Women in the documentary industry: **Continuing inequality in the** streaming age

Jessica Izquierdo-Castillo; Emma Torres-Romay

Nota: Este artículo se puede leer en español en: https://revista.profesionaldelainformacion.com/index.php/EPI/article/view/87164

Recommended citation:

Izquierdo-Castillo, Jessica; Torres-Romay, Emma (2023). "Women in the documentary industry: Continuing inequality in the streaming age". Profesional de la información, v. 32, n. 1, e320107.

https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2023.ene.07

Article received on November 04th 2022 Approved on December 02nd 2022



Jessica Izquierdo-Castillo 🛛 🖂 https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5037-1040 Universitat Jaume I Facultat de Ciències Humanes i Socials

Depto. de Ciències de la Comunicació Av. Vicente Sos Baynat, s/n 12071 Castellón de la Plana, Spain jizquier@uji.es



Emma Torres-Romay

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8938-0243

Universidade de Vigo Fac. de Ciencias Sociais e da Comunicación Depto. de Com. Audiovisual e Publicidade Campus A Xunqueira, s/n 36005 Pontevedra, Spain emmatr@uvigo.es

Abstract

Assessing women's role in the audiovisual industry provides us with negative data regarding the number of women in the industry, which are also confirmed when factors such as their prominence or leadership in these audiovisual projects are considered. A quantitative and qualitative analysis was thus undertaken based on the need to examine this problem in depth to determine what is happening in the documentary or nonfiction genre, which has exhibited significant growth thanks to the demand for content from subscription video-on-demand (SVoD) streaming platforms. This research analyzes data on the number, prominence, and leadership of women through a review of the 35 Spanish productions in this genre that were produced and/or distributed exclusively on the three leading platforms in Spain between 2016 and 2021. Accordingly, the 2,099 jobs created by these productions have been evaluated, providing data on the occupations and level of responsibility that women had. The research findings confirm the overall data. In addition, they allow us to determine why, although the documentary genre has been associated with greater opportunities for women, this has not held true within the streaming market, where this genre has achieved a greater impact. This underrepresentation of women is especially prominent in the area of leadership.

Keywords

Women; Female professionals; Media industry; Documentary; Non-fiction; Platforms; OTT; Over-the-top platforms; Streaming; Equality; Inequalities; Gender; Gender gap; Glass ceiling; Pay gap; Gender; Structural gender inequalities; Leadership; Production.

Funding

This article is a result of the research project AICO/2021/168, awarded within the framework of grants for consolidated research groups of the Conselleria d'Innovació, Universitats, Ciència i Societat Digital, of the Generalitat Valenciana (Valencian Regional Government), Spain.



1. Introduction: women in the SVoD documentary industry

The audiovisual industry has systemic and long-standing structural gender inequalities. Women account for 40.3% of the total number of people working in media-related cultural activities (television, radio, film, and video) in Spain, according to the *Yearbook of Cultural Statistics* of the *Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte* (2021). Their number varies depending on the sector and area of expertise. The film industry, for example, exhibits greater inequality than television, and fiction provides fewer opportunities for women than documentaries (**Cuenca**, 2022).

The documentary genre seems to be gaining popularity in the configuration of media offerings. According to the *Catalogue of Spanish Cinema*, between 2015 and 2020, there were 730 feature-length documentaries. https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/cultura/areas/cine/mc/catalogodecine/descargas-catalogo/2021.html

However, only 6% of public funding from the *Spanish Film and Audiovisual Arts Institute (ICAA)* and regional funds was allocated to the production of documentaries. For this reason, in 2020, professionals from the documentary sector identified some fundamental issues: a lack of exposure and transparency regarding access to public aid, insufficient promotion, and the unresolved issue of international co-productions (*Pro-docs*, 2021).

We now shift our attention from documentary film to the television documentary, our object of study. The educational documentaries broadcast on generalist television in the past decade already seemed to have presented new programmatic opportunities (**Aparicio**, 2013), but

The audiovisual industry has systemic and long-standing structural gender inequalities

the possibilities seem to have gone through the roof with subscription video-on-demand (SVoD) streaming platforms.

Streaming platforms have programming strategies (**Izquierdo-Castillo**; **Latorre-Lázaro**, 2022) that have given documentaries status within the audiovisual landscape. Moreover, they do so by becoming leading producers of the genre (**Iordache**; **Raats**; **Mombaerts**, 2022). These platforms' international catalogs incorporate a sizable group of documentary films and series. Based on the observation of these catalogs and their evolution, the number of documentary productions has increased tenfold in three years (2018-2021) in Spain alone, coinciding with the consolidation of the streaming content distribution system. Some of the international titles, such as *Making a murderer* (by Moira Deimos and Laura Ricciardi, 2015) have been significant draws when it comes to obtaining subscriptions (**Rowley**, 2016). The true-crime subgenre, in particular, is one of the most profitable for streaming platforms (**Warmedal**, 2018).

