comedy	2017-2018
Netflix	American Vandal	Dan Perrault, Tony Yacenda	Comedy	2017-2018
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Spike Lee	Comedy	2017-2019
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	Michael Showalter, David Wain	Comedy	2015
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	Amy Sherman Palladino	Drama	2016
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	Michael Showalter, David Wain	Comedy	2017
Netflix	Godless	Scott Frank	Drama	2017



**Research, Innovation and Academic
Engagement Ethical Approval Panel**

Research Centres Support Team
G0.3 Joule House
University of Salford
M5 4WT

T +44(0)161 295 7012

www.salford.ac.uk/

13 October 2016

Dear Kirsten,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION A&M15.28 – Written Out: the under-representation of women in professional Anglo-American television screenwriting.

Based on the information you provided, I am pleased to inform you that your application A&M15.28 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/ or its methodology, please inform the Panel as soon as possible by contacting A&M-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Newbery', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Dr Samantha Newbery
Chair of the Arts & Media Research Ethics Panel
Lecturer in Contemporary Intelligence Studies
School of Arts and Media
M825, Maxwell Building, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT
t: +44 (0) 161 295 3860
s.l.newbery@salford.ac.uk

KIRSTEEN STODDART

6/19/2017

KIRSTEEN STODDART

<WRITER NAME>
c/o: <AGENCY NAME>

Dear <NAME>,

Further to our discussion, I thank you for your consideration of participating as an interviewee for my PhD research, entitled *Written Out: the effects of the rise of Subscription Video-on-Demand services on the employment of women writers for scripted series television*.

Attached to this letter, you will find the following:

- **Participant Information:** outlining the reason and future use of this research information
- **Participant Consent form:** please sign to confirm your permission to use information given in this interview. This form contains privacy and data options for consent.

I thank you for your time and participation in this important research, which will result an impactful research package, and, hopefully, increase both the visibility and discussion of women writers for SVoD television.

If you should have any further questions, suggestions or concerns, please do not hesitate to contact me directly.

Yours Sincerely,

KIRSTEEN STODDART

Postgraduate Researcher

School of Arts & Media

University of Salford

United Kingdom

WRITTEN OUT: INTERVIEW INFORMATION

WRITTEN OUT

The effects of the rise of Subscription Video on Demand services on the employment of women writers for scripted SVoD series.

Thank you for your interest in participating in this important research. Based on industry information and statistics, women are still significantly under-represented in the field of professional television

screenwriting in both the United Kingdom and the United States, which are two of the biggest English-language producers of television

drama. This research focuses on women writers of scripted series for Subscription Video on Demand services (i.e. Netflix, Amazon, Hulu). SVoD represents an opportunity for growth in the industry, and I will be monitoring its effects on the representation of women writers for television.

You have been invited to participate in this research due to

your successful career in television screenwriting, or in the production of television drama. I believe that your opinions, experiences and suggestions could

ACCORDING TO THE 2014 HOLLYWOOD WRITERS REPORT PUBLISHED BY THE WRITERS GUILD OF AMERICA, WEST, WOMEN STILL ACCOUNTED FOR ONLY 27.4% OF EMPLOYED TELEVISION WRITERS. (Hunt, 2014)

offer truly important insight into the obstructions, barriers and 'glass ceilings' faced by women in television screenwriting.

This document will briefly outline the form of the interview and what I will do with the information you provide. Attached, you will find a

PLEASE READ THE INFORMATION IN THIS BRIEF DOCUMENT AND COMPLETE THE CONSENT FORM ALSO ATTACHED IN THIS DOCUMENT PACKAGE.

If you should have any questions at all, please do not hesitate to contact me.

June 19, 2017

EQUITY ON DEMAND: The effects of the rise of subscription video on demand on the employment of women writers for scripted television.

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

Date:				Name:			
In person	Skype/Video	Email/Written	Telephone				

	Writing Career / Trajectory
	How would you describe your job to someone you've just met?
	Are you an independent/freelance worker or do you have a full-time job?
	Could you please briefly describe your path into writing for television? How have you progressed in this industry?
	Is there someone or some people who helped you in particular with your career? Could you describe how?
	From personal experience, how would you describe the gender balance in your area of work?
	Could you describe what it's like to do your job and to be a woman?
	What would you say has posed the biggest obstacle to you so far in your career?
	How do you get a job as a writer on a series?
	SVoD and Writing for Television *IF APPLICABLE*
	How is writing for a series made for online distribution different to writing for a series that airs on cable or network television?
	How did the hiring process work?
	Do you all work in the same writers room? Do you ever work remotely?
	How do you feel about the new original content that's coming out of SVoD providers like Netflix, Hulu and Amazon?
	Do you think women are represented well on screen in these series? Do you think they're better represented than on linear TV?
	Motherhood / Caring / Career Breaks
	What has been your experience, or experiences you've witnessed, of motherhood for television writers?
	Do you think that women have a harder time in their careers based on parenting?
	Do you feel that motherhood impairs women in the hiring process?
	How about in promotions?
	Do you think that women in industry generally are judged based on whether they have children, or whether they are going to have children?
	How does scriptwriting for television work for people who have caring duties at home?
	Gender Bias / Workplace
	Finally, to wrap up, have you ever experienced workplace sexism?
	Do you feel you've been fairly assigned writing tasks, or do you think stereotypes come into play sometimes?
	Do you feel you've had to adjust your behaviour in any way in the workplace?
	Finally, is there anything about all this that you'd like to add/bring up?

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

7/13/2017

SVoD – Women Writers
Interview Consent Form

Participant Name	
Date of Interview	
Interview Format (please tick)	<input type="checkbox"/> In person <input type="checkbox"/> Skype/Video Call <input type="checkbox"/> Telephone <input type="checkbox"/> Email <input type="checkbox"/> Live Chat

Consents for use of information

I consent to the use of my name in reference to this interview in published work.	
I consent to the use of my image (video or still) in reference to this research and its associated outcomes.	
I consent to the use of audio material from this interview in reference to this research and its associated outcomes.	
I understand that permissions will be sought for any additional use of my name, statements, opinions, image (video or still) and audio recordings) in the future, in any way that is outside of the research outputs stated here.	

SIGNATURE

DATE

Appendix 6: Full Quantitative Data Collective Master

PLATFORM	TITLE	FORMAT	GENRE	WRITER NAME	WRITER TITLE	GENDER	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	TOTAL
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Creator	M	0	1	9	0	10	20
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Executive Producer	M	0	1	9	0	10	20
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Written by	M	0	1	3	0	3	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Watkins	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Daniel Tuch	Staff Writer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	1	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Writer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Angeli	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ariella Blejer	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ariella Blejer	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Dawn Kamoche	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Dawn Kamoche	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Cory Jones	Staff Writer	M	0	0	7	0	0	7
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ben Cory Jones	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	6	0	0	6
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Jim Dunn	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	6	0	0	6
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Ernst	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Co-producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ali Garfinkel	Assistant to Writer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Ali Garfinkel	Story by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Becky Hartman Edwards	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Becky Hartman Edwards	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Story by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Mark Hudis	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Theresa Rebeck	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Deborah Schoeneman	Written by	F	0	1	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Deborah Schoeneman	Producer	F	0	1	9	0	0	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sherold Edwards	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Sherold Edwards	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Kastelein	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Michael Kastelein	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Script Consultant	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Hand of God	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Frank Spotnitz	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Frank Spotnitz	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Frank Spotnitz	Written by	M	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Frank Spotnitz	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Phillip K. Dick	Book/Novel	M	0	0	10	10	0	20
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Joe Kawasaki	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Joe Kawasaki	Staff Writer (uncredited)	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Rob Williams	Written by	M	0	0	3	2	0	5
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Rob Williams	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	9	10	19
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Erik Oleson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Erik Oleson	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	0	3
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Jace Richdale	Executive Producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Jace Richdale	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Thomas Schnauz	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Rick Cleveland	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Rick Cleveland	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Wesley Stricks	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Wesley Stricks	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Emma Frost	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Emma Frost	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Walon Green	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Evan Wright	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Evan Wright	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Francesca Gardiner	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	The Man in the High Castle	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Cris Cole	Creator	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Cris Cole	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	3	0	4
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Cris Cole	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	8	0	9
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Michael C. Martin	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Michael C. Martin	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Brett C. Leonard	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Brett C. Leonard	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Zev Borow	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Zev Borow	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Eileen Myers	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Eileen Myers	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Kent Rotherham	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Kent Rotherham	Assistant to Writer	M	0	0	0	7	0	7
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Shawn Ryan	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Shawn Ryan	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Jon Worley	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mad Dogs	Series	Drama	Jon Worley	Producer	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	The Collection	Series	Drama	Maya Goldsmith	Associate Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	The Collection	Series	Drama	Maya Goldsmith	Writer	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	The Collection	Series	Drama	Oliver Goldstick	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	The Collection	Series	Drama	Oliver Goldstick	Writer	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	The Collection	Series	Drama	Francesca Rollins	Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	David E. Kelly	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	David E. Kelly	Written by	M	0	0	0	5	0	5
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	David E. Kelly	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	Jonathan Shapiro	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	Jonathan Shapiro	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	Goliath	Series	Drama	Jonathan Shapiro	Written by	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Dana Calvo	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Dana Calvo	Creator	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Dana Calvo	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Lynn Povich	Inspired by the book by	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Darlene Hunt	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Darlene Hunt	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Bronwyn Garrity	Producer	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Bronwyn Garrity	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Matt McGuinness	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Matt McGuinness	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Tracy McMillan	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Tracy McMillan	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Richard Robbins	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	1	9	0	10
Amazon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Richard Robbins	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1

