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International Film Festivals as Field-Configuring Events

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Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for
PhD in Management

City University, London

Faculty of Management
Cass Business School

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To Anushri, my love

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ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞನೆಂಬುವನು ಗರ್ವದಿಂದಾದವನೇ
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*Is Sarvajna made of conceit?
Learning a word from one and all
Became himself a mountain of learning. Sarvajñā**

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**Sarvajñā* (Sanskrit: all-knowing) was a 16th century Kannada poet, saint, and moralist. His *tripadi* (Triplets) - indigenous Kannada metrical forms of folk poetry - contain his observations on the meaning and purpose of life (Prabhu Prasad, 1987).

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October 20 2008

Abstract

Studies examining the issue of organizational field evolution, especially on cultural fields, have found that some events shape the process by acting as ‘purveyors of legitimacy’ (Anand and Peterson, 2000). However, no research is forthcoming on events such as international film festivals that serve a similar function. A new theoretical framework – field-configuring events (FCEs) by Lampel and Meyer (2008) seeks to rectify the lack of attention paid to ‘events’ by organization scientists. Adopting their framework, my research explicates one such event in cultural industries, particularly the global film industry – international film festival. Towards that end, my PhD thesis spawns four papers – one conceptual and three empirical papers. First, I articulate international film festivals as field-configuring events, and identify some of their key characteristics: spatial embeddedness, temporal recurrence, programming, premiership, juried competition, film markets, side bars, and accreditation. Second, I examine the organization, strategy, and performance of international film festivals. I propose that a prototypical international film festival is a competition of films, and its performance is dependent on two resource streams: reputation of nominated films/film makers, and reputation of members of the jury panel. Third, I explicate the macro linkages between an FCE and national film institutions such as BFI through a process known as retrospective consecration. I propose that international film festivals such as Cannes, Venice, and Berlin directly impact BFI’s efforts of anointing the best British films of the 20th century or “BFI Top 100”. Finally, I focus on the micro linkages between international film festivals and BFI choices, particularly focusing on how the choices emerge from a voting college. The BFI’s “Top 100” voting college consists of three groups of respondents or “cultural hierarchies” - experts, peers, and the public, and I propose that international film festivals represent a form of critical recognition and shape expert choices.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Objectives

Institutional theory emphasizes the importance of social and cultural aspects of organizational environments vis-à-vis the task and technical aspects. It argues that organizations not only seek to be efficient and effective but also legitimate. The construct 'organizational field' is central to institutional theory. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) define organizational fields as “those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product customers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services or products.” The virtue of this unit of analysis is that it directs attention not just to the set of competing organizations, but to the totality of relevant actors. Organizational fields stabilize over time around shared interpretations among various field participants (DiMaggio, 1991). However, Anand and Peterson (2000) argue that extant research has not paid enough attention in identifying institutional mechanisms and “processes through which an aggregation of organizations comes to constitute a recognized area of institutional life”. Anand and Watson (2004) identify one such institutional mechanism that greatly influences the evolution of organizational fields - trans-organizational structure.

Findings on trans-organizational structures show that they: wield considerable social control power (Wiley and Zald, 1968); play a significant role when the organizational field is undergoing change and deinstitutionalization (Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings, 2002); legitimate organizations, generate status orderings, and create

favorable reputations thus increasing their survival chances (Rao, 1994); and act as market information regimes (MIRs) thus cohering the disparate cognitions of various market participants (Anand and Peterson, 2000). Given their significance, it is surprising to see that trans-organizational structures or “market events” have not attracted enough attention from organization theorists. However, a new theoretical framework – field-configuring events (FCEs) proposed by Lampel and Meyer (2008) seeks to rectify the lack of attention paid to ‘events’ by organization scientists. Adopting their framework, my research explicates one such event in cultural industries, particularly the global film industry – international film festival. In the next section I discuss the importance of field-configuring events in the context of cultural industries.

1.2 Context

In the past few years, there has been a burgeoning interest in the study of cultural industries from an institutional perspective (Lampel, Shamsie, and Lant, 2005; Peterson and Anand, 2004). Hirsch (2000) sees cultural industries as a network of organizations “from creators (artists, musicians, actors, writers) and brokers (agents), through the cultural product’s producers (publishers, studios), distributors (wholesalers, theaters), and media outlets”. However, Scott (2004) warns against the application of a ‘hard and fast line’ towards separating industries that specialize in purely cultural products from those whose products are purely utilitarian. Instead, he proposes “a more or less unbroken continuum of sectors ranging from, say, motion pictures or recorded music at one extreme, through an intermediate series whose

outputs are varying composites of the cultural and utilitarian (such as office buildings, cars, or kitchen utensils) to, say, iron ore and wheat at the other extreme”.

Nevertheless, what is indisputable is the fact that cultural industries are clearly different from other industries and the key distinguishing characteristic is the non-utilitarian nature of their goods. According to Hirsch (1972) cultural goods are “‘nonmaterial’ goods directed at a public of consumers, for whom they generally serve an aesthetic or expressive, rather than a clearly utilitarian function”. In most industries, the utility function of a product imparts definitive characteristics that help both producers and consumers to systematically compare different alternatives, and thereby shape agreeable standards of quality. Whereas most cultural goods are either a bundle of idiosyncratic attributes or experience based, thereby impairing any systematic comparison between alternatives. This leads to contradictory interpretations and therefore produces uncertainty and ambiguity about explicit and relatively stable standards of quality (Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie, 2000). To circumvent this uncertainty and ambiguity about quality standards, participants within cultural industries depend on an ‘arbiter’ – to certify, consecrate or give value to cultural objects (Bourdieu, 1984; Holbrook, 1999).

Studies examining the issue of organizational field evolution and institutionalization, especially of those fields within cultural industries, have found that some events shape the process by positioning themselves as ‘purveyors of legitimacy’. Like for instance, Billboard Charts (Anand and Peterson, 2000) and Grammy Awards (Anand and Watson, 2004). However, no research is forthcoming on events such as international film festivals that serve a similar function.

1.3 Thesis Outline

The thesis poses the following questions:

1. What are the characteristics, resources, and processes of international film festivals?
2. How do international film festivals acquire and disburse reputational resources?
3. Does contemporaneous recognition bestowed by international film festivals affect retrospective cultural consecration of British films by the British Film Institute?
4. Does international film festival recognition affect expert judgments about retrospective consecration of British films?

In essence, the thesis articulates international film festivals as field-configuring events (Question 1 and 2), and examines their structuring role in the evolution of global film industry (Question 3 and 4). Towards that end, Question 1 is discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, and Questions 2, 3, and 4 are addressed in three empirical chapters 4, 5, and 6 respectively. The first empirical paper (Chapter 4) examines the organization, strategy, and performance of international film festivals. I propose that a prototypical international film festival is a competition of films, and its performance is dependent on two resource streams: reputation of nominated films/film makers, and reputation of members of the jury panel. The second empirical paper (Chapter 5) explicates the macro linkages between an FCE and national film institutions such as BFI through a process known as retrospective consecration. I propose that international film festivals such as Cannes, Venice, and Berlin directly impact BFI's efforts of anointing the best British films of the 20th century or "BFI Top 100". Following this, the third empirical paper (Chapter 6) explicates the micro linkages between international film festivals and BFI choices, particularly focusing on how the choices emerge from a voting college. The BFI's "Top 100" voting college consists of three groups of respondents

or “cultural hierarchies” - experts, peers, and the public, and I propose that international film festivals represent a form of critical recognition and shape expert choices. What follows is an overview of each of the chapters of the thesis.

1.3.1 Chapter 2

This chapter reviews the institutional theory moorings of the thesis and provides an overview of institutional theory’s central construct - organizational field, and Lampel and Meyer’s (2008) new concept – field-configuring event. The chapter also conceptualizes international film festivals as field-configuring events, and provides an overview of extant literature on international film festivals from a film studies perspective. It also identifies the major stakeholders and some distinctive characteristics of international film festivals.

1.3.2 Chapter 3

This chapter traces the emergence and structure of the international film festival field. In particular it provides an overview of the origins and evolution of international film festivals from Europe, Latin America, Mediterranean, Asia, and the USA. It also identifies two important external stakeholders of the international film festival field: FIPRESCI (The International Federation of Film Critics), and the International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF). Findings include: International film festivals acquire an image as repositories of serious cinema through their co-habitation with FIPRESCI; FIAPF accreditation bestows global prestige and has

economic implications for international film festivals. The chapter also maps the primary strategic groups within the international film festival field.

1.3.3 Chapter 4

This chapter addresses the question: How do international film festivals acquire and disburse reputational resources? Elsaesser (2005) suggests that festivals function as “ad-hoc stock exchange of reputations” and “arbiters and taste-makers”. Drawing upon his work and the resource based view of strategy I propose that the most valuable intangible resource of international film festivals is their reputation. Further, using Dierickx and Cool’s (1989) intangible asset stock accumulation model I propose that the competitive advantage of an international film festival depends on its stocks of reputation, and flows of reputation. The stocks of reputation are captured by the film festival’s jury profile, and the flows of reputation are represented by the profile of directors of films included in the competition section of the film festival.

1.3.4 Chapter 5

This chapter examines whether contemporaneous consecration in the form of international film festivals recognition affects the retrospective cultural consecration of British films by the British Film Institute (BFI). The purpose of cultural consecration is to bestow recognition on individuals or organizations that are worthy enough to be venerated or revered. Consecration occurs both contemporaneously and retrospectively, and previous research has found that contemporaneous consecration in the form of popular, professional, and critical recognition affects retrospective

consecration efforts by the American Film Institute (Allen and Lincoln, 2004). While examining the retrospective consecration of British films, I propose that retrospective consecration occurs in two forms: expert and professional. Further, I introduce a new form of contemporaneous recognition – international film festival recognition, and examine its effects on retrospective consecration of British films by the BFI.

1.3.5 Chapter 6

This chapter examines the existence of cultural hierarchies within the British film field, and how they shape the retrospective consecration efforts of the British Film Institute. In particular, I propose that the voting college of BFI's selection of top 100 British films of 20th century represents a tripartite cultural hierarchy in the form of experts, peers, and the public. My core argument is that each group of respondents will display specific choices of contemporaneously recognized films. In other words, experts will prefer Cannes nominated films, peers will prefer BAFTA nominated films, and the public will prefer box-office hit films.

1.3.6 Chapter 7

This chapter concludes with a summary of main findings, and articulates some of the contributions my research has to offer to institutional theory, and resource based view of strategy.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

Most organizational field studies have mainly focused on organizations in non-profit sectors (DiMaggio, 1991) with very few exceptions having an explicit competitive emphasis (Anand and Peterson, 2000; Anand and Watson, 2004; Ferguson, 1998; Rao, Monin, and Durand, 2003). In case of the former regulatory norms play an important role in structuring the organizational field, whereas in case of the latter vested interests of motivated social actors' are responsible. Further, even among the studies that emphasize competitive outcomes, very few have examined a special type of events that are rooted in geographic space (spatial) and have finite temporal or annual episodic existence (Lampel and Meyer, 2008). In a way, these entities are not organizations per se, but are referred to as 'trans-organizational structures' (Anand and Watson, 2004). In other words, a trans-organizational structure is a hybrid entity between an organization and an organizational field.

Lampel and Meyer (2008) suggest a new concept known as field-configuring events (FCEs) that will guide all future research on the role of institutional intermediaries in the construction of organizational fields. Though a number of studies have shown how organizational fields form and evolve (DiMaggio, 1991; Leblebici, Salancik, Copay, and King, 1991), unresolved issues still exist. For instance – How are organizational fields institutionalized, especially through processes like field-configuring events? Responding to Lampel and Meyer (2008), my thesis examines a field-configuring event in the global film business - international film festivals. Towards that end, the

chapter is structured as follows: First, I discuss the basic tenets of institutional theory. Second, I provide an overview of Lampel and Meyer (2008) theoretical framework – field-configuring events, and review a few studies that have recently emerged. Third, I conceptualize international film festivals as FCEs. Fourth, I review sparse literature on international film festivals. Finally, I identify the major stakeholders, and some distinctive characteristics of international film festivals.

2.2 Institutional Theory

Institutional theory argues that industry environments are socially constructed or institutionalized overtime by motivated constituent organizations inhabiting them (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The theory conceptualizes organizational environments not in narrow terms such as ‘industry’ or ‘market’, but a much broader term – organizational fields. The constructs organizational fields and legitimacy are central to institutional theory. Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as a “generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions”. A fundamental proposition of institutional theory is that organizational fields stabilize over time around shared interpretations of the field and its activities, brought out by three isomorphic mechanisms: coercive, imitative and normative, and this leads to legitimacy (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991; Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna, 2000). The three isomorphic mechanisms force the field constituents to develop shared interpretations of the field and its activities, and once this is done, the constituent and the field as a whole become legitimate or institutionalized.

Coercive isomorphism occurs when organizations yield to conformity pressures that are coercive in nature, such as governmental regulations or political directives. Imitative or mimetic isomorphism occurs when organizations imitate other organizations within their organizational fields. This type of imitative pressure is evident in nascent industries where environmental uncertainties are very high, and legitimacy is not yet established. In these circumstances organizations seek to band together in charting industry progression, and employ mechanisms such as collective lobbying and forming industry associations. Normative isomorphism occurs when organizational fields become professionalized overtime, achieve an obvious identity, and field boundaries become thick. Normative pressures to conform include establishing training and teaching universities, creating professional standards, forming social and professional networks, and the sharing of organizational personnel. Though institutional theory has clearly established the legitimizing role of socio-political processes within organizational fields (Baum and Oliver, 1991; Baum and Powell, 1995; DiMaggio and Powell, 1991), some substantial gaps remain. Very few studies are forthcoming in explicating the legitimizing role of FCEs. Before I present the FCE framework, I review some sparse literature that informs the development of the framework.

Wiley and Zald's (1968) study seems to be the very first to systematically study the role and functions of accrediting institutions. The study found that accrediting institutions do wield social control power, though weak when compared to government's regulatory control. Two major findings of the study are as follows: First, the relationship between the accrediting agencies and their constituents is interactive. In other words, the competition among the accrediting agencies drives

them to focus on the needs of the constituents, and change accordingly. Second, most of the accredited constituents meet the minimum criteria set forth by the accrediting institutions. Two issues remain unclear in the second finding: First, whether the accredited constituents change overtime to conform to the minimum criteria. Second, whether the accrediting institutions themselves change overtime to conform to the minimum criteria their accredited constituents are capable of.

Casile and Davis-Blake (2002) examine the differential response of private and public accrediting constituents when an accrediting institution - American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) relaxed some of its criteria in the year 1991. The study finds that unaccredited private schools are more eager to seek accreditation than the unaccredited public schools. The private schools are motivated by technical factors such as potential economic gains from accreditation, whereas the public schools are motivated by institutional factors such as diffusion through both social cohesion and structural equivalence. Durand and McGuire (2005) also study the AACSB case, but the issues are different, and they develop few propositions for further research: Why did the AACSB change its name to 'The Association to Collegiate Schools of Business?' How do accrediting institutions evolve and change without losing the legitimacy among their existing constituents? The case involves the international expansion of AACSB, especially into Europe.

Greenwood, Suddaby, and Hinings (2002) explore the role of professional associations in a changing and highly institutionalized field, and conclude that they play a significant role in legitimizing change. They argue that professional associations such as the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants (CICA) define

and redefine the institutional logics within the chartered accountancy organizational field, particularly at the time of deinstitutionalization and change. Further, they suggest that associations legitimize change by facilitating debates, negotiations both within and outside their professions. Rao (1994) argues that certification contests legitimate organizations, generate status orderings, and create favorable reputations. In an interesting study of the nascent years of the automobile industry (1895-1912), he argues that the victories in certification contests enable start-up automobile firms to acquire reputation for competence and thus increase their chances of survival.

Anand and Peterson's (2000) study argues that Billboard Charts are forms of MIRs, and facilitate "the cohering of disparate cognitions of various market participants". In other words Billboard charts represent a single summary measure of performance and change the beliefs about success or failure in records business. Some major findings include the following: MIRs "facilitate continuity in ongoing fields by providing a focus of attention around which participants can cohere"; the constitution of the field is MIR dependent; and MIRs foster formation of new niches within the field. Anand and Watson (2004), using a case study of Grammy Awards show how award ceremony rituals influence organizational field evolution through four critical processes: distributing prestige through situated performances; enactment of highly charged ceremonial form designed to attract the collective attention of a field; serving as a medium for surfacing and resolving conflicts about the legitimacy of field participants; and tightening horizontal linkages within the field.

2.3 Field-Configuring Events

Lampel and Meyer (2008) define FCEs as “microcosms of a nascent technology, industry, or market, in which activities are concentrated and intensified through direct proximity and finite temporal opportunity”. In other words, FCEs provide a platform for people from diverse social organizations to interact and take actions. According to them FCEs include tradeshow, professional conferences, technology contests, governmental hearings, and business ceremonies that directly and indirectly affect the origination, gestation, and constitution of new technologies, industries, and markets. Lampel and Meyer (2008) identify the following factors that make FCEs distinct venues: they assemble in one location actors from diverse geographies and organizations; their duration is limited, running from a few hours to at most few days; they feature and heavily depend on ceremonial and dramaturgical activities; they provide unstructured opportunities for face-to-face social interaction among participants; they are occasions for information exchange and collective sensemaking; and they generate social and reputational resources that can be deployed elsewhere and to other purposes.

The FCE framework incorporates hitherto ignored issues in examining events in an organizational field such as social networks, sensemaking processes, and temporal organizations. It also directs scholarly interest towards study of unique organizational phenomena like reputation regimes. FCEs are common in many organizational fields and examples include: Formula 1 car race; film business (Cannes International Film Festival, BAFTA, Oscar Awards); business education (Academy of Management conference, USA); floriculture (Chelsea flower show); high-technology (Defense

Advanced Research Project Agency's Robot Car Rally); wine industries (Bordeaux Wine Official Classification of 1855); publishing (National Book Award, Man Booker Prize for literature); architecture (RIBA Sterling Prize for architecture); arts (Turner and Hugo Boss Prize for contemporary art); advertising (CLIO, Cannes Lion awards); theatre (Tony and Laurence Olivier Awards for theater), beauty salons (North American Hairstyling Awards and British Hairdressing Awards), and canine field (Crufts Show, Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show). These instances of FCEs are mostly from institutionalized fields where the contours are conspicuous. However, their role is highly visible and significant in fields that are 'inchoate' or emerging, like for instance, web publishing (Anand, 1997) or the World Wide Web.

In response to Lampel and Meyer (2008) call, first set of few studies on field-configuring events have emerged. Anand and Jones (2008) argue that award ceremonies foster interactions between disparate set of field participants, and have the potential to configure and re-configure organizational fields. Through an archival analysis of British fiction publishing field, they show that the Booker Prize for Fiction configured the field of contemporary English-language literature by championing the distinctive category of postcolonial fiction. The key contribution of the paper is to articulate four mechanisms through which field-configuring events configure organizational fields: Enabling increased communication and interaction; providing sense of common interests; facilitating structures of dominance; and allowing transformation of capital. Garud (2008) examines the role of conferences as field-configuring events in shaping the contours of emerging industries. Situating his study in the USA cochlear implants field, he proposes that conferences such as XIII Otolaryngology, ASHA, and NIH Consensus played a pivotal role in the development

and commercialization of cochlear implants. The cochlear implant conferences acted as venues where firms enacted their technologies through processes such as: information exchange; sensemaking; deliberation of competing industry technologies and product choices; and consensual adoption of a dominant industry recipe.

Oliver and Montgomery (2008) view field-configuring events as arenas for group sense making. Using a case study on the legal field in pre-state Israel, they propose that the 1944 Congress of Jewish Lawyers shaped the emergence of the Jewish legal profession. Further, the authors argue that the Congress acted as a cognitive network, fostering shared cognitive sensemaking which brought about changes such as: growth in the Jewish legal profession, Jewish judges, use of Hebrew in courts, and establishment of an Israeli bar.

2.4 International Film Festivals as Field-Configuring Events

My research aims to investigate field-configuring events in the global film industry. Within the film industry I have identified a specific type of ‘market events’ – international film festivals. Therefore, in my study the FCEs are individual film festivals, and in aggregate they constitute the international film festival organizational field. Film festivals create, distribute, and appropriate reputation or what Baker and Faulkner (1991) refer to as “role resources” - cultural, social, and material capital. Prominent among the set of social actors or “roles” contributing to this process are the festival curators, its jury, and the directors of in-competition nominated films. Further, Baker and Faulkner (1991) argue that roles in the global film industry “are used to pursue careers and advance interests in the struggle for power and influence”, in effect

creating new positions and social structures. Following them, I propose that international film festivals as field-configuring events become venues for the emergence of role resources.