As a genre, the documentary is constantly evolving. The modes identified by Nichols (2001) – expository, poetic, reflective, observational, participatory, and performative- are each intertwined in their own way with narrative and stylistic devices. Documentaries create new relationships with other disciplines (Catalá, 2011), and there is debate about its evolution towards maturity and even towards its disappearance as a "differentiated cinematic form" ["forma cinematográfica diferenciada"] (Catalá; Cerdán, 2007). In the 21st century, documentaries draw from the hybridization of neotelevision (Eco, 1986). Gradually, the soberness of the documentary has mixed with a search for empathy and audience participation (Borum, 2020). Its adaptation to the streaming universe uses film and television formats, adopts higher standards of technical quality, and relies on journalistic processes that provide new recognition (Buozis, 2017); in addition, it leverages the persuasive capacity associated with the authenticity of documentaries (Nichols, 1997). The documentary filmmaker becomes a "creative storyteller of nonfiction" ["narrador creativo de no ficción"] (Borum; Conrad-Pérez; Bello, 2022) and is able to establish a years-long relationship with the story's protagonists to achieve a unique type of transparency in front of the camera, as in, for example, The Staircase (by Jean-Xavier de Lestrade, 2018). In addition, they use techniques focused on longitudinal narratives that show audiences the complex realities of systems and subcultures through specific stories. This happens, for example, in the above cited Making a murderer, in which the story of Steven Avery is used to expose a complex American police and judicial system, which is singled out as corrupt (Bruzzi, 2016). Hence, a serialized format is used for the documentary (Horeck, 2019), which encourages binge watching.

All of this raises the question of whether the streaming distribution system is changing the formula of the traditional documentary genre, complicating the already complex landscape of cinematic genres (**González**; **Gutiérrez**, 2013). It is necessary to carry out targeted studies on the eventual outcome proposed by this new programming strategy to examine, first, this new documentary genre and, second, its narrative and commercial potential.

This study investigates whether the documentary genre's proliferation brought about by SVoD platforms improves women's situation in the audiovisual industry. Two starting observations are taken into consideration. First, up to this point, documentary film has been a genre that has provided greater access and opportunities for women than fiction genres (**Cuenca**, 2022; **Simone**, 2021). Moreover, the documentaries produced by the SVoD platforms more closely resemble narratives and television shows, and they use a more journalistic approach, although they are higher quality in terms of form and esthetics (**Buozis**, 2017; **Romero-Domínguez**, 2020).

2. Objectives, assumptions, and methodology

The main objective of this work is to study the impact of the consolidation of international platforms and their production policies on the number and status of women in the Spanish audiovisual industry. The secondary objectives are to analyze the number of women in documentary production on the basis of different areas of expertise, to study the degree of responsibility they hold when it comes to films or series, and to observe their distribution by categories within each area of expertise.

The starting hypotheses established indicate that, despite the boom in documentary production on SVoD platforms, women remain in the minority compared with men, mirroring the systemic and structural inequalities present in the rest of the audiovisual industry. Based on The options for women varies depending on the sector and area of expertise. The film industry, for example, exhibits greater inequality than television, and fiction provides fewer opportunities for women than documentaries

this core idea, we delve into the elements of analysis and the features of the documentary genre, establishing a concrete research model.

This is an analysis of the role of women in industry, which differs from other proposals in regard to gender representations and roles in audiovisual content (**Torres-Romay**; **Izquierdo-Castillo**, 2002); taking studies such as that of **Izquierdo-Castillo** and **Latorre-Lázaro** (2021) as references, our proposal goes farther than simply identifying the women in productions, assessing their specializations and leadership, as indicated in the objectives. In general, the number of women involved in production processes remains lower than that of men (**Cuenca**, 2022), and the cited study provides similar results for documentaries. Still, the documentary industry shows signs of improvement, perhaps owing to policies on equality (**Ruiz-Guzmán**, 2018), the very evolution of the cohort of professionals in the sector, or, indeed, the momentum of women asserting their role in this field (**Pérez-Nieto**, 2021, p. 111). The first hypothesis, therefore, concerns the lower number of women in overall data.

The second element that we must take into account is the idea that women's prominence is limited in fields of expertise biased by gender criteria (**Coronado**, 2022). There are feminized and masculinized positions on the production staff (**Cuenca**, 2022, p. 7), showing that the gender gap still exists, and this holds true with documentaries, as well (**Gómez**, 2022).

To these two hypotheses, we add a third related to the issue of female leadership. In this case, it has been asserted that there is a glass ceiling in the documentary production field (**Arranz**, 2010). Again, we must recognize that this reality is widespread across the different types of audiovisual genres, with studies on some of these, such as animation (**Yébenes**, 2022) or cinema (**Marquès**; **Sánchez**, 2020), confirming this reality. The reduced number of women in audiovisual management positions has consequences for the aforementioned productions as well as for distribution platforms (**Marrin-Lladó**; **Cervi**; **Alcolea**, 2022).

