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Executive Summary

The purpose of this study was to assess the prevalence and experiences of directors from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups in film. To this end, the research involved three prongs. First, we examined race/ethnicity of all directors associated with U.S. dramatic and documentary films selected and screened at Sundance Film Festival (SFF) between 2002 and 2013. Using a modified version of U.S. Census categories, a total of 1,068 directors across more than 900 films were categorized into one or more racial/ethnic groups.

Second, we assessed how diversity behind the camera was related to on screen diversity. Here we scrutinized the relationship between director race/ethnicity and character race/ethnicity across 118 dramatic movies screened at SFF between 2010 and 2013 and 500 top-grossing films theatrically released between 2007 and 2012. Third, we interviewed 20 emerging and seasoned underrepresented narrative directors about the barriers and opportunities they have experienced navigating the independent film space. Below, we overview our major quantitative and qualitative findings.

Quantitative Analysis Underrepresented Directors at Sundance Film Festival

Across 12 years of U.S. films screened at Sundance Film Festival (2002-2013), 20.1% (n=215) of the directors were from one or more underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups. Put differently, the ratio of White directors to underrepresented directors is just shy of 4 to 1.

Differences emerged across narrative and documentary films. Almost a quarter of all directors of narrative films were from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups (23.1%). Underrepresented directors comprised 15.6% of helmers in the documentary space.

An assessment of gender prevalence revealed key differences. Across 12 years, underrepresented males (77.2%) were more likely than underrepresented females (22.8%) to direct U.S. narrative and documentary films. Looking more closely at film genre, underrepresented females accounted for 18.1% of directors in the narrative space (81.9% male) and 33.3% in the documentary space (66.7% male). Thus, underrepresented females were almost twice as likely to helm a documentary film than a dramatic feature.

Director race/ethnicity is strongly associated with character diversity. In the SFF promotional materials, the percentage of underrepresented characters on screen increased 43.9% when a

director of color helmed a film. Director race/ethnicity *increases* the likelihood of including on screen characters from the same racial/ethnic group when a "match" between director race/ethnicity and on-screen depictions is considered.

Although they remain less prevalent than White directors, individuals from underrepresented groups do find a place to showcase their work at Sundance Film Festival. This work is often more diverse than that of White directors, and particularly so when considered in relation to the race/ethnicity of the director.

Underrepresented Directors of Top-Grossing Films

We examined the prevalence of underrepresented directors across 700 top-grossing films between 2006 and 2012 as a comparison to rates in independent film. Only 10.7% (n=84) of directors (n=785) were from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups. Looking to the relationship between the director and content was also informative. When a White director helmed a movie, 21.4% of characters on screen were underrepresented. When a director of color was behind the camera, 49.7% of characters were underrepresented.

The presence of a director from a particular race/ethnicity *heightens* the likelihood that on screen characters will be from the same racial/ethnic group. This is evident among Black (52.6% of characters were Black), Hispanic (12.5% of characters were Hispanic/Latino) and Asian (27.5% of characters were Asian) directors of top-grossing fare. White directors showed the least amount of diversity on screen.

In comparison to independent films, top-grossing fare is less likely to feature underrepresented individuals at the helm, particularly women. The films that do feature directors from diverse backgrounds are also more likely to showcase diversity on screen. It is clear from these findings that directors who may find a footing in the independent realm will find it difficult to transition to higher budgeted fare.

Qualitative Analysis Barriers and Opportunities facing Underrepresented Directors

Interviews with 20 directors from underrepresented groups revealed a series of impediments that face individuals as they navigate a filmmaking career. Notably, filmmakers described that politicized market forces were a significant obstacle to making films. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of those interviewed mentioned that perceptions of the marketplace (i.e., what sells) hampered their ability to create films, especially those with diverse casts or characters. Directors also mentioned that their abilities were doubted by investors or employees on a film set. Close to half (40%) indicated that due to the race and/or ethnicity or their age they were challenged or questioned by others in the industry. Directors also indicated that a lack of wealth or class membership (25%), perceived incongruity with community membership (25%), and gender (25%) functioned as barriers to advancement in the film industry.

Several opportunities for change were provided. First, offering more creative support for diverse artists was suggested. Strengthening or broadening existing training or exhibition programs for directors from underrepresented groups could be one means of creating more exposure for artists.

Second, directors recommended increasing financing or networking opportunities that would offer more chances for filmmakers to raise capital. Finally, creating structural interference in the industry to mandate diversity was proposed as a way to ensure change.

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Full Report

Films can leave an indelible imprint on viewers. This unique art form has evolved alongside other forms of technology as a vessel for storytelling, capturing our imaginations and our culture. As a result, filmmakers have acquired a peculiar role, at once the architects of the imaginary while at the same time responsible for stewarding real-world businesses and brands. Their products straddle both art and commerce, since movies earn over \$10 billion in annual domestic revenue.² While what we see on screen certainly entertains, it can also echo the larger world we live in. Given the rapidly changing cultural landscape we inhabit, it is important to consider whether films and filmmakers truly reflect the diversity of their audience.

Although very little research has been conducted on the impact racial/ethnic status has on employment as a content creator, industry guild findings shed light on the problem. The Directors Guild of America found that during the 2012–2013 television season, 14% of episodic television shows were directed by a male from an underrepresented group and just 2% were directed by an underrepresented female.³ The Writers Guild of America reported that in 2009, just 5% of screenwriters in film were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. This was a decrease from an already low 6% between 2005 and 2008.⁴

Perhaps the most systematic investigation of the prevalence of diversity behind the camera has been conducted by researchers at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Southern California.⁵ From 2007 to 2012, the prevalence of African-American directors of the 100 top-grossing films each year decreased, from 7.1% in 2007 to just 4.9% in 2012. Across five years and 500 films, only two African-American female directors were represented.

Outside of mere presence behind the camera, when individuals from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups do work as directors and producers, they may have a very different experience than their white male counterparts. According to the Writers Guild, the median wage gap between what white male film writers earned in 2009 and what underrepresented film writers earned was \$20,864.⁶ The gap is shrinking, but the WGA has attributed this to a decrease in incomes for white males rather than to increases in pay for underrepresented writers.

Several books have explored the topic of race and work in the film industry.⁷ However, these analyses tend to focus on individual biographies or challenges faced by a specific content creator, or about the work they create.⁸ Scholar Donald Bogle covers historic portrayals of African-Americans in both television and film,⁹ and while he describes several notable content creators, he stops short of tracing patterns of employment over time. A broader catalogue of the

societal impediments faced by content creators from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic backgrounds has not been clearly or comprehensively delineated.

The most thorough study on this topic has been undertaken in the United Kingdom.¹⁰ Researchers interviewed nearly 100 film and television workers about the nature of their career and the barriers they faced. The results demonstrated that there are a series of problems that underrepresented content creators associate with trying to obtain work in the film and television industries. First, media jobs do not carry a professional status, and individuals from certain underrepresented populations may be encouraged to seek employment in a more prestigious field (i.e., medicine, law, etc.). Second, financial limitations may exclude content creators from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups. The film industry is expensive to break into, with low or short-term pay for most employees. Though this may be a class barrier, the often intertwined nature of race and class may make this a salient concern for many underrepresented content creators.

In addition to these barriers, the authors describe how closed social networks create difficulties for obtaining work. Breaking into these networks is difficult for content creators who are not connected to decision-makers through family ties or friendships. Moreover, exclusion from these circles reduces the likelihood of being recommended for positions through informal channels. The individuals interviewed in the U.K. study also described how they felt siphoned into creating "culturally specific programs".¹¹ These programs had less widespread market appeal and were produced less often. Creators described longer lag times between projects and subsequent financial disadvantages. Finally, the individuals interviewed reported that they felt they were tokens, merely hired to be in the background, representative of their racial/ethnic group, but without the ability to make decisions.

Since higher budget fare appears less accessible to content creators from diverse backgrounds, where might individuals who want to work as directors find an outlet? In the U.S., apart from commercial production, one key arena to explore is independent film. Lower production budgets and more open access may allow more filmmakers from diverse backgrounds to participate.

Recent work undertaken by researchers at USC Annenberg in partnership with Sundance Institute and Women in Film Los Angeles focused on women behind the camera in independent film.¹² The landmark study reveals the contrast between this arena and studio filmmaking. Across 11 years and 1,220 directors of top-grossing films, only 4.4% were female. More females worked behind the scenes in independent films; across 11 years, 23.9% of directors at Sundance Film Festival were female. Interviews with independent filmmakers and industry thought leaders identified several impediments that females face as directors and producers in independent film. Those included gendered financial barriers, male-dominated industry networks, and work and family balance, among others. Beyond gender, however, 17.6% of the 51 individuals interviewed or surveyed reported that race and ethnicity is a complicating factor in the career barriers women face.

Despite these findings, our knowledge of diversity in independent filmmaking remains limited, necessitating deeper investigation. Prior research has not illuminated the prevalence of content creators from underrepresented groups, the barriers they face, or their role in crafting stories about or featuring characters from underrepresented racial and ethnic groups. The purpose of

this report is to address this gap in our knowledge by answering the following research questions:

- 1. Compared to U.S. population reports and to studio films, what percentage of content creators who identify with underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups had their work screened at the Sundance Film Festival between 2002 and 2013?
- 2. Does diversity behind the camera affect diversity in front of the camera?
- 3. What are the barriers to and opportunities for success in independent film for male and female filmmakers from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups?

To address the research questions, the study involved three prongs. First, we examined race/ethnicity¹³ of all directors associated with U.S. dramatic and documentary films selected and screened at Sundance Film Festival (SFF) between 2002 and 2013.¹⁴ Using a modified version of U.S. Census categories,¹⁵ a total of 1,068 directors across 904 films were categorized into one or more racial/ethnic groups.¹⁶

Second, we assessed how diversity behind the camera was related to on screen diversity. Here we scrutinized the relationship between director race/ethnicity and character race/ethnicity across 118 dramatic movies screened at SFF between 2010 and 2013 and 500 top-grossing films theatrically released between 2007 and 2012. Third, we interviewed 20 emerging and seasoned underrepresented narrative directors about the barriers and opportunities they have experienced navigating the independent film space. Below, we overview our major quantitative and qualitative findings.

Quantitative Section: Underrepresented Directors at Sundance Film Festival

Across 12 years of U.S. films screened at Sundance Film Festival (2002-2013), 20.1% (n=215) of the directors were from one or more underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups. Put differently, the ratio of White directors to underrepresented directors is just shy of 4 to 1.

Race/Ethnicity	SFF Directors (2002-13)	Top Grossing Films (2006-12)	DGA Episodic TV (2012-13)	WGA TV Writers (2011-12)	WGA Film Writers (2012)	U.S. Census (2010)
Underrepresented	20.1%	10.7%	16%	15.6%	5%	36.3%
Not Underrepresented	79.9%	89.3%	84%	84.4%	95%	63.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 1SFF Directors, Industry Groups, & U.S. Census Diversity

Note: To facilitate comparisons, U.S. Census data is collapsed to reflect White (Not Hispanic or Latino) vs. All Other Groups. Data sources for this table are described in footnotes 6 through 10.