International film festivals are appropriate examples of FCEs. They meet all the criteria enumerated by Lampel and Meyer (2008). For example, the international film festivals assemble members of international film business in one location; their duration is limited running from a few days to few weeks; they depend on dramaturgical activities (immense media focus); have unstructured (parties) and structured (markets) opportunities; act as occasions for information exchange and collective sensemaking; and generate social and reputational resources (nominations and awards). In essence, I argue that festivals are trans-organizational structures enacted by motivated social actors and are critical to the evolution of global film industry.

2.5 Previous Research on International Film Festivals

Academic research on international film festivals is sparse, and almost all of it is from the film studies perspective (Baumann, 2001; Hardbord, 2002; Elsaesser, 2005; Ramey, 2002; and Stringer, 2001, 2003). However, none of them focus on film festivals as field-configuring events. Ramey (2002) argues that international film festivals are “trans-national exchange networks” of “symbolic capital” and rarely bestow direct economic benefit. Moreover, she emphasizes that financial gain is not one of the primary goals of the film makers participating in international film festivals. What the film makers are interested in is the “accumulated prestige,

celebrity, consecration, honor, fame, or recognition” and view monetary gain as a supplement. Baumann (2001) also argues that international film festivals bestow artistic merit on films, and film makers through mechanisms such as in-competition, official selection, and juried awards.

Waterman (1998) regards festivals as a form of cultural consumption in which culture is created, maintained, transformed, and transmitted to others. He argues that festivals are different from other forms of consumption in similar genre, such as concerts, theatre performances or recorded music. What distinguishes festivals from the rest is that they usually involve production and consumption of culture, concentrated in time and space. Mega events such as Cannes, Venice, Berlin, etc. provide a widely accepted model for what a film festival is commonly thought to be. And this is very well illustrated by what The Film Studies Dictionary has to say about film festivals:

Film Festival Events (usually annual) invite films into competition and offer prizes. Around this basic function are gathered activities which range from the celebration of film through themed retrospectives and the like, to much more blatant trade fairs at which production and distribution deals are struck. Around the bigger festivals such as Cannes, there is also a considerable amount of glamorous social activity of much interest to the international mass media. Apart from Cannes there are major festivals in Venice, Berlin, Toronto, Edinburgh, and Sundance whilst the number of smaller festivals proliferates each year (cited from Stringer, 2003).

There is a real dearth of studies on film festivals and this is echoed in Stringer’s (2003) PhD thesis titled *Regarding Film Festivals*. He argues:

Just as it is true that to date no scholarly book exists on the subject of film festivals, the specialized academic journals continue to be slow to publish work on this topic. However, all commentators – academic, journalistic, or otherwise – appear to agree on one point; namely that this is a topic that somehow deserves to be written about.

In Stringer’s (2003) work film festivals are analyzed as events that exercise influence on, and attribute meaning to global film culture on multiple levels. The aim of the

research is to reflect on both the overlapping and contradictory effects these levels have on the roles of the international film festival circuit in global film culture. The central questions include how the film festival circuit is viewed as an alternative system to Hollywood, and the 'hegemonizing' effects of European dominated international film festival circuit on "alternative" film culture. He discusses five particular aspects of the phenomenon of film festivals: their institutional nature; circulation of the ideas concerning national cinemas on film festivals circuits; establishment of city identities through globalized film festivals; festival film as a genre; and the constitution of film festival communities.

Hardbord (2002) argues that since their inception (Venice, 1932), film festivals have entwined film culture with organization and materialization of national and regional space. She identifies four discourses operating within the boundaries of a film festival. First, discourses of independent film makers and producers circulate in catalogues, press releases, interviews and other sources. Second, discourses of media representation provide a commentary of events, controversies, and spectacles. Third, discourses of business and sponsorship including purchase, price and copyright existing in the texts of legal transactions and contracts. Fourth, discourses of tourism and service industries. In other words, the essence of the argument is that film festivals are not just sites for mixing goods and culture, but an exemplary instance of how cultural flows produce spaces.

Further, she argues that film festivals advertise cities and set them up in competition, and also echo discourses such as 'art' versus commercial forces, and European film struggles against Hollywood dominance. In support for the argument about

continental struggles, she uses a passage from the catalogue introducing Director's Fortnight at Cannes: "When 85% of the world's filmgoers flock to pictures from a single national film industry, when we are headed toward a monoculture developed by powerful industrial groups to whom cinema is nothing more than a simple loss leader, it is vital that we continue to make room for forms of expression from around the world".

Hardbord (2002) also argues that in addition to the spatial logic, a film festival is governed by a temporal logic. The temporal logic is embedded in the leading film festivals stipulation that films screened in Competition or Out of Competition sections at other international festivals will automatically be excluded from selection. This sets up the film festivals in competition and has the potential of signifying hierarchical importance. Though most of the film festivals fall in the competitive category, but some influential (and commanding less authority) like Edinburgh, Rotterdam and Toronto do exist that are more interested in international premieres than demanding 'first rights'. Therefore, in essence the notion of a premiere constructs a hierarchy of viewing through a temporal axis and enables the film festival to claim originality of the moment and restrict its circulation among and between festivals.

Stringer's (2001) chapter titled *Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy* argues that both spatial and temporal logics exist in the film festival circuit. He defines the film festival circuit as a closely linked network of interrelated or interdependent events consisting of traveling filmmakers and visiting programmers. In case of the former, it is the cities that act as the nodal points on this circuit, not the national film industries. In case of the latter, the time tabling, or temporal

management of a festival season determines differentiates the film festivals in the circuit. Further, he argues that new events are established by ‘the international film festival consultants’ who have gained their expertise by working in prior events, especially the ones that are hugely successful and large.

Turan’s (2002) book *Sundance to Sarajevo* is an insider account of 12 film festivals. As a reporter enjoying privileged access to film festivals, he builds an interesting tale of machinations by various parties involved in hosting film festivals: programmers, jurors, politicians, film-makers, critics, and journalists. The book contains a brief introduction of film festival phenomena and 12 chapters on 12 film festivals. He divides the book into four sections: Festivals with business agendas (Cannes, Sundance and Showest), festivals with geo-political agendas (FESPACO, Havana, Sarajevo, Midnight Sun), festivals with aesthetic agendas (Pordenone, Lone Pine, and Telluride), and the politics of film festivals (Florida French).

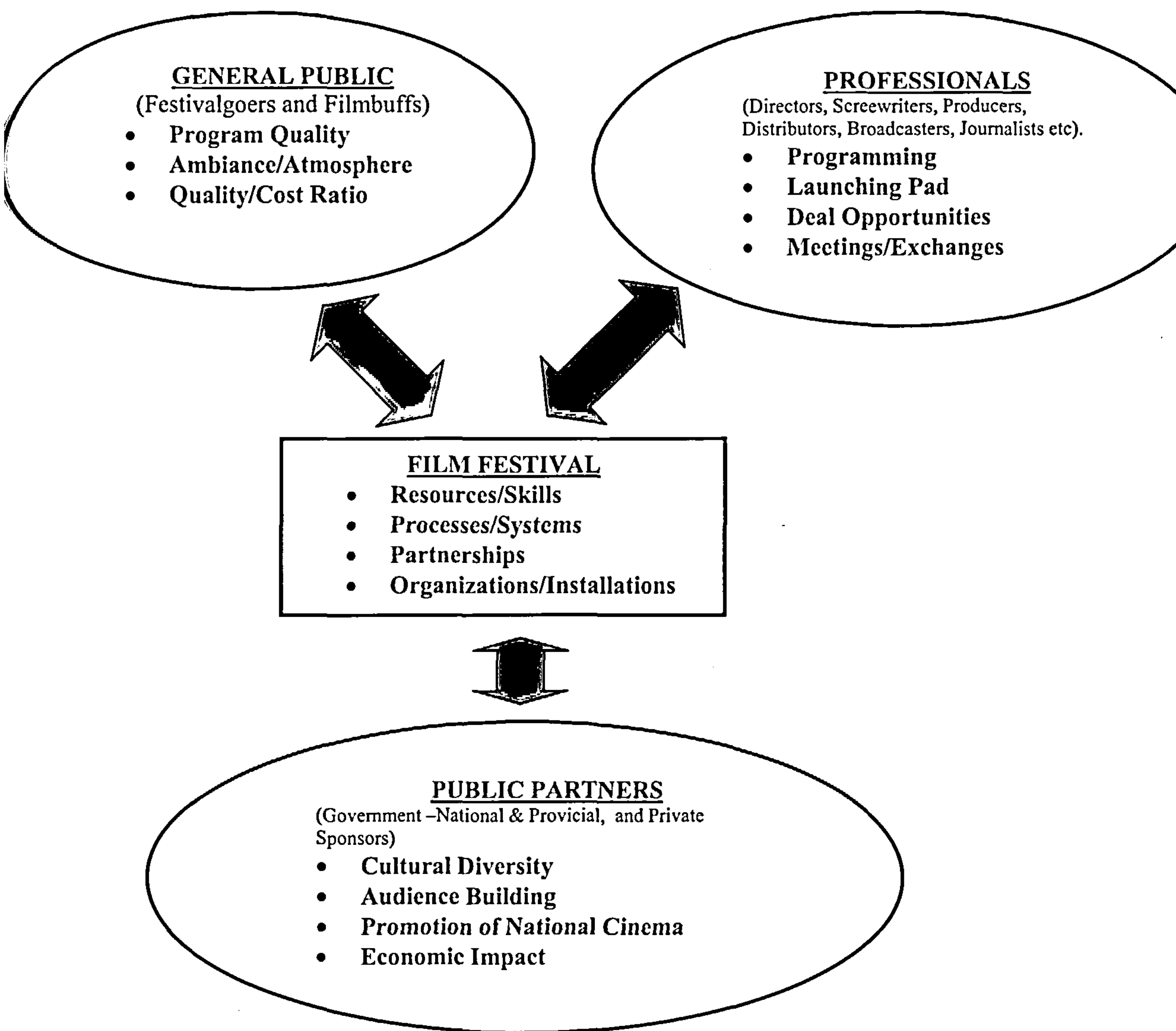
2.6 International Film Festivals and their Characteristics

According to Elsaesser (2005) major international film festivals have been repositories to almost all the ‘new waves’ in the world cinema, and in a way act as harbingers of cinematic trends. Further, he argues that with respect to Europe, international film festivals play a key role in the authorship, production, exhibition, cultural prestige and recognition of cinema and film culture. These findings resemble Podolny’s (2001) conceptualization of networks as “pipes and prisms” of markets. In other words, international film festivals not only act as conduits for transfer of resources/information between film-makers and a trans-national audience (pipes), but

imply status and prestige (prism) while doing so. The growing significance of international film festivals in ushering a pluralistic global cinema makes it imperative to articulate their distinctive characteristics, strategy, and performance. Before I discuss some of their key characteristics, I identify the stakeholders of an international film festival.

An international film festival consists of three groups of stakeholders: general public, professionals, and public partners (Telefilm Canada, 2004). This is graphically represented in the Figure 2.1. The graphic is adapted from a Secor Consulting Report prepared for Telefilm Canada to assess the overall performance of some major Canadian film festivals. Though the objective of the report does not lend itself very well towards a theoretical exposition of FCEs, nevertheless it provides a starting point for a serious analysis of film festivals. I include some noteworthy findings of the report in my description of the film festival phenomena. The general public includes film buffs and tourists looking to savor multi-cultural cinematic works. What attracts the general public to a film festival are quality and diversity of films shown, and the ambience and hospitality. The professionals attending the film festivals include directors, screenwriters, producers, distributors, broadcasters, journalists, buyers, etc. The film professionals are interested in screening their works to a multi-cultural audience under the spotlight of the international media. The film festivals also offer numerous opportunities for film professionals to launch films, discover new talent, access international markets, and spot new cinematic trends. Most of the major international film festivals worldwide operate as not for profit or public organizations and very rarely are private or for profit, like for instance, New York's Tribeca Film Festival.

Figure 2.1 Three Main Stakeholders of Film Festivals and their Expectations



Source: An adapted version from *Analysis of Canada’s Major Film Festivals* (Telefilm Canada, 2004)

Local municipalities and national agencies like the culture ministries actively support staging of international film festivals. For instance, Rome’s first international film festival was born in the year 2006 largely due to the efforts of its mayor Walter Veltroni. The public agencies support international film festivals for various reasons like benefits to local economies, promotion of national films, encourage cultural diversity, etc.

I identify the following characteristics of international film festivals: spatial embeddedness, temporal recurrence, programming, premiership, juried competition, film markets, side bars, and accreditation. I focus on competitive international film festivals or those that have competitive sections and give out awards adjudicated by an international jury. The non-competitive festivals such as Toronto, London, and Vienna invite films that have been to major competitive festivals, and therefore are less relevant to my discussion of strategy and performance.

Almost all the international film festivals have strong roots in specific cities, and in fact take their names, for example, Cannes, Venice, Berlin, Montreal, Tribeca (Triangle below the Canal Street), etc. Elsaesser (2005) argues that best known film festivals are “sited in cities that compete with each other for cultural tourism and seasonal events”. The film festivals are also temporal in nature, staged in annual cycles at pre-determined dates called “editions”. Elsaesser (2005) labels this as “temporal extensions’ whereby each festival acquires a calendar identity. Like for instance, Berlin in February, Mar del Plata in March, Istanbul in March, Cannes in May, Shanghai in June, and Venice in August. This temporal sequencing of festival dates allows the film and media professionals to travel from one festival to the next. The string of consecutive venues constitutes a film festival “circuit’ in which films circulate, and thereby connect different cinematic cultures. In the words of Appadurai (1996), the circuit acts as a venue facilitating reciprocal global cultural “flows”. Dates are a decisive factor, since most people who attend multiple festivals and markets plan their year around well-established seasons and circuits in order to maximize their time in line with each event’s potential. The choice of dates is so important that some festivals and markets change theirs in an attempt to increase attendance or to enhance

their positioning vis-à-vis the competition. And as the number of events grows worldwide, the dates are overlapping and bunching up more and more frequently.

International film festivals are “programmed”, and a film festival’s programming not only makes each of its editions distinct, but also differentiates it from other competing festivals. The programming committee is appointed by the festival management, and consists of people with varied cinematic expertise. This committee in consultation with the festival’s artistic director nominates all the films to be screened in the festival. Though programmers play a crucial role, they virtually remain anonymous like the referees in a peer reviewed journal. Stringer (2003) argues that international film festivals do not reveal their institutional structure and obscure the way in which they are staffed. Elsaesser (2005) proposes that every festival stands “under a motto” and programming is a derivative of the festival director’s vision of “world cinema”, and mission “for his/her country, city, and the festival itself”.

In response to how Slamdance picks its movies, given the huge number of submissions they now receive (around 1100 films), Peter Baxter, the director and co-founder of the film festival replies: “Every one of our programmers is a Slamdance alumnus. This amounts to roughly 25 short film programmers and 25 feature programmers, who mark each film on a scale from 1 to 10, and provide written comments to support their scores. The films go out two more times to two different programmers after the initial viewing, before being rejected or pushed on for more viewings. The programmers are locked in a room together arguing the merits of the films right up to the final day we announce our schedule. No single programmer has a bigger voice than any other - they all have to state their cases for the film as convincingly as their peers” (Geffner, 2001). An example of film festival statistics can

be found in an article by Adam Leipzig (Leipzig, 2005) titled *The Sundance Odds Get Even Longer*. In the year 2005, Sundance Film Festival received 2,613 feature films - up 29 percent from 2,023 last year. Out of these only 120 films, fewer than 5 percent of all submissions were selected for screening at the festival. And only 10 of these movies, or 0.3 percent of the submissions, will be picked up for distribution within the United States. The remaining 2,603 movies will never be available to the public.

Premiership of selected films, especially the ones included in the competitive sections is a key characteristic of all major competitive international film festivals. Premiership of a film refers to its first screening, and all major festivals strongly prefer to stage a film's first international screening. The festivals have strict rules that exclude films that have been released anywhere other than their country of origin, and at any international motion picture event. FIAPF or The International Federation of Film Producers Associations, that polices some of the major European film festivals, in fact specifies three types of premiers: world premieres - films screened for the first time to any audience, including country of origin; International premieres - films screened for the first time to an audience outside country of origin; and international festival premieres - films screened for the first time in competition at an international film festival. Premiership of the films again is a differentiating factor, where the top festivals demand either world premiers, or at least international premiers. And less reputed film festivals are not far behind as they also demand at least, the first screening of the film in their country.

Competitive international film festivals also give out awards usually for the best film, best actress, best actor, best director, best screenplay, and best short film. The awards

are adjudicated by a specially appointed international jury comprising of high profile artists, directors, actors, writers, intellectuals, etc. The jury members vote by secret ballot and decisions are reached by an absolute majority of votes. The top festivals appoint juries that are truly international, where foreign members are in a majority. This again is an essential condition for acquiring the prestigious FIAPF accreditation, which only 38 festivals worldwide have acquired to date. International film festivals also host film markets or in Elsaesser's (2005) words "bazaars" for the trade in films. For instance, Cannes film market is spread over 10 days, and offers 30 screening rooms where the film makers screen their titles to sales agents and distributors.

Another key feature of an international film festival is the multiple sections such as official selection, in-competition, out of competition, directors fortnight, critics week, etc. The sections can be broadly grouped into two groups: official and sidebars. Elsaesser (2005) argues that proliferation of sections within the festivals is due to reasons such as their need to accommodate rebels and counter festivals, and special interest film categories. Finally, though film festivals conjure up images of people milling around, access to them is in fact strictly restricted. Some festivals encourage participation of the general public, but the major festivals are mostly for professionals and that too for those who manage to secure accreditation. For example, Cannes has six types of accreditation: festival, market, producers' network, short films, press, and cinephiles. Again, within each category accreditation badges are color coded and give varying levels of access to the main event - Palais des Festivals. For instance, white press accreditation badge gives the fullest access, followed by pink with a dot, pink, blue, and yellow.

Chapter 3

International Film Festival Field

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I developed a new framework to study field-configuring events, and also conceptualized international film festivals as field-configuring events. In this chapter, I articulate the international film festival field and trace its origins, evolution, structure, and stakeholders. Festivals have become the most ubiquitous events in cultural industries, especially in the film industries. Some sources suggest that the number of film festivals worldwide might be in between 1000 to 3000 (<http://www.britfilms.com/festivals/>; Turan, 2002). Film festivals are mostly annual events showcasing films, usually of a recent date, sometimes with a focus on a specific genre (e.g. animation) or a subject (e.g. gay and lesbian film festivals). Elsaesser (2005) proposes that the annual international film festival “is a very European institution” and was invented in Europe before the Second World War. Further, he states that it has globalized itself by creating “a sort of alternative to the Hollywood studio system” in the form of art, independent cinema, and documentary film.

In recent years, film festivals have become a “growth industry” providing filmmakers with both alternative distribution and public relation outlets (Turan, 2002). Film festivals play an important role at regional, national and international levels facilitating movement of people between cities, revenue to national film industries, and national film cultures into the world cinema system (Stringer, 2001). Any discussion about their emergence, institutionalization, organization, and performance

is complicated as they cluster a combination of “economic, cultural, political, artistic and personality-based factors” (Elsaesser, 2005). This chapter is organized as follows: First, I trace the origins and evolution of international film festivals from the following regions: Europe, Latin America, Mediterranean, Asia, and the USA. Second, I explicate the role of two institutions within the international film festival field: The International Federation of Film Critics (FIPRESCI), and the International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF). Finally, I chart the primary strategic groups of international film festivals and identify some of their major attributes.

3.2 European International Film Festivals

The world's first major film festival was held in Venice in 1932 and the other three major film festivals of the world (Cannes, Berlin and Locarno) date back to the 1940s and 1950s. According to Elsaesser (2005), the European international film festivals started out as “highly political and nationalistic affairs”. He argues that Venice international film festival was a “combination of a charm offensive on the part of the Italian Hotel Association and of a propaganda exercise by Benito Mussolini”. Unlike other leading film festivals, Venice film festival started under the tutelage of the prestigious cultural institution Venice Biennale. The Biennale was started in 1895 to promote avant garde or new artistic trends in contemporary arts. Its web site states that “it is world-beating for the international film festival (63 editions), for the international art exhibition (52 editions) and for the international architecture exhibition (10 editions), and continues the great tradition of the festival of contemporary music (50 editions) and theatre (38 editions), now flanked by the

festival of contemporary dance (4 editions)”. The first Venice international film festival was held in 1932 as part of the 18th Venice Biennale (<http://www.labiennale.org>).