To address our objectives and hypotheses, we use a quantitative methodology. The sample includes all Spanish documentaries produced and/or distributed exclusively by *Netflix*, *HBO*, and *Amazon Prime Video* (*APV*) from 2016 to 2021, inclusive (N = 35) (Annex 2). The total number of jobs performed (N = 2,099) was obtained from the list of employees identified in the productions' credits. The study focuses on the crew working behind the camera; therefore, it does not include those who appear on screen (the cast, protagonists, and interviewees). They are the subject of another part of our research project because they have their own results specific to them. Areas of expertise and professional categories are identified on the basis of the proposal of **Izquierdo-Castillo** and **Latorre-Lázaro** (2021, p. 870), which in turn was based on **Simelio** and **Forga** (2014). This research has included roles in each of the categories and fields to tailor it to the reality and needs of the sample analyzed (Annex 1).

3. Women's presence in documentary creation

As indicated above, documentaries are an area in which women have typically found better opportunities. In Europe, 19% of directors of fiction and 29% of documentary directors are women (**Simone**, 2021). In Spain, only 18% of directors of fiction are women, whereas, for documentaries, the percentage has worsened from 29% (**Cuenca**, 2021) to 22% (**Cuenca**, 2022). As this demonstrates, the situation is far from equal, with men still accounting for 69% of all documentary workers and with most departments being masculinized (**Cuenca**, 2022). However, women also have slightly more opportunities in areas such as script writing, production, and special effects (**Simone**, 2021; **Cuenca**, 2022).

Therefore, despite its limitations, documentary film has been established as a small space for creative freedom (**Araüna**; **Quílez**, 2020) and production for women. Since this genre has lower budgets, fewer players choose to invest, and it is less economically attractive to men (**French**, 2019), who have more opportunities to work on larger projects. In fact, in Spain, documentaries receive only 6% of public aid for films (*Pro-Docs*, 2021).

Historically, the market potential for documentaries has been limited, and it is usually distributed through small and specialized releases. Such work's lack of visibility is shared by female filmmakers, who must pay this price for the apparent creative opportunity (**Selva**, 2005, p. 65). Moreover, the genre has not been very prominent in television. Documentaries and feature reporting have made up barely 1% of European programming (**Plana**; **Prado**, 2014), and in Spain, they have been relegated to public programming in slots with poor viewership (**Latorre-Lázaro**; **Doménech-Fabregat**, 2020). Many of these documentaries no longer have had cinematic influence; rather, they have been more typical of what **Corner** (2002) described as the post-documentary, that is, serialized pieces that are more confrontational than informative (**Paz**; **Martínez**; **Mayagoitia**, 2020). In the same way, documentaries in the streaming market also move away from the cinematic. They are mainly serialized products that, unlike television documentaries, have high production value and quality (**Binns**, 2018), with bigger budgets, better technical and image quality, and narrative formulas typically used in television fiction (the use of cliffhangers between episodes, character definition, character arc development, etc.). The treatment and approach of many of the stories is based in journalism, but with marked creative ownership (**Borum; Conrad-Pérez; Bello**, 2022) and the goal of active audience participation (**Borum**, 2020).

The educational documentaries broadcast on generalist television in the past decade already seemed to have presented new programmatic opportunities, but the possibilities seem to have gone through the roof with subscription video-on-demand (SVoD) streaming platforms

Accordingly, if we look at the journalistic field, women also experience unequal environments within job and professional structures. In Europe, only 23% of news items carry a woman's signature (21% in Spain), compared with 41% with a male signature. For photographic images, the figure stands at a modest 15% (21% in Spain), which contrasts again with 43% for men (*European Journalism Observatory*, 2018). In the sector's job structure, the figures are more positive. According to the *Press Association of Madrid* (*Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid*, 2021, p. 8), there is an equal number of women and men working in journalism. In addition, their representation is similar across different types of media, though men are more likely to be found in print media and agencies (31.7%) compared with women (26.1%). There is a disparity within digital media (23.7% men and 28.1% women). However, this gap is closing in audiovisual media: 32.9% of all female journalists work in this field (31.7% of men), the majority of whom have expertise related to editing (17.4%; *Madrid Press Association*, 2021, p. 13).

In television, the benchmark data are those published by *Spanish Radio Television (RTVE)* in its *Memory of Public Service* [*Memoria de servicio público*] (*Radiotelevisión Española*, 2021). Their structure approaches gender parity, as 41.5% are women. However, it is not without inequalities. The gender pay gap is widening (increasing to 6.3% in 2021 from 5.1% the previous year). Moreover, as the age range increases, the situation of women worsens. Although there is parity within the group of employees aged 20-39 years (48.7% women and 49.2% men), the percentages decrease for women 40 years of age and older, and for the 50-59-year-old age bracket, the percentage of women falls to 37.9%, whereas the percentage of men rises to 62.1%. In addition, as is becoming the norm, women are also in a minority in positions of responsibility, at 35.3%.

In the streaming sector, there are virtually no studies analyzing the status of women in the industry, with the exception of the work of **Izquierdo-Castillo** and **Latorre-Lázaro** (2021). In their research, the authors demonstrated that, of the total number of jobs in SVoD platform productions, 37.7% were held by women. In documentaries, this figure was 33.3%, though, at the time, the sample of documentaries was still meager, with only 5 titles released as of the beginning of 2020. The research herein includes the productions released in 2020 and 2021, together totaling 35.