As shown in Table 1, the overall SFF percentage of underrepresented directors across 12 years is higher than film industry norms, especially for feature film directors, but still below the U.S. Census (20.1% vs. 36.3%).¹⁷ We examined SFF participation rates in comparison to top-grossing

films and mainstream television directors. Ten percent (10.7%, n=84) of directors (n=785) across 700 top-grossing films between 2006 and 2012 were from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups.¹⁸ Using statistics from the Directors Guild of America (DGA), underrepresented directors comprised 16% of helmers working in episodic TV (2012-13).¹⁹ Because of the focus on director/writer at Sundance Institute, the percentage of writers in the WGA West is also relevant. Roughly one sixth (15.6%) of employed writers were from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups in TV (2011-12)²⁰ and 5% in film (2012).²¹

Examining SFF directors from specific racial and/or ethnic groups, the numbers will slightly deviate from the breakdown in Table 1. This is because directors were categorized in multiple racial and/or ethnic groups. Of all directors (n=1,068), 84.9% were White/Caucasian, 5.6% were Hispanic or Latino, 6.5% were Black/African American, 5% were Asian, 1.8% were Middle Eastern, 1.8% were Native American, <1% were Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and <1% were from Other races/ethnicities. Because directors may be counted as part of *multiple* racial and/or ethnic groups, these percentages *do not* sum to 100%.²²

While the above patterns paint the overall picture, the analyses below were conducted by putting directors into two categories: underrepresented versus not underrepresented/White (see Table 1). The next set of analyses examined trends in director diversity at SFF in three key areas: genre, program category, and over time. We then assessed the gender of underrepresented directors at SFF between 2002 and 2013. Finally, the last section addresses whether an underrepresented director is related to on screen diversity.



Figure 1 Underrepresented Directors by Film Genre at SFF: 2002-2013

Film Genre. All of the films in the sample were categorized as narrative (586 films) or documentary (316 films) across the 12 years. Two films defied categorization and thus were excluded from all further analyses. As shown in Figure 1, almost a quarter of all directors of

narrative films were from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups (23.1%). Underrepresented directors comprised 15.6% of helmers in the documentary space.²³ Due to the differences by genre, the following analyses treat documentary and narrative films distinctly.

Program Category. To look at where stories by underrepresented directors were getting placed at the festival, we categorized all of the U.S. narrative and documentary films into three mutually exclusive silos: competition, premiere, and niche (all other program categories). As shown in Figure 2, little and non significant variation emerged by category for underrepresented or White directors in both narratives²⁴ and documentaries.²⁵



Figure 2 Underrepresented Directors by Program Category at SFF: 2002-2013

Over Time Analyses. For this section, we investigated how underrepresented directors were doing in narrative and documentary films over time.²⁶ Exploring narrative films, we first bifurcated all films into two buckets: dramatic competition vs. dramatic non competition (premiere films, niche films). Then we looked at the percentage of underrepresented directors within these two categories across 12 years at SFF.

Figure 3 shows fairly erratic increases and decreases in the percentage of underrepresented narrative directors overtime. What is important to note, however, is the 11.1% uptick between 2002 and 2013 in the dramatic competition category. Though there is some variation (2%-3.9%), the increase holds across 2011 (31.3%), 2012 (29.4%), and 2013 (33.3%). However, we must interpret these findings with caution as only 16 films are selected and screened in the dramatic competition category per year. Because of the small sample size, adding one additional underrepresented director per year can noticeably change a yearly percentage. In non competition films, an 8% *decrease* in underrepresented film directors was observed between 2002 (31.4%) and 2013 (23.4%). The gains achieved in the competition category were leveled off with the losses experienced in the non competition category.



Figure 3 % of Underrepresented Narrative Directors at SFF Over Time: 2002-2013

Figure 4 % of Underrepresented Documentary Directors at SFF Over Time: 2002-2013



Focusing on the documentary space, the films also were separated into two categories: documentary competition vs. documentary non competition (premiere films, niche films). Just like dramatic films, we then looked at the percentage of underrepresented directors within these two categories across the 12-year sample. As shown in Figure 4, the percentages varied considerably from year to year for both competition and non competition documentary films. No notable shifts appear between 2002 and 2013 in movies selected and screened in the documentary competition category. A 7.6% *increase* across the 12-year sample is noted in non competition films, though two years (2005, 2010) featured no underrepresented directors. Again, the trends observed in Figure 4 should be interpreted with caution due to the low number of underrepresented directors year to year within competition and non competition festival categories.

Gender Prevalence. While the previous analyses considered all underrepresented directors, this section examines how race/ethnicity and gender intersect at SFF. This focus is important, as Sundance Institute and Women in Film Los Angeles launched a Women's Initiative in 2012 to support female directors and producers as they navigate their film careers.²⁷

Across 12 years, underrepresented males (77.2%) were more likely than underrepresented females (22.8%) to direct U.S. narrative and documentary films. Looking more closely at film genre (see Figure 5), underrepresented females accounted for 18.1% of directors in the narrative space (81.9% male) and 33.3% in the documentary space (66.7% male). Thus, underrepresented females were almost twice as likely to helm a documentary film than a dramatic feature.



Figure 5 Gender of Underrepresented Directors by SFF Film Genre: 2002-2013

A relationship exists by program category as well. In narrative films (see Table 2), underrepresented females face a steep fiscal cliff when moving from competition to niche films and another precipice transitioning to premieres.²⁸ Examining gender within the documentary arena reveals an interesting non significant trend (see Table 2).²⁹ A full 41.9% of the underrepresented directors in the competition category were female. The percentages of underrepresented female documentary directors were almost half of this in premiere (20%) but slightly less than half in niche (16.7%) categories. These findings need to be interpreted with

caution, as there were very few underrepresented female documentary directors in the premiere or niche categories.

Narrative Films	Competition	Premiere	Niche
Underrepresented Males	67.4%	94.1%	84.7%
Underrepresented Females	32.6%	5.9%	15.3%
Documentary Films	Competition	Premiere	Niche
Underrepresented Males	58.1%	80%	83.3%
Underrepresented Females	41.9%	20%	16.7%

Table 2Gender of Underrepresented Directors by Program Category at SFF: 2002-2013

Overall, the purpose of this section was to overview the prevalence of underrepresented directors at SFF between 2002 and 2013. Roughly a fifth of all directors were from an underrepresented racial and/or ethnic group. Further analyses revealed some deviation by film genre, program category, year, and gender in the prevalence of underrepresented SFF directors. Now that we have documented the frequency of underrepresented helmers at SFF, we turn our attention to the role these directors play in diversifying cinematic storytelling.

Content Patterns. What impact does having an underrepresented director behind the scenes in SFF films have on character race/ethnicity on screen? To answer this question, the race/ethnicity of characters (n=929) was examined using promotional materials (e.g., trailers, film synopses) from 118 dramatic features screened at SFF from 2010 to 2013.³⁰ The films were separated into two categories: those with underrepresented directors and those with only White directors. Then, we looked at the percentage of underrepresented characters across these groups.

As shown in Figure 6, director race/ethnicity is strongly related to character diversity. In the SFF promotional materials, the percentage of underrepresented characters on screen increased 43.9% when a director of color helmed a film.³¹ Next, we turn to the distribution of character race/ethnicity by director diversity (underrepresented vs. White). Across SFF³² films, Table 3 reveals that underrepresented directors have a higher percentage of Black, Hispanic, and Asian characters in their stories than do White directors. A slightly higher percentage of Middle Eastern and Native American characters occur in SFF underrepresented directors' films.

Figure 6 Underrepresented On Screen Characters by SFF Film Director Diversity



% of underrepresented characters

Finally, we examined the degree to which directors' specific race/ethnicity was related to showing characters on screen from the *same* racial/ethnic category. At this point we highlighted a "match" between directors' racial/ethnic group and on screen characters'. We coded a "mismatch" when characters did not map onto the same race/ethnicity category as the group under consideration. Sample size restricted an analysis on Asian directors (see Figure 7).

Character	Sundance Film Festival			
Race/Ethnicity	White	Underrepresented		
	Directors	Directors		
White	88.9%	45%		
Black	4.8%	25.9%		
Hispanic	4.2%	16.4%		
Asian	<1%	1.4%		
Middle Eastern	<1%	5.5%		
Native American	0%	3.2%		
Other	1.3%	2.7%		

Table 3SFF Narrative Director Diversity by On Screen Character Race/Ethnicity

Note: The above analyses only focus on promotional materials associated with 118 narrative films at SFF between 2010 and 2013.

As shown in Figure 7, director race/ethnicity *increases* the likelihood of including on screen characters from the same racial/ethnic group. For Black directors, over half of all characters in the promotional materials were Black (57.6%). When Hispanics were at the helm, 22.1% of characters analyzed were Latino. Similarly high matching percentages were found for Middle Eastern directors of Sundance fare. Figure 7 also reveals that White directors were the least likely of all racial/ethnic groups to diversify characters.

Figure 7 Matching Character Diversity by Director Diversity in SFF Feature Films



Note: Blue shading in pie charts represents a "match" and green shading illuminates a "mismatch" between director race/ethnicity and character race/ethnicity. Due to small sample sizes, Asian directors and those from "other" races/ethnicities were excluded from analyses.

In summary, the race and/or ethnicity of a director matters for the content of a film. When a director of color helms a dramatic feature at SFF, character diversity increases significantly.

Unfortunately, as we saw above, less than a quarter (23.1%) of all directors in narrative categories at SFF were from underrepresented groups. So, while these individuals depict a diverse collection of characters and stories, they are still relatively infrequent. The picture only becomes more whitewashed as we move from one source of independent content (SFF) to examine more mainstream, top-grossing directors and their films.

Top-Grossing Films

Sundance Film Festival may be a road for some directors to more mainstream storytelling, including television or larger budget filmmaking. Thus, it becomes important to examine the career pipeline for underrepresented directors. In this section, the prevalence of underrepresented directors in top-grossing movies is assessed and compared to SFF patterns of participation. Then the racial and/or ethnic diversity of characters is analyzed.

As mentioned above, the overall percentage of underrepresented directors in the 100 topgrossing films each year between 2006 and 2012 was 10.7% (n=785). However, this combined percentage offers little explanation of whether this point statistic demonstrates any variation over time. To that end, using SFF as a comparison, the percentage of underrepresented directors each year is plotted against programmed films. As illustrated in Figure 8, the year-to-year variation demonstrated in SFF films is not apparent in top-grossing fare. This nearly flat line shows that the percentage of underrepresented helmers is quite stable across 7 years and 700 films.





As another metric of the pipeline, the number of "unique" directors who helmed a top-grossing film between 2006 and 2012 was assessed. Some directors work multiple times across the seven years analyzed and thus were counted more than once in Figure 8. A total of 498 unique

directors worked one or more times across the seven year sample, with 11.7% (*n*=58) from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups and 88.3% (*n*=438) White. This translates into a ratio of 1 underrepresented director for every 7.55 White directors.

Assessing the range of directing opportunities across the seven year time frame also is important. Over three fourths (79.3%) of underrepresented directors helmed one film, with 12.1% directing two and 6.9% directing three. One underrepresented director helmed 12 films (Tyler Perry), an outlier in the sample. Turning to White directors, 60.3% directed one movie, 24.4% two movies, 11.4% three movies, 3.2% four movies, and <1% five or more movies. Based on these data, White directors were two times as likely to direct two films and over one and a half times as likely to direct three.