Cannes international film festival owes its existence to international politics at the Venice international film festival. *Cannes-A Festival Virgin's Guide* states that “in those days Venice film festival and - chiefly its awards - were as much about the national prestige of the participating countries as it was about the films”. Therefore, in 1939 French film professionals took umbrage to the fact that their film *La Grande Illusion* (1937) was overlooked for the top prize despite being a favorite with both the festival goers and the jury. In response, the French started the Cannes film festival on September 1st, 1939 but had to close it down with the outbreak of war the next day. Again, discussing about the two crucial resources needed for any new film festival, *Cannes-A Festival Virgin's Guide* states that Cannes city was chosen because of its ample sunshine, and more shrewdly the September date was chosen so as to extend the summer tourist season by two weeks. The second festival was held after the war in 1946 with the help of the French government. And for the third festival in 1947, the government set up a new body - Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC) to manage the festival. In those days, films were nominated by their respective countries rather than the festival choosing them. And, as the number of slots was limited, the festival fixed a particular country's quota according to its film output. However, in 1972 the Cannes festival's management was bestowed with the ultimate responsibility for selecting the official entries. Elsaesser (2005) argues that this change became a template for all other international film festivals, and almost all of them have accordingly tuned their organizational structures and selection procedures.

Germany's Berlin international film festival, started in 1951 again owes its existence to the Cold War. It was an initiative of Oscar Martay, an American film officer. The first festival was well received the prize winners were chosen by an exclusive German jury. The film festival continued to grow, but had to disband awarding prizes by jury from 1952 to 1956. This was due to the rules laid down by the international film festival "regulator" - International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF) that required all new festivals to award prizes chosen by the audience. And the FIAPF also specified that jury adjudication is reserved for only "A list" festivals. However, in 1956 Berlin international film festival received "A list" status. The festival states on its web site that it "managed a great leap forward in terms of image, when FIAPF awarded the Berlinale the much sought-after A status" (<http://www.berlinale.de/>).

Switzerland's Locarno film festival, started in 1946, was actually a rebirth of another festival by the name "Rassegna Internazionale del Film" which was based in Lugano. Lugano's festival, started in 1944 was closed down after its second edition as its citizens rejected the construction of an amphitheatre. Spain's San Sebastian film festival initially started off in 1953, not as a festival but as an International Film Week mainly to screen and market films. After the huge success of its first edition, San Sebastian was granted a FIAPF B list status which is reserved for non-competitive film festivals. In 1955, San Sebastian received FIAPF's recognition as a competitive festival specializing in color films, which in other words meant that the festival could grant official prizes, that too only by an international jury. But still, the festival prizes were restricted to the silver prizes like the Silver Shell. And the festival's top prize - Gold Shell was only awarded for the first time in 1957, when FIAPF granted it an A list status.

The beginnings of Czechoslovakia's Karlovy Vary film festival in 1946 were also highly nationalistic and political in nature. In 1945, the Czech film industry was nationalized, and the Ministry of Information and Culture supported the new festival as part of its social policy initiatives. After the Communist takeover in 1948, the festival had to incorporate propagandist films featuring issues such as victory of socialism, struggle for independence from colonial and imperialist dominance, into its programming. The festival's first competition with audience awards took place in 1948, and an international jury adjudicated for the first time in 1951. As its stature grew, Karlovy Vary film festival was granted FIAPF's A list status in 1956. However, with the founding of Moscow International Film Festival in 1959, and due to a political decision of holding only one per year A list festival among the socialist countries, Karlovy Vary was forced to switch alternate years with Moscow in between 1959 and 1993.

3.3 Latin American, Mediterranean, and Asian International Film Festivals

Outside Europe excepting the USA, FIAPF A list international film festivals had similar nationalistic motivations, albeit with different accents such as city and municipal agendas or the promotion of local culture and tourism. Argentina's Mar del Plata film festival was started in 1954, and its first edition was a non-competitive event. But, the second edition, held in 1959 under the aegis of Association of Argentine Films Critics was recognized by FIAPF as a competitive event. However, due to Argentina's tumultuous political and economic climate in the late sixties, the film festival was forced to close down for 25 years after its eleventh edition in 1970. Egypt's Cairo international film festival started out in 1976 as an initiative by the

Egyptian Association of Film Writers and Critics. In 1986, it received the FIAPF recognition as a non-competitive film festival, and in 1991 held its first competition, and a few years after that it was upgraded to an A list festival. Tokyo international film festival started off as a bi-annual event and it continued that way until 1991. After that it grew rapidly thereby gaining FIAPF A list status, and today bears an important influence on the Japanese film industry and culture.

China's Shanghai international film festival is again a government affair – hosted by the state administration in association with the Shanghai municipal government. It was started in 1993, and was a bi-annual feature till 2001. It is the youngest film festival to receive FIAPF's A list status. Canada has four big festivals: Toronto international film festival, Montreal World Film Festival, Vancouver international film festival, and the Atlantic film festival. Two of them have FIAPF accreditation: Toronto international film festival, and The Montreal World Film Festival, and in fact the latter is also classified as an FIAPF A list festival. The Montreal World Film Festival started in 1977 was sponsored by semi-governmental cultural agencies such as Societe de Developpement des Entreprises Culturelles (SODEC), and Telefilm Canada. Overtime, the festival has gained a reputation for its focus on art-house films from around the world that will have few opportunities to screen elsewhere in North America.

There are 26 international film festivals from 20 countries in FIAPF's B list. This list is made up of festivals that fall into two categories: One category that consists of prominent festivals that are "aspiring A list festivals". The other category is made up of small and specialized competitive film festivals that showcase niche cinema such

as Mediterranean cinema, films for children or films by debutant directors. Prominent among the list are festivals from countries such as Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, and the USA. India is the largest film producing nations, and has two festivals on the list. The first festival, International Film Festival of India (IFFI) was started in 1952 by the Indian Directorate of Film Festivals and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. It was held bi-annually till 1975 and since then has been held every year. An interesting feature of this festival is, unlike most of the leading festivals worldwide which are spatially embedded, IFFI is a peripatetic event, which means that the festival moves around the country, and is held in a different city each year. The second film festival of India on the list – International Film Festival of Kerala (IFFK) was started in 1996 in a regional state of south India – Kerala. Again, IFFK owes its existence to the cinematic successes Kerala's cinema has had at the world's leading film festivals such as Cannes, Venice, and Locarno.

South Korea's Pusan international film festival was started in 1996 in Pusan – the second largest port city of the country. Elsaesser (2005) notes that Pusan film festival helped revive Korean filmmaking as a national cinema, albeit the festival's real intention was to outshine its successful neighbor – Hong Kong film festival. Bosnia-Herzegovina's top film festival emerged in the heart of a war ravaged city of Sarajevo, and that too during the war. The Sarajevo film festival, started in 1995 was an initiative of the city's cultural center - Obala Art Center. As the fighting raged and paralyzed the city, the festival became the window to its people, and at the same time it made the world aware of their suffering and struggle in the besieged city. Since then the stature of Sarajevo film festival as a regional festival has grown leaps and bounds.

Turkey's first film festival – International Istanbul film festival started off as a film week in 1982 and 1984 became a full fledged film festival. The competitive section was started in 1985 and FIAPF granted it a specialized competitive status in 1989. The festival has grown into a leading showcase for recent European and Turkish film productions.

3.4 USA International Film Festivals

While the international film festivals in Europe, Asia, Canada, Australia and Latin America display a combination of cultural, political, and national cinema moorings, most of the USA film festivals emerged to offer “a sort of alternative” to the Hollywood studio system in the form of the independent or “indie” cinema (Elsaesser, 2005). The first international film festival showcasing full length feature films in the USA was the San Francisco international film festival founded in 1958 (Baumann, 2001). And it was followed by the Chicago international film festival in 1965; the Seattle international film festival in 1974; Sundance film festival in 1985; Boston film festival in 1985; AFI festival in 1987; and Philadelphia film festival in 1991. Almost all of these festivals, until very recently, excepting the AFI film festival, mainly showcased domestic and the indie films. Even if some featured foreign films in their competition section, the sections were not adjudicated by a jury that had foreign members in majority, as per the rules of FIAPF. Therefore, in essence they were not “international” film festivals, and this explains why the AFI festival is the one and only festival from the USA to receive FIAPF A list status.

AFI festival emerged in 1987 when its parent body – The American Film Institute (AFI) adopted The Los Angeles International Film Exposition or FILMEX. The AFI festival website states that FILMEX, founded in 1971, grew into one of the largest film events in the world (<http://www.afi.com>). Further, the European influence on the festival is revealed in a 1975 article published on the AFI website to explain how FILMEX sources its films. The article states that in 1974, FILMEX professionals visited many European countries and had meetings with national export associations, producers, film curators, archivists, and distributors for film suggestions. In other words, this clearly shows how FILMEX very early on harbored intentions, to become one of the world's most anticipated showcases of international films. In contrast, Sundance film festival, the USA's premier festival has been, as its website declares - "universally regarded as the foremost showcase for American independent films" (<http://festival.sundance.org/>). The festival founded in 1985, has been credited in discovering "indie blockbusters" such as *Sex, Lies, and Videotape* (1989); *Blood Simple* (1984); *American Dream* (1990); *El Mariachi* (1992); *Silverlake Life: The View from Here* (1993); *The Brothers McMullen* (1995); and *I Shot Andy Warhol* (1996).

Perran (2001) argues that Sundance's discovery of *Sex, Lies, and Videotape* (1989) and its subsequent marketing by Miramax marked a turning point in American independent cinema. In effect, she proposes that the film "ushered in the era of the indie blockbusters – the films that, on a smaller scale, replicate the exploitation marketing and box-office performance of the major studio high-concept event pictures". *Sex, Lies, and Videotape* (1989), budgeted at \$1.1 million earned a staggering \$24 million at the North American box-office. The film was featured as a

competition film at Sundance in January 1989 and at Cannes international film festival in May 1989. It won the Dramatic Audience award at Sundance, and the top prize – Golden Palm at Cannes. Further, Perran (2001) proposes that Miramax incorporated these festival achievements into its marketing strategy and specifically targeted the art-house audience. The film's posters were carefully designed to highlight the festival awards. Because the art-house audience was aware that Sundance and Cannes stood for excellence in the indie and art-house cinema, the strategy paid rich dividends.

However, in the last few years the film festivals in the USA have been adding international competition sections for foreign and international films, and adjudicating them by panels consisting of foreign jury members in majority. Sundance film festival started its "World Cinema – Dramatic" section in 2005 and it was adjudicated by jury members from the UK, Spain, and the USA. Similarly, in the recent past Chicago international film festival and Philadelphia film festival have created separate competitive sections for international and foreign films. Further, another strategy of internationalization being followed by the USA film festivals, alike their European counterparts is to incorporate competitive sections adjudicated by Germany based film critics organization: Fédération Internationale de la Presse Cinématographique or International Federation of Film Critics (FIPRESCI). The next section provides a historical account of FIPRESCI and an elaboration of its strategic role within the international film festival field.

3.5 The International Federation of Film Critics (FIPRESCI)

FIPRESCI, founded in 1930, is an international federation of organizations of professional film critics and film journalists established in different countries to safeguard their professional interests, and for the promotion and development of film culture. Klaus Eder, General Secretary of FIPRESCI - succinctly states FIPRESCI's relationship with film festivals (<http://fest07.sffs.org/awards/fipresci.php>):

“The basic purpose of FIPRESCI is to support cinema as art. Festivals offer an exciting opportunity to become acquainted with world cinema. As film critics, it is our interest and often our pleasure to support national cinema in all its forms and diversity, considering it an important part of national culture and identity. We do this by writing about cinema in newspapers or specialized magazines, on radio and television or the Internet. And we do it by awarding the best of them (from our point of view) the International Critics Prize (FIPRESCI Prize). This prize is established at international film festivals, and its aim is to promote film art and to particularly encourage new and young cinema. We hope (and sometimes we know) that this prize can help films to get better distribution, or distribution at all, and to win greater public attention”.

FIPRESCI prize is awarded at international film festivals by specially constituted juries. The national section of a particular country in which a festival is taking place is in charge of organizing the jury meetings, the award ceremony and the publication of awards. The rules state that juries should not have less than three members or more than nine members, and all have to be from different countries. As on 2007, FIPRESCI awards are given out in 40 international film festivals that include some of the leading film festivals such as: Berlin, Mar del Plata, Thessaloniki, Hong Kong, Istanbul, San Francisco, Cannes, Moscow, Karlovy Vary, Locarno, Montreal, and Venice. However, in the USA only three film festivals have the privilege to host FIPRESCI prize: San Francisco, Miami, and Palm Springs. By hosting the FIPRESCI Prize, a film festival seeks to enhance its image as a venue for serious cinema, and in

the words of Linda Blackaby - Director of Programming at the San Francisco international film festival: “The FIPRESCI prize is awarded at international film festivals and festivals of particular importance, and we are honored to be the third U.S. festival to host a FIPRESCI jury” (<http://www.sffs.org>).

3.6 International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF)

FIAPF or the International Federation of Film Producers Associations, founded in 1933 is a Paris based organization of 26 producers' organization from 23 countries on four continents. FIAPF is the only organization of film and television producers with a global reach and is a sort of United Nations of film producing countries. FIAPF's mandate is to represent the economic, legal and regulatory interests which film and TV production industries in four continents have in common. As an advocate for film producers, FIAPF helps formulate policies and coordinate political action in these key areas: copyright and related intellectual property rights' legislation; enforcement of IPR legislation and anti-piracy action; deployment of digital technologies and their impact on the audiovisual value chain; technology standardization process; media regulation; private and public sector film financing mechanisms; and trade-related issues.

FIAPF's governance is provided by its General Assembly, which sits twice-yearly, in May and December. General Assembly members are elected from the membership. The General Assembly also appoints the 12-strong FIAPF Executive Committee, which meets as often as strategic and policy planning needs may require. The current structure consists of a President from Spain, Vice-President from the USA, First Vice-

President from India, and members from Canada, China, India, Italy, Japan, Russia, Spain, and Sweden. FIAPF is also a regulator of international film festivals, including some of the world's most significant ones.

FIAPF's International Film Festivals' Regulations represent a trust contract between the film business and the festivals. The regulation of this relationship is very important as it affects the film festivals' prestige and economic impact. FIAPF's role as a regulator of international film festivals is to facilitate the job of the producers, sales agents and distributors in the management of their relationships with the festivals. Accredited festivals are expected to implement quality and reliability standards that meet industry expectations. These standards include: good year-round organizational resources; genuinely international selections of films and competition juries; good facilities for servicing international press correspondents; stringent measures to prevent theft or illegal copying of films; evidence of support from the local film industry; insurance of all film copies against loss, theft or damage; and high standards for official publications and information management (catalogue, fliers, etc.).

FIAPF's role is also to support some festivals' efforts in achieving higher standards over time, despite economic or programming challenges which often stem from a combination of unfavorable geopolitical location, budgets, and a difficult place in the annual festivals' calendar. This is particularly relevant in the context of the unequal levels of resources and opportunities between film festivals in the Southern and Northern hemispheres. The International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF) accredits 49 festivals, 43 of them for feature films. FIAPF endorsement is a

stamp of quality and prestige, and only one USA event – AFI Fest is accredited by the FIAPF. However, almost all major European and Asian festivals are on the list. Nonetheless, there are film festivals in the USA that have been growing in stature and are considered to be on par with the top ones accredited by FIAPF, such as Sundance and Tribeca.

3.7 Strategic Groups of International Film Festivals

To identify strategic groups of film festivals worldwide, I will use the FIAPF as a differentiating tag for two reasons. Firstly, because the association was born in 1933, a year after the first film festival was organized in Venice. In addition to preceding almost all the film festivals worldwide except Venice, the association played a pivotal role in fostering the growth of film festivals in Europe. Second, overwhelming majority of media professionals accept that Cannes, Venice and Berlin are the world's topmost film festivals, and all have a long history of accreditation by FIAPF. Though the website of FIAPF claims that many more film festivals are in the process of getting accreditation, it seems a long and slow process before one can see the list growing. Nevertheless, FIAPF provides an interesting metric to differentiate the mass of film festivals worldwide. The FIAPF accredited festivals directory consists of 4 groups (<http://www.fiapf.org/intfilmfestivals.asp>): Competitive feature film festivals; competitive specialized feature film festivals; non-competitive feature film festivals; and documentary and short film festivals. As international film festivals that showcase full length feature films are relevant for my research, I ignore the documentary and short festivals. The three groups of FIAPF accredited international film festivals are presented in the following tables and figures.

3.7.1 Group 1 “A” List Film Festivals (Competitive Feature Film Festivals)

Figure 3.1 The World's Twelve Largest International Film Festivals



Table 3.1 The World's Twelve Largest International Film Festivals

No.	International Film Festival	Country	Month
1	Berlin International Film Festival	Germany	February
2	Mar Del Plata International Film Festival	Argentina	March
3	Cannes International Film Festival	France	May
4	Shanghai International Film Festival	China	June
5	Moscow International Film Festival	Russia	June
6	Karlovy Vary International Film Festival	Czech Republic	June
7	Locarno International Film Festival	Switzerland	August
8	Montreal World Film Festival	Canada	August
9	Venice International Film Festival	Italy	August
10	Donostia San Sebastian International Film Festival	Spain	September
11	Tokyo International Film Festival	Japan	October
12	Cairo International Film Festival	Egypt	November

Source: http://www.tiff-jp.net/en/tiff/about_tiff.html

Table 3.2 Group 2 “B” List Film Festivals (Competitive Specialized Feature Film Festivals)

No.	International Film Festival	Country	Month	Specialized Category
1	Brussels International Festival of Fantastic Film	Germany	March	Science Fiction
2	International Istanbul Film Festival	Turkey		Films on art, literature, theatre, music, dance, cinema and plastic arts
3	goEast – Festival of Central and Eastern European Film	Germany	March	Films from Central and Eastern Europe
4	Festroia International Film Festival	Portugal	June	Films from countries producing 30 features yearly
5	Cinema Jove International Film Festival	Spain	June	New directors’ films
6	Sarajevo Film Festival	Bosnia-Herzegovina	August	Films from Central and South-Eastern Europe
7	Lucas International Children’s Film Festival	Germany	September	Films for children
8	International Film Festival-Eurasia	Kazakhstan	September	Europe, Central Asia, and Asian films
9	Namur International Film Festival	Belgium	September	French-language films
10	Bogota Film Festival	Columbia	October	New directors’ films
11	Warsaw Film Festival	Poland	October	First and second features
12	Sitges, International Film Festival of Catalonia	Spain	October	Fantasy films
13	Flanders International Film Festival Ghent	Belgium	October	Impact of music on films
14	Pusan International Film Festival	South Korea	October	Films from new directors of Asian countries
15	Mostra of Valencia Cinema of Mediterrani	Spain	October	Films from Mediterranean countries
16	Saõ Paulo International Film Festival	Brazil	October	New directors’ films
17	Kyiv International Film Festival Molodist	Ukraine	October	Young directors’ films
18	AFI Fest : AFI Los Angeles International Film Festival	USA	November	First or second features
19	Torino Film Festival	Italy	November	New directors’ films
20	Stockholm International Film Festival	Sweden	November	Films on new cinematographic orientations
21	Thessaloniki International Film Festival	Greece	November	New directors’ films
22	Gijon International Film Festival	Spain	November	Films for young people
23	Tallinn Black Nights Film Festival	Estonia	November	Europe, Central Asia, and Asian films
24	International Film Festival of India	India	November	Asian films
25	Courmayeur Noir in Festival	Italy	December	Police and mystery films
26	International Film Festival of Kerala	India	December	Films from Asia, Africa and Latin America

Table 3.3 Group 3 (Non-Competitive Feature Film Festivals)

No.	International Film Festival	Country	Month
1	Sydney Film Festival	Australia	June
2	The Norwegian International Film Festival	Norway	August
3	Toronto International Film Festival	Canada	September
4	Viennale, Vienna International Film Festival	Austria	October
5	The Times BFI London Film Festival	United Kingdom	October
6	Kolkata Film Festival	India	November

3.7.2 Group 4 (Non-FIAPF Accredited Premier Film Festivals)

I identify the following film festivals belonging to this group: New York, Tribeca, Sundance, Slamdance, Telluride, Seattle, San Francisco, Philadelphia, AFI Fest, Chicago, Miami, Houston, Palm Springs, Montreal, Cracow, Geneva, Buenos Aires, and Singapore.