4. Analysis of results

Taking into account the data obtained in our research in the period from 2016 to 2021, we have found that the existence of a greater number of men on the staff of the documentary productions broadcast on the streaming platforms analyzed was

confirmed. Of the final number of 2,099 professionals working on the 35 documentaries analyzed, only 32.3% were women. This figure is similar to that provided by the *Association of Women Filmmakers and Audiovisual Media (CIMA)*, **Cuenca** (2022), which indicated that only 32% of professionals in the film sector are women, down from a total of 40.3% of women working in the audiovisual cultural industries (*Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte*, 2021).

Viewed chronologically, an increase in the figures has been observed (Graph 1), but this was in parallel to the resumption of audiovisual activity after the hiatus due to the pandemic in 2020. As we can see, the increase in women (160) is lower than that of men (302); however, in percentage terms, women have achieved greater growth (92% versus 77%).





In accordance with our initial hypotheses, the next element to be evaluated is related to the distribution of roles in audiovisual production. Looking at the five main career areas involved in an audiovisual production -executive/management, creative, specialist, technical, and services- according to the data shown in Graph 2, there are more women than men in the "specialist" area (which includes, among other things, the areas of makeup, hairdressing, and wardrobe; 65.8%) and "services" area (generic roles not exclusive to audiovisual production, such as catering, transportation, legal assistance, etc.; 57.6%). The percentage of women in the "executive/management" category (45.1%) for areas of expertise related to production and



Graph 2. Percentage of women versus men in the audiovisual industry (documentary) by area of expertise, 2016-2021 (%) (*n* variable by category)

directing tasks is also noteworthy (Annex 1).

To evaluate the data above, we have considered how to categorize these areas by levels of position held (Annex 1). This classification allows us to analyze the data obtained from the number of women in positions of greater responsibility. As the first distinctive feature, we begin with the fact that the area related to "services," in which women predominantly work, has minimal or no hierarchy, as they are providing support through generic roles. Women account for 57.6% in this area (Graph 2). This area supports the various areas of production, with practically no responsibility for the work itself.

Similarly, the "technical" area has only two levels, differentiating between entry-level positions (4) and specific positions of responsibility (3) related to directing, supervision, or management of some technical functions (cameras, electrical, special effects, sound, design, etc.). Regardless of this lack of hierarchy, it was confirmed to be a clearly masculinized field. Women accounted for 16.1% at the entry level and 20.2% at the managerial level in this area. These figures reflect the lower-ranking position of women in areas such as sound, in which there were only 3 women in leadership positions in management and sound design, as opposed to 21 men.

In the "specialists" area, we found a greater division of labor, in this case, on three levels, but this is undoubtedly the area in which we find the most examples of "feminized" professions: hairdressing, makeup, and wardrobe as well as writing, documentary filmmaking, and research (Graph 3). The 69.8% of women who have entry-level specialist positions in the documentary productions analyzed is the highest number of women versus men of all of the fields and levels analyzed. Despite being feminized areas, looking at the highest level (level 2), men were once again in the majority when it came to management and coordination in areas such as research or writing (Graph 3).

Upon extended the analysis to the perspective of recognition for the creation of audiovisual products, we found fewer references to women in the "creative" and "executive/ management" areas. The directors, screenwriters, producers, and cinematographers in these areas are typically the most well-known figures associated with audiovisual works -something that holds true for nonfiction productions. The low representation of women in the "creative" field was a negative piece of data in our object of study, although the analysis by level of responsibility in this area does not exactly follow the pattern in other areas (Graph 4). In this case, the number of women was inconsistent in terms of the levels of responsibility, with the second level (art direction, cine-



Graph 3. Percentage of women versus men in the "specialists" area (%) (n = 102)/levels of responsibility according to Annex 1



Graph 4. Percentage of women versus men in the "creative" area (%) (n = 103)/levels of responsibility according to Annex 1

matographer, original music, post-production, coordination of shooting, editing, etc.) having the lowest figures; after the entry level in the "technical" area, these were the most negative results in the study for women. The low proportion of female screenwriters (only 14 out of a total of 52) was particularly striking. The total absence of women in cinematography, where 50 jobs were recorded, all of which were



Graph 5. Percentage of women versus men in the "executive/management" area (%) (n = 245)/ levels of responsibility according to Annex 1

occupied by men, was particularly revealing.

We must pay special attention to the "executive/management" area because of its importance in terms of the visibility it brings to professionals in the field, but, above all, because of its implications in terms of the leadership skills of the professionals who work in the various levels. In this regard, the data were once again very revealing, since, despite the fact that the overall figures (Graph 1) indicated significant female representation (45.1% of the total, n = 680), their position among the leadership of the productions was in the minority: at the highest level of responsibility for a production, we found that only 33.6% were women compared with 72.4% men (Graph 5). Evidence of this notable inequality was reflected in the credits, where only 7 women's names appeared next to the role of director as opposed to 33 men's names.

We found, therefore, that most women work at levels 3 and 4, in work related to production coordination, project coordination, and production assistantships.