Of the 58 underrepresented directors, we were curious to see if any of these helmers received artistic support (i.e., screened a short or feature film at SFF, participated in a lab, received a fellowship or grant) from Sundance Institute over the course of their careers. To this end, we looked up these 58 directors in the Institute's online archives. A third (n=19) participated in SFF at some point in their film career or received artistic support from one of the labs or fellowships.³³ These findings are similar to the results we obtained with female directors in the Women's Initiative 2013 report.³⁴ Thus, Sundance Institute is one cultural entity that cultivates and/or reinforces the pipeline of directors to more mainstream storytelling.

Once again, the question posed above is of interest: does the prevalence of an underrepresented director relate to on screen character diversity? To answer this query, existing databases consisting of every speaking or named character (n=20,029) across 500 top-grossing films from 2007 to 2012 are utilized.³⁵ First, the presence or absence of an underrepresented director is related to the presence of underrepresented characters. As shown in Figure 9, when a White director helmed a movie, 21.4% of characters on screen were underrepresented. When a director of color was behind the camera, 49.7% of characters were underrepresented.³⁶

Next, the association between director race/ethnicity (underrepresented vs. White) and the wider range of character race/ethnicity was explored (see Table 4). The presence of an underrepresented director increases the percentage of Black, Hispanic, and Asian characters.³⁷ It is interesting to note that there were no Native characters portrayed in films by underrepresented directors, and very few in movies with White directors. Because Sundance supports Native directors, this may allow for a window into storytelling that may rarely be seen otherwise.

Figure 9 Underrepresented On Screen Characters by Top-Grossing Film Director Diversity



% of underrepresented characters

 Table 4

 Top-Grossing Director Diversity by On Screen Character Race/Ethnicity

Character	Top-Grossing Films			
Character Deco/Ethnicity	White	Underrepresented		
Race/Ethnicity	Directors	Directors		
White	78.6%	50.3%		
Black	9.9%	35.4%		
Hispanic	3.7%	5.3%		
Asian	4.7%	8.2%		
Middle Eastern	2.6%	<1%		
Native American	<1%	0%		
Other	<1%	<1%		

Similar to the analysis of Sundance promotional materials, the "match" between director race/ethnicity and character race/ethnicity was of interest. As shown in Figure 10, the presence of a director from a particular race/ethnicity *heightens* the likelihood that on screen characters will be from the same racial/ethnic group. This is evident among Black (52.6% of characters were Black), Hispanic (12.5% of characters were Hispanic/Latino) and Asian (27.5% of characters were Asian) directors of top-grossing fare. As seen earlier in the analysis of Sundance materials, Figure 10 shows that White directors showed the least amount of diversity on screen.

Figure 10 Matching Character Diversity by Director Diversity in Top-Grossing Feature Films



Note: Blue shading in pie charts represents a "match" and green shading illuminates a "mismatch" between director race/ethnicity and character race/ethnicity. Due to small sample sizes, Middle Eastern directors and those from "other" races/ethnicities were excluded from analyses.

Given these results, underrepresented directors are largely responsible for diversifying the landscape of character race/ethnicity on screen. As the population of the U.S. becomes more diverse, underrepresented directors may be a key resource in cultivating stories to meet emerging or existing audiences. Yet, this is only possible if underrepresented directors are able to move from the independent realm to work in more lucrative arenas. Our data reveal that underrepresented directors may not move fluidly from screening at Sundance to helming larger budget motion pictures. In the next section, we explore the barriers that may prevent directors from achieving this goal.

Qualitative Section: Barriers & Opportunities Facing Underrepresented Directors

We conducted in-depth interviews with a total of 20 directors who identify with an underrepresented racial and/or ethnic group. These individuals are currently working as narrative independent filmmakers. Six of the directors interviewed were female, and across the sample of twenty, multiple racial and/or ethnic groups were represented. Directors answered several questions related to their career progress, barriers faced, and the perceived impact of individual differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, age, gender) on the impediments they experience.³⁸ Responses to these questions were scrutinized for thematic patterns grounded in theory and research. Results are presented by trends across the sample. Table 5 shows the response categories most often spontaneously identified by directors.

Barrier	% Reporting	
General Finance	90%	
Politicized Market Forces	65%	
Abilities Doubted	40%	
Class & Wealth	25%	
Perceived Community Incongruity	25%	
Gendered Barriers	25%	

Table 5Response Categories for Spontaneously Identified Barriers

General Financial Barriers

A full 90% of those interviewed indicated that filmmakers face general hardships due to the economic structure of their profession. This barrier reflects low or intermittent pay for work, the time filmmakers spend developing projects, and the difficulty obtaining financing. In a resource-scarce environment, we anticipated that individuals would report that finance was a barrier.

We previously identified the same barrier in our study of female filmmakers³⁹, though the percentage of those interviewed mentioning general financial barriers was much lower (37.2%). Our prior sample of interviewees may have contributed to the lower percentage. We included documentary and narrative directors, producers, and industry thought leaders whose diverse experience may have made this issue less salient.

Politicized Market Forces

After universal constraints facing directors, the second major barrier related specifically to the economic viability of storytelling about or filmmakers from particular racial and/or ethnic groups. Here, filmmakers discussed the market forces that were *perceived* to work against films by underrepresented directors: protagonists from diverse backgrounds, lack of bankable talent, the director's point of view, and/or audience reception. Of those individuals interviewed, 65% indicated this was a barrier personally faced. Examples include:

"I am very aware that film is a commodity and they're trying to figure out how to sell it, and there's nothing very sexy or marketable about Asian-American stuff, maybe Asian stuff, but not Asian-American, you know?"

"...there's a very short list of movie stars, the people that are considered movie stars that are Latin."

"People have straight up told me, 'Nah, you can't really have these characters all be Black or you can't have this one character be Black.' And 'Cause, you know, people won't go see it, or people won't like it, or people won't finance it, or you know you can't get distribution in this country or that country.' I mean people with the power to distribute film and with the power to finance films have told me that to my face..."

The directors we interviewed discussed the difficulty they had procuring film financing. These filmmakers felt that their point of view, particularly the characters who populate their stories, were one of the key reasons that their movies were perceived to be outside the mainstream, unmarketable, and a poor investment. In our previous report on female filmmakers,⁴⁰ women mentioned that subject matter could play a role in film finance.

Two interconnected streams of thought appear to be driving this perception. First, directors told us that when seeking film financing, they are restricted to limited casting options. In explanation, some directors indicated that bankable talent primarily and disproportionately consists of White actors. For filmmakers committed to telling stories that reflect a diverse experience, finance rests on finding one of a small number of actors from underrepresented backgrounds who can carry a film. Interviewees cited instances when demands or requirements of funders guided casting choices, or the few options they had when trying to fill a lead role with an underrepresented actor.

From an empirical point of view, bankability is a fluid concept with a high degree of unpredictability. Some actors maintain popularity across years and projects, while others ebb and flow in the public's imagination. In some of our other work, we have found that industry mythologizing exists around whether females can open a film.⁴¹ It seems as though these same patterns of thinking apply to films featuring underrepresented actors as well.

A second factor that directors mentioned was the perceived lack of an audience for films featuring diverse casts, stories about protagonists from different groups, or underrepresented directors. However, according to MPAA statistics,⁴² roughly 44% of domestic film ticket buyers are African-American, Hispanic, or from "other" ethnicities. Clearly, there is some indication that people from diverse backgrounds do go to the movies. When we turn our attention abroad, films by underrepresented directors seem to perform well with audiences overseas. Of the 79 movies helmed by underrepresented directors in our top-grossing film sample from 2006 to 2012, 87.3% (*n*=69) received international distribution. Of those, 24.6% earned between \$101 and \$500 million outside the U.S.

Critic scores or distribution density may also play a role in a film's performance. We examined both of these factors in the same sample of top-grossing films. Movies by White directors and underrepresented directors obtained virtually the same average Metacritic score. The mean for a White directed film was 53.88, while underrepresented directors earned an average score of

52.77.⁴³ While storytelling ability does not differ, distribution density does. On average, films by underrepresented directors played on 388 fewer screens than those by White directors.⁴⁴ Differences in revenue may not be due to the stories being told, but the distribution, marketing, and advertising they receive.

Apart from these two accepted modes of thinking, there may be other reasons why films from underrepresented directors seem less appealing to investors. Some angel investors may evaluate traits of entrepreneurs when considering proposals,⁴⁵ and may reject opportunities due to the presence of a "fatal flaw" or other key feature.⁴⁶ In entertainment, these flaws could be related to the director or to the film. The race and/or ethnicity of a director may adversely affect impressions related to leadership,⁴⁷ as we will explore later. To the extent that investors rely on information processing biases when examining a business plan,⁴⁸ these cognitive strategies could lead to doubts about a film's potential success. This may be even more likely when investors are aware of industry perceptions or personally believe that films with diverse casts are less lucrative than those featuring more homogenous or White casts. As a result, underrepresented directors telling stories focused on different cultural groups may be disproportionately disadvantaged within a system that relies on stereotypes and conventional knowledge when awarding finance.

Abilities Doubted

The third major barrier cited was the perception that underrepresented directors could not successfully fulfill the perceived requirements of the directing role due to his or her racial/ethnic background or age. Here, individuals made reference to instances in which the abilities of a director were doubted, questioned, and/or challenged. Forty percent of the individuals mentioned this barrier during the interview. Within this category, 62.5% of the individuals included in this category focused on a person's race/ethnicity or personal qualities, while 50% of the people mentioned doubt in a director due to his or her age. Some examples of this response as follows:

"Do we trust this guy who's not like us with our money? Do we trust this woman who's not in a matriarchal industry, who's in a patriarchal industry, with our money...you gotta convince everybody of everything every step along the way."

"There was definitely the sense when I would shadow on shows like I was a Make-A-Wish foundation kid, like this is a treat for the person of color to get to see how TV shows are made as opposed to actually taking me seriously as contender."

"I feel like on set sometimes... people don't take you seriously. Especially being... if you look young and if you are, maybe just you're not White."

If a director is conceived of as the person who commands a film set, perceptions of competence and leadership ability are keys for success. Beliefs about what makes a successful leader may fall along stereotypical lines, such that individuals judge a leader's "fit" in part based on his or her membership in a racial and/or ethnic group. Indeed, evidence suggests that people may perceive White individuals as more prototypical leaders.⁴⁹ Even providing base rate data that suggests a company has more employees who are not White than those who are does not change the tendency to project a White individual into a managerial position.⁵⁰ Cultural perceptions of

what makes a good leader may impede underrepresented directors as they navigate film sets, pitch meetings, and networking opportunities.