Chapter 4

The Impact of Reputational Resources on Event Performance in International Film Festivals

4.1 Introduction

The resource based view on strategy argues that competitive advantage of a firm primarily rests with idiosyncratic organizational resources and capabilities (Barney, 1991; Penrose, 1959). Intangible resources in particular, provide sustainable competitive advantage because they are firm specific and are “accumulated” in the form of “stocks and flows” over time (Dierickx and Cool, 1989). Reputation is one of the key intangible resources, and several studies have shown that it is linked to sustained superior financial and social performance (Podolny, 2005; Rindova, Williamson, Petkova, and Sever, 2005). However, very few studies have discussed reputation as a source of competitive advantage in cultural industries (Anand and Watson, 2004; Lampel, Shamsie, and Lant, 2005), and none have examined the relationship between reputation in the form of stocks and flows and organizational performance. This lack of attention is surprising, as reputation of cultural producers and their products is a sine-qua-non towards gaining competitive advantage within cultural industries (Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie, 2000).

In developing my research, I draw on work from both the institutional analysis of cultural fields, particularly the “production of culture” perspective (DiMaggio, 1991; Peterson and Anand, 2004), and the resource based view (Barney, 1991; Dierickx and Cool, 1989). Applying Dierickx and Cool’s (1989) model to reputation accumulation within cultural

industries, I propose that stocks of reputation are accumulated reputational assets. And flows of reputation occur from both internal and external sources to be absorbed and further developed into stocks of reputation. My research tests the relationship between stocks and flows of organizational reputation and organizational performance in the international film festival organizational field. International film festival field provides an appropriate context to examine this relationship for two reasons: First, the most valuable intangible resources of international film festivals are twofold: the capabilities involved in accessing, programming, and showcasing the best and latest international films; and an accumulated reputation of possessing those capabilities. In other words, the competitive advantage of international film festivals is primarily dependent upon both their stocks of reputation and their access to flows of reputation.

Second, international film festivals are events rather than organizations per se, and in my view are very similar to projects. I argue that testing the relationship between stocks and flows of resources and performance in the context of organizations might confound the results. This is because organizations are complex structures with multitude of resource flows that are continuously accumulating, whereas events have very few resource flows, and all of them occur at a single point in time when the event is organized. This feature, I argue, provides a parsimonious empirical context to delineate precise levels of stocks and flows of intangible resources such as reputation.

The chapter is organized as follows: First, I provide an overview of both the institutional analysis of cultural fields, and Dierickx and Cool's (1989) intangible asset stock

accumulation model. Second, I articulate the measure of stocks of international film festival reputation - jury prestige. Third, I suggest that reputation flows may be captured by the prestige of film-makers' participating in an international film festival. Fourth, I propose a performance measure for an international film festival – the number of countries in which a festival film gets released. Finally, I present the research design, data analysis, and discuss the results.

4.2 Institutional Analysis of Cultural Fields

Institutional analysis of cultural fields examines the production and distribution of institutionalized cultural forms like art works, cuisine, religious practices, juridical ties, etc. These forms are enacted by a web of interactions between people with occupational identities, formal organizations, and markets. Three main approaches inform the analysis: Bourdieu's field theory, Becker's "artworlds" theory, and Peterson's "production of culture" approach. Bourdieu (1984) views artistic reputation as a form of consecration and an output of cultural capital. Becker's (1982) *Art Worlds* argues that artistic reputation is a product of sustained collective effort of a number of people. Peterson's "production of culture" perspective (Peterson and Anand, 2004; Peterson and Berger, 1975) in which my research is nested, focuses "on how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved". In other words, the perspective argues that sources of competitive advantage within cultural industries lie in the way resources are "created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved".

Studies within this perspective have examined the role of reputation in the production and distribution of institutionalized cultural forms. Anand and Peterson (2000) propose that Billboard charts function like reputation indices, and overtime have morphed into a summary measure of success or failure in records business. Rao, Monin, and Durand's (2003) research on French gastronomy shows that the socio-political legitimacy of the *nouvelle cuisine* chefs was mainly responsible for the growth of *nouvelle cuisine* as a high-status rival to that of the classical cuisine. The study identifies *nouvelle cuisine* chefs' reputation in the form of Michelin Guide's star ratings as one of the key sources of legitimacy. Watson and Anand (2006) argue that Grammy awards shape the canon formation process in the U.S. popular music field by constructing and purveying prestige that embodies the "hallmark of peer recognition".

As clearly brought out by the above review, the extant research has focused more on identifying the benefits of reputation acquisition, and less on explicating the process through which reputations are acquired and developed in the first place. Drawing upon Dierickx and Cool's (1989) idea, my research proposes that reputations accumulate as a result of flows of reputational assets, and the levels of reputational stocks-flows have direct bearing on performance. My integrative effort also addresses Rao's (1994) concern that the resource based perspective has overlooked the institutional process of legitimation, and "there has been little contact between resource based researchers and neo-institutionalists" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). What follows is an overview of Dierickx and Cool's (1989) intangible asset stock accumulation model.

4.3 Dierickx and Cool's (1989) Intangible Asset Stock Accumulation Model

Dierickx and Cool's (1989) intangible asset stock accumulation model posits that nontradeable asset stocks rather than the tradeable ones confer sustainable competitive advantage. This is because tradeable assets are "freely tradeable" and therefore rivals can replicate any asset configuration by buying and selling them at ongoing market prices. Successful implementation of a strategy depends not just on these undifferentiated tradeable assets, but assets that are nonappropriable, highly firm specific, and non tradeable assets. Examples of nontradeable asset stocks include corporate reputation, academic institute reputation, dealer loyalty, R&D capability, and reputation for quality. As there are no factor markets for nontradeable asset stocks, firms have to "build" or internally "accumulate them by choosing appropriate time paths of flows over a period of time". In essence, the model proposes that intangible assets are inherently inimitable because rivals have to replicate the entire accumulation path to achieve same level of asset stock position.

The model is presented in two parts. The first part describes the process of asset stock accumulation, and the second part identifies five features that confer sustainability of privileged asset stock positions. The authors illustrate the process of asset stock accumulation through the "bath-tub" metaphor. At any given point in time, the stock of water is indicated by the level of water in the bath-tub, which is the cumulative result of flows of water into the tub (through the tap) and out of it (through the leak). Applying this logic to the example of R&D capability, the amount of water in the bath-tub is the

stock of know-how at a particular point in time, whereas current R&D spending is the water flowing in through the tap; and the know-how that depreciates over time is the flow of water leaking through the hole in the tub. A crucial point illustrated by the model is that while flows can be adjusted instantaneously, stocks cannot. With regard to the sustainability of accumulated asset stock positions, the model argues that it depends on the extent to which asset accumulation processes exhibit the following properties: time compression diseconomies, asset mass efficiencies, interconnectedness, asset erosion, and causal ambiguity.

As far as I am aware, only two studies - DeCarolis and Deeds (1999) and Knott, Bryce and Posen (2003) have empirically tested Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model. The former tests just the process of asset stock accumulation, and the latter tests both accumulation and validity of three of the five properties outlined in Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model: time compression diseconomies, asset mass efficiencies, and asset erosion. And in both the studies the empirical context was the U.S. pharmaceutical industry, and the unit of analysis was organizations and not events. DeCarolis and Deeds (1999) examine the relationship between organizational knowledge assets in the form of stocks and flows and firm performance. Knowledge flows are captured by variables such as geographical location, alliances, and research and development. Knowledge stocks are captured by variables such as scientific citations, products in development, and patents. Findings show that geographical location, scientific citations, and products in development are significant predictors of firm performance.

Knott, Bryce and Posen (2003) investigate three questions: Is Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model of asset accumulation correct? Are the asset stocks more important than asset flows in the firm's production function? Does the accumulation process deter rival mobility? The study concludes that Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model is partially correct as only two out of three properties tested - time compression diseconomies and asset erosion are significant. Findings show that asset stocks do accumulate, but are in no way more important than asset flows in the firm's production function. With regard to the third question, the study finds that accumulation process is not inimitable, and therefore does not deter rival mobility. Notwithstanding the conflicting results, the authors' urge further research using other intangible assets, especially reputational assets.

In response, my research builds on the first part of Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model of asset stock accumulation and presents an initial framework of the process of reputation accumulation. I propose that stocks of reputation are accumulated reputation assets within the firm, and flows of reputation occur from both internal and external sources to be absorbed and further developed into stocks of reputation. Further, my research tests the relationship between stocks and flows of firm reputation and performance in the international film festival organizational field. Next, I conceptualize the underlying reputation of international film festivals in terms of Dierickx and Cool's (1989) stocks and flows of reputation and propose a few hypotheses.

4.4 Stocks and Flows of International Film Festival Reputation

In Hirsch's (1972) terms, international film festivals constitute a system of events that mediate the flow of films between producers and consumers. Further, Elsaesser (2005) proposes that one of their key functions is to "categorize, classify, sort and sift, celebrate, and reward the world's annual film-production". Drawing upon Holbrook's (1999) work on expert judgments of films I argue that international film festivals possess esoteric expertise to offer judgments about a variety of films such as feature, shorts, avant garde, etc. Consequently, as films derive their value from subjective experiences that rely heavily on using symbols in order to manipulate perception and emotion, film professionals and movie-goers have difficulty in identifying and establishing clear standards of quality. Instead, they resort to using "social proofs" of distinction in the form of reputation and status (Rao, Greve, and Davis, 2001).

Reputation offers an international film festival the following benefits: the ability to attract the best films of the year; the chance to premiere a film; the ability to attract top notch film makers to showcase their talent; the attention from leading media outlets; the ability to broker deals between producers, distributors, and exhibitors; the ability to attract increasing number of visitors or audiences; the ability to garner substantial commercial sponsorships, etc. Growth in reputation, and its accompanying benefits, in fact constitutes a virtuous cycle. As an international film festival's gains in reputation, it attracts best, newest, and to be premiered films, and as a consequence, attracts yet more prominent films, and reputed film makers. This virtuous cycle, according to Podolny and Phillips

(1996) corresponds to Merton's Matthew Effect, which states that high status actors are more likely to receive greater rewards for a given quality effort. My research views this virtuous cycle as an accumulation process and focuses on the relationship between an international film festival's reputation in the form of stocks and flows and its performance.

Towards that end, I suggest variables that capture stocks and flows of international film festival reputation. The international film festival field consists of three groups of stakeholders: general public, professionals, and public partners (Telefilm Canada, 2004). Of these, the professionals who are associated with an international film festival's flagship 'in-competition' section are the most important. They include programmers who nominate the films, the jury that adjudicates the winning films, and the film makers whose films have been nominated. Though the programmers play a key role in configuring the 'in-competition' section by selecting around 20 films from thousands of submissions, they remain anonymous or obscure for some reason from the public. Whereas, the other two groups of professionals, the jury, and the film makers whose films have been nominated, become the focus of attention by the media and festival-goers alike, and therefore function as the public face of a film festival. I propose that stocks of reputation can be captured by the film festival's jury profile. And flows of reputation are represented by the profile of directors of films included in the competition section of the film festival.

Elsaesser (2005) argues that international film festivals function as competitive venues for artistic excellence in cinema, very much like Olympic Games do in the sporting field. Competitive international film festivals usually give out awards for films in categories such as the best film, best actress, best actor, best director, best screenplay, and best short film. The award for the best film is the most important, and is again usually christened as Golden Palm (Cannes), Golden Loin (Venice), Golden Bear (Berlin), etc. The next important awards are Silver medals, and Bronze medals usually given out for directing, acting, and best screenplay. These awards are adjudicated by a specially appointed international jury comprising of high profile artists, directors, actors, writers, intellectuals, etc. With regards to the film professionals on the jury, most of the film festivals appoint film makers who have featured their films or, in other words, are an alumnus. For instance, Quentin Tarantino's film *Pulp Fiction* (1994) won the Golden Palm at Cannes in 1994, and in 2004 he was the head of the jury.

However, it is also very common to see film makers being on juries of more than one festival in the same year, like for example, at Berlin in February and at Cannes in May. Therefore, they are very mobile, in the sense of not being tied to a particular festival. And as there are not many people who are eligible to act as film jurists, the film festivals compete to invite high profile and prominent film makers on to their juries. The announcement of the list of jury members with the chairperson immediately follows the unveiling of competing films. In doing so, an international film festival seeks to focus attention on not only the films that are vying for top honors, but also the reputation of the jury members who will adjudicate the winners. In other words, a film festival's jury

reputation becomes a strategic resource that might have performance implications. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H1: An international film festival's jury reputation will have a positive relationship with the event performance.

Elsaesser (2005) argues that international film festivals “compete for and are dependent on a regular annual supply of interesting, innovative or otherwise noteworthy films”. In particular, they are competing for two types of resources: Firstly, a “regular roster of star directors”, and secondly, an opportunity to “discover” new auteurs and a “new wave” or ‘nouvelle vague’ of cinema. International film festivals have jettisoned directors to internationally recognized auteur status, and in fact sparked almost all the European new waves. For instance, 1960s saw Cannes anointing Satyajit Ray, Ingmar Bergman, Luchino Visconti, Francois Truffaut, Jean-Luc Godard, in the 1970s, American directors Robert Altman, Martin Scorsese, Francis Coppola, and in the 1980s, Chinese directors Zhang Yimou and Chen Kaige. Likewise, the premier American festival Sundance discovered and elevated the status of directors such as Quentin Tarantino and Steven Soderbergh.

Cannes has also played host to new cinema waves such as Italian neorealism, French nouvelle vague, and the “new” Iranian cinema. On the issue of what constitutes a wave, Nichols (1994) proposes that one new auteur is a “discovery”, two new auteurs is a “new wave”, and three new auteurs from the same country constitute a “new national cinema”.

By anointing auteurs, and initiating new waves of cinema, the festivals seek to appropriate the accompanying credit and reputation. In Elsaesser's (2005) words "a festival is an apparatus that breathes oxygen into an individual film and the reputation of its director as potential auteur, but at the same time it breathes oxygen into the system of festivals as a whole". Further, he states that "with every prize it confers, a festival also confirms its own importance, which in turn increases the symbolic value". A healthy flow of these two resource streams, I propose not only confirms a festival's importance and purpose but also helps differentiate it, thereby offering it a competitive advantage over the rest. In other words, a film festival's nominated directors' reputation becomes a strategic resource that might have performance implications. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H2: The reputation of film directors included in an international film festival will have a positive relationship with the event performance.

4.5 Data and Method

The sample used in this study was generated from a list of 49 international film festivals accredited by the International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF). Though there exist somewhere in between 600 to 3000 film festivals worldwide (Turan, 2002), the most important among these are the ones accredited by the FIAPF. The FIAPF has member organizations from 24 leading film producing countries including China, Japan, USA, and India. The FIAPF website states its role "as a regulator of international

film festivals”, and Elsaesser (2005) seems to concur when he argues that FIAPF accreditation is widely accepted as the gold standard for international film festivals. FIAPF accredits festivals in four categories: competitive, competitive specialized, non-competitive, documentary and short. The 12 festivals in the competitive category are considered the “A” list festivals and include all the best European ones like Cannes, Venice, Berlin, etc. The second category - competitive specialized or “B” list festivals consist of 26 festivals. These showcase films that focus on a particular regional cinema such as Mediterranean cinema, or on a particular topic such as children’s films or films by debutant directors.

My sample includes only festivals that showcase full length feature films, and excludes the non-competitive film festivals as they source their films or resources from the competitive ones. Thus, the initial sample consisted of 38 film festivals. The data collected pertained to the year 2004 as it offered the best opportunity to fully capture the dependent variable – a film’s release dates after its festival debut. Missing data forced me to drop 13 film festivals, and therefore my final sample consists of 25 of the world’s leading film festivals: Cannes; Berlin; Venice; Locarno; Karlovy Vary; San Sebastian; Montreal; Moscow; Tokyo; Cairo; Shanghai; Brussels; Istanbul; Goeast; Sarajevo; Namur; Warsaw; Stiges; Thessaloniki; Molodist; American Film Institute Festival; Flanders; Sao Paulo; Gijon; and International film festival of Kerala. The data was collected from both the film festivals websites and imdb.com.

4.5.1 Dependent Variable

Measuring the performance of international film festivals is very difficult as they possess attributes that are not just economic in nature but also artistic, cultural, and political. Many tractable dimensions do exist that can be used as performance measures, such as number of films presented, box-office earnings of the films presented, number of media attendees, number of sales companies and buyers, number of admissions, etc. However, I argue that the performance measure should truly reflect the stated objectives of international film festivals. Almost all the leading film festivals state that one of their primary objectives is to promote cinema as a global art form. Similarly, Elsaesser (2005) argues that international film festivals function as cartographers of the “world’s cinema production and the different nations’ film cultures”. Further, one of the primary motives of film makers presenting their films at various festivals is not financial gain, but to acquire international “prestige, honor, fame, or recognition” (Ramey, 2002). Therefore, I propose a new performance measure for international film festivals, which is also my dependent variable: number of countries in which a film is exhibited after its festival debut. The dependent variable is measured by counting number of country releases a film has, excluding double or more releases, including non commercial releases like special exhibition venues or being shown at an international film festival. Further, each film festival’s number of country releases is obtained by averaging the count of individual film releases. For instance Cannes had 8 in-competition films and its average country release count was 31.625 ($253/55+23+27+31+20+44+34+19$).

4.5.2 Independent Variables

I operationalize the two independent variables in my study: stocks of festival reputation, and flows of festival reputation through jury reputation, and film director reputation respectively. Recent research within the resource based view has used individual reputation as an indicator of a firm's intellectual capital. Rindova, Williamson, Petkova, and Sever (2005) propose the following variable as antecedents of business school reputation: Student GMAT scores, faculty experience in years, faculty publications, and faculty PhD degree. Rothaermel and Hess (2007) argue that innovation in biotechnology companies is a function of "star scientists". The reputation of star scientists is measured in terms of their "star publications" and "citation stars". Wade, Porac, Pollock, and Graffin (2006) propose that a CEO's celebrity status is a valuable intangible asset for a firm. They measure a CEO's reputation through the awards won at the *Financial World's* annual CEO of the Year competition.

Similarly, within the film industry research, the worth of a film production is assessed through the reputation of various individuals associated with it such as the director, producer, actors', screenwriter, etc. Simonton (2004) uses 7 types of film awards in 16 different categories to assess individual and group artistic creativity in film productions. Perritti and Negro (2006) measure the status of film directors and actors by the number of Oscar awards or New York Film Critics Circle Awards they have won in the past. And film professionals who have accumulated such reputation are invited by the international film festivals to be part of their juries. Baumann (2001) suggests that competitive film

festival bestow artistic merit on films as their competitions are juried by individuals who have claim to an expert status within the field. Therefore, I suggest that the reputation of a film professional on a festival's jury is an appropriate measure for the festival's stock of reputation variable. Towards that end, I measure it in three ways: Number of feature film credits he or she has; Number of years of experience since his or her debut; and Number of award nominations he or she has won.

The variables were calculated as follows: Number of film credits – count of feature film credits; Number of years of experience since his or her debut – count of number of years since his or her first debut film till 2004; Number of awards he or she has won – count of number of award nominations from a specially constructed index of world's important awards. The index consists of 78 most important awards from 40 leading film producing countries (see Appendix A). The list includes all the 23 member countries of the FIAPF. Further, I added another 17 countries that also had significant film output. Further, each film festival's number of directors' years is obtained by averaging the count of individual director's years. For instance Cannes had 8 in-competition directors and their average years of experience is 17.625 ($141/15+27+21+13+29+20+12+4$). Number of directors credits, and number of directors awards for each film festival are calculated in a similar way.

Though a film is a collaborative effort of many creative individuals, the director's role is paramount. The auteur theory states that a film's "authorship" lies with its director as his or her personal artistic vision is responsible in crafting it (Caughie, 1981). Simonton

(2004) supporting this theory argues that “73% of all pictures that received the Best Picture Oscar have also claimed the Oscar for Best Director”. Further, Elsaesser (2005) proposes that international film festivals such as Cannes have fostered auteurism by not only retaining the director as the “king pin” of a film production, but the entire festival system itself. Evidence to this is almost all the film festivals list the film director’s name alongside the title of the film. Therefore, I suggest that the reputation of the director of a film included in the festival is an appropriate measure for the festival’s flow of reputation variable. Towards that end, I measure it in three ways: Number of feature film credits he or she has; Number of years of experience since his or her debut; and Number of awards he or she has won. The variables were calculated in the same way as that of the other independent variable –jury member reputation.