zon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Daniel Shattuck	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	1	9	0	10
zon	Good Girls Revolt	Series	Drama	Daniel Shattuck	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Bryan Cranston	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Bryan Cranston	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Bryan Cranston	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	David Shore	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	David Shore	Creator	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	David Shore	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	David Shore	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Graham Yost	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Graham Yost	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Graham Yost	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Graham Yost	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Jennifer Kennedy	Co-producer	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Jennifer Kennedy	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Benjamin Cavell	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Benjamin Cavell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Benjamin Cavell	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Fred Golan	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Fred Golan	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Fred Golan	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Sal Calleros	Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Sal Calleros	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Ian McDonald	Story Editor	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Sneaky Pete	Series	Drama	Ian McDonald	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Therese Anne Fowler	Book/Novel	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Dawn Prestwich	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Dawn Prestwich	Creator	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Dawn Prestwich	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Dawn Prestwich	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Nicole Yorkin	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Nicole Yorkin	Creator	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Nicole Yorkin	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Nicole Yorkin	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Doug Dorst	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Doug Dorst	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Marcus Gardley	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Marcus Gardley	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Kit Steinkellner	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Kit Steinkellner	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Ian Detchman	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Ian Detchman	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Kristin Robinson	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Kristin Robinson	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Lydia Woodward	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
zon	Z: Beginning of Everything	Series	Drama	Lydia Woodward	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Steve Conrad	Creator	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Steve Conrad	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Steve Conrad	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Steve Conrad	Executive Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Darby Kealey	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Bruce Terris	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Bruce Terris	Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Bruce Terris	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Gil Bellows	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Gil Bellows	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Jill E. Blotevogel	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Jill E. Blotevogel	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Zak Schwartz	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	1	0	9	10
zon	Patriot	Series	Drama	Zak Schwartz	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	F. Scott Fitzgerald	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	1	8	9
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Billy Ray	Creator	M	0	0	0	1	8	9
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Billy Ray	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Billy Ray	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Billy Ray	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Billy Ray	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	8	9
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Julia Cox	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Julia Cox	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Desta Reff	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Katie Roberts	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Katie Roberts	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Christopher Keyser	Story	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Christopher Keyser	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Christopher Keyser	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	8	9
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Anna Fishko	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	The Last Tycoon	Series	Drama	Peter Parnell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Garry Trudeau	Creator	M	9	12	0	0	0	21
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Garry Trudeau	Written by	M	9	12	0	0	0	21
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Willi Graham	Consulting Producer	M	7	2	0	0	0	9
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Willi Graham	Written by	M	1	3	0	0	0	4
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Jared Gruszecki	Staff Writer	M	2	2	0	0	0	4
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Jared Gruszecki	Misc. Writer	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Peter Gwinn	Misc. Writer	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Peter Gwinn	Consulting Producer	M	7	1	0	0	0	8
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Alison McDonald	Misc. Writer	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
zon	Alpha House	Series	Comedy	Alison McDonald	Consulting Producer	F	7	4	0	0	0	11
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Executive Producer	F	0	11	10	10	10	41
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Creator	F	0	11	10	10	10	41
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Written by	F	0	3	1	2	0	6
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ethan Kuperberg	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	10	2	12
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ethan Kuperberg	Written by	M	0	1	1	1	0	3
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ali Liebegott	Written by	F	0	1	1	1	0	3
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ali Liebegott	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ali Liebegott	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Ali Liebegott	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Our Lady J	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Our Lady J	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Our Lady J	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Our Lady J	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	10	20
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	10	0	0	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Supervising Producer	F	0	9	0	0	1	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Writer	F	0	2	0	0	0	2
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Written by	F	0	0	2	2	0	4
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Bridget Bedard	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Micah Fitzerman-Blue	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Micah Fitzerman-Blue	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Micah Fitzerman-Blue	Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Micah Fitzerman-Blue	Writer	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Micah Fitzerman-Blue	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	0	4
zon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noah Harpster	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10

Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noah Harpster	Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noah Harpster	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noah Harpster	Writer	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noah Harpster	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	0	4
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Faith Soloway	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	10	10	20
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Faith Soloway	Written by	F	0	1	1	2	1	5
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Stephanie Kornick	Writers Assistant	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Stephanie Kornick	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Stephanie Kornick	Misc. Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Arabella Anderson	Writers Assistant	F	0	11	0	0	0	11
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Arabella Anderson	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jessi Klein	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jessi Klein	Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Gabe Liedman	Misc. Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Transparent	Series	Comedy / Drama	Gabe Liedman	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Alex Timbers	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Alex Timbers	Written by	M	0	2	1	0	0	3
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Alex Timbers	Executive Producer	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Alex Timbers	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	10	9	1	20
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Roman Coppola	Executive Producer	M	0	10	10	9	1	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Roman Coppola	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Alex Timbers	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Roman Coppola	Written by	M	0	1	1	1	0	3
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Roman Coppola	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jason Schwartzman	Written by	M	0	1	1	0	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jason Schwartzman	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jason Schwartzman	Executive Producer	M	0	10	10	9	1	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Weitz	Executive Producer	M	0	10	10	9	1	29
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Weitz	Story	M	0	1	1	0	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jason Schwartzman	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Weitz	Written by	M	0	1	1	2	0	4
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Weitz	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Blair Tindall	Book/Novel	F	0	10	10	10	0	30
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Blair Tindall	Consultant	F	0	10	0	2	0	12
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Weitz	Teleplay	M	0	1	1	0	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Kate Gersten	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Kate Gersten	Staff Writer	F	0	2	0	0	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Kate Gersten	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Kate Gersten	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Matthew Shire	Written by	M	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Matthew Shire	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Matthew Shire	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Adam Brooks	Written by	M	0	1	2	0	0	3
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Adam Brooks	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	John J. Strauss	Executive Producer	M	0	9	0	0	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	John J. Strauss	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	John J. Strauss	Story	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	David I. Stern	Producer	M	0	9	0	0	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	John J. Strauss	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	David I. Stern	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	David I. Stern	Teleplay	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Stuart Blumberg	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Susan Coyne	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Susan Coyne	Producer	F	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Will Graham	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Will Graham	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Nikki Schiefelbein	Producer	F	0	9	0	0	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Nikki Schiefelbein	Written by	F	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Mark Steilen	Co-executive producer	M	0	9	0	0	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Mark Steilen	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paula Yoo	Supervising Producer	F	0	9	0	0	0	9
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paula Yoo	Story	F	0	1	0	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Rachel Axler	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	David Iserson	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Hannah Bos	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Peter Morris	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Paul Thuren	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noelle Valdivia	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Mozart in the Jungle	Series	Comedy / Drama	Noelle Valdivia	Producer	F	0	0	0	9	0	9
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Joe Gangemi	Creator	M	0	0	9	10	0	19
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Joe Gangemi	Written by	M	0	1	4	4	6	15
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Joe Gangemi	Story by	M	0	0	5	6	0	11
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Joe Gangemi	Executive Producer	M	0	1	8	10	0	19
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Gregory Jacobs	Executive Producer	M	0	1	9	10	0	20
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Gregory Jacobs	Creator	M	0	0	9	10	0	19
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Joe Gangemi	Teleplay	M	0	0	2	4	0	6
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Gregory Jacobs	Written by	M	0	1	4	4	6	15
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Gregory Jacobs	Story by	M	0	0	5	6	0	11
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Gregory Jacobs	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	2	4	6
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	2	0	3
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Story by	M	0	0	1	2	0	3
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Laura Steinel	Staff Writer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Laura Steinel	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Laura Steinel	Story by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Shawn Harwell	Story by	M	0	0	1	2	0	3
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Shawn Harwell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Shawn Harwell	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Shawn Harwell	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Karey Dornetto	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Karey Dornetto	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Karey Dornetto	Story by	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Shawn Harwell	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	2	0	3
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Karey Dornetto	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Tom Papa	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	9	10	0	19
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Tom Papa	Story by	M	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	Red Oaks	Series	Comedy	Tom Papa	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	1	0	2
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Diablo Cody	Creator	F	0	0	0	5	6	11
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Diablo Cody	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Diablo Cody	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	5	0	6
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Tig Notaro	Creator	F	0	0	0	5	6	11
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Tig Notaro	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	1	1	2	4
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Tig Notaro	Executive Producer	F	0	0	1	5	6	12
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Stephanie Allynne	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	5	0	5
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Stephanie Allynne	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Robbie Pickering	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	5	0	5
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Robbie Pickering	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Kate Robin	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	5	6	11
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Kate Robin	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Cara DiPaulo	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	4	6	10

Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Cara DiPaulo	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	1	2
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Melissa Blake	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	4	0	4
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Melissa Blake	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	One Mississippi	Series	Comedy	Zoe Jaman	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Crisis in Six Scenes	Series	Comedy	Woody Allen	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	6	0	6
Amazon	Crisis in Six Scenes	Series	Comedy	Woody Allen	Creator	M	0	0	0	6	0	6
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Sarah Gubbins	Creator	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Sarah Gubbins	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Sarah Gubbins	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Chris Kraus	Book/Novel	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Chris Kraus	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Creator	F	0	0	0	1	7	8
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Jill Soloway	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Heidi Schreck	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Heidi Schreck	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Annie Baker	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Annie Baker	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Carla Ching	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Carla Ching	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Esti Giordani	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Diona Reasonover	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Dara Resnik	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Amazon	I Love Dick	Series	Comedy / Drama	Dara Resnik	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Brian Gatewood	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Brian Gatewood	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Brian Gatewood	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Alessandro Tanaka	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Alessandro Tanaka	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	Comrade Detective	Series	Comedy	Alessandro Tanaka	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Ben Edlund	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Ben Edlund	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Ben Edlund	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Luan Thomas	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Luan Thomas	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Joe Piarulli	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Joe Piarulli	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	David Fury	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	David Fury	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	David Fury	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Susan Hurwitz Arneson	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Susan Hurwitz Arneson	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Jose Molina	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Amazon	The Tick	Series	Comedy	Jose Molina	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Michael Connelly	Book/Novel	M	0	1	9	10	10	30
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Michael Connelly	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Michael Connelly	Executive Producer	M	0	1	9	10	10	30
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Michael Connelly	Teleplay by	M	0	1	2	0	0	3
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Executive Producer	M	0	1	9	10	10	30
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Developed for television by	M	0	1	9	10	10	30
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Written for television by	M	0	0	1	2	2	5
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Eric Ellis Overmyer	Teleplay by	M	0	1	2	0	0	3
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Joe Gonzalez	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Joe Gonzalez	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Joe Gonzalez	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Bernardo	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Bernardo	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Bernardo	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	3	1	4
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Bernardo	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Bernardo	Writers Assistant	M	0	1	9	0	0	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Chris Wu	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	2	5	0	7
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	William N. Fordes	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	7	0	7
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	William N. Fordes	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	5	0	0	5
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	William N. Fordes	Teleplay by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	William N. Fordes	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Diane Frolow	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	9	5	0	14
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Diane Frolow	Teleplay by	F	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Diane Frolow	Written for television by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Andrew Schneider	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	9	5	0	14
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Andrew Schneider	Teleplay by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Andrew Schneider	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Smuts	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	7	0	7
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Smuts	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	5	0	0	5
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Smuts	Teleplay by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Tom Smuts	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Daniel Pyne	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Daniel Pyne	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Lois / Elle Johnson	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Lois / Elle Johnson	Written for television by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	T. L. Lankford / Terrill Lee Lankford	Co-producer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	T. L. Lankford / Terrill Lee Lankford	Producer	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	T. L. Lankford / Terrill Lee Lankford	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	T. L. Lankford / Terrill Lee Lankford	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	T. L. Lankford / Terrill Lee Lankford	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Jeffrey Fiskin / Jeffrey Alan Fiskin	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Jeffrey Fiskin / Jeffrey Alan Fiskin	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Jennifer Ames	Teleplay by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	George Pelecanos	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Steve Turner	Teleplay by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Amazon	Bosch	Series	Drama	Shaz Bennett	Script Co-ordinator	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Stephen King	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Brian Nelson	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Joe Henderson	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Bridget Carpenter	Creator	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Bridget Carpenter	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Stephen King	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Bridget Carpenter	Teleplay by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Bridget Carpenter	Written for television by	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Brigitte Hales	Written for television by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	3	0	3
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Joe Henderson	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	22.11.63	Miniseries	Drama	Brian Nelson	Written for television by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Halsted Sullivan	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Marguerite MacIntyre	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Zander Lehmann	Creator	M	0	0	10	13	13	36
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Liz Tigelaar	Executive Producer	F	0	0	10	13	13	36
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Zander Lehmann	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	13	13	36
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Holly Smith Metzler	Executive Story Edito	F	0	0	0	13	13	26
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Harris Danow	Executive Story Edito	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Marguerite MacIntyre	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13

Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Rosa Handelman	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Rosa Handelman	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Harris Danow	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Sheila Callaghan	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	10	0	0	10
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Rosa Handelman	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Holly Smith Metzler	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Liz Tigelaar	Written by	F	0	0	1	3	2	6
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Marguerite MacIntyre	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Sheila Callaghan	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Michaela Watkins	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Zander Lehmann	Written by	M	0	0	6	6	3	15
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Harris Danow	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	2	6
Hulu	Casual	Series	Comedy	Halsted Sullivan	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Tommy Dewey	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Kem Nunn	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Victoria Morrow	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alyson Evans	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Peter Elkoff	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	5	6
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Sara Gran	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alexandra Cunningham	Creator	F	0	0	0	10	10	20
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Kem Nunn	Creator	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alexandra Cunningham	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	5	6
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Kem Nunn	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	2	6	8
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alexandra Cunningham	Showrunner	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alexandra Cunningham	Teleplay by	F	0	0	0	4	0	4
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Sara Gran	Teleplay by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Victoria Morrow	Teleplay by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Peter Elkoff	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	4	0	4
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Peter Begler	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Alyson Evans	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Lauren Mackenzie	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Peter Elkoff	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Dave Flebotte	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Steve Kornacki	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Andrew Gettens	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Chance	Series	Drama	Ryan Parrott	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Cody Heller	Creator	F	0	10	13	13	0	36
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Brett Konner	Creator	M	0	10	13	13	0	36
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Cody Heller	Executive Producer	F	0	10	13	13	0	36
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Brett Konner	Executive Producer	M	0	10	13	13	0	36
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Jon Silberman	Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Josh Silberman	Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Showrunner	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Debbie Jhoon	Writer Misc	F	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Monica Padrick	Writer Misc	F	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Writer Misc	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	David Baldy	Writer Misc	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	J. Michael Feldman	Writer Misc	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Ryan Enright	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Cody Heller	Written by	F	0	5	4	2	0	11
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Brett Konner	Written by	M	0	6	4	2	0	12
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Jon Silberman	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Josh Silberman	Written by	M	0	0	13	2	0	15
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Jordan Shipley	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DeadBeat	Series	Comedy	Justin Shipley	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Jake Fogelnest	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Halsted Sullivan	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	5	6	11
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Brandy Barber	Contributing Writer	F	0	0	2	0	0	2
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Jack Moore	Contributing Writer	M	0	0	5	0	0	5
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Julie Klausner	Creator	F	0	0	8	10	10	28
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Julie Klausner	Executive Producer	F	0	0	8	10	10	28
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Scott King	Executive Producer	M	0	0	8	10	10	28
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Alex Scordelis	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Jake Fogelnest	Story Editor	M	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Halsted Sullivan	Writer	M	0	0	5	6	11	11
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Alex Scordelis	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Julie Klausner	Written by	F	0	0	8	10	10	28
Hulu	DifficPp	Series	Comedy	Scott King	Written by	M	0	0	1	5	8	14
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Will Campos	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Daniel Johnson	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	David Welch	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Will Campos	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	David Welch	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Jacob Andrews	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Will Campos	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Daniel Johnson	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	David Welch	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Catherine Farrington	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Will Campos	Story	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Daniel Johnson	Story	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	David Welch	Story	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Jacob Andrews	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Writer	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Will Campos	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Dim404	Series	Drama	Desmond Dolly	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Beth Szymkowski	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Erin Maher	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Kay Reindl	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	7	7
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Matthew V. Lewis	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Beth Szymkowski	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	3	2	5
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Kristine Huntley	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Erin Maher	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Kay Reindl	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Adam J. Karp	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Matthew V. Lewis	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	Freakish	Series	Drama	Beth Szymkowski	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Kyle Hunter	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Howard Overman	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ariel Shaffir	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Kyle Hunter	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ariel Shaffir	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ben Karlin	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Kyle Hunter	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Howard Overman	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1

Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ariel Shaffir	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Dan Mirik	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Henry Alonso Meyers	Story by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Nora Winslow	Teleplay by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Kyle Hunter	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ariel Shaffir	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ben Karlin	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Dan Mirik	Teleplay by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Jessica Conrad	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Melody Derloshon	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Kyle Hunter	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ariel Shaffir	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Ben Karlin	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Dan Mirik	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Henry Alonso Meyers	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Matthew Bass	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	FutureM	Series	Comedy	Theodore Bressman	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Margaret Atwood	Book/Novel	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Eric Tuchman	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Dorothy Fortenberry	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Leila Gerstein	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Bruce Miller	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Ilene Chaiken	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Bruce Miller	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Nina Fiore	Executive Story Edito	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	John Herrera	Executive Story Edito	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Lynn Renee Maxcy	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Margaret Atwood	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Kira Snyder	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Dorothy Fortenberry	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Leila Gerstein	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Lynn Renee Maxcy	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Kira Snyder	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Wendy Straker Hauser	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Eric Tuchman	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Bruce Miller	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Hulu	Handmaid	Series	Drama	Ilene Chaiken	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Creator	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Creator	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Executive Producer	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Executive Producer	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Written by	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWLV	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Written by	F	0	0	7	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Creator	F	0	5	0	0	0	5
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Creator	F	0	5	0	0	0	5
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Executive Producer	F	0	7	0	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Executive Producer	F	0	7	0	0	0	7
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Dannah Feinglass Phir	Writer Misc	F	0	2	0	0	0	2
Hulu	HotWOrl	Series	Comedy	Danielle Schneider	Writer Misc	F	0	2	0	0	0	2
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	Nancy Hower	Creator	F	8	10	0	0	0	18
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	John Lehr	Creator	M	8	10	0	0	0	18
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	Nancy Hower	Executive Producer	F	8	10	0	0	0	18
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	John Lehr	Executive Producer	M	8	10	0	0	0	18
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	Nancy Hower	Written by	F	8	10	0	0	0	18
Hulu	QuickDra	Series	Comedy	John Lehr	Written by	M	8	9	0	0	0	17
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Adrian Alphona	Characters / Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Brian K. Vaughan	Characters / Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Stephanie Savage	Co-creator	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Josh Schwartz	Co-creator	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Kalinda Vazquez	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	9	9
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Rodney Barnes	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Brian K. Vaughan	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Rodney Barnes	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Stephanie Savage	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Josh Schwartz	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Drew Pearce	Screenplay	M	8	10	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Brian K. Vaughan	Screenplay	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Mike Vukadinovich	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Kalinda Vazquez	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Tamara Becher	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Mike Vukadinovich	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	Runaways	Series	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Leslie Bohem	Creator	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Jonathan Iglu	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Daria Polatin	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Leslie Bohem	Story by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Charlie Keys Bohem	Story by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Hiram Martinez	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Tom Pabst	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Will Pascoe	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Daria Polatin	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Amy Berg	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Patricia Breen	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Katrina Cabrera	Written by / Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Leslie Bohem	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	6	0	6
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Hiram Martinez	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Tom Pabst	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	John Shiban	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	3	3	3
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Jonathan Iglu	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	2	2	2
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Will Pascoe	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Greg Walker	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ShutEye	Series	Drama	Brett Conrad	Written by / Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Tracey Wigfield	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	23	13	0	36
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Lang Fisher	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Lang Fisher	Co-producer	F	0	0	13	13	0	26
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Mindy Kaling	Creator	F	0	0	23	20	17	60
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Mindy Kaling	Executive Producer	F	0	0	23	20	17	60
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Lang Fisher	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Sonia Kharkar	Writers Assistant	F	0	0	0	6	17	23
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Mindy Kaling	Written by	F	0	0	3	3	1	7
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Tracey Wigfield	Written by	F	0	0	5	1	0	6
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Lang Fisher	Written by	F	0	0	3	3	3	9
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Miranda Berman	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Meredith Dawson	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	MacKenzie Dohr	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Sonia Kharkar	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	TheMindy	Series	Comedy	Jen Vierck	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Annie Weisman	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	6	16
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Julia Brownell	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Jessica Goldberg	Creator	F	0	0	0	10	13	23

Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Jessica Goldberg	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	6	16
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Jason Katims	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	6	16
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Vanessa Rojas	Producer	F	0	0	0	1	13	13
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Coleman Herbert	Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Justin Doble	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Andrea Ciannavei	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Julia Brownell	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Coleman Herbert	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	John O'Connor	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Jessica Goldberg	Written by	F	0	0	0	4	4	8
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Andrea Ciannavei	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Annie Weisman	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	2	4
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Julia Brownell	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	1	3
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Vanessa Rojas	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Coleman Herbert	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	2	3
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Jason Katims	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	Justin Doble	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hulu	ThePath	Series	Drama	John O'Connor	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Brian McGreevy	Book/Novel	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Brian McGreevy	Novel	M	11	0	0	0	0	11
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Brian McGreevy	Teleplay	M	7	0	0	0	0	7
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Brian McGreevy	Creator	M	13	10	10	0	0	33
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Brian McGreevy	Executive Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lee Shipman	Creator	M	13	10	10	0	0	33
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lee Shipman	Teleplay	M	7	0	0	0	0	7
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lee Shipman	Executive Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Travis Jackson	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Travis Jackson	Staff Writer	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Travis Jackson	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	David Paul Francis	Story Editor	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	David Paul Francis	Written by	M	0	4	2	0	0	6
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Peter Blake	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Peter Blake	Co-executive Producer	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Peter Blake	Written by	M	0	2	3	0	0	5
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Evan Dunsky	Written by	M	0	2	2	0	0	4
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Evan Dunsky	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Evan Dunsky	Co-executive Producer	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Charles H. Eglee	Executive Producer	M	0	10	10	0	0	20
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Charles H. Eglee	Written by	M	0	2	2	0	0	4
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Jennifer Haley	Written by	F	0	2	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Jennifer Haley	Story Editor	F	0	4	0	0	0	4
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Daniel Paige	Co-executive Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Daniel Paige	Teleplay	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Mark Verheiden	Executive Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Mark Verheiden	Teleplay	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Nader Navidi	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Sheila Callaghan	Teleplay	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Rafe Judkins	Co-producer	M	9	0	0	0	0	9
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Rafe Judkins	Producer	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Rafe Judkins	Teleplay	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lauren LeFranc	Co-producer	F	9	0	0	0	0	9
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lauren LeFranc	Producer	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lauren LeFranc	Teleplay	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Hemlock Grove	Series	Drama	Lorna Clarke Osunanni	Written by	F	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jenji Kohan	Creator	F	13	13	13	13	13	65
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jenji Kohan	Written by	F	2	3	0	2	2	9
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jenji Kohan	Executive Producer	F	13	13	13	13	13	65
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Piper Kerman	Book/Novel	F	13	13	13	4	0	43
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Piper Kerman	Executive Consultant	F	13	13	13	3	0	42
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jordan Harrison	Staff Writer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jordan Harrison	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jordan Harrison	Written by	M	0	0	1	1	2	4
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jordan Harrison	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Co-producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Story Editor	F	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Staff Writer	F	4	0	0	0	0	4
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Morelli	Written by	F	2	2	2	2	3	11
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Nick Jones	Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Nick Jones	Co-producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Nick Jones	Story Editor	M	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Nick Jones	Staff Writer	M	4	0	0	0	0	4
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Nick Jones	Written by	M	2	2	2	2	0	8
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sian Heder	Written by	F	2	2	2	0	0	6
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sian Heder	Story Editor	F	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sian Heder	Staff Writer	F	4	0	0	0	0	4
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sian Heder	Co-producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Rebecca Angelo	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Rebecca Angelo	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Schuker Blum	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Lauren Schuker Blum	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Molly Smith Metzler	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Molly Smith Metzler	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Anthony Natoli	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Anthony Natoli	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sara Hess	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sara Hess	Co-executive Producer	F	13	13	13	0	0	39
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Sara Hess	Written by	F	2	2	2	2	0	8
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Tara Herrman	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	13	26
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Tara Herrman	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Tara Herrman	Producer	F	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Tara Herrman	Co-producer	F	13	0	1	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Tara Herrman	Written by	F	1	1	1	1	0	6
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Josh Koenigsberg	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Josh Koenigsberg	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jim Danger Gray	Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jim Danger Gray	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	5	0	5
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Jim Danger Gray	Written by	M	0	0	2	1	0	3
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Marco Ramirez	Executive Story Editor	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Marco Ramirez	Written by	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Alex Regnery	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	6	5	4	0	15
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Alex Regnery	Written by	M	0	1	0	1	0	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Hartley Voss	Script Co-ordinator	M	13	13	5	4	0	35
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Hartley Voss	Written by	M	0	1	0	1	0	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Carly Mensch	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Carly Mensch	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Carolina Paiz	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Carolina Paiz	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Executive Producer	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Written by	F	1	0	0	0	0	1

Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Gary Lennon	Supervising Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Gary Lennon	Written by	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Stephen Falk	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Orange Is the New Black	Series	Drama	Stephen Falk	Co-executive Producer	M	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	John Fusco	Creator	M	0	10	0	10	0	20
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	John Fusco	Written by	M	0	3	0	1	0	4
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	John Fusco	Executive Producer	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Yipeng Ben Lu	Script Translator	M	0	10	0	10	0	20
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Matthew White	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Matthew White	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Noelle Valdivia	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Noelle Valdivia	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Patrick Macmanus	Executive Producer	M	0	10	0	9	0	19
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Patrick Macmanus	Written by	M	0	2	0	2	0	4
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Patrick Macmanus	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Elizabeth Sarnoff	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Elizabeth Sarnoff	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Michael Chernuchin	Written by	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Brett Conrad	Producer	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Brett Conrad	Written by	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Kate Barnow	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Dave Erickson	Executive Producer	M	0	10	0	0	0	10
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Dave Erickson	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Bruce Marshall Romans	Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Marco Polo	Series	Drama	Bruce Marshall Romans	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Glenn Kessler	Creator	M	0	0	13	10	10	33
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Glenn Kessler	Written by	M	0	4	2	0	0	6
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Glenn Kessler	Story	M	0	2	0	0	0	2
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Glenn Kessler	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Todd A. Kessler	Creator	M	0	0	13	10	10	33
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Todd A. Kessler	Written by	M	0	0	4	0	2	6
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Todd A. Kessler	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Daniel Zelman	Creator	M	0	0	13	10	10	33
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Daniel Zelman	Written by	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Daniel Zelman	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Arthur Phillips	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Arthur Phillips	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	2	6
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jonathan Glatzer	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jonathan Glatzer	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jonathan Glatzer	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	David Manson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	10	10	20
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	David Manson	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Carter Harris	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	8	10	0	18
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Carter Harris	Written by	M	0	0	1	2	0	3
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jeff Shakoor	Co-producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jeff Shakoor	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Jeff Shakoor	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Chris Mundy	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Bill Cain	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Hans Tobason	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Hans Tobason	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Addison McQuigg	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Amit Bhalia	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Lucas Jansen	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Lizzie Mickery	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Barry Pullman	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Ashlin Halfnight	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Melanie Hoopes	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Bloodline	Series	Drama	Danielle Vetere	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	J. Michael Straczynski	Creator	M	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	J. Michael Straczynski	Written by	M	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	J. Michael Straczynski	Executive Producer	M	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lana Wachowski	Creator	F	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lana Wachowski	Written by	F	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lana Wachowski	Executive Producer	F	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lilly Wachowski	Creator	F	0	0	12	1	10	23
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lilly Wachowski	Written by	F	0	0	12	0	0	12
Netflix	Sense8	Series	Drama	Lilly Wachowski	Executive Producer	F	0	0	12	0	0	12
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Carlo Bernard	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Carlo Bernard	Written by	M	0	0	1	2	4	7
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Carlo Bernard	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Carlo Bernard	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Chris Brancato	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Chris Brancato	Written by	M	0	0	5	0	0	5
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Chris Brancato	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Doug Miro	Creator	M	0	0	10	10	10	30
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Doug Miro	Written by	M	0	0	1	2	4	7
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Doug Miro	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Doug Miro	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Andy Black	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Andy Black	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	2	3
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Clayton Trussell	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Clayton Trussell	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Clayton Trussell	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Dana Ledoux Miller	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Dana Ledoux Miller	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Samir Mehta	Staff Writer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Zachary Reiter	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Zachary Reiter	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Zachary Reiter	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Dana Calvo	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Dana Calvo	Written by	F	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Nick Schenk	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	T. J. Brady	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	T. J. Brady	Story	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Rasheed Newson	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Rasheed Newson	Story	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Rasheed Newson	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Julie Siegel	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Julie Siegel	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Jason George	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Jason George	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Eric Newman	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	10	0	20
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Eric Newman	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Allison Abner	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Allison Abner	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Zach Calig	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Adam Fierro	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1

Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Adam Fierro	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Curtis Gwinn	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Curtis Gwinn	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Gideon Yago	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Gideon Yago	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Ashley Lyle	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	David Matthews	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Bart Nickerson	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Santa Sierra	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Narcos	Series	Drama	Paul Eckstein	Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Matt Duffer	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	9	17
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Matt Duffer	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	9	17
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Matt Duffer	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	4	6
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Matt Duffer	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Ross Duffer	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	9	17
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Ross Duffer	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	9	17
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Ross Duffer	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	4	6
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Ross Duffer	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Paul Dichter	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	1	9	10
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Paul Dichter	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Paul Dichter	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Paul Dichter	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	7	0	7
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Jessie Nickson-Lopez	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Jessie Nickson-Lopez	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Jessie Nickson-Lopez	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Kate Trefny	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Kate Trefny	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Justin Doble	Producer	M	0	0	0	1	9	9
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Justin Doble	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Justin Doble	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Alison Tatlok	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Stranger Things	Series	Drama	Alison Tatlok	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Stephen Adly Guirgis	Creator	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Stephen Adly Guirgis	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Stephen Adly Guirgis	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Stephen Adly Guirgis	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Baz Luhrmann	Creator	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Baz Luhrmann	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Baz Luhrmann	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Baz Luhrmann	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Jacqui Rivera	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Jacqui Rivera	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	1	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Jacqui Rivera	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	3	5	8
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Aaron Rahaasan Thomas	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Aaron Rahaasan Thomas	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Sinead Daly	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	3	5	8
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Sinead Daly	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Seth Zvi Rosenfeld	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	6	5	11
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Seth Zvi Rosenfeld	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Seth Zvi Rosenfeld	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	1	3
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Sam Bromell	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	1	3
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Sam Bromell	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	3	5	8
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	T Cooper	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Allison Glock-Cooper	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Get Down	Series	Drama	Nelson George	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Peter Morgan	Creator	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Peter Morgan	Written by	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Peter Morgan	Play	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Peter Morgan	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Edward Hemming	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	10	10	20
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Tom Edge	Additional material	M	0	0	0	4	0	4
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Tom Edge	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Nick Payne	Additional material	M	0	0	0	3	0	3
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Duncan Macmillan	Additional material	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Crown	Series	Drama	Amy Jenkins	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Melissa Rosenberg	Executive Producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Melissa Rosenberg	Creator	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Melissa Rosenberg	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Melissa Rosenberg	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Brian Michael Bendis	Characters / Story	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Brian Michael Bendis	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Brian Michael Bendis	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Michael Gaydos	Characters / Story	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Jenna Reback	Staff Writer	F	0	0	9	0	0	9
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Hilly Hicks Jr.	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Hilly Hicks Jr.	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Teleplay	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Jamie King	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Jamie King	Staff Writer	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Jamie King	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Dana Baratta	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Dana Baratta	Written by	F	0	0	3	0	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Micah Schraft	Co-producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Micah Schraft	Written by	M	0	0	3	0	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Executive Producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Liz Friedman	Story	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Edward Ricourt	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Jessica Jones	Series	Drama	Edward Ricourt	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Scott Buck	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Scott Buck	Creator	M	0	0	0	13	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Scott Buck	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	3	3
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Gil Kane	Comic by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Gil Kane	Characters / Story	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Roy Thomas	Comic by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Roy Thomas	Characters / Story	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Dwaine Worrell	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Dwaine Worrell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Tamara Becher	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Tamara Becher	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Pat Charles	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Pat Charles	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Quinton Peeples	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13

Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Scott Reynolds	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Ian Stokes	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Ian Stokes	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Ian Stokes	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Cristine Chambers	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	Cristine Chambers	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's Iron Fist	Series	Drama	M. Raven Metzner	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Zal Batmanglij	Creator	M	0	0	0	9	0	9
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Zal Batmanglij	Written by	M	0	0	0	5	0	5
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Zal Batmanglij	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Brit Marling	Creator	F	0	0	0	9	0	9
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Brit Marling	Written by	F	0	0	0	6	0	6
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Brit Marling	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Melanie Marnich	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Melanie Marnich	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Dominic Orlando	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Dominic Orlando	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Ruby Rae Spiegel	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The OA	Series	Drama	Ruby Rae Spiegel	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Emily Fox	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Emily Fox	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Daniel Handler	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Daniel Handler	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Tatiana Suarez-Pico	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Joe Tracz	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	A Series of Unfortunate Events	Series	Drama	Joe Tracz	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Jay Asher	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Brian Yorkey	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Brian Yorkey	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Nic Sheff	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Nic Sheff	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Thomas Higgins	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Thomas Higgins	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Elizabeth Benjamin	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Elizabeth Benjamin	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Diana Son	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Diana Son	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Julia Bicknell	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Nathan Louis Jackson	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Kirk Moore	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Hayley Tyler	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	13 Reasons Why	Series	Drama	Hayley Tyler	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jon / Jonathan Caren	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jon / Jonathan Caren	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jon / Jonathan Caren	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jon / Jonathan Caren	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Lisa Rubin	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Lisa Rubin	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	5	5
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Lisa Rubin	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Lisa Rubin	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Sean Jablonski	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Sean Jablonski	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Jessica Mecklenburg	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Gypsy	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Bill Dubuque	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Bill Dubuque	Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Bill Dubuque	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Bill Dubuque	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Mark Williams	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Mark Williams	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Mark Williams	Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Paul Kolsby	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Paul Kolsby	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Mark Zimmerman	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Mark Zimmerman	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Whit Anderson	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Ryan Farley	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Ryan Farley	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Alyson Feltes	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Alyson Feltes	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Chris Mundy	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Ozark	Series	Drama	Chris Mundy	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	John Douglas	Consultant	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	John Douglas	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Mark Olshaker	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Joe Penhall	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Joe Penhall	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Joe Penhall	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Joe Penhall	Story	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Joe Penhall	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Jennifer Haley	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Jennifer Haley	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Jennifer Haley	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Erin Levy	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Erin Levy	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Tobias Lindholm	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Dominic Orlando	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Ruby Rae Spiegel	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Carly Wray	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mindhunter	Series	Drama	Carly Wray	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Nevin Densham	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Nevin Densham	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Laeta Kalogridis	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Laeta Kalogridis	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Laeta Kalogridis	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Richard Morgan	Book/Novel	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Richard Morgan	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Steve Blackman	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Steve Blackman	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Russel Friend	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Russel Friend	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Garrett Lerner	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Garrett Lerner	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Brian Nelson	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Brian Nelson	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Altered Carbon	Series	Drama	Casey Fisher	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1

Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Bill Everett	Comic by	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Drew Goddard	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Drew Goddard	Creator	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Luke Kalteaux	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Luke Kalteaux	Story Editor	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Luke Kalteaux	Written by	M	0	0	2	1	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Stan Lee	Comic by	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Stan Lee	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Ruth Fletcher	Staff Writer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Ruth Fletcher	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Christos N. Gage	Staff Writer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Christos N. Gage	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Whit Anderson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Whit Anderson	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Whit Anderson	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Sneha Koorse	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Tonya Kong	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Sarah Streicher	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Douglas Petrie	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Douglas Petrie	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Douglas Petrie	Written by	M	0	0	3	4	0	7
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Marco Ramirez	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Marco Ramirez	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Marco Ramirez	Written by	M	0	0	2	4	0	6
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Stephen S. DeKnight	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Stephen S. DeKnight	Written by	M	0	0	3	0	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Lauren Schmidt	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Lauren Schmidt	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Joe Pokaski	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Joe Pokaski	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	John C. Kelley	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	John C. Kelley	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	John C. Kelley	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Mark Verheiden	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Daredevil	Series	Drama	Mark Verheiden	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Cheo Hodari Coker	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Cheo Hodari Coker	Creator	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Cheo Hodari Coker	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	0	3
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Cheo Hodari Coker	Showrunner	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Archie Goodwin	Comic by	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Nathan Louis Jackson	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Nathan Louis Jackson	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Matt Owens	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Matt Owens	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	John Romita Sr.	Comic by	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Roy Thomas	Comic by	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	George Tuska	Comic by	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Akela Cooper	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Akela Cooper	Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Aida Mashaka Croal	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Aida Mashaka Croal	Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Jason Horwitch	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Jason Horwitch	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Charles Murray	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Charles Murray	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Christian Taylor	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's Luke Cage	Series	Drama	Christian Taylor	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Ross Andru	Comic by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Gerry Conway	Comic by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Ken Kristensen	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Ken Kristensen	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Angela LaManna	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Angela LaManna	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Creator	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Steve Lightfoot	Showrunner	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	John Romita Sr.	Comic by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Felicia D. Henderson	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Felicia D. Henderson	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Dario Scardapane	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Dario Scardapane	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Christine Boylan	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Michael Jones-Morales	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Michael Jones-Morales	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Bruce Marshall Romans	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Marvel's The Punisher	Series	Drama	Bruce Marshall Romans	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Beau Willimon	Creator	M	13	13	13	13	0	65
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Beau Willimon	Written by	M	10	7	4	2	0	23
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Beau Willimon	Executive Producer	M	13	13	13	13	0	52
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Andrew Davies	based on the mini-series by	M	13	13	13	13	13	65
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Andrew Davies	Executive Producer	M	13	13	13	13	0	52
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Michael Dobbs	Book/Novel	M	13	13	13	13	0	52
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Michael Dobbs	Executive Producer	M	13	13	13	13	0	52
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Laura Eason	Written by	F	0	2	1	2	2	7
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Laura Eason	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Laura Eason	Staff Writer	F	0	6	0	0	0	6
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Laura Eason	Story Editor	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Laura Eason	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Assistant to Writer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Staff Writer	M	0	6	0	0	0	6
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Story Editor	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Written by	M	0	1	1	2	2	6
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kennedy	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Tian Jun Gu	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Tian Jun Gu	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Tian Jun Gu	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	5	0	5
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kate Barnow	Story Editor	F	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kate Barnow	Written by	F	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Staff Writer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Production Staff	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Sam Forman	Story Editor	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	John Mankiewicz	Co-executive producer	M	0	13	13	13	0	39
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	John Mankiewicz	Written by	M	0	2	2	2	0	8
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Melissa James Gibson	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Melissa James Gibson	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	17	17
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Melissa James Gibson	Written by	F	0	0	2	3	3	8
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Melissa James Gibson	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	13	0	0	13

Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Frank Pugliese	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Frank Pugliese	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	13	13	0	26
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Frank Pugliese	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	3	7
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kenneth Lin	Staff Writer	M	0	6	0	0	0	6
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kenneth Lin	Story Editor	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kenneth Lin	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Kenneth Lin	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Rick Cleveland	Co-executive producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Rick Cleveland	Written by	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Keith Huff	Producer	M	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Keith Huff	Written by	M	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Sarah Treem	Co-executive producer	F	13	0	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Sarah Treem	Written by	F	2	0	0	0	0	2
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Gina Gionfriddo	Written by	F	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Princeton Kennedy	Co-producer	M	3	0	0	0	0	3
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Princeton Kennedy	Principal Writer	M	1	0	0	0	0	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	Bill Kain	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	David Manson	Executive Producer	M	0	13	0	0	0	13
Netflix	House of Cards	Series	Drama	David Manson	Written by	M	0	1	0	0	0	1
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Robert Carlock	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Robert Carlock	Creator	M	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Robert Carlock	Written by	M	0	0	4	3	0	7
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Tina Fey	Executive Producer	F	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Tina Fey	Creator	F	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Tina Fey	Written by	F	0	0	2	3	2	7
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Sam Means	Written by	M	0	0	3	3	3	9
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Sam Means	Producer	M	0	0	12	0	0	12
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Sam Means	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Sam Means	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Dan Rubin	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Dan Rubin	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	12	13	0	25
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Dan Rubin	Written by	M	0	0	1	2	2	5
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Meredith Scardino	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	3	5
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Meredith Scardino	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Meredith Scardino	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Meredith Scardino	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	12	0	0	12
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Allison Silverman	Written by	F	0	0	2	1	2	5
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Allison Silverman	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	12	13	13	38
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Jack Burditt	Executive Producer	M	0	0	7	0	0	7
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Jack Burditt	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	5	0	0	5
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Jack Burditt	Written by	M	0	0	4	3	0	4
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Azie Mira Dungey	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Azie Mira Dungey	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Azie Mira Dungey	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	1	3
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Leila Strachan	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Leila Strachan	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Leila Strachan	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Lauren Gurganous	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Lauren Gurganous	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	1	2
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Emily Altman	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	0	2
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Emily Altman	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Dylan Morgan	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Dylan Morgan	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Josh Siegal	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Josh Siegal	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Lon Zimmet	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	12	0	0	12
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Lon Zimmet	Written by	M	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Nick Bernadone	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Nick Bernadone	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	1	5	0	6
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Nick Bernadone	Associate Producer	M	0	0	0	8	13	21
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Nick Bernadone	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Grace Edwards	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Max Werner	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Unbreakable Kimmy Schmidt	Series	Comedy	Bridger Winegar	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Marta Kauffman	Creator	F	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Marta Kauffman	Written by	F	0	0	3	2	3	8
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Marta Kauffman	Executive Producer	F	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Howard J. Morris	Executive Producer	M	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Howard J. Morris	Creator	M	0	0	13	13	13	39
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Howard J. Morris	Written by	M	0	0	3	2	2	7
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	David Budin	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	David Budin	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	David Budin	Written by	M	0	0	1	1	1	3
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brendan McCarthy	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brendan McCarthy	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brendan McCarthy	Written by	M	0	0	1	1	1	3
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Julianne Smolinski	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Julianne Smolinski	Written by	F	0	0	1	1	1	3
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Laura Jacamin	Story Editor	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Laura Jacamin	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Billy Finnegan	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Billy Finnegan	Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Billy Finnegan	Co-producer	M	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Billy Finnegan	Written by	M	0	0	2	2	2	6
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Alexa Junge	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	13	26
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Alexa Junge	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Alexa Junge	Written by	F	0	0	2	2	1	5
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Nancy Fichman	Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Nancy Fichman	Co-producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Nancy Fichman	Written by	F	0	0	2	2	0	4
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Jennifer Hoppe	Co-producer	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Jennifer Hoppe	Written by	F	0	0	2	2	0	4
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	John Hoffman	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	13	2	15
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	John Hoffman	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Alex Burnett	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Julie Durk	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Julie Durk	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Julie Durk	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brooke Wied	Script Co-ordinator	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brooke Wied	Writers Assistant	F	0	0	13	0	0	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Brooke Wied	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Jacquelyn Reingard	Written by	F	0	0	2	0	0	2
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Alex Kavallierou	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Sara Lohman	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Will Calhoun	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Grace and Frankie	Series	Comedy	Will Calhoun	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Aziz Ansari	Creator	M	0	0	10	0	10	20
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Aziz Ansari	Written by	M	0	0	8	0	6	14
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Aziz Ansari	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	0	4	5
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Aziz Ansari	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	10	20

Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Alan Yang	Executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	10	20
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Alan Yang	Creator	M	0	0	10	0	10	20
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Alan Yang	Written by	M	0	0	7	0	3	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Alan Yang	Teleplay	M	0	0	1	0	4	5
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Zoe Jarman	Story Editor	F	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Zoe Jarman	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Sarah Peters	Story Editor	F	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Sarah Peters	Teleplay	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Sarah Peters	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Parker Hull	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Andy Blitz	Story	M	0	0	1	0	1	2
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Andy Blitz	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	6	0	0	6
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Andy Blitz	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Joe Mande	Written by	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Joe Mande	Co-producer	M	0	0	7	0	0	7
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Harris Wittels	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	10	0	0	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Harris Wittels	Story	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Cord Jefferson	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Cord Jefferson	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Sarah Schneider	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Sarah Schneider	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	2	0	10	12
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Lakshmi Sundaram	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Lakshmi Sundaram	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Master of None	Series	Comedy	Lena Thwaite	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Scott Aukerman	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	David Cross	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	David Cross	Creator	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	David Cross	Executive Producer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Eric Huffman	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Jay Johnston	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Bill Odenkirk	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Bob Odenkirk	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Bob Odenkirk	Executive Producer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Brian Posehn	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Brian Posehn	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Mark Rivers	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Mark Rivers	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Dino Stamatopoulos	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Dino Stamatopoulos	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Paul F. Tompkins	Writer	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Jon Barinholtz	Writer	M	0	0	1	0	3	4
Netflix	W/ Bob and David	Series	Comedy	Mort Burke	Writer	M	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Judd Apatow	Creator	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Judd Apatow	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Judd Apatow	Written by	M	0	0	0	4	3	7
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Lesley Arfin	Creator	F	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Lesley Arfin	Written by	F	0	0	0	4	1	5
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Lesley Arfin	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Paul Rust	Creator	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Paul Rust	Written by	M	0	0	0	5	4	9
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Paul Rust	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Brent Forrester	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Brent Forrester	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	3	5
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Dave King	Written by	M	0	0	1	3	4	8
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Dave King	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Dave King	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	12	12	12
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Alexandra Rushfield	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Alexandra Rushfield	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Alexandra Rushfield	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	3	4
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Ali Waller	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Ali Waller	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Ali Waller	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Rebecca Addelman	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Rebecca Addelman	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Mason Flink	Writers Assistant	M	0	0	0	10	12	22
Netflix	Love	Series	Comedy	Mason Flink	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jeff Franklin	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	26	18	44
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jeff Franklin	Creator	M	0	0	0	26	18	44
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jeff Franklin	Written by	M	0	0	0	5	2	7
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Eydie Faye	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	18	18
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Eydie Faye	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Eydie Faye	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	3	4
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Kate Spurgeon	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	18	18
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Kate Spurgeon	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Kate Spurgeon	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	3	4
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Polina Diaz	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Polina Diaz	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Steve Baldikoski	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	26	18	44
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Steve Baldikoski	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Steve Baldikoski	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bryan Behar	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	26	18	44
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bryan Behar	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bryan Behar	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Boyd Hale	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	26	18	44
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Boyd Hale	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Boyd Hale	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Marsh McCall	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	13	26
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Marsh McCall	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Amy Engelberg	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Amy Engelberg	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Amy Engelberg	Story	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Wendy Engelberg	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Wendy Engelberg	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Wendy Engelberg	Story	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Andrew Gottlieb	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Andrew Gottlieb	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Andrew Gottlieb	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bob Keyes	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bob Keyes	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Bob Keyes	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Doug Keyes	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Doug Keyes	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Doug Keyes	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Julie Thacker	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Julie Thacker	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Julie Thacker	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Maria A. Brown	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	18	18
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Maria A. Brown	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jerry Collins	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jerry Collins	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	18	18
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jordana Arkin	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1

Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Jordana Arkin	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Erin Cardillo	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Erin Cardillo	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Nancy Cohen	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Nancy Cohen	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Dave Couler	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Richard Keith	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Richard Keith	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	13	0	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Brian McAuley	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Craig Shoemaker	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Joe Vargas	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Nick Fascitelli	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	26	9	35
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Nick Fascitelli	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Kellie R. Griffin	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Kellie R. Griffin	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Fuller House	Series	Comedy	Alisha Ketry	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Will Arnett	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Will Arnett	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	6	14
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Will Arnett	Written by	M	0	0	0	8	2	10
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Mark Chappell	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	6	14
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Mark Chappell	Written by	M	0	0	0	8	2	10
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Nikki Shiefelbein	Writing Consultant	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Mehar Sethi	Writing Consultant	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Bobby Bowman	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Evan Mann	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Gareth Reynolds	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Flaked	Series	Comedy	Maggie Rowe	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Joshua Ladigrove	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Kate Berlant	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Phil Burgers	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Phil Burgers	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Andre deYoung	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Paul W. Downs	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Paul W. Downs	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	John Early	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	John Early	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	John Early	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Abbi Jacobson	Consultant Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Zach Kanin	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Zach Kanin	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Joshua Ladigrove	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Lauren Lapkus	Main Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Lauren Lapkus	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Ed Larson	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Holden McNeely	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Kassia Miller	Consultant Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Max Posner	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Tim Robinson	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Tim Robinson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Natasha Rothwell	Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Natasha Rothwell	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Charlie Sanders	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Courtney Scott	Consultant Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Jan Staskis	Consultant Writer	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Erik Tanouge	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Nick Wiger	Consultant Writer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Characters	Series	Comedy	Henry Zebrowski	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jim Patterson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	20	7	27
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jim Patterson	Creator	M	0	0	0	20	20	40
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jim Patterson	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	5	3	8
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jim Patterson	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jim Patterson	Story	M	0	0	0	7	4	11
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nathan Chetty	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nathan Chetty	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nathan Chetty	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	5	4	9
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nathan Chetty	Story	M	0	0	0	3	4	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Don Reo	Creator	M	0	0	0	20	20	40
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Don Reo	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Don Reo	Story	M	0	0	0	4	3	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Don Reo	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	5	3	8
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Don Reo	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	20	7	27
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	William Vallery	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	William Vallery	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	19	19
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	William Vallery	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	William Vallery	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Bryce VanKooten	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	20	0	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Bryce VanKooten	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	19	19
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Bryce VanKooten	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Bryce VanKooten	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jason Zumwalt	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	20	0	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jason Zumwalt	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	19	19
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jason Zumwalt	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Emily Hirshey	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jessica Kravitz	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	5	4	9
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Story	M	0	0	0	4	5	9
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	20	20
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	5	4	9
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Story	M	0	0	0	4	5	9
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jamie Rhonheimer	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	20	7	27
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jamie Rhonheimer	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	3	4	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jamie Rhonheimer	Story	M	0	0	0	4	3	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jeff Lowell	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	10	7	17
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jeff Lowell	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jeff Lowell	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	4	3	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Jeff Lowell	Story	M	0	0	0	3	3	6
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Tompkins	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	20	7	27
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Tompkins	Story	M	0	0	0	4	4	8
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Tompkins	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Leff	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Leff	Producer	M	0	0	0	19	0	19
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Leff	Story	M	0	0	0	1	2	3
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Steve Leff	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nikki Shiefelbein	Producer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nikki Shiefelbein	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	10	7	17
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nikki Shiefelbein	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	2	3
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Nikki Shiefelbein	Story	F	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Carla Filisha	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	1	1

Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Carla Filisha	Story	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Carla Filisha	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Ashton Kutcher	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	20	7	27
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Ashton Kutcher	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Williger	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	0	20	20	40
Netflix	The Ranch	Series	Comedy	Max Williger	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Pam Brady	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	12	8	20
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Pam Brady	Creator	F	0	0	0	12	8	20
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Pam Brady	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Mitchell Hurwitz	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	12	8	20
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Mitchell Hurwitz	Creator	M	0	0	0	12	8	20
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Mitchell Hurwitz	Written by	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Jen Statsky	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Jen Statsky	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	11	0	11
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Jen Statsky	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Hallie Cantor	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Hallie Cantor	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Theresa Mulligan	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	12	0	12
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Theresa Mulligan	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Theresa Mulligan	Written by	F	0	0	0	3	2	5
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Kyle McCulloch	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Kyle McCulloch	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Kyle McCulloch	Producer	M	0	0	0	12	0	12
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Producer	M	0	0	0	12	0	12
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Matt Ross	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Producer	M	0	0	0	12	0	12
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Max Searle	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Robert Cohen	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	12	0	12
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Robert Cohen	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Robert Cohen	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Matteo Barghese	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Matteo Barghese	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Rob Turbovsky	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Lady Dynamite	Series	Comedy	Rob Turbovsky	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Easy	Series	Comedy	Joe Swanberg	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Easy	Series	Comedy	Joe Swanberg	Written by	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Christopher Ballinger	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Christopher Ballinger	Story	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Christopher Ballinger	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	3	5
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Christopher Ballinger	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	7	0	7
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Colleen Ballinger	Creator	F	0	0	0	8	3	16
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Colleen Ballinger	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Colleen Ballinger	Story	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Colleen Ballinger	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	3	5
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Colleen Ballinger	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Gigi McCreery	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Gigi McCreery	Creator	F	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Gigi McCreery	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Gigi McCreery	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	3	5
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Perry M. Rein	Producer	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Perry M. Rein	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Perry M. Rein	Creator	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Perry M. Rein	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	1	0	1
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Perry M. Rein	Written by	M	0	0	0	3	5	5
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Justin Varava	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	8	0	8
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Justin Varava	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	2	4
Netflix	Haters Back Off!	Series	Comedy	Russ Woody	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Gloria Calderon Kellett	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Gloria Calderon Kellett	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Gloria Calderon Kellett	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Norman Lear	Original Series Developed by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Whitney Blake	Original Series Developed by	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Allan Manings	Original Series Developed by	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Mike Royce	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Mike Royce	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Mike Royce	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Michelle Badillo	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Michelle Badillo	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Caroline Levich	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Caroline Levich	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Debby Wolfe	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Debby Wolfe	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Andy Roth	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Andy Roth	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Dan Hernandez	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Dan Hernandez	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Sebastian Jones	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	12	12
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Sebastian Jones	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Becky Mann	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Becky Mann	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Benji Samit	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Benji Samit	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Audra Sielaff	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Audra Sielaff	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	One Day at a Time	Series	Comedy	Dan Signer	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Aaron Brownstein	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Aaron Brownstein	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Victor Fresco	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Victor Fresco	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Victor Fresco	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Simon Ganz	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Simon Ganz	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Ben Smith	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Clay Graham	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Clay Graham	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Chadd Gindin	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Chadd Gindin	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Michael A. Ross	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Michael A. Ross	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Leila Cohan Miccio	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Leila Cohan Miccio	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Santa Clarita Diet	Series	Comedy	Sarah Walker	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joel Hodgson	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joel Hodgson	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joel Hodgson	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Elliott Kalan	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Elliott Kalan	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Jonah Ray	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Jonah Ray	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Jonah Ray	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Baron Vaughn	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Hampton Yount	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	14	14

Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Mary Robinson	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	11	11
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Storm DiCostanzo	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Tammy Golden	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Matt Oswalt	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Seth Robinson	Associate Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Seth Robinson	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Paul Sabourin	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Paul Sabourin	Associate Producer	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Matt McGinnis	Associate Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Matt McGinnis	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Harold Buchholz	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Harold Buchholz	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Lesley Kinzel	Associate Producer	F	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Lesley Kinzel	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Erik Marcisak	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	5	5
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Paul Chaplin	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Matt Conant	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Felicia Day	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Bill Corbett	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Rebecca Hanson	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Tiffany Hartsell	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Ashley Holtgraver	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Mary Jo Pehl	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Tim Ryder	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Zach Thompson	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Ivan Askwith	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Ivan Askwith	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Grant Baccioco	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Neil Casey	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Scott Chester	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Eugene Cordero	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Ernest Cline	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Ryon Day	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	John Erler	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Eric Fell	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Dana Gould	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Dan Harmon	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Larry Johnson	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Mark Levy	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Robert Lopez	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Patrick Mailha	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joel McHale	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Kate Micucci	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Opus Moreschi	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joe Parsons	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Joshua Pruett	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Adam Ray	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Justin Roiland	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Nell Scovell	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Dana Snyder	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Jonathan Stern	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	14	14
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Jonathan Stern	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Shaun Stewart	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Russ Wulka	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Mystery Science Theater 3000	Series	Comedy	Mario Waddell	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Sophia Amoruso	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Sophia Amoruso	Book/Novel	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Ben Braeden	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Ben Braeden	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Kay Cannon	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Kay Cannon	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Kay Cannon	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	6	6
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Karen Graci	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Brian Shortall	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Sonny Lee	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Sonny Lee	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Eben Russell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Eben Russell	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Caroline Williams	Co-executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Caroline Williams	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Joanna Calo	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Joanna Calo	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Jake Fogelnest	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Girlboss	Series	Comedy	Jake Fogelnest	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	13	13
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Leann Bowen	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	10	0	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Leann Bowen	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Leann Bowen	Written by	F	0	0	0	1	1	2
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Njeri Brown	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Njeri Brown	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Chuck Hayward	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Chuck Hayward	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Justin Simien	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Justin Simien	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Justin Simien	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Jack Moore	Co-producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Jack Moore	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Nastaran Dibai	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Nastaran Dibai	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Dear White People	Series	Comedy	Yvette Lee Bowser	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Liz Flahive	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Liz Flahive	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Liz Flahive	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Carly Mensch	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Carly Mensch	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Carly Mensch	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Rachel Shukert	Executive Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Rachel Shukert	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Kristoffer Diaz	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Emma Rathbone	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Nick Jones	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Nick Jones	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Sascha Rothchild	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Sascha Rothchild	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Sascha Rothchild	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Jenji Kohan	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	GLOW	Series	Comedy	Jenji Kohan	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Tiffany Barrett	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Francesca Delbanco	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Francesca Delbanco	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Francesca Delbanco	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Nicholas Stoller	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8

Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Nicholas Stoller	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Nicholas Stoller	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Ron Weiner	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Andrew Gurland	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Colleen McGuinness	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Colleen McGuinness	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Friends from College	Series	Comedy	Justin Nowell	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Robia Rashid	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Robia Rashid	Creator	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Robia Rashid	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Michael Oppenhuizen	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Michael Oppenhuizen	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Jen Regan	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Jen Regan	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Dennis Saldua	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Dennis Saldua	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Ava Tramer	Story Editor	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Annabel Oakes	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Annabel Oakes	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Brian Tanen	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Brian Tanen	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Atypical	Series	Comedy	Brian Tanen	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Will Hayes	Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Will Hayes	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	David Javerbaum	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	David Javerbaum	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	David Javerbaum	Story	M	0	0	0	0	9	9
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	David Javerbaum	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chuck Lorre	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chuck Lorre	Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chuck Lorre	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chuck Lorre	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Warren Bell	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Warren Bell	Story	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Brenda Hsueh	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Brenda Hsueh	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Sam Johnson	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Sam Johnson	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chris Marcol	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Chris Marcol	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Kevin Shinnick	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Taili K. Austin	Supervising Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Taili K. Austin	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Bill Daly	Co-executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Bill Daly	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Mike Dieffenback	Supervising Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Mike Dieffenback	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Matt Kirsch	Teleplay	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Angeli Millan	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	Disjointed	Series	Comedy	Angeli Millan	Teleplay	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Perrault	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Perrault	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Perrault	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Tony Yacenda	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Tony Yacenda	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Tony Yacenda	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Kevin McManus	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Kevin McManus	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Matthew McManus	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Matthew McManus	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Seth Cohen	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Seth Cohen	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Lauren Herstik	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Lauren Herstik	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Showrunner	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Dan Lagana	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Jessica Meyer	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Jessica Meyer	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Amy Pocha	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Amy Pocha	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Mike Rosolio	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	American Vandal	Series	Comedy	Mike Rosolio	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Spike Lee	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	6	6
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Spike Lee	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Spike Lee	Story	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Spike Lee	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Radha Blank	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Radha Blank	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Radha Blank	Co-producer	F	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Barry Michael Cooper	Producer	M	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Barry Michael Cooper	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	0	3	3
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Eisa Davis	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Eisa Davis	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Cinqué Lee	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Cinqué Lee	Staff Writer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Joie Lee	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Joie Lee	Staff Writer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Lynn Nottage	Producer	F	0	0	0	0	10	10
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Lynn Nottage	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Lynn Nottage	Writer Misc	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	She's Gotta Have It	Series	Comedy	Lemon Anderson	Executive Story Editor	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Anthony King	Staff Writer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Creator	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Written by	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Executive Producer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Creator	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Written by	M	0	0	4	0	0	4
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Executive Producer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Christina Lee	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Christina Lee	Written by	F	0	0	1	0	0	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Sarah Violet Bliss	Staff Writer	F	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Krister Johnson	Staff Writer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Anthony King	Staff Writer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Matthew Kriete	Script Co-ordinator	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: First Day of Camp	M Series	Comedy	Charles Rogers	Staff Writer	M	0	0	8	0	0	8
Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	Mike Smith	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	Mike Smith	Producer	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	John Paul Tremblay	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	John Paul Tremblay	Producer	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	Rob Wells	Writer Misc	M	0	0	0	8	8	16

Netflix	Trailer Park Boys: Out of the Park	M Series	Comedy	Rob Wells	Producer	M	0	0	0	8	8	16
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	M Series	Drama	Amy Sherman Palladino	Creator	F	0	0	0	4	0	4
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	M Series	Drama	Amy Sherman Palladino	Written by	F	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	M Series	Drama	Amy Sherman Palladino	Executive Producer	F	0	0	0	4	0	4
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	M Series	Drama	Daniel Palladino	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	4	0	4
Netflix	Gilmore Girls: A Year in the Life	M Series	Drama	Daniel Palladino	Written by	M	0	0	0	2	0	2
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	4	4
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Michael Showalter	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Creator	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	David Wain	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Krister Johnson	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Krister Johnson	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	2	2
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Sarah Violet Bliss	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Sarah Violet Bliss	Consulting Producer	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Nicole Drespel	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Fran Gillespie	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Anthony King	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Anthony King	Co-executive producer	M	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Matthew Kriete	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Christina Lee	Co-executive producer	F	0	0	0	0	8	8
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Christina Lee	Written by	F	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Charles Rogers	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Charles Rogers	Consulting Producer	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Wet Hot American Summer: Ten Years Later	M Series	Comedy	Craig Rowin	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	1	1
Netflix	Godless	M Series	Drama	Scott Frank	Written by	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
Netflix	Godless	M Series	Drama	Scott Frank	Executive Producer	M	0	0	0	0	7	7
							562	803	2643	4474	6273	14755

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