

Creativity at Work:

# Talent retention in Danish film: (meso) industry level factors

*By Chris Mathieu*

*January 2010*

**N.b. This is a working paper - please do not quote - await the published version!**



# Talent retention in Danish film: (meso) industry level factors

Chris Mathieu, Department of Organisation, Copenhagen Business School  
([cjm.ioa@cbs.dk](mailto:cjm.ioa@cbs.dk))

## Introduction

The Danish film industry has not just been highly successful in artistic and commercial terms over the past couple of decades with its products; it has also been highly successful in developing and especially retaining its cinematic talent.<sup>1</sup> These two developments, cinematic success and talent retention hang together and comprise the central elements of a 'virtuous circle.' Though this virtuous circle might at first glance appear natural and logical, the opposite might just as well have been the case. Human capital theory (Becker 1964; Berry & Glaeser 2005) would lead us to expect that success and international acclaim for members of a minor, peripheral industry just as well could lead to a ticket out, to bigger and better dollar-greener pastures, especially in a globalised industry where production companies are always on the look out for new accomplished talent (Miller, et al 2008). If one looks at somewhat comparable film industries 'talent drain' is a real threat: the Swedish film industry has lost more or less permanently several key figures, primarily to Hollywood, and the Irish Film Board appears legitimately and perennially worried about 'industry collapse' due to emigration of central figures in Irish film (Irish Film Board, 2007, p.15-16).

This article focuses on why and how the Danish film industry has not (yet?) been subject to detrimental talent loss despite the potentially lethal combination of international recognition on the one hand, and comparatively low material and status/prestige rewards available in the Danish industry on the other. It also focuses on the meso industry or branch level, which seldom receives attention in studies of retention and argues that several factors, primarily social and cultural, at the industry level strongly contribute to the retention of elite talent in the Danish film industry. This article begins with a review of literature on international mobility of the 'highly skilled' which supports the expectation that elite talent should leave the Danish film industry. This is followed by a brief discussion of the particularities and peculiarities of employment in film, and a brief overview of the contemporary Danish film industry. After presenting the empirical and methodological foundations of the study, the central abovementioned cultural and social factors contributing to elite talent retention are discussed. Though the industry-level factors are argued to be of profound importance, other individual and possibly even national-level factors that also play in are taken up before concluding remarks are made.

The hypothesis presented here challenges the human capital thesis, at least in its 'material rewards' form as well as the basic notions of center-periphery relations in both the drain and circulation forms (though a modified to-and-fro model may apply), and suggest that an alternative hierarchy basis for selection is at work. Rather than presupposing a material 'return on investment,' a more complex micro theory in response to meso-level factors is promoted revolving around the opportunities for active, engaged and embedded agency. The important parts of the argument made here will probably be historically testable in a not so distant future. If 'branch efficacy' plays the central role that I claim, when this efficacy falters, rather than being routinely questioned, we will, I predict, see a large portion of those able, actually leave the Danish film industry.

### **Highly skilled labour migration**

Talented film workers can be seen as a sub-category of what variously is termed the 'creative class' (Florida 2003, 2004, 2005), 'high human capital' individuals (Storper & Allen 2009), or the 'highly skilled' (Beverstock 2005; Koser & Salt 1997). The attraction, retention and mobility of the highly skilled are dealt with at several levels, but rarely at the national industry level.<sup>2</sup> What is generally emphasized at the supra-national or regional level are economic pressures for migration liberalization for industrial competitiveness or national demographic reasons, and the reduction of barriers under international treaties such as the WTO's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and regional labour mobility agreements in the EU, NAFTA and the Mutual Recognition Agreement between New Zealand and Australia (Iredale 1999; Lavenex 2007). At the national level, terms such as 'the competition state' are used to connote how states compete for highly skilled labour on the global level by both reducing barriers for temporary and permanent settlement and offering fiscal and quality of life incentives (Mahroum 2001). National and regional macro level analyses also tend to focus on asymmetric centre-periphery relations between nations or production regimes and lay behind most of the talent and brain drain literature (Carrington & Detragiache 1999; Cheng & Yang 1998; Foadi 2006). In such analyses earnings, professional development, consumption and other standard of living opportunities are argued to be superior in core than peripheral regions, and accentuated by favourable tax schemes, thus exercising a draw or attraction power on talented individuals in peripheral regions, allowing agents in core regions, be they state bureaucrats or employers directly then pick and choose between the talented individuals queuing up to get in (Mahroum 2001, p.32). Rather than a unidirectional stream or drain, increasingly current literature focuses on circulations, either roundtrip between sending and recipient countries, or between sending and a sequence of different receiving countries without returning to the original sending country (Carr et al. 2005; Gaillard & Gaillard 1997; Gould 1988; Saxenian 2007 Argonauts). At the firm level two processes are commonly dealt with. One focuses on internal labour

markets and the circulation of employees on foreign assignments within multinationals (Beaverstock 2005; Bozkurt 2007, Peixoto 2001; Tzeng 1995). The second focuses on external labour markets and global competition between firms in terms of offering remuneration and benefits packages, and sometimes even professional and career development incentives to attract high-skilled labour.

At the individual level a current debate rages over what it is that attracts the highly skilled to move, both nationally and internationally. In his writings on the creative class Florida (2003, 2004, 2005), has argued that this group is attracted by the social climate of particular locations as well as the amenities offered there (see also Clark et al 2002; Glaser et al 2001 on the 'amenities thesis'). Other authors have elaborated on the 'amenities' thesis, arguing that physical climate plays an important role.

While contesting Florida's creative class thesis and 'amenity' theories of what drives highly skilled mobility, Storper & Allen (2009), both of whom have published insightfully and extensively on the film industry, do not argue against highly skilled mobility per se, but rather contend that what drives it is jobs in specialized agglomerations. In other words, the basic contention in their job opportunities in specialized agglomerations theory is that people do indeed move for work opportunities that fit their human capital acquisitions. As they write, individuals with high levels of human capital:

... are individuals who have by definition invested considerable resources and time in acquiring know-how, skills and qualifications, and they are presumably unwilling to dissipate their investments in this respect by moving to places where their personal assets are systematically at risk or undervalued in the local job market. Such individuals typically choose to locate on the basis of some sort of structured match between their talents and the forms of economic specialization and labor demand to be found in the places where they eventually settle (Storper & Scott 2009, p.162).