Stereotypes about underrepresented groups may affect more than simply how people are evaluated by others. Underrepresented directors may also fall prey to *stereotype threat*,⁵¹ or the tendency to underperform when an unconscious activation of a negative group-based stereotype occurs.⁵² A robust literature has focused on stereotype threat and women's math performance.⁵³

With regard to race and ethnicity, numerous studies reveal that African Americans and Hispanic Americans are vulnerable to stereotype threat in the realm of cognitive testing.⁵⁴ For example, when given an exam that purported to test their verbal ability, African Americans who were primed with a stereotype performed worse than those who did not receive the prime. In a follow up study, African Americans evidenced significantly more self-doubt than White students when the test claimed to diagnose ability.⁵⁵ Among Latinos, a similar effect on performance has been demonstrated on quantitative and spatial ability tasks.⁵⁶ When their ethnic identity was activated, Asian women performed worse on a math test compared to Asian women who were not primed. Lowered test performance for the identity primed women was mediated by inability to concentrate on the exam.⁵⁷ Across groups, research evidence demonstrates that activating stereotypes has a negative effect on performance.

The consequences of being made aware of race and/or ethnicity or group stereotypes before taking on a task designed to test ability are important to consider for filmmakers. Directors may often find themselves in situations in which their ethnicity is salient or stereotypes are mentioned. For instance, investors may judge an opportunity by how prepared an entrepreneur is during the pitch process,⁵⁸ which relies on demonstrating verbal and perhaps even mathematical ability. Reducing the salience of stereotypes about ability in these domains may be crucial to creating a situation in which both parties in a negotiation start on equal footing.

Some directors were all too aware of these biases, and 40% indicated that coping strategies were necessary to deal with stigmas, prejudice, or discrimination. These strategies may not be a completely viable means of dealing with threats, however. Coping with stereotype and social identity threats (i.e., discrimination) requires dedicating mental effort to suppress emotions. Containing those feelings can reduce a person's ability to regulate or control behaviors related to interpersonal communication or decision-making.⁵⁹ This may influence how individuals are perceived by others and evaluations of their leadership ability. Directors described coping using tactics that ranged from discounting the experience of being stereotyped to conforming to other's stereotypical beliefs or expectations as a strategy to achieve one's goals.

"I've never had a direct confrontation like that, but you know... if I did see it, I think in the moment I'd probably ignored it because there are other, I was focused on getting the shot, or getting the day, or getting the film...I probably just brushed if off and kept moving forward."

"I'm first generation, and there's going to be other filmmakers out there that might be seventh or eighth generation, but their ethnicity is worn on, you know you can see it, whether it's in their skin color or their accent or their eyes or whatever it might be, and I think that then they might be facing more, they might face more troubles because of that." Although the term was not used by the interviewer, 25% of directors mentioned that the entertainment industry was racist or discriminatory. By labeling it as such, directors may be creating what scholars refer to in literature on media consumption as an *oppositional text*.⁶⁰ A director may frame the barriers he or she faces in a manner that allows for understanding of his or her own struggle within a wider framework of cultural disadvantage. Doing so may represent another method of coping with lack of opportunity related to a person's racial/ethnic identity.

Class and Generational Wealth

The fourth major barrier cited was a lack of access to accumulated financial wealth. This may refer to a filmmaker's own financial situation, but also includes family or parental level of wealth or class standing. Almost a third (25%) of the individuals interviewed cited this as a barrier.

"I don't come from a family that has money that can support me if I'm not doing that great...I have friends who don't have a full-time job and they can dedicate their whole time to making their film and that's definitely, they have an advantage because they don't have to worry about the stresses of everyday life..."

"...not having any generational wealth...just not having mommy and daddy or anybody to supplement my survival."

"...we don't like to talk about it but I do think that there is a class structure that's at play in our industry."

Teasing out the effect of social class versus race and/or ethnicity on film career outcomes is quite difficult. Particularly in the U.S., wealth gaps between White Americans and African or Hispanic Americans are significant. According to a Pew Research Center Report, between 2005 and 2009, Hispanic households saw a 66% decline in net worth, and Black households a 53% drop. In comparison, wealth among White households fell 16%.⁶¹ Macroeconomic factors and historical wealth inequality may mean underrepresented directors have less access to personal wealth and fewer assets that could be used as collateral for loans. Early in a film career, this precarious financial situation may compromise the likelihood of pursuing filmmaking as full-time work.

Compounding the barrier any director faces due to personal lack of wealth may be the background of his or her family. Relying on family for financial support may be one way to supplement meager film incomes. Parent's socio-economic status is related to academic achievement among children of immigrants, and educational attainment of college students.⁶² In fact, researchers have identified class as contributing to a barrier faced by media industry workers from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups in the UK.⁶³

Certainly not all individuals who identify with an underrepresented group hail from a lower socio-economic group. Still, borrowing capital may also be difficult for underrepresented directors due to systemic inequity. Evidence from the financial realm suggests that small businesses owned by African Americans, Hispanic/Latinos, or Asians/Pacific Islanders may face greater rejection when obtaining credit from financial institutions than White-owned businesses.⁶⁴ Even after accounting for the impact of a broad array of factors (e.g., creditworthiness, home ownership), researchers still observed a gap in approval rates between

White borrowers and all other groups. Thus, underrepresented directors may face lower access to capital from personal, familial, and/or institutional sources than their White counterparts.

Perceived Community Incongruity

The sixth barrier identified related to individuals' sense of belonging to a particular group. Responses in this category focused on the perception of fit between a person's identity and a larger social community. Twenty-five percent of individuals interviewed mentioned this category. Examples are below.

"I realized that would've been nice to be, to be part of one of the groups that control or they are in the system...being Latino is not enough....Latinos, they are not necessarily all united. It depends if you're coming from Mexico, if you're coming from Cuba, if you're coming from Columbia, you know it's difficult."

"I think being mixed-race...because it's like everything in the world you kinda fall through the cracks, and you're not part of any sort of African-American community and you're not really part of a White community either, you're kind of somewhere in the middle."

Some responses in this category represent individuals who categorized themselves as belonging to more than one racial and/or ethnic group. In particular, participants described how group membership or culture was important for feeling support and advocacy in their profession. Some qualitative evidence suggests that multiracial individuals may feel excluded from complete membership in multiple racial and/or ethnic groups.⁶⁵ Additionally, these individuals may experience consequences such as decreased self-esteem or motivation when they are forced to identify with a single group.⁶⁶ External beliefs about whether a filmmaker should create content in line with a perceived identity may be especially limiting when these perceptions reflect only a part of a person's whole self-concept.

Beyond multiculturalism, some directors indicated that they felt stereotyped and siloed into creating content that reflected their own backgrounds. This is similar to findings from another study of media industry employees, which states that workers fear being pigeonholed into creating "ethnicity related programmes" as they are often not a sustainable source of income.⁶⁷ Given the politicized market forces described above, opportunities to tell stories featuring diverse casts or voices may be few and far between.

Gendered Barriers

In this category, barriers related to gender were coded. This includes financial barriers specifically related to being female, male-dominated industry networks, stereotyping and objectification on set, work/family balance, and/or exclusionary hiring practices. Of the individuals surveyed, 25%, or all but one of the female directors in our sample, said that women faced barriers that were unique to their sex.

"Especially with being a female, there's certain stigmas of being moody or bitchy or emotional, which I'm not during work and then people question my leadership...they wonder because they feel like I'm too nice."

"I want on film sets not to have female producers wonder if I'm a threat to their male coproducer husband or something like that."

"You're just not taken as seriously, people think you can only direct certain types of films, and not necessarily action films or dramatic films or something that's more generally directed by men."

Female content creators face significant barriers in their filmmaking careers, as we have previously reported.⁶⁸ Women from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups, however, may face barriers because of their gender *and* ethnic identity. For instance, the Directors Guild reports that a mere 2% of episodic television episodes in the 2012-2013 season were directed by underrepresented females versus 12% directed by "Caucasian" females.⁶⁹ The gaps between White women and women of color exist in other arenas as well. In 2012, just 3.2% of women on Fortune 500 Boards were women of color, compared to 16.6% of women overall.⁷⁰ Thus, while gendered barriers undoubtedly exist, they may be felt differently by women who identify with particular racial and/or ethnic groups.

What scholars refer to as intersectionality⁷¹ may complicate the experiences of women from underrepresented groups. Membership in more than one disenfranchised community may complicate ascertaining which part of an identity (race, gender, class, sexual orientation) is the locus for disparate treatment.⁷² In certain domains, such as income inequality, the effect of being a woman and being from an underrepresented group cannot be considered wholly separate.⁷³ Women of color may have or perceive a greater promotion disadvantage relative to White men than White women or other underrepresented males.⁷⁴

Some research shows that women from underrepresented groups perceive impediments such as "not having an influential mentor or sponsor…lack of informal networking with influential colleagues…lack of high visibility assignments."⁷⁵ In our previous study of female filmmakers, women stated that male-dominated industry networks created a barrier for advancement.⁷⁶ Other evidence suggests that African American women in professional arenas may have even less access to these connections that facilitate advancement in organizations due to being in lower status jobs and less welcomed into social circles.⁷⁷ Females from underrepresented groups may uniquely experience the impediments that face women in general.

Examining our findings on top-grossing films, it is evident that women of color do not achieve the same career milestones at rates comparable to White women. Although 18.1% of underrepresented directors of narrative films at Sundance Film Festival are women, just four women of color are found across seven years of top-grossing content. One of these directors' roles has even been challenged and discounted in many ways. The near invisibility of women of color as top-grossing film directors demonstrates that for these women, the hurdles may be set higher than those faced by White women.

This section has described the reported barriers facing film directors who identify with underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups. The six spontaneously cited impediments closely relate to findings from our previous study on female filmmakers.⁷⁸ Thus, across both investigations, it appears that systemic and significant inequalities persist for filmmakers who want to work in independent film or transition to larger budgeted fare. Next, we examine how to create opportunities for underrepresented filmmakers to overcome the barriers described here.

Opportunities for Change

The final set of questions posed to directors dealt with awareness of programs, services, and organizations working to create change.⁷⁹ We also asked about what other services might be helpful. Responses were assessed for relevant themes and common practices or services. Three central opportunities emerged across the sample and illuminate what the industry is already doing and where it can grow. Each is detailed below.

Creative Support for Diverse Artists

Filmmakers were aware of programs, film festivals, and supportive organizations seeking to encourage artists from underrepresented backgrounds. More than half (63.2%) of the directors we interviewed indicated that filmmaker labs, specialty film festivals, or shadowing and internship opportunities would impact change. This category included training these filmmakers had already received due to their participation in an artist support program. Individuals also forecasted the impact these programs might have on the next generation of directors. There was considerable interest in furthering the type, broadening the scope, and expanding participation of diverse voices.

Artistic support not only molds and shapes stories and the range of diversity seen on screen, it also creates a pipeline for artists to gain experience, visibility, and exposure to a wider industry. Giving artists the tools they need to create authentic and diverse stories should cultivate new talent and ready them for careers in independent or studio filmmaking. Moreover, providing directors with a network of industry-based contacts and creative support may be one means of increasing the flow through a pipeline that currently cracks and leaks for underrepresented artists.

Finance and Networking Opportunities

Directors indicated that they had taken advantage of or would like more chances to engage with industry networks and financiers or grant makers in particular. Nearly half (47.4%) of the directors we spoke with said that access to resources and greater connectivity would be helpful for advancing their careers. Female filmmakers gave similar responses in our previous study.⁸⁰ Here, responses focused less on training in financial acquisition, and more on the provision of resources to directors for their films.