In addition to women's relative position with respect to men, the results have provided us with significant data on the distribution of both men and women within the sector. It is evident that most of the jobs are at the lower levels of categorization, since audiovisual creation is organized under degrees of coordination. Even so, it was observed that women had a more pronounced pyramidal distribution than men (Graph 6), specifically at the levels of greatest responsibility for the creation of a production, the "creative" (Graph 4) and "executive/management" (Graph 5) areas.

In the "executive/management" area, women had a clear pyramidal distribution, such that the majority of women worked at the lowest level of specialization. Their number decreased moving up the scale. However, men's structure was rectangular, and their distribution within the specialty was more evenly distributed among the different levels. In fact, in this category, more men worked at level 1 than at level 4. The same trend was observed in the "creative" area. Between levels 2 and 3, the pyramidal structure that women had became an inverted pyramidal shape for men.

All of this shows that it is more difficult for women to reach the higher levels in the categories. If we also consider the peculiarities of streaming documentaries –similar to television shows but with a journalistic base– we find that, in recent years, the genre does not seem to have allowed women to develop roles distinct from their typical roles in the audiovisual industry.



Graph 6. Distribution of women and men in the industry by area and level of responsibility in documentary productions (%) (women n = 680; men n = 1,419)

5. Conclusions

The results presented confirm the formulated hypotheses. The propagation of gender inequality is consolidated in the streaming market, in which documentaries attain an audiovisual quality and a significant business projection for the genre, but the data regarding women's participation and professional evolution do not improve. The documentary genre has traditionally been a space in which women have greater creativity and professional expansion –albeit in the minority– as indicated by data related to their greater involvement in the production process in Europe (Simone, 2021) and in Spain (Cuenca, 2022), and as female audiovisual creators in Spain have directly stated (Scholz et al., 2021). However, this reality does not hold true in the streaming market, where the genre is moving away from cinematic production structures in favor of a journalistic approach and a serialized narrative more typical of television fiction. This can be seen in the chart of production companies from which the analyzed sample was created (Annex 2), many of which are leaders in the production of serialized fiction and news programs (*Mediapro, Cuarzo, El Terrat, Mediaset, Bambú, Buendía Estudios*, and *Newtral*). In this production context, women find it difficult to find opportunities in the documentary genre and, in particular, in roles with greater responsibility for the work. This limits women's opportunities for leadership in all areas of expertise, and how difficult it is to find them in positions of greater artistic and productive weight is highly significant –evidence that the glass ceiling still exists. Therefore, a job-based problem regarding the gender gap is on the table. In other words, there are problems in gaining access to certain jobs and responsibilities.

In the documentaries produced for international platforms, the gender gap still exists, with feminized and masculinized areas and positions. From this perspective, the gender gap could have a social rather than an occupational origin, linked to stereotypes and conditioning factors when it comes to developing professional careers. This makes it impossible to consider the total number of women working in streaming documentaries (45.1%) a positive figure in terms of equal opportunities and prominence, since their presence is limited to fields and responsibilities biased by gender criteria.

Therefore, the challenge we have identified lies not so much in the presence of women -though the data are still not en-

tirely positive– but rather in women's assumption of responsibility and leadership. Bringing about such improvements is based in educational and training issues, but also in female producers' management policies and in the genuine pursuit of female creative discourse. These can become a differentiating factor in a context in which content creation is highly necessary and in which stories based in reality are front and center in the audiovisual offering.

Streaming platforms have programming strategies that have given documentaries status within the audiovisual landscape. Moreover, they do so by becoming leading producers of the genre

6. References

Aparicio-González, Daniel (2013). "Retos y oportunidades en el documental audiovisual: ubicuidad, colaboración y participación ciudadana". *Historia y comunicación social*, n. 18, pp. 387-398. *https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_HICS.2013.v18.44250*

Arranz, Fátima (2010). *La situación de las mujeres y los hombres en el audiovisual español: estudios sociológico y legislativo*. Proyecto de investigación. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

http://www.cineenvioleta.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/1255974265-ARCHIVO.pdf

Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid (APM) (2021). Informe anual de la profesión periodística. Madrid: Asociación de la prensa de Madrid.

https://www.apmadrid.es/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Informe-anual-Profesion-Periodistica-2021_web_lite.pdf

Binns, Daniel (2018). "The Netflix documentary house style: streaming TV and slow media". *Fusion journal*, n. 14, pp. 60-71. *https://search.informit.org/doi/epdf/10.3316/informit.974882760579949*

Borum-Chattoo, Caty (2020). *Story movements: how documentaries empower people and inspire social change*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978 0 190943417

Borum-Chattoo, Caty; **Conrad-Pérez, David**; **Bello, Bryan** (2022). "Creative independent investigative documentary storytellers in the streaming age: toward a communicity of practice framework". *Journalism practice* [online first]. *https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2022.2126993*

Bruzzi, Stella (2016). "Making a genre: the case of the contemporary true crime documentary". *Law and humanities*, v. 10, n. 2, pp. 249-280.

https://doi.org/10.1080/17521483.2016.1233741

Buozis, Michael (2017). "Giving voice to the accused: serial and the critical potential of true crime". *Communication and critical/cultural studies*, v. 14, n. 3, pp. 254-270. *https://doi:10.1080/14791420.2017.1287410*