4.5.3 Control Variable

Previous research on reputation suggests that age may be positively related with reputation (Deephouse and Carter, 2005). Older international film festivals have an established past of achievements and deep ties and relationships with all the stakeholders within the film festival field. They possess superior stocks of jury reputation, and command stellar flows of film directors’ reputation, and therefore their films are exhibited in more number of countries. The age of an international film festival is calculated by deducting its debut year from the year 2004.

4.6 Analysis and Results

The data were analyzed using linear regression, and descriptive statistics are presented in Table 4.1. Data were log transformed to fit normal distribution. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1 Descriptive Statistics

	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
Number of Country Releases	0.9804	0.32843
Age of Film Festival	1.4193	0.32481
Director Years	0.9606	0.30747
Director Credits	0.8170	0.28731
Director Award Nominations	0.2957	0.51856
Jury Member Years	1.2609	0.17810
Jury Member Credits	1.1456	0.29866
Jury Member Award Nominations	0.7000	0.30406

Table 4.2 Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Number of Country Releases							
2 Age of Film Festival	0.538*						
3 Director Years	0.138	0.389					
4 Director Credits	0.118	0.471*	0.860*				
5 Director Award Nominations	0.514*	0.496*	0.562*	0.466*			
6 Jury Member Years	0.029	0.085	0.313	0.189	0.219		
7 Jury Member Credits	0.446*	0.408*	0.357	0.259	0.218	0.609*	
8 Jury Member Award Nominations	0.208	0.049	-0.066	-0.143	0.072	0.521*	0.324

*p < .05

I run three regression models to test the effects of jury reputation, and director reputation on the number of countries a festival film is released. The results are presented in Table 4.3. In model 1, I introduce the control variable - age of the film festival, and all the flows of reputation variables: director years, director credits, and director awards. Age of

the festival, and director award nominations are significant predictors of number of country releases. In model 2, I introduce stocks of reputation variables together with the control variable. The age of the festival, and two stock variables - jury member years and jury member credits have effects on number of country releases, albeit the effects are not strong. In the final model, I introduce all the variables – age, and stocks and flows of reputation. The results show that one stocks of reputation variable – jury member credits, and one flows of reputation variable – director award nomination are significant predictors of country releases. Therefore, I find support for both hypotheses, but only with respect to some measures of reputation - specifically, the number of jury member film credits and the total number of a film director’s previous award nominations.

Table 4.3 Regression Results – Beta Coefficients

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Age of Film Festival	0.458 **	0.370 †	0.173
Director Years	-0.105		-0.254
Director Credits	-0.214		-0.032
Director Award Nominations	0.445 **		0.549 **
Jury Member Years		-0.421 †	-0.477
Jury Member Credits		0.468 †	0.581 **
Jury Member Award Nominations		0.258	0.199
R ²	0.322	0.339	0.623
F-Statistic	3.824	4.074	4.009
Significance of F	0.018	0.014	0.009

N =25 for all models
†p < .1 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Multicollinearity statistics (Appendix B/Chapter 4) for the final model indicate no serious threat of collinearity. The variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance statistics are

within prescribed limits – tolerance level values should be at least 0.1 and above, and VIF values should not be greater than 10 (Myers, 1990).

4.7 Discussion

My research examines whether the level of flows of reputation, and stocks of reputation of international film festivals affect their performance. It conceptualizes flows of reputation of an international film festival in terms of the nominated film directors' reputations. The stocks of reputation of an international film festival are conceptualized in terms of its jury members' reputations. The underlying rationale in classifying director reputation as flows, and jury reputation as stocks, and not vice versa, is as follows: First, because stocks of reputation are accumulated flows of reputation. However, I see instances where stocks are acquired without resorting to accumulated flows reputation, such as the birth of a new scholarly journal. The reputation of a new scholarly journal is signaled more by the reputation of scholars on its editorial board, than the reputations of authors publishing in its initial issues. Similarly, the reputation of a nascent international film festival is signaled more by the reputations of the jury members adjudicating the competition. Therefore, the distinction between what constitutes stock as opposed to flows is blurred and confounding in the case of nascent institutions. Otherwise, in the long run, it is very clear that stocks are accumulated flows.

Second, in case of jury selection, international film festivals only invite those film makers who were their discoveries or have been previously featured in their competition sections.

In fact, Elsaesser (2005) suggests that by grooming newly discovered auteurs for potential jury positions, the international film festivals seek fresh directions. Moreover, FIAPF prohibits a new film festival that is under consideration for accreditation from holding juried competitions. Though this rule might be in place to safeguard the interests of established festivals, it clearly points out two things: First, that jury resources are strategic in nature, and second, they can only be exploited through the process of accumulation. Therefore, I conceptualize stocks of reputation as accumulated reputational assets at a point in time which are continuously augmented and replenished by flows of reputational assets. Further, in Dierickx and Cool's (1989) words, film director reputational assets can be adjusted, but jury member reputational assets cannot. Drawing upon previous studies, I operationalize film director reputation through three variables: Number of feature film credits he or she has; Number of years of experience since his or her debut; and Number of awards he or she has won. Likewise, I operationalize jury member reputation through three variables: Number of feature film credits he or she has; Number of years of experience since his or her debut; and Number of awards he or she has won.

Results show partial support for both the hypotheses. In each of the hypotheses, one important variable is found to be positively associated with film festival performance. In the first hypothesis about stocks of reputation, number of credits a jury member significantly predicts film festival performance. There is no support for other two variables: jury member experience in number of years since his/her debut, and awards won the jury member. This shows that nominated films at international film festivals with

large number of film credits are more likely to be released in greater number of countries. This seems plausible, and can be explained by the way international film festivals introduce their jury members, usually through a short biography in their press materials or websites. For instance, Quentin Tarantino was Cannes's president of the jury for 2004. And his 220 word biography reads like this:

“Quentin Tarantino was born in 1963 in Knoxville, Tennessee. He spent his youth in a suburb of Los Angeles and becomes interested in film at an early age. His passion leads him, at the age of 22, to work in a video store where he spends his days with his friend Roger Avary, with whom he wrote Pulp Fiction several years later. It's during this time that he decides to edit his first scripts. Owing to the sale of his scripts True Romance and Natural Born Killers he directs his first film Reservoir Dogs in 1992. The film is widely distributed and becomes one of the best cop thrillers of the 90s. His second film, Pulp Fiction wins the Palme d'Or at the 1995 Festival de Cannes. In 1997 he shoots Jackie Brown, one of the best films of the decade, a tribute film to American cinema of the 70s. With Jackie Brown, Quentin Tarantino crosses over into the realm of great filmmakers. Following an absence of five years, Quentin Tarantino is back on the studio lot in 2002 with Kill Bill. Originally produced as a single film, it is finally released in two parts: Kill Bill Volume 1 and Kill Bill Volume 2. He is planning to start work on the third and final opus of his Kill Bill saga”. (<http://www.festival-cannes.fr/index.php/en/archives/artist/866>)

Although Quentin Tarantino has been nominated for 31 of world's leading awards, the biography just cites only Cannes's Palme d'Or award. And it cites only 8 films out of the 14 films he has directed till 2004. It is not clear whether the festival or Quentin Tarantino himself has authored the biography, but it is clear that international film festivals prefer to project the jury member's past sans their awards or experience in number of years. This is also true in the case of Steven Soderbergh, the acclaimed American director who was on the Cannes jury for 2003. His biography mentions 10 of his films, and just two

Oscars, and one Palme d'Or award, despite his three nominations at Berlin film festival, and one nomination at Sundance film festival.

On the other hand, in the second hypothesis about flows of reputation, the number of awards won by directors significantly predicts film festival performance. There is no support for the other two variables: a director's experience in number of years since his/her debut, and the number of film credits to his or her name. This shows that nominated films at international film festivals with highly acclaimed directors in terms of awards are more likely to be released in greater number of countries. This finding is consistent with institutional analysis of cultural fields that argues awards, honors, and prizes are especially important in cultural production as they represent forms of legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1984). Moreover, Mezias and Mezias (2000) suggest that "some measures of innovativeness that might be appropriate in the context of modern feature film industry, such as garnering awards, critical acclaim, or a massive box-office opening". Elsaesser (2005) argues that leading international film festivals such as Cannes profess a strong commitment to artistic excellence, usually displayed through awards and prizes. He further states that "with every prize it confers, a festival also confirms its own importance, which in turn increases the symbolic value of the prize". Therefore, my findings suggest that international film festivals see award nominated directors as superior flows of resources.

Chapter 5

International Film Festivals and Retrospective Cultural Consecration of British Films

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined how international film festivals acquire reputational resources in the form of stocks, and flows of reputation. In this chapter, I articulate twin functions of international film festivals: First, they represent forms of contemporaneous recognition within the global film business. Second, the contemporaneous recognition they bestow in the form of awards and prizes affects the retrospective cultural consecration of British films by the British Film Institute (BFI). Institutional analysis of cultural fields examines the issue of how the reputations of cultural producers' and their products are created and perpetuated (DiMaggio, 1982; Peterson and Anand, 2004). Becker (1982) argues that artistic reputation is a product of sustained collective effort of a number of people. Lang and Lang (1988) suggest that the durability of an artist's reputation depends on his/her lifetime efforts; the efforts of his/her survivors; "linkages to networks facilitating entry into archives"; and retrospective interest in his/her artworks. Baumann (2001) emphasizes the role of film critics intellectualizing discourse in legitimizing American cinema as an art form. Dowd, Liddle, Lupo, and Borden's (2002) study about the U.S. symphony orchestra field finds that canonization of new composers into orchestral repertoires depends on three factors: increased performance capabilities of symphony orchestras, expanded resources for new music, and the proliferation of music programs among U.S. colleges and universities.

popular, professional, and critical reception on the likelihood that a popular music album is retrospectively consecrated by Rolling Stone's 500 Greatest Albums". Again, his findings, in general, strongly support the initial theory of cultural consecration proposed by Allen and Lincoln (2004) that the extent of various forms of contemporaneous recognition a cultural product receives has positive effects on its likelihood of being retrospectively consecrated.

In this chapter, I seek to extend their findings to the field of British cinema that is very distinct despite its American influences (Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie, 2005). By doing so, I contribute in two ways: First, I introduce a new form of contemporaneous recognition - international film festivals. Towards that end, I examine the effects of contemporaneous popular, professional, and international film festival recognition on the retrospective consecration of British films by the British Film Institute (BFI). Secondly, unlike Allen and Lincoln (2004) I show that retrospective consecration occurs in two stages: In the first stage, experts at the BFI generate a long list of 309 films. And in the second stage BFI draws a final shortlist of 100 films from the long list after it is balloted by voting college of British film industry professionals. My key argument is that contemporaneous recognition will have differential effects on each of these stages. The paper is organized as follows: First, I discuss three forms of contemporaneous recognition that determine retrospective consecration: popular, professional, and international film festival, and offer a few hypotheses. Second, I provide an overview of retrospective cultural consecration of British films by BFI. Third, I present the research design and data analysis. Finally, I discuss the results and articulate few contributions of the research.

5.2 Professional Recognition

According to Bourdieu (1993), one of the three primary forms of cultural legitimacy is “specific” legitimacy, which is bestowed by peers or other cultural producers. Specific legitimacy is garnered through professional recognition in the form of honors and awards conferred by professional associations or industry bodies. In their study about the reputations of 18th century British etchers-painters, Lang and Lang (1988) suggest that membership, and recognition in the form of awards or fellowships of artistic societies such as Royal Society of Painters-Etchers greatly increases the durability of artistic reputation. Likewise, Watson and Anand (2006) argue that Grammy awards shape the canon formation process in the U.S. popular music field by constructing and purveying prestige that embodied the “hallmark of peer recognition”.

In their study, Allen and Lincoln (2004) identify the Academy Awards or Oscars conferred by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences as one of the most important forms of professional recognition in the USA film industry. In the field of British cinema, an equivalent form of recognition is the British Academy Film Award presented by the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA). The Academy was formed in 1947 “to recognize those who had contributed outstanding creative work towards the advancement of British film” (<http://www.bafta.org/site/page13.html>). BAFTA has over 6000 members, and is divided into chapters according to professional specialties – directors, cinematographers, editors, etc. The membership of the Academy is by invitation only, and candidates are normally proposed by existing BAFTA members.

Each year, BAFTA confers awards in 24 film-related categories through a combination of membership votes, qualified industry chapters and specially selected juries. Commenting on the awards process, BAFTA claims that it “has earned its position as keeper of the gold standard because its engaged voting body is a diverse, expert membership of industry peers...who have reached the pinnacle of their profession in a variety of disciplines”. Studies that examine the impact of film nominations and awards on issues such as career promotions (Lincoln, 2007), group artistic creativity (Simonton, 2004), and screenplay characteristics (Simonton, 2005) attest to the fact that BAFTA nominations represent one of the most important forms of peer recognition in the field of British cinema. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H1: BAFTA best picture nomination has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration.

5.3 Popular Recognition

Another primary form of cultural legitimacy proposed by Bourdieu (1993) is the “popular” legitimacy, which is bestowed by the general public. Popular legitimacy is garnered through popular recognition either in the form of awards conferred by the members of the public such as the People’s Choice Awards or by the amount of revenue a cultural product generates from its public sale. Mezias and Mezias (2000) suggest that appropriate “measures of innovativeness” within the modern feature film industry are “awards, critical acclaim, or a massive box-office opening”. Sedgwick and Pokorny

(2005) also suggest that “box-office receipts can be used as an index of film popularity”.

Box-office receipts of a film equals number of admissions multiplied by ticket price.

Reliable box-office data was not made freely available to the trade publications as it is today until 1969 in Britain (Swern, 1995) and until 1929 in the U.S. (Mezias and Mezias, 2000). Swern (1995), in his book “Guinness Box Office Hits” provides an intriguing account of the evolution of film box-office in Britain. He argues that until the late 1960s, the distributors and exhibitors kept their receipts a closely guarded secret. And for the first time in the year 1945, an attempt was made by the trade publication *Kinematograph Weekly* to decipher which films were hits and which were misses. Since then and until 1969, and at the end of each year, *Kinematograph Weekly*’s senior reviewer R. H. ‘Josh’ Billings presented the “box-office stakes of the year” or “box-office honors of the year”. His box-office review offered honors such as Biggest Box-Office Attraction, Runners-Up, Best Musical, Best Western, Best British Film, The Other Money Makers, etc. This practice of British box-office interpretation ended in 1969 when full detailed charts with real numbers were made available to the trade press.

Allen and Lincoln (2004) argue that popular recognition in the film business is best measured by “how many people paid to see the film at the time of its initial theatrical release”. However, unlike the music business where an album’s popular reception is measured by the number of units sold, the film business quaintly measures it by a film’s total box-office receipts and not by number of admissions (Anderson, Albertson, and Shavlik, 2004). Nevertheless, box-office receipts have long been, and still remain the

most widely used indicator of film popularity and commercial success in the film industry (Eliashberg, Elberse, and Leenders, 2006; Mezias and Mezias, 2000). This gives me the following hypothesis:

H2: Box-office hit has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration.

5.4 International Film Festival Recognition

The third primary form of cultural legitimacy suggested by Bourdieu (1993) is the “bourgeois” legitimacy. This type of legitimacy is bestowed by the institutions and agents associated with the cultural elite or “individuals with field-specific cultural competence” such as professional critics (Holbrook, 1999). Further, Holbrook (1999) argues that professional critics possessed a large amount of cultural capital in the form of “specialized training, acquired expertise, artistic knowledge, and aesthetic experience in the relevant domain” that empowered them “to consecrate” or “to give value”. Baumann (2001) emphasizes the role of film critics in producing discourse that served to legitimize film as an art form in the U.S. Allen and Lincoln (2004) argue that film critics in the USA function as “reputational entrepreneurs” by producing discourse that serves to privilege certain cultural producers over others. They identify three important forms of critical recognition in the USA film industry: New York Film Critics Circle awards, the National Board of Review awards, and being included in the New York Times Top 10 Films list. Baumann (2001) also suggests that international film festivals in the USA perform a very similar function to that of film critics by disseminating “perceptions of artistic status of

film”. He argues that “because they are competitive and because prizes are awarded by juries who have some claim to expert status in their field, film festivals bestow artistic merit on films”.

Waterman (1998) proposes that film festivals are a form of cultural consumption concentrated in time and space. Stringer (2003) argues that international film festivals exercise influence on, and attribute meaning to global film culture on multiple levels. Hardbord (2002) argues that since their inception (Venice, 1932), film festivals have entwined film culture within the organization and materialization of national and regional space. Elsaesser (2005) argues that film festivals play a key role in the film business with wide-reaching consequences to specific elements such as authorship, production, exhibition, cultural prestige and recognition. According to him, one of their key functions is to “categorize, classify, sort and sift the world’s annual film-production...supporting, selecting, celebrating and rewarding – in short, (by) adding value and cultural capital”. He suggests that festivals function as “ad-hoc stock exchange of reputations” and “arbiters and taste-makers”. He claims that the annual international film festival is a “very European institution” and a strict ranking system exists between A and B festivals, “policed” by the Paris based organization International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF). Finally, he identifies Cannes, Venice and Berlin as the three most important A festivals: This gives me the following hypothesis:

H3a: Cannes nomination has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration;

H3b: Venice nomination has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration;

H3c: Berlin nomination has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration.

5.5 Retrospective Cultural Consecration of Films

Lang and Lang (1988) distinguish between two components of reputation: recognition by peers and more universal renown. Recognition is defined as “evaluations of artistic output by teachers, professional peers, etc...and awards won”, whereas renown is “a more cosmopolitan form of recognition...indicators of which consist of press notices, sales, and museum purchases”. In other words, recognition and renown seem to represent two extremes of consecration time spectrum: contemporaneous and retrospective. In their study, Allen and Lincoln (2004) examine the retrospective consecration of American films by the American Film Institute (AFI). AFI’s 100 Years...100 Movies project identifies those films that “set the standard and mark the excellence of the first century of American cinema” (<http://www.afi.com/tvevents/100years/movies.aspx>). In 1995, “AFI invited more than 1,500 leaders from across the American film community screenwriters, directors, actors, producers, cinematographers, editors, executives, film historians and critics, to choose from a list of 400 (AFI 400) nominated films compiled by AFI and select the 100 (AFI 100) greatest American movies”. AFI suggested that the films should be selected based on the following criteria: critical recognition; major award winner; popularity over time; historical significance; and cultural impact. In the field of British cinema, a similar such institution exists – BFI, and it has likewise engaged in the retrospective consecration of British films. BFI was established in 1933 to promote understanding and appreciation of Britain's film and television heritage and culture.

In 1998, BFI invited “1000 people embracing all strands of the film, cinema and television industries throughout the UK - producers, directors, writers, actors, technicians, academics, exhibitors, distributors, executives and critics”, to choose from a list of 309 films compiled by the BFI and select 100 ‘culturally British’ feature films. BFI recommended the following criteria should to be adopted: films that have had a “strong and lasting impression; broke new ground; set a trend; expressed a particular point of view; found high acclaim; and won wide audiences” (<http://www.bfi.org.uk/features/bfi100/>). The selection booklet instructed the respondents to choose up to 100 films out of the 309 films (BFI 309) listed, and also invited them to nominate films of their own choice. Altogether 331 people responded casting 25,700 votes covering 820 different films. The final selection of 100 films (BFI 100) spans seven decades, from the year 1935 to 1998 and accommodates the work of 70 film directors. Although, the respondents nominated 511 more films of their own choice, only two films are included in the BFI 100: *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), and *Small Faces* (1995). Therefore, 98 films out of the final BFI 100 were initially selected by the experts within the BFI.

The Institute claims that BFI 100 is a selection of “truly great and timeless classics” by people “who have seen more movies than most”. It states that BFI 100 “is intended, and offered, as a starting-point for any discussion rather than as an end to one” of what constitutes the best British film. Although the Institute acknowledges BFI 100’s inability to end the debate, the ambition to become “a starting point for any discussion” is a clear allusion to its cultural authority in initiating and shaping such a debate. Commenting on

the films that topped the list - *The Third Man* (1949) and *Brief Encounter* (1945), BFI states that the former is “a very British film though its two key stars are American”, and that the latter “could only have come from the UK”. Again, on the issue of voting college, BFI emphasizes in the covering letter sent to each respondent that “to bestow greater authority on this selection of titles, we wish to draw upon the views...of film and cinema industry professionals...and this is not a poll among general public”. By highlighting the virtues of films included in the BFI 100, such as ‘Britishness’, edgier pieces of film-making etc., and the credentials of the voting college, BFI seeks to legitimize its retrospective consecration project.