Thus what is reinforced is the contention about mobility along the lines of human capital theory, and the presupposition of migration for the highly skilled, be it self-initiated for more appropriate work opportunities (Storper & Scott) 'amenities' and socio-cultural environmental factors (Florida), or alternatively, shunted via networks, channels or 'talent pipelines' where their talents are more richly rewarded (Darby et al. 2007; Elliot & Maguire 2008; Meyer 2001). If the above theories hold and physical climate and a socio-political climate of tolerance and multiculturalism is what attracts and retains the creative class, Denmark, especially as the latter has developed over the past decade, should be depleted of its creative talent by now.

In examining the migration of the highly skilled literature two areas appear to be neglected. The first is 'immobility' from a positive or retention angle, and the second is the general absence of substantive industry level factors apart from labour demand. In general, it is probably the case that national industries are seen as too heterodox to concertededly exert any force in and of themselves that could be argued to be sufficiently coherent and strong to play a significant role in attraction and retention processes. However, branch or industry actors, such as professional organizations and employers organizations may play a significant role in promoting or forestalling mobility (Iredale 1999). 'Immobility' is generally treated as a problem; as the consequence of 'barriers' that should be lifted to facilitate freer, dynamic and economically rational and beneficial flows of human capital to settings where it can be best utilized and rewarded. Where talent retention is on the national or regional policy agenda it usually takes the form of measures similar to those oriented to attracting highly skilled foreigners – financial incentives, career development opportunities or 'amenities.' Staying and going, entering and exiting and why people leave is not just the reverse or mirror image of why people join are very different processes as Ebaugh (1998) classically displayed. Faist (1997) elegantly argues with regard to international migration that in order to understand migrants, one also has to understand 'stayers'.

To a certain extent it makes little sense to speak of the highly skilled as this is such heterogeneous group in industries that are organized in vastly different ways. Salt (1997) for example distinguishes between eleven different groups of highly skilled (from missionaries/clergy to corporate transferees to entertainers, sportspeople and artists). One finds a great deal of heterogeneity within the latter of Salt's categories. The following section looks at the particularities of cinematic labour and labour markets.

### **Film labour and mobility in film labour markets**

Social scientific research on career, labour market and mobility issues in the film industry focus almost exclusively on the national industry level (Bechky 2006; Bielby & Bielby 1996; Zafirau 2008), though sometimes taking a comparative perspective (Blair, Culkin & Randle 2003). In other words, despite its high profile existence in the popular media (primarily fixated on star actors and directors moving between national film industries), research on international mobility between film industries is practically non-existent, as is the more general phenomenon of self-initiated migration in career promotion (Thomas, et al 2005, p.342, see also Suutari & Brewster 2000; Vance 2005).<sup>1</sup> While this aspect of film industries and labour market issues is neglected, other aspects of film labour and production have received relatively great attention. The project-based nature of film production in the post-studio era has attracted a degree of attention as the standard process of contingent employment in temporary organizations poses two basic mobility questions. First, how is employment

secured sequentially? That is to say, how do freelance workers obtain work within their category of specialized labour in project after project for different employers (Blair 2001)? The second question is how vertical mobility takes place, that is to say how do film workers rise, fall and generally move vertically within and between occupational categories in a setting where performance demands and time-pressures are high, and training is none-the-less primarily on-the-job and entirely the responsibility of the individual without an organizational framework and resources.

In addressing the first question, in spite of the contingency of employment and the use of project-based organization which suggests individuals continuously seeking employment on an external labour market, recent research increasingly looks at the development and operation of more enduring constellations in film production (Mathieu CE WP; Zuckerman). A variety of reasons are given for the existence of repeat collaboration and enduring constellations, from social explanations based on affinities to economic performance grounds (from reduction of transaction costs to producing superior products to market) to strategies to combat exposure on overly individualized markets (to mitigate the extreme precariousness of hyper-contingent labour markets). In their pioneering work on contracting and career in the American film industry Faulkner & Anderson (1987) find recurrent contracting to be a product of a narrowing, meeting of elite buyers and sellers of, if not cinematic talent and skill, at least documented accomplishment in the recent past. In other words, it's the specific market form in post-studio Hollywood that produces recurrent contracting. Alvarez et al (2005) argue that enduring constellations usually entailing a producer-director partnership (often in the form of a jointly owned production company) and repeat collaboration with other artistic workers (cinematographers, actors, scenographers, etc.) are strategies employed to protect the artistic autonomy of leading, idiosyncratic directors. Bielby & Bielby (1999) argue that a great deal of recurrent collaboration can be explained by the 'packaging' undertaken by powerful brokers – elite talent agencies – that bundle as many of their clients as feasible in a project by plying both the demand and supply sides of projects. In a study of the Italian film industry, Delmestri, et al (2005) argue that repeat collaboration has positive commercial performance implications. In looking at collaboration in the Dutch film industry, Ebber & Wijnberg (2009) emphasize the role of both reduction of transaction costs, as enduring constellations reduce start-up costs – not everything has to be done from scratch from searching for and evaluating personnel to negotiating contracts (Ebbers & Wijnberg 2009, p.989), and relationally based obligations and expectations, especially the expectation of being rewarded for past and current efforts in the future. In other words, being fully rewarded for extraordinary efforts or loyalty is contingent upon the future collaboration. The 'system' or latent organization works precisely because it is a temporally extended, but at the same time uncertain, system rather than a spot-market of one-off transactions. Ebbers and Wijnberg (2009, p.1004) conclude that most of the flexibility they find, paradoxically emanates from the durable

relations that exist beyond the individual projects, and that it is the implicit, relational contracts that have primacy in governing behaviour over explicit and formal contracts.

In a series of articles Blair and collaborators (Blair 2001; 2003; Blair & Rainnie 2003; Blair, Culkin & Randle 2003; Blair, Grey & Randle 2001) have analysed the labour process and labour market in the British film industry. Far from atomised individual job seeking, and moving beyond noting the role of networks in securing employment, Blair (2001; 2003) finds the flexible, project based British film industry populated with what she calls semi-permanent work groups (SPWG), which she defines as 'a group of individuals working in the same department (e.g. camera, art) who work as specialized project teams and move from project to project as a unit.' Establishing such groups is an 'aspirational state' (Blair 2003, p.684) or preferred means of working among many 'freelancers' in the British film industry and a strategy on part of film workers to counterbalance the power of employers and vagaries of the contingent labour market. Such constellations make collaboration within departments run smoother and more reliable as workers have prior knowledge of how their colleagues operate, but the primary benefit of such constellations is that they insulate workers from the 'full extent of employment and work environment uncertainty experienced by those outside such relationships' (Blair 2003, p.685, also 2001, p.154).