Català, Josep-Maria (2011). "Reflujos de lo visible. La expansión post-fotográfico del documental. *AdComunica*, n. 2, pp. 43-62. *https://doi.org/10.6035/2174-0992.2011.2.4*

Català, Josep-Maria; **Cerdán, Josetxo** (2007). "Después de lo real. Pensar las formas del documental hoy". *Archivos de la filmoteca: revista de estudios históricos sobre la imagen*, n. 57, pp. 6-25.

https://www.archivosdelafilmoteca.com/index.php/archivos/login?source=%2Findex.php%2Farchivos%2Farticle%2Fview%2F203%2F206

Corner, John (2002). "Performing the real: documentary diversions". *Television and new media*, n. 3, pp. 255-269. *https://doi.org/10.1177/152747640200300302*

Coronado-Ruiz, Carlota (2022). "Más mujeres en el cine: *CIMA* y su trabajo en positivo para cambiar lo negativo". *Área abierta: revista de comunicación audiovisual y publicitaria*, v. 22, n. 2, pp. 155-172. *https://doi.org/10.5209/arab.79078*

Cuenca, Sara (2021). Informe CIMA 2020. La representatividad de las mujeres en el sector cinematográfico del largometraje español, 2020. Madrid: Asociación de Mujeres Cineastas y de Medios Audiovisuales. https://cimamujerescineastas.es/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/informe-cima-2020.pdf

Cuenca, Sara (2022). Informe CIMA 2021. La representatividad de las mujeres en el sector cinematográfico del largometraje español, 2021. Madrid: Asociación de Mujeres Cineastas y de Medios Audiovisuales. https://cimamujerescineastas.es/wp-content/uploads/2022/07/INFORME-CIMA-2021.pdf

European Journalism Observatory (2018). "Where are the women journalists in Europe's media?". *European Journalism Observatory*, May 15.

https://en.ejo.ch/research/where-are-all-the-women-journalists-in-europes-media

French, Lisa (2021). *The female gaze in documentary film: an international perspective*. Basingstoke/Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN: 978 303 068 096 1

Gómez, Concha (2022). Brecha de género en el audiovisual español. Barcelona: Tirant Humanidades. ISBN: 978 84 1 897 065 8

Horeck, Tanya (2019). Justice on demand. True crime in the digital streaming era. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. ISBN: 978 0 81 434 720 1

Iordache, Catalina; **Raats, Tim**; **Mombaerts, Sam** (2022). "The Netflix original documentary, explained: global investment patterns in documentary films and series". *Studies in documentary film* [online first]. *https://doi.org/10.1080/17503280.2022.2109099*

Izquierdo-Castillo, Jessica; Latorre-Lázaro, Teresa (2021). "Presencia y liderazgo de la mujer en el audiovisual: el impacto de las plataformas streaming". *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico*, v. 27, n. 3, pp. 867-877. https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.72877

Izquierdo-Castillo, Jessica; **Latorre-Lázaro, Teresa** (2022). "Oferta de contenidos de las plataformas audiovisuales. Hacia una necesaria conceptualización de la programación streaming". *Profesional de la información*, v. 31, n. 2. *https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2022.mar.18*

Latorre-Lázaro, Teresa; Doménech-Fabregat, Hugo (2020). "Non-daily current affairs information in prime time: formats and programming strategies in Spanish generalist television (1990-2016)". *Communication & society*, v. 33, n. 2, pp. 137-153. *https://doi.org/10.15581/003.33.2.137-153*

Marín-Lladó, Carles; Cervi, Laura; Alcolea-Díaz, Gema (2022). "Mujeres directivas en televisión: entre el liderazgo y las desigualdades de género. El caso español". *Historia y comunicación social*, v. 27, n. 1, pp. 31-41. https://doi.org/10.5209/hics.77386

Marquès, Anna; **Sánchez, Lydia** (2020). "La mujer cineasta. Desigualdades de poder en el cine español". En: *Comunicación y diversidad. Libro de comunicaciones del VII Congreso internacional de la Asociación española de investigación en comunicación*. AE-IC, pp. 2300-2309. ISBN: 978 840 920 963 7

https://aeicvalencia2020.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Libro-de-Comunicaciones-VII-Congreso-Internacional-de-Ia-AE-IC-Valencia-2020.pdf

Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (2022). *Estadística 2022. Anuario de estadísticas culturales*. Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte.

https://www.culturaydeporte.gob.es/dam/jcr:a51b4916-fc36-4898-b9f6-e7380e21b114/anuario-de-estadisticas-culturales-2022.pdf

Nichols, Bill (1997). *La representación de la realidad. Cuestiones y conceptos sobre el documental*. Barcelona: Paidós. ISBN: 978 84 4 930 435 4

Nichols, Bill (2001). Introduction to documentary. Indiana: Indiana University Press. ISBN: 978 0 25 302 685 9

Paz-Rebollo, María-Antonia; **Martínez-Valerio, Lizette**; **Mayagoitia-Soria, Ana** (2020). "Las series documentales españolas (1990-2010): entre la divulgación y la concienciación". *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico*, v. 26, n. 2, pp. 703-714. https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.67473