5.6 Selection Systems and Retrospective Cultural Consecration of Films

As is evident from the above discussion, the retrospective consecration of films by either BFI or AFI involves two very distinct yet interlinked stages which I label as primary, and secondary. In the primary stage, the experts within the BFI draw up a long list of 309 films (or 400 in case of AFI). The selection of 309 eligible films over hundreds of thousands of films ever produced in Britain by experts is in itself, I believe, a form of retrospective consecration. And in the secondary stage, the long list is balloted by a voting college of outside industry professionals, yielding a ranked shortlist of 100 films (BFI 100 or AFI 100). In the AFI nomenclature, AFI 400 consists of ‘nominated films’ and the AFI 100 is made up of ‘winning films’. This dichotomous execution of the consecration project, I argue is crucial as it yields two forms of retrospective consecration: BFI 309, and BFI 100.

Drawing on Wijnberg and Gemser, (2000), I propose these two forms of retrospective consecration are primarily a function of the “selection systems” employed by consecrating institutions such as BFI or AFI. Further, they define a selection system as “a relation between the selectors and the selected” and propose three types of selection systems: ‘peer selection’, a system of selection in which selected and selectors belong to the same group; expert selection, system of selection in which the selectors arbiters or critics with claim to special expertise; and finally market selection, a system of selection where the producers are the selected and the consumers are the selectors. To sum up, different selection systems inevitably rely on different sources of legitimacy. By the same token, particular selection system adopted by a consecrating institution will impart particular legitimacy to its consecrated products. Therefore, in terms of Wijnberg and Gemser’s (2000) classification, BFI 309 is an output of an expert based selection system, whereas BFI 100 is an output of a professional based selection system.

The theory of retrospective consecration of American films proposed by Allen and Lincoln (2004) focuses on professional based retrospective consecration or the creation of AFI 100, thereby completely ignoring the mediating role of AFI 400 in the process. I term the role as mediating because BFI 100 actually emerges from BFI 309. Further, 98 films on BFI 100 were nominated by the BFI experts, and only 2 films were included out of 511 films suggested by the voting college. I do agree that BFI 100 (or for that matter AFI 100) represents the final output of retrospective consecration projects, solely determined by a professional based selection system, and in one sense considered as a ‘flagship’ or a ‘public face’ of the project (though both lists are in the public domain).

However, one should not lose sight of the fact that it is still an indirect output actively aided by an expert based selection system. Having established that two different forms of retrospective consecration are manifestations of their respective selection systems, I consider the implications this has for the three forms of contemporaneous recognition, with a particular emphasis on the new form of recognition I wish to introduce – international film festival. I argue that because international film festival nominations are a form of critical recognition, the expert based selection system will include it as one of the three primary forms of contemporaneous recognition. On the other hand, professional based selection system will include professional and popular recognition ignoring international film festival recognition. This gives me the following hypotheses:

H4: Films that win nominations at international film festivals are more likely to be retrospectively consecrated by BFI 309 than BFI 100.

5.7 Data and Method

I follow the research design adopted by Allen and Lincoln (2004), albeit with major modifications. Allen and Lincoln (2004) examine a sample of 1277 films released from 1929 to 1999 that received three or more Academy Award nominations or were selected among the ten best films of the year by either the New York Times or the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures (NBR) or were among the top ten films in terms of box-office revenues in a given year. One of the issues the paper focuses on is the characteristics of those films that were retrospectively consecrated by inclusion among

the 100 greatest films by the AFI. With regards to the construction of the sample that also includes the AFI films, Allen and Lincoln (2004) assert that it is just not feasible to analyze all the films that were ever produced in the last 100 years. And instead, they suggest that it is both practical and sensible to consider a large sample of films that received any one form of contemporaneous recognition at the time of their release, because these films are more likely to be retrospectively consecrated. Moreover, they delete 7 films from the AFI 100 list as these films did not win any form of recognition. In effect, the AFI 100 which is the dependent variable in their study consists of 93 films instead of 100 films.

Likewise, my study considers only British feature films that were included in either one of the following: BFI 309, Box-office hits, BAFTA best picture nominations, and in-competition nominations at Venice, Cannes, and Berlin international film festivals. As I also test for the differences between two kinds of retrospective consecration: BFI 100 and BFI 309, I build different sets of samples for each of them. BFI 309 includes films that were produced between 1923 and 1998, and BFI 100 includes films that were produced between 1935 and 1998. However, in both the cases only films that were produced after 1934 are included as the earliest form contemporaneous recognition is Venice film festival (since 1935) followed by box-office hits (since 1945), Cannes film festival (since 1946), BAFTA awards (since 1947), and Berlin film festival (since 1951). As the start dates of each form of contemporaneous recognition are different, I construct two sets of 5 different samples, one for expert retrospective consecration (BFI 309), and the other for professional retrospective consecration (BFI 100). The sample of films included precedes

by 1 year as the films that received any form of contemporaneous recognition in a particular year were actually produced 1 year or some years before. The details are presented in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 Samples for Expert Retrospective Consecration (BFI 309)

	Sample 1 1934-1998	Sample 2 1944-1998	Sample 3 1945-1998	Sample 4 1946-1998	Sample 5 1950-1998
Total Films	925	912	910	894	814
BFI 309	197	194	192	186	166

Sample 1 of BFI 309 is constructed as follows: First, I introduce each of the BFI 309 films into the sample. Second, for professional recognition, I introduce 180 films that had won BAFTA nominations for best picture. Third, for popular recognition, I introduce 701 films that were declared box-office hits for the period 1944 through 1998. Finally, for the international film festival recognition, I introduce three sets of films: 121 films that were nominated to Cannes (1945-1998), 68 films that were nominated to Venice (1935-1998), and 67 films that were nominated to Berlin (1951-1998). The total number of films in the sample is of 1446 films, but after removing the overlapping titles, the final sample size consists of 1037 films. However, 112 films in BFI 309 which did not have any form of contemporaneous recognition were dropped from the sample. The final sample 1 consists of 925 films of which 197 films were included in BFI 309. Successive samples 2, 3, 4, and 5 are constructed by excluding films that were produced before the initiation of relevant form of contemporaneous recognition from the 925 total films and 197 BFI 309 films of sample 1. For instance, in sample 2 the size of the total films and BFI 309 films is 912 as 13 films were produced before 1944. Likewise, the size of the BFI 309 films is 194 as 3 films were produced before 1944.

Table 5.2 Samples for Professional Retrospective Consecration (BFI 100)

	Sample 1 1934-1998	Sample 2 1944-1998	Sample 3 1945-1998	Sample 4 1946-1998	Sample 5 1950-1998
Total Films	282	248	241	233	212
BFI 100	80	79	78	77	66

The initial sample for professional retrospective consecration (BFI 100) consists of all the 309 films included in BFI 309. Of these 9 films were excluded because they were produced before 1934. Further, 18 films were excluded as they did not have any form of contemporaneous recognition. Therefore, sample 1 of BFI 100 consists of 282 films of which 80 films were included in BFI 100. Successive samples of 2, 3, 4, and 5 are constructed by excluding films that were produced before the initiation of relevant form of contemporaneous recognition from the 282 total films and 80 BFI 100 films of sample 1. For instance, in sample 2 the size of the total films and BFI 309 films is 248 as 34 films were produced before 1944. Likewise, the size of the BFI 309 films is 79 as 1 film was produced before 1944.

Allen and Lincoln (2004) suggest that because the dependent variable is whether a film has been retrospectively consecrated, the most appropriate technique for statistical analysis is logistic regression. I present the results in the form of odds ratios obtained from the exponentiated coefficients of the regression models. Odds ratios greater than 1 indicate a positive relationship between an independent variable and the odds of retrospective consecration. And odds ratios less than 1 indicate a negative relationship between an independent variable and the odds of retrospective consecration. Age of the

film is controlled for as Allen and Lincoln (2004) find that it has a positive impact on the likelihood of consecration.

5.8 Results

The results of five logistic regression analyses of the effects of three forms of contemporaneous recognition on the likelihood of a film being included in BFI 309 are presented in Table 5.3. Model 1 includes the age of a film and the international film festival recognition bestowed by Venice film festival. Results show that receiving a Venice international film festival nomination has a positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. Model 2 includes the age of a film, Venice international film festival nomination and a form of popular recognition – box-office hits. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. And receiving a Venice international film festival nomination has a positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration.

Model 3 includes the age of a film, Venice international film festival nomination, box-office hits, and another form of international film festival recognition – Cannes film festival nomination. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. And two forms of international film festival recognition - Venice and Cannes nominations, and popular recognition have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration.

Table 5.3 Results for Expert Retrospective Consecration (BFI 309)

BFI 309	Model 1 1934-1998	Model 2 1944-1998	Model 3 1945-1998	Model 4 1946-1998	Model 5 1950-1998
Age of Film	0.99 †	0.99 *	0.99 *	0.98 **	0.98 **
Venice Nominations	1.74 *	2.25 **	2.90 ***	1.98 †	2.12 †
Box-office Hits		1.29	1.72 *	1.92 **	2.86 ***
Cannes Nominations			2.11 **	1.53	2.07 *
BAFTA Nominations				12.12 ***	13.00 ***
Berlin Nominations					3.99 ***
Constant (B)	-1.08 ***	-1.23 ***	-1.57 ***	-2.18 ***	-2.61 ***
S. Error	0.18	0.21	0.25	0.28	0.33
X ²	6.65 *	9.99 **	19.06 ***	188.59 ***	182.82 ***
Pseudo R ²	.011	.017	.032	.297	.316
N	925	912	910	894	814
BFI 309	197	194	192	186	166
BFI 100	80	79	78	77	66

†p < .1 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Table 5.4 Results for Professional Retrospective Consecration (BFI 100)

BFI 00	Model 1 1934-1998	Model 2 1944-1998	Model 3 1945-1998	Model 4 1946-1998	Model 5 1950-1998
Age of Film	0.98 **	0.98 *	0.98 †	0.99	0.98
Venice Nominations	1.22 †	1.99	2.16	0.99	0.84
Box-office Hits		4.73 ***	4.46 ***	3.14 **	3.31 **
Cannes Nominations			1.86	0.79	0.74
BAFTA Nominations				5.97 ***	6.59 ***
Berlin Nominations					0.49
Constant (B)	-0.38	-1.26 ***	-1.36 ***	-2.18 ***	-1.99 ***
S. Error	0.26	0.33	0.35	0.42	0.44
X ²	9.30 **	26.39 ***	25.81 ***	52.32 ***	52.96 ***
Pseudo R ²	.047	.141	.142	.280	.311
N	282	248	241	233	212
BFI 100	80	79	78	77	66

†p < .1 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

Model 4 includes the age of a film, two forms of international film festival recognition - Cannes and Venice nominations, box-office hits, and a form of professional recognition BAFTA best picture award. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. And box-office hits, and receiving a BAFTA best

picture award have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration. Model 5 includes another form of international film festival recognition – Berlin nominations alongside all other forms of recognition. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. And with the exception of receiving a Venice international film festival nomination, all other forms of recognition have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309.

The results of another set of five logistic regression analyses of the effects of three forms of contemporaneous recognition on the likelihood of a film being included in BFI 100 are presented in Table 5.4 Model 1 includes the age of a film and the international film festival recognition bestowed by Venice film festival. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. Model 2 includes the age of a film, Venice international film festival nomination and a form of popular recognition – box-office hits. Results show that age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. And being a box-office hit has a positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration.

Model 3 includes the age of a film, Venice international film festival nomination, box-office hits, and another form of international film festival recognition – Cannes film festival nomination. Results show that only box-office hits as a form of popular recognition has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration. Model 4 includes the age of a film, two forms of international film festival recognition - Cannes and Venice nominations, box-office hits, and a form of professional recognition –

BAFTA best picture award. Results show that box-office hits, and receiving a BAFTA best picture award have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration. Model 5 includes another form of international film festival recognition – Berlin nominations alongside all other forms of recognition. Results show that popular recognition and a form of professional recognition - BAFTA best picture award have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 100. Multicollinearity statistics (Appendix B-Chapter 5) of the two final models in each logistic regression analysis indicate no serious threat of collinearity. The variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance statistics are within prescribed limits – tolerance level values should be at least 0.1 and above, and VIF values should not be greater than 10 (Myers, 1990).

5.9 Discussion

The discussion about the results is structured around three issues. First, the results in all 10 models are consistent with two exceptions. The first exception is BFI 309's Venice international film festival nomination that is only significant in the first 3 models. The second exception is BFI 100's Age that is only significant in the first 2 models. As my data set and models are staggered, I focus my discussion on the final model 5 in each of the analyses. Therefore, my results are qualified to the extent of the sample size of model 5 in each of the analyses. In the BFI 309 analysis my results only speak for the 166 films out of the full list of 309 films. And in the BFI 100 analysis my results are applicable to only 66 films out of the full list of 98 films (two films are excluded as they were not part

of the original BFI 309 list). However, I believe that my results are important as they are applicable to 53% of films in BFI 309 the 67% of films in BFI 100.

Second, the results are consistent with Allen and Lincoln's (2004) main findings that the various forms of contemporaneous recognition a film receives has positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration. To start with, the results suggest that the age of a film has a negative effect on the odds of retrospective consecration. In other words, older films are more likely to be retrospectively consecrated than the new ones. However, age of a film negatively affects only the retrospective consecration efforts of BFI 309 and not that of the BFI 100, strongly suggesting that the two projects are different. It also points out that expert selection system prefers older films, and the professional selection system might prefer newer films. The difference in preferences might stem from factors such as the depth of the knowledge, and timely recall of that knowledge. As the experts have a deeper knowledge base about the films, and therefore can recall a wider pool of films as opposed to the professionals, and the general public (Holbrook, 1999).

Third, popular recognition in terms of box-office hits has a positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration by both BFI 309 and BFI 100, thus supporting H1. Allen and Lincoln (2004) also report similar findings. In my study, films that were declared as box-office hits are 2 to 3 times more likely to be retrospectively consecrated by BFI 309. Consequently, box-office hits are 3 to 4 times more likely to be retrospectively consecrated by BFI 100. Though the odds ratios are different, I cannot say for certain that being a box-office hit has greater effect on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI

100 than it has on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309, because of different sample sizes. Fourth, professional recognition in terms of receiving BAFTA best picture nomination has positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration by both BFI 309 and BFI 100, thus supporting H2. Allen and Lincoln (2004) also find that receiving Academy Award nominations for best director and best musical director have positive effects on the likelihood of retrospective consecration. In my study, a film receiving a BAFTA best picture nomination is 13 times more likely to be retrospectively consecrated by BFI 309. Consequently, BAFTA best picture nominations are 6 to 7 times more likely to be retrospectively consecrated by BFI 100.

Fifth, international film festival recognition in the form of Cannes and Berlin festival nominations have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309, thus supporting H3a and H3c. H3b is not supported in the final model 5, though it has positive effect on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309 in model 1, 2, and 3. Allen and Lincoln (2004) have not examined the impact of international film festival recognition on retrospective consecration, and therefore my study will be the first to establish that it positively affects retrospective consecration by BFI 309. Moreover, my study proposes in H4 that retrospective consecration occurs in two stages - BFI 309 and BFI 100 and contemporaneous recognition might have differential effects on each of these stages. A comparison of results in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4 supports H4. In both sets of analyses, there are some similarities such as popular recognition in the form box-office hits, and professional recognition in the form of receiving the BAFTA best picture nomination have positive effects on the odds of retrospective consecration.

However, the important difference between these two sets of results is the positive effects of contemporaneous recognition in the form of international film festival recognition as hypothesized in H4. Results show that international film festival recognition in the form of Cannes festival nominations and Berlin festival nominations have an effect on the likelihood of being retrospectively consecrated by BFI 309 but not by BFI 100. It also shows that expert selection systems and professional selection systems have different criteria in retrospectively consecrating films. This might be largely explained by Holbrook's (1999) findings about popular appeal and expert judgments on movie characteristics. He identifies key determinants of expert judgments as follows: sexual content, sci-fi, exotic origins, B&W cinematography, older films, acclaimed acting, great directors, and cinematic excellence. Most of these characteristics are also representative of international film festivals such as foreign films, anointing great directors through auteur theory, sexual content, etc. Therefore, I argue that BFI 309's retrospective consecration efforts concur with other expert based selection systems like Cannes and Berlin international film festivals.

Chapter 6

The Impact of Expert, Peer, and Public Evaluations on Retrospective Consecration of British Films

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I proposed two forms of retrospective consecration of British films – BFI 309 and BFI 100 and examined how each of them is affected differentially by three forms of contemporaneous recognition – expert, professional, and popular. As already noted, BFI 309 was ‘creamed’ from the whole universe of eligible British films, and BFI 100 was ‘creamed’ from the BFI 309. Therefore, I labeled BFI 309 as an output of expert selection system because it was constructed by experts at the BFI, and BFI 100 as an output of professional selection system because it was voted by industry professionals. Though BFI 100 was an output of the voting process, I did not include the votes in my analysis, and just focused on why a particular film was included or excluded from BFI 100. In this chapter, I focus on the characteristics of respondents within the voting college and their preferences of contemporaneously consecrated films listed on BFI 309. The voting college consists of 331 respondents and includes top professionals of the UK film industry, renowned critics, and leading members of public. I identify three groups of respondents – experts, peers, and the general public, and propose that each group will have discrepant preferences of contemporaneously recognized films.

Previous research on cultural consumption shows the existence of discrepant preferences or “cultural hierarchies” within various cultural fields (see Katz-Gerro, 2004 for review).

Holbrook (1999) articulates cultural hierarchies in bi-polar terms, variously labeled as: highbrow vs. lowbrow; expert judgments vs. popular appeal; professional critics vs. ordinary consumers; aesthetics vs. entertainment; legitimation vs. market success; and cultural capital vs. economic capital. In contrast, I propose a tripartite cultural hierarchy drawing upon Wijnberg and Gemser's (2000) research on selection systems in visual arts. They argue that cultural hierarchies are shaped by three ideal types of selection systems operating within cultural fields. Further, they define a selection system as "a relation between the selectors and the selected" and three ideal types: expert selection – where the cultural producers/products are selected by mediators with claim to special knowledge such as critics, curators, etc.; peer selection – where the cultural producers/products are selected by fellow peers; and market selection – where the cultural producers/products are selected by ordinary consumers or the general public. In this chapter I examine the processes that create and sustain cultural hierarchies in the film industry. Using BFI's voting college allows me to uncover whether retrospective consecration efforts of leading British film institutions also display similar cultural hierarchies found elsewhere. I argue that cultural hierarchies are interplay of judgments between three groups: experts, peers, and the public.

My effort differs from previous research on cultural hierarchies within film industries in two ways (see Holbrook, 1999): Firstly, my study employs expert-peer-popular classification. This I feel will provide a much nuanced cultural hierarchy. Secondly, I introduce a new type of award that reflects the hallmark of expert judgment – that of the Cannes international film festival. In essence, my study proposes that expert judgments

are associated with Cannes international film festival recognition; peer appeal is associated with BAFTA awards recognition, and popular appeal is associated with box-office achievement. The chapter is organized as follows: First, I discuss cultural hierarchies in cultural fields. Second, I provide an overview of British Film Institute's retrospective consecration project. Third, I articulate three forms of cultural judgments: expert, peer, and public, and develop specific hypotheses. Finally, I present the research design, data analysis, and discuss the results.

6.2 Cultural Hierarchies in Cultural Fields

Bourdieu (1984) proposes that class based distinctions in the form of “economic capital” (wealth) and “cultural capital” (social origins, friends, education, experience) determine cultural consumption. A particular class structure's proclivity towards a certain cultural producer or his/her product not only determines its cultural capital in the first place, but also reinforces it overtime, thereby constituting a virtuous cycle. Cultural capital in the form of acquired expertise or aesthetic sense differentiates tastes that are “legitimate”, highbrow from tastes that are popular or lowbrow. Previous research on the existence of cultural hierarchies has found the following: high status Americans are more associated with high culture - classical music, opera, museums (DiMaggio, 1987; Zolberg, 1992); high status Americans are eclectic or “omnivorous” in their consumption of both high culture and popular culture than low status Americans (Bryson, 1996; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson and Simkus, 1992); American upper middle class men have broad cultural preferences, consuming both high culture and popular culture, whereas the French

display preferences that are exclusive and distinct (Lamont, 1992); highbrow tastes reflect higher level of formal education and vice versa (Holbrook, 1995); status influences artwork preferences (Lindauer, 1991); and ordinary consumers consume popular art whereas connoisseurs prefer abstract or high art (Winston, 1995).