Given the barriers we found related to perceptions of audiences and actors who can help assure financing, this suggestion may be crucial to address. One step is correctly estimating the spending power and audience size of African Americans, Hispanic, or Asian viewers. There is an opportunity to educate artists *and* financiers regarding attendance patterns and potential audience growth. Countering entrenched industry myths regarding films featuring diverse casts may help change decision-making patterns and open up avenues for underrepresented directors and their film projects. Cultivating investors from diverse racial and/or ethnic groups or with an orientation toward stories about characters from these groups is another strategy to pursue. Widening the horizon for financing opportunities will hopefully ensure that more stories make it to the screen.

Structural Interference

Finally, some individuals mentioned that to spur change in the entertainment industry, outside intervention was required. These individuals suggested government funding in support of diverse artists, mandates to distribute content, and holding studios or industry-based groups accountable through regular monitoring. This reaction may be brought on by a resignation to the status quo and belief in decision-makers' reluctance to change. Twenty-one percent (21.1%) of directors mentioned that this would be a way to create more diversity behind the camera. One way to think about implementing monitoring of diversity is through activist groups who spur awareness through advocacy. GLAAD's scrutiny of industry content and willingness to engage in collaboration with decision-makers serves as an example of how to use accountability to promote change.

In other profitable entertainment domains, greater diversity in leadership positions has been achieved through voluntary adherence to policies designed to encourage hiring. The Rooney Rule in the NFL, though not without notable weaknesses, has been one prominent strategy to increase the number of African Americans interviewed for head coaching positions.⁸¹ Perhaps by requiring owners to interview at least one African American candidate, it forces individuals to deal with implicit biases they may experience.⁸² As a strategy for change, a similar elective option may be a step for studios or financiers to consider when they examine lists of directors to hire or films to fund.

Conclusion

The purpose of our investigation was to determine how directors from underrepresented racial groups fare in independent film. We examined this in three ways. First, we assessed the prevalence of underrepresented directors across 12 years at the Sundance Film Festival and in seven years of top-grossing films. Second, we explored the diversity of casts in both movies screened at Sundance and top-grossing films. Finally, we examined barriers and opportunities for directors from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups. As a result of this undertaking, a few general findings are apparent.

Directors from diverse racial and/or ethnic groups are still outnumbered in independent film, and even more so in top-grossing films. There is also a noticeable difference between documentary and narrative filmmaking. Namely, filmmakers of color are more prevalent in the narrative space. This is counter to what we have previously found with regard to gender, and demonstrates that the democratized model described for women may not be as available to underrepresented male and female directors. Future work is needed to determine what barriers underrepresented documentary directors face and what opportunities exist in this domain.

Given the lack of directors from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic groups, our findings regarding their relationship to on screen diversity are also notable. The presence of an underrepresented director is associated with more character diversity in both independent and top-grossing fare. It is clear that a director's identity does impact his or her filmmaking—and creates worlds that are more representative of the contemporary U.S. Yet, directors cited difficulty garnering the funds to create content that they believe is important and which features underrepresented groups. Access to finance becomes one important pathway to not only employing more underrepresented directors, but to seeing more diverse characters in film.

Perhaps the most significant finding here is the steep drop-off in the number of underrepresented females working as directors in larger budget arenas. Women of color face the barriers reported by underrepresented directors in this investigation alongside the impediments that female directors face more generally. As a result, the evidence suggests that very few underrepresented female directors are given the chance to pursue their careers beyond making independent films. Addressing the hurdles and opening up opportunities for female directors from underrepresented racial and/or ethnic backgrounds is a crucial step toward widening the pipeline for *all* women.

The pathway for change is also clear. Underrepresented filmmakers are hungry for the chance to tell their stories. These directors are at the forefront of capturing a dynamic and evolving culture. Artists from diverse racial and/or ethnic backgrounds must be supported at the beginning of their careers, via lab-based programs, through film schools, and through connections that offer them vital chances to practice and perfect their skills. As this occurs, financial decision-makers must see greater value in films that can reach broad and diverse audiences. Only through addressing systemic impediments faced by underrepresented directors can the media environment be transformed so that every story, and every storyteller, has an equal chance to be heard.

Footnotes

^{1.} This project was funded by multiple sources: 1) 2013 Zumberge Interdisciplinary Award to Dr. S. L. Smith & Professor Doe Mayer at the University of Southern California; 2) Sundance Institute; 3) National Endowment of the Arts - 2013 Art Works Research Grants; and 4) resources granted or earmarked for Dr. Stacy L. Smith's *Media, Diversity and Social Change Initiative* at the Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism.

^{2.} MPAA (2013). *Theatrical Market Statistics: 2013*. Author. http://www.mpaa.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/MPAA-Theatrical-Market-Statistics-2013 032514-v2.pdf

^{3.} Directors Guild of America (2013). *DGA Report Finds Director Diversity in Episodic Television Remains Static*. Retrieved from: http://www.dga.org/News/PressReleases /2013/100213-DGA-Report-Finds-Director-Diversity-in-Episodic-Television-Remains-Static.aspx.

^{4.} Writers Guild of America-West (2011). *Recession and regression: The 2011 Hollywood writers report*. Retrieved October 15, 2012 from http://www.wga.org/uploadedFiles/who_we_are/hwr11execsum.pdf.

^{5.} Smith, S.L., Choueiti, M., & Pieper, K.M. (2013). *Race/Ethnicity in 500 popular films: Is the key to diversifying cinematic content held in the hand of the black director?* Los Angeles, CA: Author.

^{6.} Writers Guild of America-West (2011).

^{7.} Donalson, M. (2003). *Black directors in Hollywood*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

^{8.} Grant, N. (1997). Innocence and ambiguity in the films of Charles Burnett. In V. Smith (Ed.) *Representing blackness: Issues in film and video* (pp. 135-156). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. Lubiano, W. (1997). But compared to what?: Reading realism, representation, and essentialism in *School Daze, Do the Right Thing,* and the Spike Lee discourse. In V. Smith (Ed.) *Representing blackness: Issues in film and video* (pp. 97-122). New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.

^{9.} Bogle, D. (2008). *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, & Bucks: An interpretive history of blacks in American films* (4th Ed.). New York: Continuum.

^{10.} Randle, K., Wing-Fai, L., & Kurian, J. (2006). Creating difference: Overcoming barriers to diversity in UK film and television employment. *Creative Industries Research and Consultancy Unit*, University of Hertfordshire.

^{11.} Randle, Wing-Fai, & Kurian. (2006). See p. 72.

^{12.} Smith, S.L., Pieper, K., & Choueiti, M. (2013). *Exploring the Barriers and Opportunities for Independent Women Filmmakers*. Los Angeles, CA: Sundance Institute/WIF Los Angeles.

^{13.} Our race/ethnicity measure should be framed as "apparent." While in some instances we had direct information, other judgments had to made in cases where this information was missing. The use of apparent ethnicity is consistent with other reports. For instance, the Writers Guild of America West Hollywood Writers Report (2009) indicates that around 20% of ethnicity judgments were missing from the data. The author of that report states that "these cases were more similar to white writers [sic] in terms of earnings than to other writers, and because research suggests that minority respondents generally are less likely to omit ethnicity information than non-minorities, cases with missing ethnicity information were coded as 'white' [sic] for the purposes of analysis (which follows the practice employed in earlier Hollywood Writers Reports)" (p. 9). See Hunt, D.M. (2009). *The Hollywood Writers Report: Rewriting and all-too-familiar story*? A report prepared for the Writers Guild of America, West.

The three prongs noted in the introduction address the three research questions proposed to the NEA in our 2012 proposal: Compared to U.S. population reports and to studio films, what percentage of content creators who identify as racial or ethnic minorities had their work screened at the Sundance Film Festival between 2002 and 2013? What are the barriers to and opportunities for success in independent film for male and female filmmakers from racial and ethnic minority backgrounds? Does diversity behind the camera affect diversity in front of the camera (i.e., casts or subject matter)?

^{14.} To create the sample of directors, a list was culled from the database created by Smith, Pieper, & Choueiti (2013). Using IMDbPro information, the database included directors, writers, producers, cinematographers, and editors of U.S. films selected and screened at the Sundance Film Festival between 2002 and 2012. Several movies were excluded from that list: 1) any film in the world category; 2) any short film (i.e., 49 minutes or less); and 3) any film that did not originate in whole or part domestically. Three presentations were deemed "not films" and thus excluded in the data analysis: *Silt/Field Studies #3, Hit RECord at the Movies, Frontier 6.* Two films were included in the data file, but could not categorized as narrative or documentary (*DysFunKtional Family, A Darkness Swallowed*). Using the same approach, the U.S. narrative and documentaries selected and screened at Sundance Film Festival 2013 were added to the original database in March of 2013. Any directors added after this date to the 2013 films were not included in this analysis. The total number of directors across the sample is 1,078, which includes duplicate names of individuals that helmed more than one movie.

To assess apparent race/ethnicity, we collected several types of data. First, we created a short demographic survey for Sundance Institute (SI). SI supplied contact information (e.g., emails, phone numbers) for the lion share of directors in our sample. Further, SI sent out an email alerting directors that we would be collecting demographic information from them. When electronic addresses could not be located for directors, helmers' email or phone numbers were obtained from Internet sources and/or contacting agents/managers/production companies. All directors with email addresses were contacted in May of 2013 to participate in a voluntary, short survey. Individuals were contacted up to six times, in intervals of 7-10 days. Some directors did not want to fill out an electronic survey and asked to be mailed a digital copy of the instrument.

A total of 399 (43.8%) of the directors at SFF between 2002 and 2013 completed the question about race/ethnicity in our survey. To account for the remaining 56.2% (n=512) of the sample, we turned to five other sources of information: 1) Studio System's listing of the director's race/ethnicity (n=185 individuals); 2) racial/ethnic information about directors provided by Sundance Institute (n=50 individuals); 3) publically available information online (n=48individuals); 4) agents/managers (n=2); and 5) the senior research team categorized individuals (n=219). Given that information is not solely from the director, the aggregate measure is tapping *apparent* race/ethnicity. Also, the results should be interpreted with caution as certain groups may be under reported (i.e., Latinos, Middle Eastern, mixed race) or over reported (i.e., Caucasians).

Additionally, a total of 10 directors could not be ascertained for apparent race/ethnicity due to insufficient information. These individuals were categorized as "can't tell." Data on top-grossing film directors was prepared based on Smith, Pieper, & Choueiti (2013). For this analysis, we assessed directors' *apparent race/ethnicity* across the 100 top-performing domestic films (narrative, documentary) each year (2006-2012). The lists were created from http://www.boxofficemojo.com/. For 2012, the top 100 was pulled for the Women's Initiative on January 6th, 2013. To ensure comparability with our previous report, we used the same list. To ascertain *apparent race/ethnicity*, several sources of information were utilized: StudioSystem/inBaseline listing of the director's race/ethnicity; publically available information online; agents/managers; and senior research team judgments based on individual color photographs and biographical information. Results should be interpreted with caution, as the underrepresented category may underreport the incidence of Latinos or Middle Eastern individuals.