In addressing the second question of upward mobility, Baker & Faulkner (1991) analyze how roles in film productions are expanded and parlayed into larger realms. Thus, upward mobility is a result of an active expansion on part of individual workers of their role beyond the strictures of the basic role they were hired to do. Bechky (2006) elaborates how roles are learned and both occupational and social skills are acquired and demonstrated on film sets. It is however in O'Mahoney & Bechky (2006) with the development of the concept of 'stretchwork' that the question 'How do contract workers achieve progression in external labor markets?' (p.919) and elaborate how skills are acquired and reputations built that allow individuals to compete for roles and functions above their current activities is explicitly addressed. Stretchwork is defined as 'work whose content mostly fits within a person's base of competence but that also contains a smaller component with which a person has no experience' (O'Mahoney & Bechky 2006, p. 924), in other words, work that primarily overlaps with a person's established capacities, but also entails novel challenges. O'Mahoney & Bechky find four different strategies used in both of their sample (film workers and high-technology contractors): differentiating competence (performing above and beyond what is called for in the job); acquiring referrals (getting higher-ups to recommend you, even for roles that you haven't done before); framing and bluffing (overstating or creatively casting one's previous experience in a manner that makes one appear qualified for an intended role); and discounting (offering one's services for either less than the going rate or for free). The four strategies set out by

O'Mahoney & Bechky fit a market setting – discounting being based on the price mechanism, differentiating competence and framing or bluffing as two forms of 'advertising' ability while acquiring referrals is a social tactic, but again based upon getting word of mouth recommendations from more senior industry agents to get their peers or subordinates to hire an individual.

Turning to European research we find other implied answers to the question of how upward mobility breaks are accorded. Ebbers & Wijnberg (2009) also touch on the process of promotion into higher ranks or levels of responsibility in future projects as one of the rewarding mechanisms in the latent organization of Dutch film and describe this latent organization as providing 'possibilities for 'semi' internal labor markets and career paths.' Here they highlight more direct linkages between employers and employees and the role that feelings of interpersonal obligation play in giving greater responsibility to individuals one has worked with. Similarly, one can read out of Blair's work on semi-permanent work groups a similar semi-internal labour market system. Like the literature on social movements of the 1980s and 1990s, we see an interesting between European and American research on film labour, that might not just derive from studying Hollywood versus European film industries, but may be flavoured by orientations towards 'market' versus 'social' or collectivistic explanations of recurrent collaboration.

Probably because of the project based nature of contemporary filmmaking it doesn't make outright sense to speak of or research 'retention' issues. On the other hand, recurrent collaboration can be seen as a form of retention, which especially in American research is treated as at least a theoretical problem (for the external labour market ideal). To frame this debate in terms of what I discuss below, I seek out explanations for the recurrent engagement of elite Danish cinematic talent with the Danish film industry.

## **The Danish film industry**

Over the past couple of decades the Danish film industry has been quite successful in both commercial and artistic terms. Retrospectively, 1987 is generally pinpointed as the beginning of the second Golden age of Danish film, as that is the year that Gabriel Axel's *Babette's Feast* and Billy August's *Pelle the Conqueror* were released in Denmark. Both films won Academy Awards in successive years for best foreign film (1988 for *Babette's Feast* and 1989 for *Pelle the Conqueror*, which also won a Palme d'Or) providing a dramatic beginning to an unprecedented series of prizes won at major film festivals and competitions throughout the 1990 and 2000s for a minor film industry in a country with a population less than half the size of metropolitan Los Angeles. In addition to artistic success, as gauged by selection to participate and winning prizes at major film festivals and competitions, Danish film is also highly commercially successful domestically. Over the past decade Danish films generally take

between 25-30% of the domestic box office, a percentage that only France consistently exceeds in Europe. Even export sales are reasonably impressive, with on average one film per year in the period 1996-2006 selling over two million tickets outside of Denmark (Strandgaard & Mathieu 2009, p. 25). Another central objective and accomplishment of the Danish film industry is a consistent and comparatively high volume of production.

The Danish film industry is not just highly successful as mentioned above, but also highly productive and largely fuelled by a by most accounts exemplary subsidy system funded by four year block grants from the Danish Parliament and administered by the Danish Film Institute (see Mathieu 2006 on the role of the DFI). Since 1997, when the Danish Film Institute was reorganized and a new Film Law was passed, an average of 25 feature films per year have been released (DFI & Strandgaard & Mathieu 2009). Employment estimates for the Danish film industry are difficult and unreliable as many who work in the film industry also work in other related industries and thus might not be accounted for in official statistics. The current guesstimate used in the industry is approximately 1500. The industry is well organized with employers being organized in the producers union, the directors in the directors union, actors in the actors union and crew technicians in the Film & Television Workers Union (FAF). Despite such evidence of success, periodic questioning arises from time to time, sometimes focusing on artistic merit, sometimes couched in terms of the inevitable question after a prolonged period of success, 'is the end near?' These issues will be discussed in greater detail below. In one respect Denmark is rather unique in its industrial organization of film production. Like most other places in the world production is project based, but in contrast to many other film industries, in Denmark producers, and often also directors are often contracted (employed) to production companies on an enduring, though not always on an exclusive, basis rather than hired on a contingent, project by project basis.

## Methods

Based on interviews with branch members, documents from DFI and Danish branch organizations and mapping using biographical information on prominent Danish film workers on the IMDB (International Movie Data Base) website ([imdb.com](http://imdb.com)) to track their movement on the international film labour market. There are not mobility statistics kept for the Danish film industry, so it's a matter of tracking individuals through registry databases such as IMDB, which is increasingly used as an academic tool. The bulk of the interviews are career/life history interviews carried out for a project specifically examining career in the Danish film industry, focusing on the intersection of personal and professional/occupational factors in career development, including international mobility. Previous research feeding into this study on the institutional, normative and relational structure of the Danish film industry has

been published in Mathieu & Strandvad 2008; Strandvad & Mathieu 2009; as well as studies focusing on the role and challenges facing the primary organization in the Danish film field, the DFI in Mathieu (2006) and Darmer et al. (2007). Interviews and field observations were also undertaken during the six weeks of shooting of a major Danish feature film.