Pérez-Nieto, Esther (2021). "Representatividad de mujeres directoras en el documental y en el cine-ensayo contemporáneo español". En: Eguizabal-Maza, Raúl; Jiménez-Gómez, Isidro (eds.). *Herramientas metodológicas para el estudio de la comunicación*. Madrid: Fragua, pp. 111-132. ISBN: 978 84 7074 915 5

Plana, Gina; Prado, Emili (2014). "El documental televisivo: un género en peligro de extinción en Europa". Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico, v. 20, n. 2, pp. 841-856.

https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_ESMP.2014.v20.n2.47037

Pro-docs (2021) "Retos y oportunidades del documental cinematográfico producido en España (2015-2020)". Pro-Docs. *https://www.dropbox.com/sh/g6es40eb5xjewjh/AACmuEwkWBU7ezGWcVrXbMa4a*

Quílez, Laia; Arauna, Núria (2020). "Prácticas feministas en el cine documental español contemporáneo. Reflexiones a partir del análisis de *La casa de mi padre* (Francina Verdés, 2014) y *Mater Amatísima* (María Ruido, 2018)". *Arte, individuo y sociedad*, v. 33, n. 1, pp. 105-119. https://doi.org/10.5209/aris.67516

Radiotelevisión Española (RTVE) (2021). Memoria 2021. Servicio público y cumplimiento del mandato-marco. Madrid: Radiotelevisión Española. https://www.rtve.es/contenidos/corporacion/MEMORIA_SERVICIO_PUBLICO_2021.pdf

Romero-Domínguez, Lorena R. (2020). "Narrativas del crimen en los documentales de no ficción. Éxito del true crime en las plataformas VOD". *Revista panamericana de comunicación,* n. 2. *https://doi.org/10.21555/rpc.v0i2.2332*

Rowley, Liz (2016) "Here's who 'Making a murderer' viewers really think is guilty", *Mic*, January 27. *https://www.mic.com/articles/133598/here-s-who-making-a-murderer-viewers-really-think-is-guilty*

Ruiz-Guzmán, Narce-Dalia (2018). "Hacia una certificación de mejores prácticas de equidad de género en el sector audiovisual español". *Razón y palabra*, v. 22, n. 2-101, pp. 331-341. https://www.revistarazonypalabra.org/index.php/ryp/article/view/1206

Scholz, Annette; Binimellis-Adell, Mar; Álvarez, Marta; Oroz, Elena (2021). Entrevistas con creadoras del cine español contemporáneo. Madrid: Peter Lang. ISBN: 978 363 180 795 8

Selva, Marta (2005). "Desde una mirada feminista: los nuevos lenguajes del documental". En: Cerdán-de-los-Arcos; Josetxo; Torreiro, Mirito (dirs.). *Documental y vanguardia*. Madrid: Cátedra, pp. 65-84. ISBN: 84 3 762 230 1

Simelio, Núria; Forga, Maria (2014). "Mujeres detrás de las cámaras en la industria española de televisión". Anàlisi, 50, pp. 69-84. https://doi.org/10.7238/a.v0i50.2252

Simone, Patrizia (2021). *Female professionals in European film production*. European Audiovisual Observatory. *https://rm.coe.int/female-professinals-in-european-film-production-december-2021/1680a4d30a*

Torres-Romay, Emma; **Izquierdo-Castillo, Jessica** (2022). "La representación de la mujer en la ficción española. Propuesta de clasificación de los roles y estereotipos desde la perspectiva de género". *Ámbitos*, n. 57, pp. 102-122. *https://doi.org/10.12795/Ambitos.2022.i57.06*

Yébenes-Cortés, Pilar (2022). "La igualdad de género en el cine de animación: rompiendo el techo laboral del sector audiovisual". *Communication papers*, v. 11, n. 22, pp. 23-37. *https://doi.org/10.33115/udg_bib/cp.v11i22.22759*

7. Annexes

Annex 1. Areas of expertise in audiovisual production and the established levels of responsibility and roles

Area	Level	Roles				
Executive/ management	1	Producer, production director, co-production, executive producer, production management director, showrunner				
	2	Associate producer, production manager, direction/implementation, production design				
	3	Script supervision, physical production director, line producer, marketing producer, production coordination, project coordination, location producer, contract manager (post-production, etc.)				
	4	Assistance and assistant director, production assistants and secretary, scripts, stage manager, controller, administion, payroll, accounting/finance, fixer				
Creative	2	Screenwriting, script coordination, creation, development				
	3	Art direction, cinematography, original music (main composition), post-production coordination/supervision/dire ting, coordination of shooting, chief editor, editing, filmmaker				
	4	Casting, extras, location, photography (still photo), editing (assistant), music, design, art, decorating (swing gang, property manager, property assistant), props, (artistic) producer, post-production, narration, additional music, musicians				
Specialists	2	Research director, editorial coordination, delegated services director, editorial director				
	3	Head of hair and makeup, wardrobe supervision, costume designer, journalists/editors, coordination of delegated services, prop makers				
	4	Hair and make-up, wardrobe, specialists (acting), documentary filmmaker/archive/research				
Technical	3	Director of operations, visual effects (VFX) supervisor, technical manager, sound manager/director/supervisor, su- pervision/coordination of sound post-production/editing, sound mixing, camera and electrical manager, technical director, casting director, actor's assistant, digital imaging technician, chief machinist, gaffer, strategic consultation, creative director (technical)				
	4	Casting, cameras and electrical, special effects, visual effects, credits, graphics/graphic design, subtitling, data wran- gler, direction of data management, production, key grip best boy, logger, color correction, sound design, sound postproduction, dialogue editing, boom operator, sound technician, foley, mixing assistant				
Services	4	Chauffeur, translation, IT, cleaning, catering, deliveries, legal, insurance, consulting, communication, app designer, linguist, voice coach, color correction, distribution				