^{15.} A modified version of the U.S. Census classification was used to code apparent race/ethnicity. Participants were asked, "*What is your race and/or ethnic origin? Mark all that apply, then write in your race and/or ethnic origin.*" Eight responses options were given, allowing participants to select one or more racial or ethnic groups. Here is a list of the eight categories: 1) Hispanic, Latino and/or Spanish; 2) Caucasian/White; 3) Middle Eastern; 4) Black, African American, or other African descent; 5) Asian; 6) Native Indian of the Americas (including original peoples of North, Central, and/or South America); 7) Pacific Islander; and 8) other or unknown race and/or origin. These categories were adopted to mirror the Census classifications and facilitate comparisons with population statistics.

Federal standards dictate the structure and measurement practices used by the U.S. Census Bureau with regard to race and ethnic origin, and mandate the classification of Hispanic as an ethnicity, distinct from six racial groups. These strictures are outlined in the Office of Management and Budget's (OMB) 1997 *Revisions to the Standards for the Classification of Federal Data on Race and Ethnicity* (see p. 1, U.S. Census Bureau publication "The Black Population 2010", among others).

In the context of self-reporting, however, this classification poses a major issue. Several authors (Hirschman, Alba, & Farley, 2000; Lopez, 2005; Hitlin, Brown, & Elder, 2007) overview the historical and practical reasons for measuring Hispanic ethnicity as distinct from race in the context of the Census. Yet, these articles also discuss the fluid nature of identity. Lopez (2005) argues that a significant portion of Latinos and Hispanics consider their identity an ethnicity and

a race. Hitlin, Brown, and Elder (2007) use social identity theory as the basis for their argument for a combined race/ethnicity item "allowing individuals who privilege such an identity to select it as their only identification" (p. 605). Moreover, Morning (2008) indicates that ethnicity and nationality may be linked with regard to the understanding of a person's origin. The U.S. is one of a handful of countries that still uses the designation of "race" on Census measures, whereas the terms "ethnicity" and "nationality" are used more often worldwide to enumerate population data (Morning, 2008).

Recently, the U.S. Census Bureau experimented with an alternative version of the race and Hispanic origin questions, including a version that used a combined item to assess race and ethnicity. Results demonstrated that a combined item reduced non-response rates and reporting of the "Some Other Race" category among Hispanic individuals (Compton, et al., 2012, p. 70). Thus, combining both race and ethnic origin into a single measure may overcome confusion associated between labels that denote ethnicity versus race or even citizenship.

Our other major departure from U.S. Census involves the Middle Eastern category. We decided to include this classification for two reasons: 1) a recent U.S. Census (Compton, Bentley, Ennis & Rastogi, 2012) report indicated that focus group participants who identified as Middle Eastern wanted a better descriptor for their ethnic origin; and 2) Sundance Institute facilitates artist support programs in the Middle East (e.g., Jordan).

As noted in footnote 2, 219 directors had to be categorized for race/ethnicity by the three authors. There at least four reasons to legitimate this approach. First, humans are skilled at detecting race or ethnicity from visual cues, including from photos. In fact, infants as young as three months of age exhibit a preference for looking at photos of faces belonging to individuals from their own race (Bar-Haim, Ziv, Lamy, & Hodes, 2006; Kelly et al., 2005, 2009). Second, even brief exposure to a face may elicit attentional biases and emotional responses. Psychological research suggests that attentional biases (Trawalter, Todd, Baird, & Richeson, 2008) and amygdala activity increase when initially viewing photos of African American faces compared to viewing of photos of White faces (Lieberman, Hariri, Jarcho, Eisenberger, & Bookheimer, 2005) or even dark-skinned White faces (Ronquillo et al., 2007). This differential brain response may develop in adolescence (Telzer, Humphreys, Shapiro, & Tottenham, 2013). Third, a robust literature in the field of communication has examined "apparent ethnicity" in a variety of media. Some scholars just categorize race, with little explanation of how such judgments are deduced (Oliver, 1994; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Other scholars specify cues utilized to make "apparent race/ethnicity" judgments (Wilson et al., 1997, p. 253). For instance, Dixon & Linz (2000) utilized several indicators to ascertain race/ethnicity of individuals shown on the news: photos, video, artist renderings, family member photos/videos, surname, and/or stated race (p. 556). Fourth, a few individuals in our interview indicated their ability to "pass" as White in the industry despite having a multiracial or multiethnic background. Such experiences illuminate that individuals' apparent race/ethnicity may be one standard by which they are evaluated, not their actual heritage.

^{16.} A total of 904 U.S. films were selected and screened at Sundance Film Festival between 2002 and 2013. Of those, 586 were categorized as "narrative," 316 as "documentary," and 2 "can't tell" (*A Darkness Swallowed, DysFunKtional Family*). From these films, 1,068 directors comprised our sample of helmers. When analyzing film genre (narrative, documentary), program

category (competition, premiere, niche), and over time analyses (2002-2013), the two "can't tells" were removed thus bringing our sample of directors to 1,066.

^{17.} Hixon, L., Hepler, B.R., & Kim, M.O. (September, 2011). The White Population 2010. U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration: Author. See Table 1 for breakdown. *Not Underrepresented* reflects the percentage of the population who identified race and ethnic origin as White alone, Not Hispanic or Latino. *Underrepresented* reflects the percentage of the population who identified as White alone, Hispanic or Latino, White in combination, and Not White alone or in combination. The U.S. Census states that "According to OMB, "White" refers to a person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa" (p. 2). For this reason, the underrepresented category from SFF and top-grossing films are not directly comparable as individuals reporting origins in the Middle East were classified as "underrepresented" in these data sets. This was done to reflect the desire of individuals who identify with this ethnic group and have expressed that the U.S. Census categories do not fully capture their racial and/or ethnic origin (Compton, Bentley, Ennis & Rastogi, 2012).

^{18.} For this analysis, we assessed directors' *apparent race/ethnicity* across the 100 topperforming domestic films (narrative, documentary) each year (2006-2012). The lists were created from http://www.boxofficemojo.com/. For 2012, the top 100 was pulled for the Women's Initiative on January 6th, 2013. To ensure comparability with our previous report, we used the same list. As with some of the directors from the SFF sample, we used several sources to identify the racial and/or ethnic background of top-grossing directors: Studio System/inBaseline database; agents/managers; publically available information; team judgments made using color photographs and biographical information. Two directors across the sample of 787 directors were coded as "can't tell."

^{19.} Directors Guild of America (2013). According to the DGA, data for this report are derived from "information provided by the production companies to the DGA pursuant to the requirements of the collective bargaining agreement for episodes produced during the 2012-2013 season" (see methodology at end of article). Data was checked with the show and with a representative from the production company. The report considers "the ethnicity and gender of directors hired to direct primetime episodic television across broadcast, basic cable and premium cable" (\P 1).

^{20.} Hunt, D.M. (2013). *WGAW TV Staffing Brief*. Retrieved from: http://www.wga.org/ subpage_whoweare.aspx?id=922. The WGAW TV Staffing Brief (2013) details the percentage of working writers employed on TV shows in the 2011-2012 season. This data "refer to the writers and writer/producers working on a television show staff for all or part of the season."

^{21.} Hunt, D.M. (2011). According to the WGAW Hollywood Writers Report (2011), "...the minority share of film employment actually declined by a percentage point since the last report, from 6 percent in 2007 to 5 percent in 2009" (p. 5). The methodology for the study is listed in the 2009 report (see Hunt, 2009). As stated, the WGAW used data "based on member reports of employment and earnings for each quarter" (p. 9). Demographic information is collected separately and connected to the member's reports in WGAW databases. Hunt, D.M. (2014).

Turning missed opportunities into realized ones. A report prepared for the Writers Guild of America, West. The percentage of minority writers in film in 2012 remains at 5%.

^{22.} The patterns we observe in SFF director race/ethnicity cannot be directly compared to U.S. Census data based on this analysis. This is because the standard U.S. Census classification requires that individuals first provide their ethnic origin and then their racial identification. The Census measure of ethnic origin captures whether individuals across *all* racial groups identify as Hispanic or Latino. In 2010, 16.3% of individuals identified their ethnic origin as Hispanic or Latino (regardless of their race). Then, the Census allows individuals to identify with more than one racial group. Census then reports individuals with one race. Of those, 72.4% identified as White/Caucasian, 12.6% identified as Black/African American, 4.8% identified as Asian, 0.9% as American Indian/Alaska Native, and 6.2% as Some Other Race. Finally, 2.9% of the population identifies as having two or more races (and any Hispanic or Latino origin). Further, it is important to note that the U.S. Census does not measure Middle Eastern, and thus the 1.2% of directors who reported this single ethnic origin would be classified as White/Caucasian on the Census. For these reasons, any comparison between our sample and U.S. Census racial/ethnic breakdowns should be approached with extreme caution.

For more information, see Humes, K.R., Jones, N.A., & Ramirez, R.R. (March, 2011). *Overview of Race/Ethnicity and Hispanic Origin: 2010.* U.S. Census Bureau.

^{23.} A chi-square analysis for *film genre* (narrative, documentary) and director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) was significant, $X^2(1, 1,066)=8.90$, $p<.01, \phi=-.09$.

^{24.} For narrative film directors, a non significant chi-square was revealed for *program category* (competition, premiere, niche) and helmer *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented): $X^2(2, 644)=2.30, p=.32, V^*=.06$.

^{25.} For documentaries, a non significant chi-square emerged by *program category* (competition, premiere, niche) and director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented): $X^2(2, 422)=1.02, p=.60, V^*=.05.$

^{26.} For *all* overtime analyses, we did not report statistical tests. This is due to the fact that several observed cells' frequency counts in the competition categories were small (1-5 range).

^{27.} Smith, Pieper, & Choueiti. (2013).

^{28.} Chi-square analysis was significant for *program category* (competition, premiere, niche) by *gender* (males, females) for narrative underrepresented directors, $X^2(2, 149)=9.87$, p<.01, V*=.26.

^{29.} For underrepresented documentary helmers, a non significant chi-square was revealed for *program category* (competition, premiere, niche) and *gender* (male, female), $X^2(2, 66)=4.06$, p=.13, V*=.25.

^{30.} In an effort to look at the relationship between director race/ethnicity and the race/ethnicity of characters that inhabit their stories, we examined 118 film synopses and trailers across 4 years (2010-2013) at Sundance Film Festival. Every narrative competition and premiere film that was selected and screened at the festival comprised our sample. One film was excluded, as it was a documentary (i.e., *The Cane Toads*). Two films (*May in the Summer, Very Good Girls*) did not have trailers at the time of analysis. As such, we relied solely on evaluating characters' apparent race/ethnicity from information (e.g., photo, plot, cast listings) in the 2013 SFF program.

Undergraduates were trained on how to unitize and evaluate characters' race/ethnicity, along with other demographic, sexualization, occupation, and thematic coding. For each film, a smaller team gathered race/ethnicity information for each member of the principal cast, similar to the way information was gathered for directors. This information was given to research assistants prior to data collection (*Apparent Race/Ethnicity*). Research assistants were instructed to indicate if the preliminary apparent race/ethnicity judgments needed to be changed (*Apparent Race/Ethnicity Changes Yes/No*), and if so, evaluated apparent race/ethnicity using new information (*Revised Apparent Race/Ethnicity*).