The existence of cultural hierarchy within the film or motion picture field was first studied by Holbrook (1999). He argues that as applicable to other cultural offerings, reception of motion pictures also displays two different cultural tastes – popular appeal (preferences of ordinary consumers), and expert judgments (preferences of professional critics). The study seeks to answer two questions: Firstly, whether expert judgments by professional critics differ from popular assessments made by ordinary consumers? Secondly, is there a negative correlation between expert judgments and popular appeal? Findings show that ordinary consumers and professional critics emphasize different criteria in the formation of their tastes. Expert judgments were positively associated with movie characteristics such as: sexual content, sci-fi, exotic origins, Black & White cinematography, older films, acclaimed acting, great directors and cinematic excellence. Conversely, expert judgments were negatively associated with dramatic genre and domestic films. Popular appeal was positively associated with movie characteristics such as: family-oriented genre, domestic origins, color cinematography, greater duration, more recent vintage, star power, leading directors and cinematic excellence. Conversely, popular appeal was negatively associated with offensiveness, sexual content, dramatic genre and exotic origins.

Further, findings in the recent studies by Holbrook and colleagues show that the relationship between expert judgments and popular appeal is significant but only weakly positive (Holbrook, 2005; Holbrook and Addis, 2007; Holbrook, Lacher, and LaTour, 2006). However, my study follows the approach of Holbrook (1999) and proposes that three groups of participants (experts, peers and leading members of public) in the BFI's retrospective consecration project will emphasize different criteria in their formation of cinematic tastes. Before I develop specific hypothesis for each of the respondent group, I provide an overview of the BFI's retrospective consecration project.

6.3 Retrospective Consecration of British Films by BFI

In the year 1999, the British Film Institute published a selection of favorite British films of the 20th century or what is known as "BFI Top 100". According to Allen and Lincoln (2004), BFI's effort to identify greatest British films of all times is an instance of retrospective cultural consecration. Cultural consecration involves bestowment of worthy recognition on a particular cultural product and thereby differentiating it from the rest. Consecration of a cultural product can occur contemporaneously or retrospectively. The bestowment of recognition immediately after the launch of the cultural product is contemporaneous consecration, and after many years after its launch is retrospective consecration.

BFI's retrospective consecration involved polling of opinions of those involved in British film for a list of 100 British films of the 20th century (<http://www.bfi.org.uk>). Experts at

the Institute compiled a selection booklet of 309 eligible films and invited “1000 people embracing all strands of the film, cinema and television industries throughout the UK - producers, directors, writers, actors, technicians, academics, exhibitors, distributors, executives and critics”, to choose up to 100 ‘culturally British’ feature films. The booklet recommended the following criteria to be adopted: Films that have had a “strong and lasting impression, broke new ground, set a trend, expressed a particular point of view, found high acclaim, and won wide audiences”. Altogether, 331 people responded casting 24,699 votes. The Institute claims that BFI 100 is a selection of “truly great and timeless classics” by people “who have seen more movies than most”. The voting college of 331 respondents is also diverse ranging from people who make films (peers), critique films (critics), study films, and sell films, to those who just watch films (public).

The shortlist of top 100 films includes films produced in between 1935 and 1998, and features acclaimed film makers such as David Lean, Alfred Hitchcock, Nic Roeg, Ken Loach, Carol Reed, Michael Powell, Emeric Pressburger, and Richard Attenborough. Most of the films included in the list display characteristics such as: critical recognition, BAFTA award winners, box-office hits, international film festival nominations, historical significance, and cultural impact. For instance, the topmost film *The Third Man* (1949) had most of these distinctions: BAFTA nomination for best picture, Cannes film festival nomination and a box-office hit. Likewise, another film in the top 10 - *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) was a BAFTA nominee for the best picture, and a box-office hit. It also contains an eclectic mix of films – ranging from highbrow to lowbrow - from literary adaptations such as *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), Charles Dickens’s *Great Expectations*

(1946), to lowbrow films such as *Carry on Spying* (1964) and *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979). Again, following Holbrook's (1999) argument that cinematic tastes between groups vary, I propose that experts prefer highbrow or critically acclaimed films, peers prefer films that have won plaudits from other peers, and the general public (ordinary consumers in Holbrook, 1999) prefer lowbrow or commercially successful films. In the next section, I develop specific hypotheses for each of these three relationships.

6.4 Expert Judgments

Shrum (1991) proposes that reception of cultural objects "is not individualistic, direct, and unassisted", and professional critics "mediate the relationship between cultural objects and publics". He argues that critics act as tastemakers and gatekeepers, thereby "structuring the experience of audiences and cultural consumers". Critics are "cultural authorities" who evaluate cultural objects on the basis of established aesthetic systems (Glynn and Lounsbury, 2005). Drawing upon Bourdieu (1984), Holbrook (1999) proposes that professional critics are "connoisseurs" or "agents of consecration" who possess power to "consecrate" or "to give value" by virtue of their "specialized training, acquired expertise, artistic knowledge, and aesthetic experience in the relevant domain". Further, he defines professional film critics as "those who assess the artistic success of films from a relatively detached and long-term perspective that focuses on accepted standards for excellence".

Baumann (2001) shows that American film critics employed aesthetic standards in their reviews, and brought about a change in audiences' perception of film – “from a form of entertainment to a cultural genre that could be properly appreciated as art”. The critics intellectualizing discourse used a specialized vocabulary that harped on serious aspects of cinema as an art: positive and negative commentary, evaluating and comparing the directors and their films, interpreting the film, seeing some merit in a film's failure, and distinguishing between why a film is good (serious art) or bad (commercial entertainment). Allen and Lincoln (2004) argue that the extent of critical discourse garnered by a film (or its director) largely determines its inclusion in the American Film Institute's Greatest Movies, or in effect its retrospective consecration. Critical discourse is variously measured in terms of award nominations by New York Times (NYT), National Board of Review (NBR), New York Film Critics Circle (NYFCC), number of anthology entries, and number of books published about film directors. In essence, critics by virtue of their specialized expertise offer expert judgments that “gravitate toward more challenging artworks or higher complexity, greater difficulty, and more intellectually taxing demands” (Holbrook, 1999). Therefore, according to the expert respondents within the BFI voting college, what constitutes a best film will depend on its extent of critical acclaim. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H1: Expert choices of best films on the BFI list will be positively associated with those films that have garnered critical acclaim.

6.5 Peer Judgments

Producers' of cultural goods try to invoke subjective experiences among consumers by using symbols that manipulate perception and emotion (Hirschman and Holbrook, 1982; Lampel, Shamsie, and Lant, 2005). The unpredictability of such a subjective experience makes it extremely difficult to convey the producer's intended meaning and establish clear standards of quality. To circumvent this, cultural producers engage "industry specific principles" to invoke among consumers the general expectations for the nature of cultural experience to be obtained (DiMaggio, 1987; Shrum, 1991). For example, the construction of Hollywood star system (Kindem, 1982); creation of new genres in films (Baker and Faulkner, 1991; Lampel and Shamsie, 2003); re-conceptualization of country music (Peterson, 1997); and Billboard charts evolving into a summary measure of performance about success or failure in records business (Anand and Peterson, 2000).

As opposed to experts or critics who are mostly "industry outsiders", the peers involved in the art of filmmaking are "industry insiders". I propose that their tastes and preferences are largely shaped by aesthetic systems as defined by individual peers and professional norms. These include, training acquired from film schools; prevailing creative and technical practices among various areas of filmmaking such as acting, directing, producing, etc.; and institutional norms prescribed by industry associations. Of these, research has found that industry bodies and their award ceremonies are pivotal in shaping the artwork canon formation process, in effect legitimizing particular artworks or aesthetic conventions (Watson and Anand, 2006). In films, I propose that award

ceremonies of Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS), or British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) represent an institutional norm of professional aesthetic conventions. Therefore, according to the peer respondents within the BFI voting college, what constitutes a best film will depend on the extent of its peer acclaim. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H2: Peer choices of best films on the BFI list will be positively associated with those films that have garnered peer acclaim.

6.6 Public Judgments

The final arbiters of the success of cultural objects or artworks are not its stars, or critics, but the consuming public or the audience (Shrum, 1991). According to Bourdieu (1984), a cultural object is a symbolic good and only exists “as such for a person who has the means to appropriate it, or in other words, to decipher it”. This is only possible if the person “masters the set of instruments” or “interpretation schemes” that are essential for “the deciphering of works of art offered”. Further, Bourdieu (1984) proposes that the general public possess popular aesthetic that is “so strongly inclined to demand a realistic representation and being devoid of specific categories of perception, they cannot apply any other code to works of scholarly culture than that which enables them to apprehend as meaningful objects of their everyday environment”.

Holbrook (1999) argues that ordinary consumers prefer “film entertainment that is more readily accessible, easier to assimilate, and less demanding in the difficulties it poses”. Further, popular judgments on films emphasize commercial success that caters to lowbrow standards and mass tastes; is entertainment oriented; and can be naively appreciated. Therefore, according to the ordinary public respondents within the BFI voting college, what constitutes a best film will depend on its extent of its popular appeal or public acclaim. This gives me the following hypothesis:

H3: Public choices of best films on the BFI list will be positively associated with those films that have garnered popular appeal or public acclaim.

6.7 Data and Method

6.7.1 Sample

As the study focuses on the differential impact of expert, peer, and public judgments have on the BFI’s selection of top British films of the 20th century, my sample includes all 309 films on the BFI’s long list.

6.7.2 Measures

The sample of 331 respondents includes film archivists, film critics, film school professors, film festival programmers, producers, directors, screenwriters, actors, cinematographers, editors, distributors, exhibitors, architects, writers, advertising and

public relations, lawyers, members of parliament, and government officials. Applying Holbrook's (1999) classification of expert judgment vs. popular appeal, I group the respondents into three main groups Experts, Peers, and Public. Experts included film archivists, film critics, film school professors and film festival programmers. Peers included producers, directors, screenwriters, actors, cinematographers, editors, distributors and exhibitors. The public category included architects, writers, advertising and public relations, lawyers, members of parliament, and government officials. Among the total sample of 331 respondents, there were 76 experts, 193 peers and 62 belonging to the public.

Expert Judgment: Expert judgment is measured by the number of expert votes for a film on the BFI list. Like for instance, *The Third Man (1949)* secured 62 expert votes; *Howard's End (1992)* secured 24 expert votes; and *Lawrence of Arabia (1962)* secured 55 expert votes.

Peer Judgment: Peer judgment is measured by the number of peer votes for a film on the BFI list. For instance, *The Third Man (1949)* secured 155 peer votes; *Howard's End (1992)* secured 67 peer votes; and *Lawrence of Arabia (1962)* secured 151 peer votes.

Public Judgment: Public judgment is measured by the number of public votes for a film on the BFI list. For instance, *The Third Man (1949)* secured 48 public votes; *Howard's End (1992)* secured 19 public votes; and *Lawrence of Arabia (1962)* secured 50 public votes.

Film Characteristics: As independent measures, I use the following film characteristics:

Age: Holbrook's (1999) study has found the age of a film to be positively associated with popular appeal, and negatively associated with expert judgment. I measure the age of a film by deducting the year of its theatrical release from the year 1998 – the year BFI list was compiled.

Critical Acclaim: Previous studies have considered only professional critics as experts (Holbrook, 1999, 2005; Holbrook and Addis, 2007; Holbrook, Lacher, and LaTour, 2006). However, the above review shows that professional critics are not the only experts on the art of film but can include film archivists, film school professors, and film festival programmers. Among these, I identify international film festivals as one of the active proponents of expert aesthetic agenda within the film field, and a form of expert classification systems (Wijnberg and Gemser, 2000). This is supported by Baumann (2001), who finds that film festivals in the USA “intellectualized” or legitimized cinema as an art form. He argues that film festivals, especially the competitive ones, whose programmers and juries have some claim to expert status, bestow artistic merit on films. I measure critical acclaim in terms of whether a film has been nominated to Cannes international film festival or not. The variable is coded 1/0.

Peer Acclaim: Holbrook (1999) suggests that Academy awards (OSCAR) and the like represent a “reflection of cinematic excellence as expressed by industry opinion”. I measure peer acclaim in terms of whether a film has been nominated for the BAFTA best picture award or not. The variable is coded 1/0.

Public Acclaim: Mezas and Mezas (2000) suggest that popular appeal or public acclaim is manifested in a “massive box-office opening”. Popular recognition is best measured through the extent of paid up audiences a film attracts on its initial theatrical

release (Allen and Lincoln, 2004). I measure public acclaim in terms of whether a film has been declared as a box-office hit or not. The variable is coded 1/0.

6.8 Analysis and Results

The data were analyzed using linear regression, and the descriptive statistics are presented in Table 6.1. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.1 Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Peer Judgments	0.812	0.031
Expert Judgments	0.788	0.027
Public Judgments	0.779	0.030
Age of Film	1.507	0.296
Peer Choices	1.589	0.359
Critic Choices	1.297	0.265
Public Choices	1.206	0.268
Cannes Nominations	0.709	0.027
BAFTA Nominations	0.726	0.037
Box-office Hits	0.737	0.039

Table 6.2 Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 Peer Judgments									
2 Expert Judgments	0.78*								
3 Public Judgments	0.88*	0.70*							
4 Age of Film	-0.22*	-0.16*	-0.29*						
5 Peer Choices	0.98*	0.80*	0.90*	-0.20*					
6 Critic Choices	0.79*	0.97*	0.71*	-0.15*	0.82*				
7 Public Choices	0.87*	0.71*	0.97*	-0.28*	0.91*	0.74*			
8 Cannes Nominations	0.18*	0.19*	0.14*	-0.19*	0.19*	0.19*	0.14*		
9 BAFTA Nominations	0.41*	0.29*	0.42*	-0.26*	0.44*	0.29*	0.46*	0.27*	
10 Box-office Hits	0.35*	0.16*	0.33*	0.03	0.36*	0.15*	0.34*	0.04	0.33*

*p < .05

Each of the three different judgments – expert, peer, and public, were regressed on the set of film characteristics consisting of age, Cannes nominations, BAFTA nominations, and box-office hits. The results from three sets of regressions are presented in Tables 6.3. The first set of results show that expert judgments are positively associated with Cannes nominations, and BAFTA best picture nominations. The second set of results show that peer judgments are positively associated with the age of a film, BAFTA best picture nominations and box-office hits. The third set of results show that public judgments are positively associated with the age of a film, BAFTA best picture nominations, and box-office hits. Multicollinearity statistics (Appendix B/Chapter 6) for all the three models indicate no serious threat of collinearity. The variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance statistics are within prescribed limits – tolerance level values should be at least 0.1 and above, and VIF values should not be greater than 10 (Myers, 1990).

Table 6.3 Regression Results – Beta Coefficients

	Expert Judgments	Peer Judgments	Public Judgments
Age of Film	-0.086	-0.148 **	-0.224 ***
Cannes Nominations	0.115 **	0.068	0.012
BAFTA Nominations	0.207 ***	0.262 ***	0.281 ***
Box-office Hits	0.093	0.269 ***	0.242 ***
R ²	0.112	0.249	0.266
F-Statistic	9.554	25.136	27.577
Significance of F	0.000	0.000	0.000

N =309
†p < .1 *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

6.9 Discussion

My research proposes that experts, peers, and the general public adopt different criteria in their judgments about favorite British films of the 20th century. Towards that end, I hypothesized that experts would prefer those films that have won critical acclaim; peers will prefer those films that have won peer acclaim; and the public will prefer those films that have won public acclaim. Results support all the three individual hypotheses. Firstly, I find that expert judgments are positively associated with films that have won nominations at the Cannes international film festival. Though the R^2 is low signifying a weak relationship, what is important is that Cannes nominations is exclusive to the experts, and has no impact on either peers or the public. I derive two implications from these findings: One, expert judgments are complex and unraveling them would require more multi-dimensional variables. Two, experts perceive film festival recognition as a form of critical acclaim more applicable to the selection of best foreign films rather than best national films. In the next phase of my research I wish to examine this relationship with a sample of international experts and their choices of best films.

Although I expected experts to exclusively prefer Cannes nominations over the rest, the finding of BAFTA's impact can be due to its national proclivities or growing exposure vis-à-vis Cannes film festival. Moreover, it can also be attributed to the number of films from each category as available options. For instance, out of 309 films included in the list, only 43 had Cannes nominations, whereas 108 films had BAFTA nominations. Due to the paucity of festival nominated films, I believe that experts might be forced to

include BAFTA nominated films as well to complete the list of 100 best films, as requested by the BFI. However, what is promising is that experts' tastes seem to be exclusive vis-à-vis the public, as the box-office distinction does not have an impact on their judgments. This finding echoes Holbrook's (1999) assertion that experts employ criteria that is very different from that of the public. Again, the non-significant finding about the influence of age of a film on expert judgments is surprising. Holbrook (1999) clearly finds that age of a film responds negatively to expert judgments, and positively responds to popular judgments, in essence implying that experts prefer older films and the public prefer recent and new films. Future research should consider whether experts apply different criteria in their contemporaneous evaluations (soon after the film is released) and retrospective evaluations (after the passage of considerable time after the release of the film).

Secondly, I find that peer judgments are positively associated with films that have BAFTA best picture nominations. This finding is significant as all the previous studies have focused on expert vs. public judgments, and mine will be the first to introduce a category of peer judgments. Holbrook (1999) shows that both expert judgments and popular judgments positively respond to various film awards, and my study extends this finding to a new category of peers. Although I expected peers to exclusively prefer BAFTA nominations, it is not surprising to see that they are also influenced by box-office hits. For instance, Holbrook (1999) finds that expert judgments and popular judgments were similar with respect to three film characteristics such as: dramatic genre, leading directors, and various film awards. This shows that peers are influenced by commercial

indicators, as much as they are from institutional or peer aesthetic evaluations. As expected, I did not find any association between peer judgments and critical acclaim in the form of Cannes festival nominations. It is a promising finding, and future endeavors should actually look for a negative association between peer judgments and critical acclaim, to establish a much stronger divergence. Thirdly, another significant finding is that age of a film is negatively associated with both peer judgments, and public judgments, which implies that they both prefer older films. Overall results show that both the groups display similar preferences in comparison with that of the expert group. However, this contradicts Holbrook (1999) findings that experts also prefer older films. These contradictory findings, I argue, reiterate my research objectives that judgments are context dependent – contemporaneous or retrospective. For instance, all types of judgments (expert, peer or public) about what constitutes a best film will depend on when the question is asked –immediately after its release (contemporaneous) or after the passage of considerable time after its release (retrospective). All the previous studies have examined the relationship within a contemporaneous setting, whereas my study on the BFI's selection is nested in a retrospective context. Therefore, the negative relationship between age of the film and peer and public judgments should be seen in that light. Lastly, as expected I find that public judgments positively associated with films that have the distinction of box-office hits. However, public judgments are also associated with BAFTA best picture nominations. This shows that industry awards such as BAFTA are not just yardsticks of peer aesthetic evaluations but also shape preferences of the public through television dramaturgy (Anand and Watson, 2004).

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Summary of Findings

This thesis is primarily driven by twin research motivations, and both have not received much attention from organizational and management scholars (Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie, 2000; Lampel and Meyer, 2008). First, it seeks to explicate the characteristics, functions, resources, structure, management practices, strategies, and performance of trans-organizational structures – events. Second, it seeks to investigate distinctive management practices and organizational forms, especially distinctive venues or events in cultural industries.

Towards that end, the thesis identifies one such event within the global film business - international film festival, and seeks to answer questions such as: How do international film festivals acquire and disburse reputational resources? Do international film festivals affect retrospective cultural consecration? Do international film festivals affect expert judgments about retrospective consecration? Does international film festival recognition affect expert judgments about retrospective consecration of British films? While addressing these four questions, the thesis draws upon three theoretical streams: field-configuring event framework (Lampel and Meyer, 2008); resource based view's intangible asset stock accumulation model (Dierickx and Cool, 1989); and institutional analysis of cultural fields (DiMaggio, 1982; Peterson and Anand, 2004). This chapter articulates the contributions of my thesis to these three theoretical streams. But before I

discuss specific contributions, I present the summary of findings of the three empirical studies.