## **Industry level factors promoting retention in the Danish film industry**

What is meant by branch or industry level factors is factors that are produced and exist at the branch level – that is to say via the interaction of individuals and organizations from multiple areas of the branch – critics, the state (via financing and Ministry of Culture directives), the DFI, production companies, workers, film audience, unions, the national film school, etc. In contrast to Faist (1997), who also concentrates on meso-level factors in international labour migration by looking at families, networks and communities, which have face-to-face and interpersonal deliberative interaction, the meso level entities entering into my analysis can be group-like, but also more abstract and complex entities, such as the branch itself. An argument made here and more cogently unfolded elsewhere (Mathieu & Strandvad, 2008) is that an industry culture comprising of shared world views, a abroad shared frame of reference and some basic playing rules exist, though aberrant behavior and companies based on defying these norms exist. For example the branch is characterized by a high degree of egalitarianism, with ‘stars’ and runners sitting side-by-side eating the same food for lunch,<sup>3</sup> and a fair degree of hysteria, but little duplicity.

For analytical clarity’s sake I have divided up the factors into cultural and social groups. By cultural factors I mean things that are ideological or symbolic conditioned beliefs, whereas social factors have to do with the inclusive or exclusionary relations between people based on affinity, affiliation, interests, group access and membership and the operation of selection mechanisms.

### **Cultural factors**

Probably the single most important industry level factor with regard to retention is what I call *branch efficacy*. Branch efficacy is defined as a widespread belief within a branch or industry about the capacity and probability of producing successful products throughout the industry and over an extended period of time. In this particular case, high branch efficacy refers to a widespread belief that a broad range of production companies and constellations can and will produce high quality and successful films that film workers want to be associated with. In other words, the opportunities for working on the next success are not limited to working with a couple top-flight production companies or with a handful of the key individuals in the industry,

but rather there is a belief that such opportunities are spread throughout the industry and recurrent. What is important to note is that it is not just the volume of employment opportunities that is important, but the *quality* of the productions is important. In the words of a grip interviewed during a film shoot, '... the work environment is important, being treated well and with respect, but what is also important is to work on a quality film, a film you are proud to be associated with.'

The concept of efficacy has its origins in psychology. From Bandura's (1986, p.391) early definition of self-efficacy as 'judgement(s) of one's capability to accomplish a certain level of performance,' the concept has been extended to link personal assessments of one's capacity for successful action in given endeavors with motivation for undertaking and persevering in these endeavors, and ultimately personal happiness:

Self-efficacy refers to the individual's capacity to produce important effects. People who are aware of being able to make a difference feel good and therefore take initiatives; people who perceive themselves as helpless are unhappy and are not motivated for actions. (Flammer 2001, p.13812).

The concept has been scaled-up from the individual level to the social-psychological level and found to be a significant factor in studies of group and team behaviour in work settings (Campion, Medsker & Higgs 1993; Gibson 1999; Gibson, Randel & Earley 2000; also Earley & Laubach 2002), as well as in political behaviour research (Craig et al 1990; Finkel 1987) and social movement theory (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1999; Kreisi et al 1995). In scaling up the concept, the basic mechanism works in the same manner. A group's assessment of what it is capable of affects what type of endeavors it enters into; what level of ambition it has; its assessment of probability of success impacts how tenaciously it fights through setbacks and failures along the way, which in turn is related to prospects for ultimate success; and ultimate success or failure feeds back into the group's assessment of what it is capable of and undertakes.

Scaling the concept up further to the branch or industry level from the individual or small-group and organizational level is not theoretically or methodologically unproblematic (Gibson, Randel & Earley 2000; Whiteoak, Chalip & Hort 2004). The basic problem revolves around escalating complexity in who is involved in the assessment process and how this takes place. The further we get from the single mind and face-to-face group, the more complex the assessment of capability becomes. The assessment process becomes increasingly based both on interpersonal discussions as well as mediated discussions and information reception. Who the important reference group to listen to for assessments of group capacity expands as well. Furthermore, due to entrance and exit of individuals and corporate actors (from dyadic partnerships to companies) from the industry the stability of the group is more dynamic than most work teams and other small groups. Likewise, there is a basic theoretical,

empirical and methodological question as to whether one approaches such assessments as a matter of aggregation, that is to say the sum of individual assessments, or a truly collective process. At the small group level the same issue surfaces. Gibson, Randel & Earley (2000) find in their investigation that the more accurate assessments are of the collective rather than the aggregative type. However, when moving beyond the group level obtaining 'a single response' from the group is not possible, which truly collectivistic assessments of group efficacy are based (Gibson et al. 2000, p. 69). But on the branch or industry level aggregating is far from feasible for sampling reasons. Another central issue has to do with general versus task specific efficacy beliefs.

Pending further research on both the how group efficacy beliefs are produced in the Danish film industry and what its current level is, the concept is used here in a rather loose fashion to capture a widespread and general disposition that emerges from several sources, both in media accounts and individual interviews. For sociological purposes this level of specificity is probably satisfactory in contrast with the social psychological group level where measurement and sampling of degrees of efficacy strive towards greater precision (see for example Tasa & Whyte 2005; Tyran & Gibson 2008). Also, much of the research on group efficacy is at the task group level, and focused on performance. The way I am interested in deploying the concept is in terms of *commitment* to a comparatively very broad and rather loosely linked population (not a group per se) and its *retention* effects. Or more specifically, continued collaboration intentions with a discernable but unspecified group, in a familiar context.

Despite the risk of over-simplifying the issue of branch efficacy, an analogy introduced by an eminent screenwriter in an interview seems to sum up a basic understanding, what one might almost be tempted to call a 'deep frame' (Pinker & Lakoff 2007: 67) about the Danish film industry. In describing what happened when he and his cohort graduated from the screenwriting programme of the Danish Film School in the mid 1990s he uses the analogy of a cool, vibrant and exciting party:

And we all just fell into the party in Danish film. You know, it was just then that it started to take off ... We all just fell into it you know. So we all got something to do. It just totally took off. So suddenly before we could look around we were all going.