Apparent Race/Ethnicity was coded as White, Hispanic/Latino, Black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Asian, Middle Eastern, or Other. Several sources of information were used to establish characters featured in promotional materials for the films, such as the longest trailer available on IMDbPro and the synopses and cast lists in SFF programs. All characters referenced in cast lists, photos, and movie descriptions were assessed for apparent race/ethnicity as well as all speaking or named characters. Across three practice films, training reliability was high for both unitizing (# of characters coded by 2 out of 3 research assistants= 80%-92.3%) and variable coding (Using Potter & Levine Donnerstein's formula: apparent race/ethnicity=.75-.92; apparent race/ethnicity changes yes/no=.79-83; revised apparent race/ethnicity=.83-91).

After training, the marketing materials for the 118 films were evaluated. Three independent research assistants reviewed each film and disagreements were resolved by one of the study authors (Choueiti). We computed reliability on every film in the sample. Across 54.2% of the films, unitizing reliability was 100%, meaning 2 out of 3 coders agreed on every character to be evaluated. Unitizing agreement was 80-93% across 38.1% of the films and between 64-78% across 7.6% of the films. In terms of analyzing variables, all three apparent race/ethnicity judgments were very reliable (apparent race/ethnicity median=1.0, *range*=.66-1.0; apparent race/ethnicity changes yes/no median=1.0, *range*=.29-1.0; revised apparent race/ethnicity median=1.0, *range*=.66-1.0).

In addition to character diversity, we assessed 16 themes across 118 independent films' promotional materials (i.e., description/photos in SFF catalogue, trailer on IMDb.Pro). Themes were derived from research on and theorizing about stereotypical attributes often associated with different races/ethnicities. Each theme was assessed as being present or absent across any form of a movie's promotional fare. The 16 attributes included: 1) *politics/government*, 2) *citizenship*, 3) *religion*, 4) *sports*, 5) *war*, *armed conflict*, *and terrorism*, 6) *criminal justice*, 7) *crime and violence*, 8) *guns*, 9) *street gang involvement*, 10) *immigration*, 11) *alcohol/tobacco use*, 12) *education*, 13) *drug use/abuse*, 14) *ethics*, 15) *social aggression*, and 16) *mental/physical*

impairment. These themes were assessed by one of the study authors after reading and watching all promotional materials for each film multiple times. Given the qualitative approach, reliability was not calculated.

We were interested in how these themes might vary by the race/ethnicity of director. To this end, we categorized whether the promotional materials corresponded to a film helmed by an underrepresented director (yes/no). Then we conducted chi-square tests to measure the association between director race/ethnicity (underrepresented vs. not underrepresented) and theme (present/absent). One director's race could not be determined, bringing the sample size to 117.

Overall, only two of the 16 themes were significantly related to director race/ethnicity: *criminal justice*, X^2 (1,117)=4.79, p < .05, φ =.20; *street gang involvement*, X^2 (1,117)=10.26, p < .01, φ =.30. Promotional materials for films with an underrepresented director were more likely to involve themes of *criminal justice* (40.7% vs. 20%) and *street gang involvement* (11.1% vs. 0) than promotional materials without an underrepresented director. The latter finding should be interpreted cautiously as two of the four cells had low expected frequencies.

Two additional themes (war/conflict/terrorism, alcohol/tobacco) approached significance at the p < .10 level. *Alcohol/tobacco use* was more characteristic in content from Caucasian directors (66.7% vs. 48.1%) whereas *war/conflict/terrorism* was more likely to be depicted in content from underrepresented directors (1.1% vs. 7.4%). Due to low frequency counts, the latter finding should be interpreted cautiously.

The results suggest that very little difference emerged across the thematic elements of underrepresented and non underrepresented directors. This may be due to the types of themes analyzed as well as the sample utilized. In explanation, storytelling may be affected by race/ethnicity in ways not tapped by the 16 themes outlined above. As such, future research should construct a more sensitive content coding scheme to capture qualitative and quantitative components of storytelling. Also, the entire film should be assessed. The type of promotional materials analyzed in this study may have only focused on the main characters and/or pivotal points in an unfolding narrative.

Additionally, attributes of characters in the promotional materials were assessed. In particular, the race/ethnicity of lead/main characters as well as character hypersexualization (*sexually revealing clothing, nudity*), demographics (*gender, parental status, relational status*) and sexual orientation (*LGBTQ status*) was evaluated. These variables were assessed by research assistants after training and three reliability diagnostics. Using Levine-Donnerstein formula (1999), the range of reliability coefficients across the three tests were as follows: *main/lead characters* (.8750 to .9565); *gender* (1.0), *parental status* (.5409 to .9167); *relational status* (.5409 to .9167); *sexually revealing clothing* (.9167 to 1.00), *nudity* (.8750 to 1.00), *physical beauty* (.9583 to 1.00), and *LGBTQ status* (.8750 to .9583). Given the large sample size of characters evaluated, only significant associations at the p < .05 level are reported below.

Interestingly, the demographics of characters (gender, parental status, relational status) did not vary by director race/ethnicity. A full 42.5% of all of the characters in promotional materials were female. Race/ethnicity of directors was not associated with the percentage of females depicted in sexualized attire, partially naked, or referenced as attractive. One variable that did

differ was LGBTQ status, but only for female characters. Females were more likely to be depicted with a fluid sexuality by underrepresented directors (6.7%) than Caucasian directors (1.7%). Given low frequencies on this analysis, the results should be interpreted with caution.

One variable that did differ by director race/ethnicity was race/ethnicity of main/lead characters: $X^2(6,167) = 70.02$, p < .01, V*=.65. When Caucasians helmed films, 95.5% of the main/lead characters were white. In contrast, only 39.4% of main/lead characters were white when underrepresented directors were at the helm. Similar, but less pronounced differences, emerged for Hispanic leads (12.1% vs. <1%), Black leads (30.3% vs. <1%), and Middle Eastern leads (6.1% vs. <1%) with underrepresented directors displaying more on screen diversity than Caucasian directors.

The thematic analysis was undertaken to address the third research question posed as part of the NEA ArtWorks Research Grant. Given the pattern of results, we thought it best to focus in text on character diversity on-screen as a more robust indicator of differences in storytelling as a function of director race and/or ethnicity.

^{31.} A chi-square analysis for director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) and character *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) was significant, $X^2(1, 929)=191.17$, p<.01, $\phi=.45$.

^{32.} A chi-square analysis for director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) and character *apparent race/ethnicity* (White, Hispanic/Latino, Black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native American, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Asian, Middle Eastern, Other) was significant, $X^2(6, 929)=208.35$, p<.01, V*=.47.

^{33.} Most of the support received by the underrepresented directors was screening their movies at Sundance Film Festival.

^{34.} Smith et al. (2013).

^{35.} For information on how this data was collected, see Smith, S.L., Choueiti, M. & Pieper, K.M. (2013). Further information can be found in Smith, S.L., Choueiti, M., Scofield, E., & Pieper, K.M. (2013). *Gender Inequality in 500 Popular Films: Examining On-Screen Portrayals and Behind-the-Scenes Employment Patterns in Motion Pictures Released between 2007-2012.* Los Angeles, CA: Author.

^{36.} A chi-square analysis for director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) and character *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) was significant, $X^2(1, 20,029)=792.24$, p<.01, $\phi=.20$.

^{37.} A chi-square analysis for director *apparent race/ethnicity* (underrepresented, not underrepresented) and character *apparent race/ethnicity* (White, Hispanic/Latino, Black/African American, American Indian/Alaska Native American, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, Asian, Other) was significant, $X^2(6, 20,029)=1234.34$, p<.01, V*=.25.

^{38.} A total of 20 film directors who identified with an underrepresented racial and/or ethnic group (i.e., Black or African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian or Asian American, Middle Eastern, and Native) were interviewed. Six participants were female and the remainder were male. The average age for those who provided it (n = 19) was 38.05 years. All had directed at least one feature length narrative film.

Individuals answered four questions related to barriers faced by independent directors. The questions asked were: *How would you say your career as an independent filmmaker is going right now? What isn't going so well? What barriers have you personally faced as a director in independent film? To what extent do you think any of the barriers you have faced have anything to do with being from your specific racial and/or ethnic group? To what extent do they have to do with being female (if applicable)? To what extent do they have to do with your sexual orientation? To what extent do they have to do with your age? Is there anything else that might have impacted the barriers you have faced?*

Responses were aggregated and analyzed by two of the study authors. Coding focused on identifying theoretically relevant elements that might arise at the finance, development, production, distribution and/or exhibition stage of a project. The unit of analysis was the individual response. Answers ranged in length and could fit into multiple categories. Responses could include assertions, speculation, perceptions, personal experience, or sharing the experiences of others. Quotes have been edited for readability as informed by APA guidelines.

^{39.} Smith, et al. (2013).

^{40.} Smith, et al. (2013). See page 25.

^{41.} Smith, S.L., Granados, A., Choueiti, M., Erickson, S., & Noyes, A. (2010). *Changing the status quo: Industry leaders' perceptions of gender in family films*. Report prepared for the Geena Davis Institute on Gender in Media.

^{42.} Motion Picture Association of America. (2012). *Theatrical Market Statistics*. Retrieved from: http://www.mpaa.org/policy/industry. Summing the total of African Americans, Hispanics, and "other ethnicities" results in 44%.

^{43.} An independent samples t-test using the presence of an underrepresented director as the blocking variable was not significant, t (694)=.560, p=.58. Metacritic scores ranged from 9 to 98 across the sample. Mean for White Directors=53.88 (*SD*=16.74). Mean for Underrepresented Directors=52.77 (*SD*=14.87).

^{44.} An independent samples t-test using the presence of an underrepresented director as the blocking variable was significant, t (698) =4.76, p <.01. The widest point of release ranged from 47 screens to 4,468 screens across the sample. Mean for White Directors=3048.81 (*SD*=682.49). Mean for Underrepresented Directors=2660.90 (*SD*=680.31).

^{45.} Mason, C., & Stark, M. (2004). What do investors look for in a business plan? A comparison of the investment criteria of bankers, venture capitalists and business angels. *International Small Business Journal*, 22(3), 227-248. Using verbal protocol analysis, the authors demonstrate that business angels report "marginally greater emphasis to the entrepreneur" (p. 240) than venture

capitalists or bankers when reviewing proposals. The authors acknowledge that the method employed "may well have underemphasized the importance that angels give to the people behind the business" (p. 240).

^{46.} Hall, J., & Hofer, C. W. (1993). Venture capitalists' decision criteria in new venture evaluation. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 8(1), 25-42. See page 34. Authors examined the proposal screening process of venture capitalists, finding that "the process proceeded until the venture capitalists identified a reason to reject the proposal or completed that stage of review without discovering a 'fatal flaw'". Maxwell, A. L., Jeffrey, S. A., & Lévesque, M. (2011). Business angel early stage decision making. *Journal of Business Venturing*, *26*(2), 212-225. Researchers analyzed investment decisions based on interactions in a televised reality show. "…every opportunity that had a fatal flaw was rejected… during the selection stage" (p. 218). Fatal flaws were categorized using eight specific variables.