The research study presented in chapter 4 conceptualizes reputation in terms of Dierickx and Cool's (1989) intangible asset stock accumulation model. The model argues that intangible assets such as reputation are accumulated overtime through path dependent processes. The chapter examines the relationship between stocks of reputation, and flows of reputation in event performance within the international film festival field. It proposes that the competitive advantage of international film festivals is a function of their stocks of reputation, and flows of reputation. I suggest that a festival's stocks can be measured by jury member reputation, and flows can be measured by nominated director's reputation. I operationalize a jury member's reputation by the number of feature film credits he or she has; number of years of experience since his or her debut; and the number of awards he or she has won. Likewise, I operationalize the director's reputation by the number of feature film credits he or she has; number of years of experience since his or her debut; and the number of awards he or she has won. Findings suggest that the stock variable –number of feature film credits of a jury member, and the flow variable - number of award nominations of a director are significantly related to international film festival performance.

The research study presented in chapter 5 examines whether contemporaneous consecration in the form of international film festivals recognition affects the retrospective cultural consecration of British films by the British Film Institute. I

conceptualize retrospective cultural consecration to occur in two stages: primary (BFI 309) and secondary (BFI 100). I also propose that the primary stage is guided by an expert based selection system, and the secondary stage is guided by a professional based selection system. Following Allen and Lincoln's (2004) research, I include two forms of contemporaneous recognition – popular, and professional, but propose a new third form – international film festival recognition. The first two forms are an output of a professional based selection system, and the last one is an output of an expert based selection system. My research examines whether the nature of the selection system mediates the effects of contemporaneous recognition on the two stages of retrospective cultural consecration. In other words, international film festival recognition should impact BFI 309 and not BFI 100. My findings strongly suggest so. First, I find that age of a film has negative effects on the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309, and not BFI 100, suggesting that experts prefer older films than industry professionals. Second, all three forms of contemporaneous recognition including international film festival recognition, positively affect the odds of retrospective consecration by BFI 309. Whereas, this effect is absent from the retrospective consecration by BFI 100, suggesting that the nature of selection system – professional or expert based determines which form of contemporaneous recognition will affect retrospective consecration.

The research study presented in chapter 6 examines whether cultural hierarchies within the British film field in the form of – experts, peers, and the public affect the notions of what constitutes a “best film”. I argue that each of the group will display discrepant tastes and preferences. I test this argument on a voting college of 331 members that was

specially constructed to take part in the British Film Institute's polls for top 100 British films of 20th century. I propose that experts prefer Cannes nominated films, industry peers prefer BAFTA nominations, and the general public will prefer box-office hits. The results show homophily effects on all the three relationships. First, I find a weak positive relationship between expert choices and Cannes nominated films. This to some extent supports my argument that international film festivals represent a form of expert selection systems. Second, I find age of a film to be negatively associated with both peer and public judgments, suggesting preference for older films. This contrasts with previous findings that have studied contemporaneous consecration, and I argue that the negative relationship is valid in case of retrospective consecration. Third, I find that peer judgments are positively associated with BAFTA nominations, suggesting that peer members view professional awards as distinct from other forms of recognition. I also find peer judgments positively associated with box-office hit films. This suggests that along with professional awards such as BAFTA, box-office performance still remains an important yard stick of success for industry peers. Fourth, I find that public judgments are positively associated with box-office hit films, and BAFTA nominated films. These results are consistent with marketing research findings that identify two significant predictors of a film's popular appeal: box-office performance, and peer recognition in the form of Academy awards (Eliashberg, Elberse, and Leenders, 2006).

Overall, the key contribution of the thesis is to show that international film festivals as FCEs have the potential to foster emergence and structure the global film business field. The global film business field is a complex network of markets, art worlds, university

system, film institutions, international film festivals, award ceremonies, professional careers, and audiences (Ramey, 2002). International film festivals are venues where disparate institutional actors launch new films, set criteria for cinematic excellence, construct social networks, recognize accomplishments, share and interpret information, and trade films, and mutually influence film business field structuration. The three empirical papers explicate the field-configuring elements of international film festivals as follows: International film festivals create two streams of reputational resources – that of nominated film makers, and the jury members, and these resource streams attract disparate institutional actors within the film business field (Chapter 4); international film festivals impact the choices of what is considered cinematic excellence by film institutions such as BFI, thereby configuring national cinemas (Chapter 5); and international film festivals represent a form of critical recognition and their choices are associated with expert , the expert members of the voting college and therefore are associated with expert judgments about favorite British films of the 20th century (Chapter 6).

7.2 Field-Configuring Events

The field-configuring events (FCEs) framework proposed by Lampel and Meyer (2008) is very nascent, both in terms of its theoretical and empirical foundations. The initial exposition has benefited from the following studies that found: FCEs are certification contests (Rao, 1994); FCEs function as MIRs (Anand and Peterson, 2000); FCEs involve rituals (Anand and Watson, 2004); FCEs adopt a very dramaturgical approach in their

functioning (Lampel, 2001); FCEs foster interactions between disparate set of field participants thereby configuring fields (Anand and Jones, 2008); FCEs shape the development and commercialization of emerging technologies (Garud, 2008); and FCEs function as cognitive networks and facilitate group sensemaking (Oliver and Montgomery, 2008). Further, three questions remain fundamental for a full explication of the FCE framework: What are field-configuring events? What are their characteristics, resources, and processes? And how does a field-configuring event configure and re-configure its field? Following the abovementioned studies, this thesis addresses the first two questions within the cultural industry context, in particular the global film business.

Towards that end, its contributions to the extant FCE framework are twofold: First, it identifies the following characteristics of international film festivals that can be generalized to most of the FCEs within cultural industries: spatial embeddedness; temporal recurrence; programmed events; first instance access of resources or premiership of films or artworks, etc.; adjudicated events to signal legitimacy; trading arms such as markets; and rank or status ordering through accreditation. Second, it proposes that the most valuable intangible resource of FCEs in cultural industries is their reputation. The notion of quality of a cultural good is greatly dependent on the level of not only the reputation possessed by the good itself, but also that of its producer/consumer and exchange partner. Therefore, the thesis proposes that the most valuable intangible resources of international film festivals are twofold: the capabilities involved in accessing films from far off lands, and an accumulated reputation of possessing those capabilities. This can be generalized to other FCEs within cultural industries such as publishing, music, etc.

7.3 Resource Based View and Dierickx and Cool's (1989) Intangible Asset Stock Accumulation Model

My research findings have important implications for the resource based view of strategy that proposes that a firm's competitive advantage is primarily determined by its idiosyncratic resources (Barney, 1991; Penrose, 1959). And these resources, especially the intangible ones like reputation are accumulated overtime rather than purchased from factor markets (Dierickx and Cool, 1989). The resource based view has been floundering in terms of its theoretical foundations and empirical validation. Priem and Butler (2001) question its usefulness for strategic management research and argue that it borders on tautology. However, my research strongly suggests that valuable intangible resource such as reputation does affect firm performance, and it can be accumulated overtime through stocks and flows of reputation assets. The resource based view will benefit from my twin findings: international film festivals possess reputational resources that have performance implications, and these can be accumulated overtime through a path dependent stocks and flows of reputation assets. Future studies should adopt the international film festival field and uncover, maybe through individual case studies how each of the international film festival differentiates itself from the rest through these twin factors.

As previously stated, I have come across just two studies that have empirically tested Dierickx and Cool's (1989) model - DeCarolis and Deeds (1999) and Knott, Bryce, and Posen (2003). Though, my study tests only asset stock accumulation process, the first part of the model, the findings have two important implications for the model. First, both the

previous studies have focused on scientific assets in bio-technology industries, and my study will be the first to consider reputational assets, and that too in cultural industries. One of the key contributions of my study is the operationalization of international film festival reputational resources in terms of stocks and flows, and its effect on event performance. Second, my results show that both flows of reputation and stocks of reputation are important. Finding support for either of them will not fully validate the model. Future studies should explore the effect of reputation erosion or leakage and also investigate sustainability of accumulated reputational asset stocks.

7.4 Institutional Analysis of Cultural Fields

Institutional analysis of cultural fields examines how cultural producers' and their products are consecrated through markers of distinction such as honors and awards (DiMaggio, 1982; Peterson and Anand, 2004). Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1993) work there have been a few attempts to systematically analyze formal processes of cultural consecration (Allen and Lincoln, 2004; Schmutz, 2005). Allen and Lincoln (2004) examine the effects of "contemporaneous critical, professional, and popular recognition" on the likelihood that an American film is retrospectively consecrated by the American Film Institute (AFI). This thesis extends their work by examining the effects of contemporaneous international film festival recognition, professional, and popular recognition has on the likelihood that a British film will be retrospectively consecrated by the British Film Institute (BFI). While doing so, I contribute to the theory of cultural consecration in three ways: First, I situate my study in British film industry context, and

introduce a new form of contemporaneous recognition. The context was chosen as it is distinctly European despite its American influences. Lampel, Lant, and Shamsie (2005) argue that “the American motion picture industry sees artistic values as subordinate to mass entertainment. It celebrates artistic achievement, but sees it as a by-product of its main mission: generating healthy sales in the box-office. The European motion picture industry, by contrast, sees artistic values as a driving force and mass entertainment as at best a regrettable necessity”.

Second, the thesis conceptualizes three forms of contemporaneous recognition and retrospective consecration as outputs of three different selection systems. Wijnberg and Gemser (2000) define a selection system as “a relation between the selectors and the selected” and propose three types of selection systems: ‘peer selection’, a system of selection in which selected and selectors belong to the same group; expert selection, system of selection in which the selectors arbiters or critics with claim to special expertise; and finally market selection, a system of selection where the producers are the selected and the consumers are the selectors. In terms of selection systems, contemporaneous international film festival recognition is a form of expert selection; contemporaneous professional recognition is a form of peer selection; and contemporaneous popular recognition is a form of market selection. On the retrospective consecration front, I propose that BFI 309 is an output of expert selection system, and BFI 100 is an output of peer selection system. As hypothesized, my findings support the notion of homophily between the selection systems. In other words, the expert based contemporaneous recognition – international film festival affects BFI 309, the expert

based retrospective consecration effort. Whereas, the professional and popular based contemporaneous recognition affects BFI 100, the professional based retrospective consecration effort.

Third, extant research solely focuses on how cultural hierarchies are shaped by contemporaneous recognition. Holbrook (1999) examines the impact of various film awards have on expert and popular judgments. My research proposes that cultural hierarchies also shape retrospective consecration projects within the British film field. The thesis contributes by identifying the existence of an expert-peer-public hierarchy within a specialized sample of respondents – the BFI 100 voting college. This is an important extension as previous research has used random samples generated from the general population. I argue that the issue of cultural hierarchies is paramount in such exclusive samples than a random sample. The implication is that such respondents exhibit much sharper and distinct tastes and preferences than those randomly chosen from the general population. My research also contributes by explicating the role of international film festivals in shaping expert judgments within retrospective consecration projects.

7.5 Generalization

The research findings on international film festivals can be generalized to other similar events across industries or fields, especially those in which a firm's competitive advantage stems from intangible resources. Like for instance, jewelry and watches (Print'Or, Lyon); computer gaming (Game Developers Conference, San Francisco);

inventions (International Exhibition of Inventions, Geneva); and consumer electronics (International Consumer Electronics Show, Las Vegas). All these events share some of the key characteristics of international film festivals such as spatial embeddedness, intermittent existence, programming, premiership and juried competition. What follows is an account specific instances that reflect those shared characteristics.

Game Developers Conference (GDC) hosts juried competitions such as the Independent Games Festival and Game Developers Choice Awards. The Print'Or Watch and Jewelry show has a conscious vision to “enable market players to launch the trends that will take hold in the coming seasons”. Print'Or's competitor on the other side of the Channel - International Jewellery London envisions itself as a venue “where the most talented, cutting edge British designers and innovative international collections are hand selected to create a showcase of inspiring jewelry”. International Exhibition of Inventions (IEI) rules stipulate that an invention can be exhibited in Geneva only once so as to ensure its visitors will discover only new inventions and products. Further, it constitutes 75-member jury to select the best invention and award prizes in 45 other categories. The International Consumer Electronics Show (CES) proudly lists 23 products on its website that had their debut at the event such as VCR (1970), Camcorder (1981), CD Player (1981), Digital Satellite System (1994), DVD (1996), HDTV (1998), MS X-Box (2001), Plasma TV (2001), and Blu-Ray DVD (2003).

7.6 Managerial Implications

Research findings in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 hold important implications for practice in the field of event management in particular, and the global film business and creative industries in general. In Chapter 3, I broadly categorize international film festivals into two main strategic groups - competitive and non-competitive. The former category consists of all the major events and is generally regarded as the gold standard for international film festivals. In other words, organizing an international film festival around a competitive format has important performance implications. I propose that event managers can maximize performance by adopting three distinct characteristics of competitive international film festivals: programming, premiership and juried competition. Non-competitive events lack programming or a vision for their showcase as they feature already seen films and mainly sourced from other competitive events. Again, because the films have had their debut at other competitive events, the non-competitive festivals cannot claim credit for “discovering” new talent.

In Chapter 4, I identify two types of reputational resources – jury reputation and director reputation that determine an international film festival’s performance. In particular, jury member credits, and film director awards directly impact an international film festival’s performance. Event managers can maximize their event’s performance by adopting a competitive format – featuring a line-up of award winning film makers and adjudicating top prizes by experienced jury panel. In Chapter 5, and Chapter 6, I propose that international film festivals influence retrospective consecration efforts by institutions such as British Film Institute (BFI). Following this, event managers need to develop a

showcase of latest films that have the potential to make long-term impact in terms of cinematic excellence, critical recognition, popularity over time, and cultural impact.

7.7 Limitations and Future Directions

I identify some limitations with each of the empirical chapters, and offer some future directions for further research. First, my conceptualization of reputation stocks, and reputation flows of international film festivals is based on data that is cross sectional in nature. The non-availability of longitudinal data on international film festivals constrained my effort. However, I believe that the initial conceptualization of reputation stocks and flows using Dierickx and Cool's (1989) intangible asset accumulation model will provide a template for further longitudinal studies. In fact, Knott, Bryce, and Posen (2003), who longitudinally test Dierickx and Cool's (1989) in the bio-technology industries urge further research using advertising based reputation measures.

Second, though the thesis extends Allen and Lincoln's (2004) initial theory of cultural consecration to the European context, future research should juxtapose both research contexts to glean some differences. In other words, it has to examine whether international film festival recognition has any effect in the American retrospective consecration efforts. Further, in my study contemporaneous international film festival recognition is found to have positive effects on BFI 309, and no effect on BFI 100. Though this supports my hypothesis for differential effects, further studies should consider this as a preliminary finding. I propose that they apply much stricter criteria in

determining effects, for instance expecting international film festival recognition to have positive effect on BFI 309 and negative effect on BFI 100.

Third, though my findings show that three forms of contemporaneous recognition affect the formation of tastes and preferences within BFI retrospective consecration project, drawing certain conclusions is seriously hampered by weak and contradictory results. I find a weak relationship between international film festival recognition and expert choices, alluding to a possibility that festival recognition is not manifested in expert choices. However, the significance, direction of the relationship, and the fact that it does not feature in either peer or public choices is, I believe promising for future research. I also find perfect homophily between peer and public choices on age of film, BAFTA nominations, and box-office hits. It is true that both the choices might display some similarities, but future research should further refine the distinctions.

Appendix A

List of Awards

No.	Country	Award
1	USA	Academy Awards, USA
2	Norway	Amanda Awards, Norway
3	Argentina	Argentinean Film Critics Association Awards
4	Mexico	Ariel Awards, Mexico
5	Italy	Australian Film Institute
6	Israel	Awards of the Israeli Film Academy
7	Japan	Awards of the Japanese Academy
8	UK	BAFTA Awards
9	Germany	Berlin International Film Festival
10	Japan	Blue Ribbon Awards
11	Denmark	Bodil Awards
12	Columbia	Bogota Film Festival
13	Belgium	Brussels International Festival of Fantasy Film
14	Egypt	Cairo International Film Festival
15	France	Cannes Film Festival
16	Czech Republic	Czech Lions
17	France	César Awards, France
18	Spain	Cinema Writers Circle Awards, Spain
19	Italy	David di Donatello Awards
20	Iceland	Edda Awards, Iceland
21	UK	Empire Awards, UK
22	Europe	European Film Awards
23	Canada	Academy of Canadian Cinema & TV
24	Philippines	FAMAS Awards
25	Portugal	Festróia - Tróia International Film Festival
26	Australia	Film Critics Circle of Australia Awards
27	India	Filmfare Awards
28	France	French Syndicate of Cinema Critics
29	Germany	German Film Awards
30	Germany	German Film Critics Association Awards
31	USA	Golden Globes, USA
32	Taiwan	Golden Horse Film Festival
33	China	Golden Rooster Awards
34	Spain	Goya Awards
35	South Korea	Grand Bell Awards, South Korea
36	Sweden	Guldbagge Awards
37	China	Hong Kong Film Awards
38	China	Hong Kong International Film Festival

No.	Country	Award
39	China	Huabiao Film Awards
40	Hungary	Hungarian Film Critics Awards
41	USA	Independent Spirit Awards
42	Turkey	Istanbul International Film Festival
43	Italy	Italian National Syndicate of Film Journalists
44	Belgium	Joseph Plateau Awards
45	Finland	Jussi Awards
46	Czech Republic	Karlovy Vary International Film Festival
47	India	Kerala International Film Festival
48	Japan	Kinema Junpo Awards
49	Switzerland	Locarno International Film Festival
50	UK	London Critics Circle Film Awards
51	Argentina	Mar del Plata Film Festival
52	Ukraine	Molodist International Film Festival
53	Canada	Montréal World Film Festival
54	Russia	Moscow International Film Festival
55	USA	National Board of Review, USA
56	India	National Film Awards, India
57	USA	National Society of Film Critics
58	USA	New York Film Critics Circle Awards
59	New Zealand	New Zealand Film and TV Awards
60	Russia	Nika Awards
61	Norway	Norwegian International Film Festival
62	South Korea	Pusan International Film Festival
63	Denmark	Robert Festival
64	Netherlands	International Film Festival of Rotterdam
65	Spain	San Sebastián International Film Festival
66	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Sarajevo Film Festival
67	China	Shanghai International Film Festival
68	Sweden	Stockholm Film Festival
69	USA	Sundance Film Festival
70	Brazil	São Paulo Association of Art Critics Awards
71	Brazil	São Paulo International Film Festival
72	Switzerland	Swiss Film Prize
73	Thailand	Thailand National Film Association Awards
74	Greece	Thessaloniki Film Festival
75	Japan	Tokyo International Film Festival
76	Canada	Toronto Film Critics Association Awards
77	Italy	Venice Film Festival
78	Poland	Warsaw International Film Festival

Appendix B

Collinearity Statistics

- Chapter 4 (Model 3)

	Tolerance	VIF
Age of Film Festival	0.508	1.970
Director Years	0.192	5.197
Director Credits	0.216	4.632
Director Award Nominations	0.547	1.827
Jury Member Years	0.434	2.305
Jury Member Credits	0.467	2.142
Jury Member Award Nominations	0.644	1.554

- Chapter 5 (Final Models)

Model 5 (Log Reg. 1)	Tolerance	VIF
Age of Film	0.846793	1.180926
Venice Nominations	0.785369	1.273286
Box-office Hits	0.487491	2.051321
Cannes Nominations	0.654641	1.527555
BAFTA Nominations	0.980268	1.020129
Berlin Nominations	0.650005	1.538449

Model 5 (Log Reg. 2)	Tolerance	VIF
Age of Film	0.876464	1.140948
Venice Nominations	0.946768	1.056225
Box-office Hits	0.818448	1.221824
Cannes Nominations	0.864619	1.156578
BAFTA Nominations	0.801992	1.246896
Berlin Nominations	0.954106	1.048101

- Chapter 6 (All Models)

	Expert Judgments		Peer Judgments		Public Judgments	
	Tolerance	VIF	Tolerance	VIF	Tolerance	VIF
Age of Film	0.901	1.110	0.901	1.110	0.901	1.110
Cannes Nominations	0.907	1.103	0.907	1.103	0.907	1.103
BAFTA Nominations	0.768	1.303	0.768	1.303	0.768	1.303
Box-office Hits	0.868	1.152	0.868	1.152	0.868	1.152

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