In the party metaphor there is the image of being swept up into something that gives employment, but even more importantly, there is a spirit and collegiality and camaraderie and possibly most importantly a high quality to it.

Ultimately, for the purposes here (retention effects) branch efficacy should be considered as individual level assessments of branch or industry-wide capabilities. However, these individual assessments are largely impacted by a general discourse about the industry per se, backed up by the accomplishments

of a collection of specific projects. The collection and persistence of these accomplishments gives rise to systemic or collective attributions of success, often spoken of in terms of a 'Danish model' that almost mechanistically produces success. Exerting a strong impact on individual assessments is a general media image and basic understanding in the industry that Danish film is in its second 'Golden Age.' Though the Danish film industry is a distributed entity with a reasonable degree of heterogeneity, it is nonetheless rather small (\*number of actors and durable companies), shares common mediated communication channels, and has a strong central broker, the Danish Film Institute, at its center (Mathieu 2003). As noted above, it does well in terms of central indicators: volume of production, box office, awards, prizes and selection to participate in festivals, and film critics' reviews and international cinematic. There is also international academic interest in Danish film and the 'Danish model' also plays a role in supporting high branch efficacy. Led by international film scholars like Hjorth (2003; Hjoth & Bondebjerg 2001; Hjorth & MacKenzie 2003), Stevenson (2003) and Bordwell (2001)<sup>4</sup>, the virtues and triumphs of contemporary Danish film production are channeled out to more scholarly oriented international film circles, piquing international attention that in turn feeds back to the domestic industry through the national media and the Danish Film Institute that picks up on international mention of Danish film and redoubles it domestically.

The success and quality of Danish film which feeds the high branch efficacy beliefs is not just an assumption, but also critically discussed periodically. In the summer of 2005 and 2006 the heavyweights (read: Palme d'Or winners) in Danish film weighed in on the matter. In June-July 2005, Lars von Trier criticized Danish film for being too tame, laying the blame at the foot of what many deem to be a direct root cause of Danish film's success, well constructed, well written 'polished screenplays.' Bille August followed this up in June 2006 by declaring that Danish Film is 'extremely uninteresting' and uniform - deriving from the fact that the same actors are in all the films, most films have roughly the same budget and people in the industry think the same in August's estimation. In her reply to von Trier and August, the producer Meta Foldager (2006) tellingly writes 'The debate [about the state of Danish cinema] is perennially justified because one has to always renew oneself. Also in a successful branch' and further on appraising Danish film to be 'in the middle of a wave of success,' while taking the criticisms of both von Trier and August seriously. Yet another major player in Danish film Ebbe Nyvold, the head of the Danish Directors' union attacked in September 2006 the ideology and praxis around the 'creative team' concept as stifling the creative freedom of directors, and argues for a modern auteur-director, arguing that 'All experience says that the best films are created when one vision steers the work.' In the period after this debate a Danish film has continued unabated earning an Academy award nomination for best foreign film,<sup>5</sup> and several have selected for the main categories of the Cannes, Berlin and Sundance film festivals. On the commercial front Danish film has also performed at its established high level 25-20% of

domestic box office ad ca. 25 feature films released per year. In other words, business as usual and the party rages on.

While the image given above is that branch efficacy beliefs are abstract, generalized and mediated, there is another very experiential basis for such assessments. Danish film industry is small enough to be able to roughly keep track mentally of who were the key players on specific productions, as well as who worked in the departments on various films that one worked on (this is also a common topic of discussion on film shoots),<sup>6</sup> film workers often literally wear their previous production affiliations on their sleeve, back or chest in the form of shirts, jackets and sweatshirts with the name of the film and major sponsors of the project. Thus, affiliation to a successful production can enduringly and publically be displayed both to one's colleagues in the branch as well as wider society. Sometimes these garments are worn for functional or aesthetic reasons, but there are also obvious examples of such garments that in all likelihood are solely worn to show affiliation to a particular project. Another form of non-mediated efficacy constructing is interpersonal communication. A fairly high ranking employee of the Danish Film institute in an interview describes how he, as a representative for Danish film is met when he travels abroad: '... when on goes abroad they always ask 'what is the Danish miracle?' Why do you have so many good films and what's going on here?' Such questions reinforce from abroad high branch efficacy beliefs.

Two phenomena appear to be at work. One is the production of a general, master or deep frame of success. The other is specific input in support of or questioning this frame, what borrowing from the group efficacy literature could be termed 'performance feedback' (Jung & Sosik 2003). Here things like the consistently high (for a European country) level that domestically produced films take of the national box office, being selected for participation and winning prizes and nominations at international film competitions and festivals, and generally favourable reviews of individual films comprise this form of performance feedback on levels of quality attained. Other more uncommon achievements such as *two* Danish companies being given slate financing to in 2009's EU Media funding round affirm the overall frame of success and quality. The slate financing from the Media programme provides both financing, but also a psychologically significant recognition and seal of approval from an EU agency won in open competition about the quality and breadth of the Danish film industry.

A second significant cultural factor reduces the allure of working on big budget productions.<sup>7</sup> Students at the Danish film school are socialized to accept and see opportunities in the relatively small budgets available in Danish film (Phillipsen 2009). Likewise, the two operational 'manifestos' produced by Danish filmmakers – the well-known Dogme 95 rules and the less known Nordisk Film's Director's Cut manifesto – both praise low-budget production styles. Lars von Trier has also shown that it is possible to attract international

stars to remote European outposts on moderate budgets if the project and creatives involved are sufficiently interesting.

Thirdly, retention breeds retention through both social and cultural mechanisms. On the cultural level, little precedence for (permanent) migration supports a solidarity ideal and the opportunity to castigate the few who break with the many as 'defection.' To contrast Denmark with Sweden, Sweden has a long tradition of cinematic emigrants to the US and Europe,<sup>8</sup> whereas Denmark doesn't, and thus in Sweden I would argue 'making it abroad' culturally entails staying abroad. In keeping with the logic of the argument presented in this article, the doldrums that Swedish film has been in in recent decades has made it less attractive to base one's career on the Swedish industry. At the social level, the mechanisms associated with chain migration play in once bridging or brokering emigrants become established in receiving countries or industries. For an industry with few established pioneers or emigrants settled and professionally active abroad, there are fewer opportunities for 'chain migration' where one emigrant anchors a recruitment chain based on contacts in both the receiving country related to employment opportunities and contacts in the sending country with potential emigrants. I return to this below.