^{47.} Rosette, A. S., Leonardelli, G. J., & Phillips, K. W. (2008). The White standard: Racial bias in leader categorization. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(4), 758-777. Sy, T., Shore, L. M., Strauss, J., Shore, T. H., Tram, S., Whiteley, P., & Ikeda-Muromachi, K. (2010). Leadership perceptions as a function of race–occupation fit: The case of Asian Americans. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(5), 902-919. See detailed footnotes below for findings.

^{48.} Hilton, D. J. (2001). The psychology of financial decision-making: Applications to trading, dealing, and investment analysis. *Journal of Psychology and Financial Markets*, 2(1), 37-53. The author reviews studies that discuss the confirmation bias (p. 38) and illusory correlations (p. 43) in financial decision-making. Daniel, K., Hirshleifer, D., & Teoh, S. H. (2002). Investor psychology in capital markets: Evidence and policy implications. *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 49(1), 139-209. Authors review "the evidence for systematic cognitive errors made by investors" including salience, loss aversion, and representativeness (see pages 144-146).

^{49.} Sy, et al., (2010, p. 909). Study 1 evidenced main effects such that participants had higher leadership perceptions of Caucasian Americans than Asian Americans. In Studies 2 and 3, this relationship persisted and was qualified by an interaction between race and type of occupation. Means for Asian Americans in both occupations were still lower than for Caucasian Americans. The relationship between race and leadership perception is mediated by agentic (Caucasian) and competent (Asian) leadership traits. Chung-Herrera, B. G., & Lankau, M. J. (2005). Are We There Yet? An Assessment of Fit Between Stereotypes of Minority Managers and the Successful-Manager Prototype. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 35(10), 2029-2056. Ratings of prototypical managers were compared with ratings for managers across racial/ethnic groups. "The correlations between successful middle managers and Caucasian managers was significantly greater than the correlation between successful middle managers and African American managers" (p. 2039). This was also true for Hispanic American but not Asian American managers. Festekjian, A., Tram, S., Murray, C. B., Sy, T., & Huynh, H. P. (2013). I see me the way you see me: The influence of race on interpersonal and intrapersonal leadership perceptions. Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies, 1-18. Studies 1 and 2 use multiple regression to demonstrate that Caucasian Americans were more likely to be perceived as leaders than Asian Americans. Study 2 also tests mediation of this relationship, demonstrating that

agentic traits mediate the Caucasian race/leadership perceptions relationship and competent traits mediate the Asian race/leadership perceptions relationship (see p. 9-10).

^{50.} Rosette et al., (2008). Study 1 participants given information about a fictitious company were more likely to perceive that an interviewee was White when described as a leader versus an employee. When given base rate data about the prevalence of Whites in the organization, participants overestimated the likelihood that the leader was White (see p. 762). Study 2 replicated these findings.

^{51.} Davies, P. G., Spencer, S. J., & Steele, C. M. (2005). Clearing the air: Identity safety moderates the effects of stereotype threat on women's leadership aspirations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(2), 276-287. See page 277. Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797-811. See page 797.

^{52.} Eagly, A. H., & Chin, J. L. (2010). Diversity and leadership in a changing world. *American Psychologist*, *65*(3), 216-224. "The activation of cultural stereotypes inconsistent with widely accepted ideals of leadership thus can undermine leadership opportunity not only by eliciting doubts about stereotyped individuals' leadership abilities but also by making them personally anxious about confirming these doubts and therefore wary about taking on leadership roles" (p. 218).

^{53.} Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women's math performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *35*(1), 4-28. See Studies 2 and 3. Nguyen, H. H. D., & Ryan, A. M. (2008). Does stereotype threat affect test performance of minorities and women? A meta-analysis of experimental evidence. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(6), 1314-1334. This meta-analysis finds an overall effect size of .26, which suggests that stereotype threat activation impairs women's math performance. See p. 1314. Authors also discuss potential moderators to this overall effect, including race-related stereotypes and test difficulty.

^{54.} Nadler, J. T., & Clark, M. H. (2011). Stereotype threat: A meta-analysis comparing African Americans to Hispanic Americans. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *41*(4), 872-890. This meta-analysis of studies examined performance improvements in Hispanic American and African American populations across 23 studies using "some cognitive measure of general or domain-specific knowledge" (p. 877). Reducing stereotype threat can improve performance on tests compared to situations in which stereotype threats are activated. The effect size when stereotype threat is eliminated (or not induced) is 0.52. Steele & Aronson (1995). In Study 1, Black students who were told a verbal-oriented test would assess their aptitude performed worse than Black participants who received no information about assessment. Additionally, Black students who believed they were being assessed scored lower than Whites in the same condition (see p. 800). This pattern was replicated in Study 2 (see p. 802).

^{55.} Steele & Aronson (1995, see p. 804).

^{56.} Gonzales, P. M., Blanton, H., & Williams, K. J. (2002). The effects of stereotype threat and double-minority status on the test performance of Latino women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(5), 659-670.

^{57.} Cheryan, S., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2000). When positive stereotypes threaten intellectual performance: The psychological hazards of "model minority" status. *Psychological Science*, *11*(5), 399-402.

^{58.} Chen, X. P., Yao, X., & Kotha, S. (2009). Entrepreneur passion and preparedness in business plan presentations: A persuasion analysis of venture capitalists' funding decisions. *Academy of Management Journal*, *52*(1), 199-214. Mitteness, C. R., Cardon, M. S., & Sudek, R. (2010). The importance angels place on passion when making investment decisions: Why does it matter to some and not all angels? *Frontiers of Entrepreneurship Research*, *30*(2), Article 2.

^{59.} Inzlicht, M., & Kang, S. K. (2010). Stereotype threat spillover: How coping with threats to social identity affects aggression, eating, decision making, and attention. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 99(3), 467-482.

^{60.} Duke, L. (2000). Black in a blonde world: Race and girls' interpretations of the feminine ideal in teen magazines. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(2), 367-392. See pages 369-370.

^{61.} Kochhar, R., Fry, R., & Taylor, P. (2011). *Wealth gaps rise to record highs between Whites, Blacks and Hispanics*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. See page 14 for data on decline of net worth.

^{62.} Portes, A., & MacLeod, D. (1996). Educational progress of children of immigrants: The roles of class, ethnicity, and school context. *Sociology of Education*, *69*(4), 255-275. (see p. 263-264). Walpole, M. (2003). Socioeconomic status and college: How SES affects college experiences and outcomes. *The Review of Higher Education*, *27*(1), 45-73. (see p. 60).

^{63.} Randle, Wing-Fai, & Kurian. (2007).

^{64.} Blanchflower, D. G., Levine, P. B., & Zimmerman, D. J. (2003). Discrimination in the smallbusiness credit market. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 85(4), 930-943. Cavalluzzo, K., & Wolken, J. (2005). Small business loan turndowns, personal wealth, and discrimination. *The Journal of Business*, 78(6), 2153-2178.

^{65.} Townsend, S. S., Markus, H. R., & Bergsieker, H. B. (2009). My choice, your categories: The denial of multiracial identities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(1), 185-204. Miville, M. L., Constantine, M. G., Baysden, M. F., & So-Lloyd, G. (2005). Chameleon Changes: An Exploration of Racial Identity Themes of Multiracial People. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(4), 507-516.

^{66.} Townsend et al., (2009).

^{67.} Randle et al., (2007). See page 72-73.

^{68.} Smith, et al. (2013).

^{69.} Directors Guild of America. (2013).

^{70.} Catalyst, The Prout Group, The Executive Leadership Council, the Hispanic Association on Corporate Responsibility, and Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc. (2013, August 15). *Missing pieces: Women and minorities on Fortune 500 Boards*—2012 Alliance for Board Diversity Census. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/missing-pieces-women-and-minorities-fortune-500-boards-2012-alliance-board-diversity.

^{71.} Bowleg, L. (2008). When Black+lesbian+woman≠ Black lesbian woman: The methodological challenges of qualitative and quantitative intersectionality research. *Sex Roles*, *59*(5-6), 312-325. The term intersectionality is contextualized, indicating that "though explicit mention of the term *intersectionality* is rare, feminist psychology has been far more progressive than mainstream psychology in recognizing the interesections between women's experiences of structural inequality based on race, gender, class, and sexual orientation" (p. 313, emphasis original).

^{72.} Sanchez-Hucles, J. V., & Davis, D. D. (2010). Women and women of color in leadership: Complexity, identity, and intersectionality. *American Psychologist*, 65(3), 171-181. (p. 173).

^{73.} Greenman, E., & Xie, Y. (2008). Double jeopardy? The interaction of gender and race on earnings in the United States. *Social Forces*, *86*(3), 1217-1245.

^{74.} Yap, M., & Konrad, A. M. (2009). Gender and racial differentials in promotions: Is there a sticky floor, a mid-level bottleneck, or a glass ceiling?. *Relations industrielles/Industrial Relations*, *64*(4), 593-619. Hite, L. M. (2004). Black and white women managers: Access to opportunity. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, *15*(2), 131-146.

^{75.} Giscombe, K., & Mattis, M. C. (2002). Leveling the playing field for women of color in corporate management: Is the business case enough? *Journal of Business Ethics*, *37*(1), 103-119. (See p. 108)

^{76.} Smith, et al. (2013).

^{77.} Combs, G. M. (2003). The duality of race and gender for managerial African American women: Implications of informal social networks on career advancement. *Human Resource Development Review*, 2(4), 385-405. See pages 394 and 395 for review.

^{78.} Smith, et al. (2013).

^{79.} One director did not complete the interview, so 19 individuals answered questions related to opportunities that exist for or might advance independent directors. The questions asked were: A *few organizations are working in support of films and directors [of your background]. Are you aware of any of these organizations? What do you know about the work that these organizations are doing? Are there services that are not provided that might be useful? If so, what are they?*

Responses were aggregated and analyzed by two of the study authors. Coding focused on identifying commonly occurring themes that related to existing support or potential future programs. The unit of analysis was the individual response. Once more, answers ranged in length and were allowed to fit into multiple categories. As above, responses could include assertions, speculation, perceptions, personal experience, or sharing the experiences of others.

^{80.} Smith et al. (2013).

^{81.} Harrison, C.K. & Associates (2013). Coaching Mobility (Volume I in the Good Business Series). A Report for the NFL Diversity and Inclusion Series. Author states that "while the Rooney Rule has been effective in allowing ethnic minority candidates more initial access than was previously realized at the time—the culture of NFL male networks, cryonism [sic]... and the 'who knows you' culture requires that a serious analysis of the situation continues to occur" (p. 19).

^{82.} Collins, B. W. (2007). Tackling unconscious bias in hiring practices: The plight of the Rooney rule. *NYUL Rev.*, *82*, 870-912. Author states: "The NFL's longstanding hiring practices and networking systems have consistently allowed front-office decisionmakers [sic] to avoid interacting with qualified African American candidates. Without any substantive exposure to such candidates, decisionmakers commonly - and often unconsciously - rely on racial stereotypes ... At a bare minimum, the Rooney Rule forces these decisionmakers to come face-to-face with candidates whom they previously may have shunned. While not a perfect cure, recent statistics suggest that the Rooney Rule has succeeded in diversifying the NFL's head coaching ranks." (p. 872)

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