Source: Based on Izquierdo-Castillo and Latorre-Lázaro (2021)

Annex 2. Sample of documentaries analyzed

Title	Over-the-top platform	Director(s)	Year	Production
¿Dónde está Marta?	Netflix	Paula Cons	2021	Cuarzo Producciones, Netflix España
Amaia, una vuelta al sol	APV	Marc Pujolar	2020	Vampire Films, Universal Music Spain
Carolina Marín. Puedo porque pienso que puedo	APV	Jorge Laplace, Anaís Berdié	2020	Buendía Estudios
Dolores: la verdad sobre el caso Wanninkhof	НВО	Noemí Redondo	2021	HBO, HBOMax
Dos Cataluñas	Netflix	Álvaro Longoria y Gerardo Olivares	2018	Netflix España
El caso Alcàsser	Netflix	Elías León	2019	Bambú Producciones, Netflix España
El caso Wanninkhof-Carabantes	Netflix	Tania Balló	2021	Brutal Media, Netflix España
El desafío: ETA	APV	Hugo Stuven	2020	Amazon Studios, Cuerdos de Atar
El estado contra Pablo Ibar	НВО	Olmo Figueredo-González Quevedo	2020	La Claqueta PC, La Cruda Realidad, Irusoin
El pionero	НВО	Enric Bach	2017	HBO España, HBO, JWProductions
El principito es Omar Montes	APV	Lorena Correa, Jacobo Eireos	2021	Mediaset España, Unicorn Content, Beta Spain
Examen de conciencia	Netflix	Albert Solé	2019	Zeta Cinema, Minimal Films
Fernando	APV	Jaume García y Arnau Monràs	2020	Amazon Prime Video, Amazon Studios, Mediaproduccion S.L.U.
Fernando Torres. El último símbolo	APV	Laura Alvea, José F. Ortuño	2020	Buendía Estudios
G.E.O. Más allá del límite	APV	David Miralles	2021	Buendía Estudios

Title	Over-the-top platform	Director(s)	Year	Production
La casa de papel. De Tokio a Berlín	Netflix	Luis Alfaro y Javier Gómez Santander	2021	Netflix*
La casa de papel. El fenómeno	Netflix	Pablo Lejarreta y Luis Alfaro	2020	Netflix España
La creación de Malinche	Netflix	Marta Hermida	2021	Nadie es perfecto PC S.L., La creación de Malinche, La Película A.I.E.
La familia	APV	Luis Mora	2021	Mediaset España, Federación Española de Baloncesto
La leyenda de Sergio Ramos	APV	José Rueda	2021	Amazon Prime Video
La línea. La sombra del narco	Netflix	Pep Mora	2020	Mediaset. Cuerdos de atar
Los documentales del;HOLA!	APV	Raúl García	2021	¡Hola! TV.
Muerte en León	НВО	Justin Webster	2016	JW Productions, Movistar+
Muerte en León: caso cerrado	НВО	Justin Webster	2019	HBO España
Nevenka	Netflix	Maribel Sánchez-Maroto	2021	Newtral
Otra forma de entender la vida	APV	Javier Jiménez Vaquerizo	2021	Atleti Studios, TBS
Pau Gasol. Lo importante es el viaje	APV	Oriol Bosch	2021	Slam RTG Features, Think 450 NBPA, Amazon Prime Video
Rafa Nadal Academy	APV	Marc Pons	2021	Amazon Prime Video
RCD Mallorca. From Paradise	APV	Albert Salas, Franc Subías	2021	RCD Mallorca
Sainz. Vivir para competir	APV	Alejandro Pita	2021	TBS, Red Bull Media House
Seve	APV	Hugo Stuven	2021	Par Producciones SL
Six dreams	APV	Justin Webster, David Cabrera y Jordi Call	2018	Amazon Prime Video, Amazon Studios, Mediapro
Six dreams II. Back to Win	APV	Justin Webster, David Cabrera y Jordi Call	2020	Mediapro, JWProductions
Sudáfrica, 10 años después de nuestra estrella	APV	José Larraza	2020	Real Federación Española de Fútbol
Vitals. Una historia humana	НВО	Félix Colomer	2021	El Terrat, Forest Film Studios

Source: Based on data from *Netflix, Amazon Prime Video, HBOMax* and *www.filmaffinity.com*

 $\ensuremath{^*\text{Distributor}}$. No production company indicated.