Finally, there appear to be both artistic and even political movements associated with Danish film (such as Dogme 95) that appear to operate at a more selective level below the general branch efficacy mechanism.

## Social factors

Several significant social factors stem from the nature of formal film education in Denmark. The National film School of Denmark is an exemplary case of elite education. Admission is limited to a set and tiny fraction of the total number of applicants. As Danish is the language of instruction the pool of applicants is more or less de facto limited to Nordics, so even the total low number of students taken in and released after completing their education will not reach the Danish employment market, as some return to Sweden, Norway or Iceland. Three factors heighten the interest of the Danish film industry for the students released each year from the Danish film school. The first is the fact that they are premium products in terms of there being so few of them – premium by scarcity. The second is the fact that they have received in the estimation of many both in Denmark and abroad, paraphrasing another Danish company's marketing pitch, 'probably the best film education in the world.' Thirdly, because so many other major players in the Danish film industry are alumni of the National Film School of Denmark, there is both 'old-boy' attachments as well as an appreciation of what these students have been through. Fourthly, because the Danish film school is so unique, and has had a similar pedagogic and stylistic approach over the past two decades, the common perspective, ideology and orientation described above unites this 'long generation' of

graduates of the the Danish film school. Fifthly, because of the ‘premium’ nature of the students at the film school and the affiliative affinity with the school, several of the production companies out in the industry have already established contacts with these students in facilitating the making of their student films. Thus when they graduate there are professional and social ties of friendship, admiration and obligation already established between graduates and industry actors. One can almost say that upon admission to the National Film School of Denmark, one has become integrated into the Danish film branch, and thus at a pivotal point where mobility, including international mobility can be expected, graduates from film school are frequently ‘locked up’ by established branch actors.

For those resisting the temptation of joining such an established production company or work constellation, the guiding ideology of the creative team and the entrenched practice that the students collaborate in shifting constellations during their study at the film school results in strong internal bonds between many of the students. In the words of one long time producer who has also worked at the DFI,

... it is common that groups get formed at Filmskolen. It happens very often that people’s taste buds match, ... they go up and down and alongside each other for four years at Filmskolen. [...] They quite frequently start a little film company when they come out of Filmskolen.

However, the previous head instructor of the producer line states that this is less common now than previously, as the organizational density of the Danish film industry has increased, and one of the subsidy forms that spawned several new companies and collaborative groups no longer exists. The bonds established at the film school are not just between people with different occupational training (i.e. within the creative teams), but there is also evidence that, for example a couple of producers band together and for their own production company (the highly successful Nimbus is the most evident example as the two founders – Birgitte Hald and Bo Ehrhardt both graduated from the ‘Producer line’ in the same year).

Establishing one’s own company not only creates social bonds between the principals in such companies, but also financial and creative/autonomy incentives to work with and for their own company rather than another for somebody else. An executive producer/production company owner who had a string of major festival successes since the mid 1990s typical response from especially producers reacted to the question of working abroad, “I got allot of offers just after XXX (a highly successful film), but I have my own company so I wouldn’t want to leave that.”

As mentioned above, the fact that few former members of the Danish film industry are stably employed in key positions outside of Denmark, there are

therefore few who act as ‘recruiters’ for Danish colleagues as few Danes with extensive experience in the Danish film industry are established insiders in foreign industries. Meyer (2001, p. 94) highlights the important role of network brokers in international recruitment of the highly skilled:

The pre-existing relationship between the (future) employee and the employer, through the intermediary of an individual known to both, not only provides the employee with information about the job but also guarantees the employer that she/he is, to a certain extent, appropriate for the vacant post. Studies on migration networks show that this powerful interplay is at work not only at the national level but also – and probably even more so, since institutional alternatives are less abundant – at the international level.

This broker link between foreign project opportunities and Danish film talent is largely missing, in terms of chain migration via out-migrated network members. This lack of emigrant network members may be becoming compensated for by commercial agents (there are indications that this might currently be taking place – see Monggaard[ 2009]).

A further factor that works against emigration is the fact that one can have an ‘international career’ from Denmark. As a member of the creative core of productions one can travel internationally to festivals, as a producer one can engage in co-financing activities, and Danish actors are increasingly landing roles in international productions, then returning to Denmark (Monggaard 2009). It is even possible to be selected to sit on the jury of one of the top film festivals in the world after having worked exclusively on Danish production (that have received wide international distribution and recognition) as the film editor Molly Marlene Stensgaard proved when she sat in the jury of the Berlin Film Festival in 2007.

Though not directly alluded to in the interview material I have amassed, one can speculate that the incomplete and projected nature of rewarding found in the Dutch film industry is also present in the Danish film industry, and thereby also plays a retaining role in international labour mobility along the logic of ‘if I leave the industry now I give up the accumulated stock of credits owed to me by those who have implicit obligations to me.’ Nowhere in my interviews in the Danish film industry are things expressed in this manner. A more forthcoming form of reasoning in terms of future rewards and obligations owed to oneself probably factors into how individuals see their future in Denmark in positive terms as they assess the stock of accumulated obligation credits they have amassed and the probability that this will result in positive employment and advancement opportunities – on high quality, high prestige projects.

Finally, there are institutional factors at the industry level that also promote retention or inhibit mobility. The Danish copyright laws that vest the producers

of art with ownership make Denmark an attractive country to be a producer in. In contrasting the position of the producer in Denmark with other countries with a 'producer for hire' system, the head of film production at a major Danish multi-media company said the matter is quite simple - 'do you want to be a king or a cow?' Here the analogy was that in Denmark the producer has freedom and autonomy and an ownership stake in the product, whereas in the producer for hire system, producers are subordinated to the financiers of projects. A second factor, that inhibits international mobility is the situation of comparatively high taxation and moderate wages that makes it difficult for most workers in the Danish film industry to set aside the requisite amount of 'availability time' (that is to say, abstain from working in order to be available for a prospective foreign project) or the capital in terms of transportation costs necessary to land a foreign job.<sup>9</sup>

## Conclusion

While industry level factors are not surprisingly found to play the prominent role in industry outcomes such as securing employment and promotions in a given film industry, they, as most meso-level factors tend to be ignored in explaining migration (transnational mobility) questions as Faist (1997) also argues. This article focuses on the meso, industry level factors that inhibit mobility, not via barriers, but via positive retention factors.

The primary argument developed here is that the acknowledged quality of the work, and to a certain extent the work process in Danish film exerts a sufficient degree of attraction to maintain the interest and retain the participation of elite cinematic talent that well could establish itself in foreign film industries. The 'party' metaphor has been invoked to lock attention on the fact that very few active in the Danish film industry wish to disassociate themselves from the future possibilities they, and their colleagues, believe to be available at least in the near future. In addition to this primarily cultural factor of branch efficacy, several supporting social factors lock talent into the industry via bonds of friendship, solidarity, obligation, and probably also expectations of reward for past efforts.

# References

Alvarez, J-L, et al 'Shielding idiosyncrasy from isomorphic pressures: towards optimal distinctiveness in European filmmaking' *Organization* 12(6): 863-888.

Beaverstock, J. (2005) 'Transnational Elites in the City: British highly skilled intercompany Transferees in New York City's financial district' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(2): 245-268.

Becker, G. 1964. *Human capital*. New York City: Columbia Univ. Press for the National Bureau of Economic Research.

Berry, C. R., and E. L. Glaeser. 2005. The divergence of human capital levels across cities. Kennedy School of Government Working Paper No. RWP05-057, Harvard University.

Bordwell, D. (2001) Foreword to *The Danish Directors: Dialogues on a Contemporary National Cinema*, ed. Mette Hjort and Ib Bondebjerg. Bristol: Intellect Press, 2001, pp. 6-7.

Carr, S., Inkson, K., & Thorn, K. (2005) 'From Global Careers to Talent Flow: Rinterpreting 'brain drain'' *Journal of World Business* 40(\*): 386-398.

Carrington, W. & Detragiache, E. (1999) 'How Extensive is the Brain Drain?' *Finance & Development* 36: 46-49.

Cheng, L & Yang, P. (1998) 'Global Interaction, Global Inequality and Migration of the Highly Trained to the United States' *International Migration Review* 32(\*): 626-654

Clark, T., Lloyd, R., Wong, W., & Jain, P. (2002) 'Amenities Drive Urban Growth' *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24(): 493-515.

Darby, P., Akindes, G. & Kirwin., M. (2007) 'Football Academies and the Migration of African Football Labour to Europe' *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 31(2): 143-161.

Delmestri, G., Montanari, F., & Usai, A. (2005). Reputation and strength of ties in predicting commercial success and artistic merit of independents in the Italian feature film industry. *Journal of Management Studies*, 42, 975-1002.

Desai, K. K., & Basuroy, S. (2005). Interactive influence of genre familiarity, star power, and critics' reviews in the cultural goods industry: The case of motion pictures. *Psychology & Marketing*, 22, 203-223.

Elliott, R. & Maguire, J. (2008) 'Thinking outside the Box: Exploring a Conceptual Synthesis for Research in the Area of Athletic Labor Migration' *Sociology of Sport Journal* 25: 482-497.

Fogdager, M. (2006) 'Drilleri og dansk film' [Teasing and Danish film] *Politiken* 2 July 2006.

Gaillard, J. & Gaillard, A. (1997) 'The International Mobility of Brains: Exodus or circulation?' *Science, Technology and Society* 2(2): 195-228.

- Glaeser, E., Kolko, J., Saiz, A. (2001) 'Consumer City' *Journal of Economic Geography* 1: 27-50.
- Gould, W. (1988) 'Skilled International Migration: an introduction' *Geoforum* 19: 381-85.
- Iredale, R. (1999) 'The Need to Import Skilled Personnel' *International Migration* 37(1): 89-123.
- Irish Film Board (2007) 'Creating a Sustainable Irish Film and Television Sector: A review of Section 481 film relief' Dublin: Irish Film Board.
- Lavenex, S. (2007) 'The Competition State and Highly Skilled Migration' *Society* 44(2): 32-41.
- Mahroum, S. (2001) 'Europe and the Immigration of Highly Skilled Labour' *International Migration* 39(5): 27-43.
- Meyer, J-B. (2001) 'Network Approach versus Brain Drain: Lessons from the Diaspora' *International Migration* 39(5): 91-110.
- Miller, T. et al (2008) *Global Hollywood: Number 2* British Film Institute: London.
- Mongaard, C. (2009-05 February) *Danske skuespillere erobrer verden Information*
- Peixoto, J. (2001) 'The International Mobility of Highly Skilled Workers in Transnational Corporations: The macro and micro factors of the organizational migration of cadres' *International Migration Review* 35(4): 1030-1053.
- Saxenian, A. (2007) *The new argonauts* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, D. Lazarova, M. & Inkson, K. (2005) 'Global Careers: New phenomena or new perspectives?' *Journal of World Business* (40): 340-347.
- Tzeng, R. (1995) 'International Labor Migration Through Multinational Enterprises' *International Migration Review* 29(1): 139-154).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> There are several notable works, primarily in the field of film studies that look at international migration of individual film workers (either by choice or forced by diasporic or individual persecution pressures), especially from Europe to Hollywood (Graham Petrie's *Hollywood Destinies*). In general the differences between social scientific and film studies approaches is that the latter is primarily biographical and cinematographic while the former is oriented towards comparative and social factors behind migration.

<sup>1</sup> In most contexts 'retention' means keeping workers under exclusive company contract. However, in the type of project-based industry the film industry is, and looking at retention to a 'national industry' defining retention is a bit more complicated. I define retention in this article as keeping individuals primarily available to Danish film productions (which can also be co-productions with other countries). This can be seen retrospectively as at least every other or third production someone works on being a Danish production, though in most cases Danish film workers work exclusively on Danish productions.

<sup>2</sup> Faist (1997) explicitly deals with the meso level in his analysis, but here he refers to decision making collectivities (households, families, communities) social ties and social relations in general rather than at higher levels of social and economic interaction (i.e. and industry) than families, households and communities. In other words, Faist's categorizations specify lower level collectivities or ties and relations that cut across higher levels. Saxinian (200\*) makes several arguments comparable to those presented below, but her comparison is at the sub-industry level, comparing the socio-cultural contexts of two distinct regions within the US IT industry.

<sup>3</sup> One person interviewed who also worked on Lars von Trier's *Dogville* reported that the international stars in that film found this level of egalitarianism both refreshing and 'exotic' and enjoyed it while shooting in Scandinavia, but believed it would never be tried, let alone accepted in Hollywood.

<sup>4</sup> See for example Bordwell's blogg entry on Danish film:  
<http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/?p=241>

<sup>5</sup> Susanne Bier's *After the Wedding* in 2007

<sup>6</sup> Comprehensive lists of crewmembers are also available on the Danish Film Institute's website/Film and TV workers' union back two-three years.

<sup>7</sup> This being said, one producer, who himself has not worked abroad during his 30 year career in film and TV said that 'deep-down, everyone wants to do a big budget production ... to see if they can do it.' However, the testimony and actions of others contest this assertion.

<sup>8</sup> From the actors Greta Garbo, Ingrid Bergman, Anita Ekberg, Zarah Leander, to the more contemporary Lena Olin, Peter Stormare, Max von Sydow, and the directors Lasse Halström, Mikael Håfström.

<sup>9</sup> These considerations were primarily voiced by actors, for whom the first hurdle is auditions and the second is the vagaries of shooting schedules that can alter precisely when an actor is needed on-set. One actor who works regularly in film and theatre in Denmark, and who has been pushed both by agents and colleagues to follow the lead of one of his relatives into foreign projects said the greatest problem is the 'availability' demanded, while another colleague, Ulrich Thomsen who has landed major European roles has 'spent a fortune travelling back and forth to Hollywood' largely to no avail.

[www.cbs.dk/creativeencounters](http://www.cbs.dk/creativeencounters)

Creativity at Work, Creative Encounters Working Papers Series

## Working Papers List:

- #1 **Making Scents of Smell: Manufacturing Incense in Japan**  
By: Brian Moeran  
June 2007
  
- #2 **From Participant Observation to Observant Participation:  
Anthropology, Fieldwork and Organizational Ethnography**  
By: Brian Moeran  
July 2007
  
- #3 **Creative Encounters in the Film Industry: Content, Cost, Chance, and  
Collection**  
By: Mark Lorenzen  
August 2007
  
- #4 **Hvilke kulturtilbud bruger den kreative klasse?**  
By: Trine Bille  
August 2007
  
- #5 **Chinese Tourists in Denmark**  
By: Can-Seng Ooi  
October 2007
  
- #6 **Authenticity-in-Context: Embedding the Arts and Culture in Branding  
Berlin and Singapore**  
By: Can-Seng Ooi and Birgit Stöber  
January 2008
  
- #7 **Credibility of a Creative Image: The Singaporean Approach**  
By: Can-Seng Ooi  
January 2008
  
- #8 **On the Globalization of the Film Industry**  
By: Mark Lorenzen  
February 2008

- #9 **A methodology for studying design cognition in the real world**  
 By: Bo Christensen  
 February 2008
- #10 **Embedded Structural Tensions in the Organization of Japanese Advertising Production**  
 By: Brian Moeran  
 February 2008
- #11 **The simultaneous success and disappearance of Hong Kong martial arts film, analysed through costume and movement in 'Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon'**  
 By: Lise Skov  
 February 2008
- #12 **An Anthropological Analysis of Book Fairs**  
 By: Brian Moeran  
 September 2008
- #13 **The Art of Selling Art**  
 By: Nina Poulsen  
 March 2008
- #14 **Much Ado about Nothing? Untangling the Impact of European Premier Film Festivals**  
 By: Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen  
 September 2008
- #15 **Redefining luxury: A review essay**  
 By: Fabian Faurholt Csaba  
 November 2008
- #16 **Who's Last? Challenges and Advantages for Late Adopters in the International Film Festival Field**  
 By: Carmelo Mazza and Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen  
 November 2008
- #17 **Labor market and education for artists and the creative industries - some descriptive results from Denmark**  
 By: Trine Bille  
 November 2008
- #18 **Ethics and the fashion industry in West Europe**  
 By: Lise Skov  
 November 2008

- #19 **Research Approaches to the Study of Dress and Fashion**  
 By: Lise Skov and Marie Riegels Melchior  
 November 2008
- #20 **Music and Dress in West Europe**  
 By: Else Skjold 2008  
 November 2008
- #21 **Dress and Fashion in Denmark**  
 By: Marie Riegels Melchior  
 November 2008
- #22 **The apparel industry in West Europe**  
 By: Jan Hilger  
 November 2008
- #23 **Fragrance and Perfume in West Europe**  
 By: Brian Moeran  
 November 2008
- #24 **Industrialismens Pels**  
 By: Lise Skov  
 April 2009
- #25 **Go West: The Growth of Bollywood**  
 By: Mark Lorenzen  
 April 2009
- #26 **Advertising and the Technology of Enchantment**  
 By: Brian Moeran  
 June 2009
- #27 **What kind of 'market' is the film labor markets a prospective literature review**  
 By: Chris Mathieu  
 October 2009
- #28 **City branding and film festivals: the case of Copenhagen**  
 By: Can-Seng Ooi and Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen  
 October 2009
- #29 **Antecedents and consequences of creativity and beauty judgements in Consumer products**  
 By: Bo Christensen, Tore Kristensen and Rolf Reber  
 October 2009

- #30 **Images of Users and Products Shown During Product Design Increase Users' Willingness-To-Use the Innovation.**  
By: Bo Christensen  
October 2009
- #31 **Evaluating Ceramic Art in Japan**  
By: Brian Moeran  
October 2009
- #32 **The Fashion Show as an Art Form**  
By: Lise Skov, Else Skjold, Brian Moeran, Frederik Larsen and Fabian F. Csaba  
October 2009
- #33 **Fairs and Festivals: Negotiating Values in the Creative Industries**  
By: Brian Moeran and Jesper Strandgaard Pedersen  
November 2009
- #34 **Soft authoritarianism, political pragmatism and cultural policies: Singapore as a City for the Arts**  
By: Can-Seng Ooi  
October 2009
- #35 **Cultural Production, Creativity and Constraints**  
By: Brian Moeran  
November 2009
- # 36 **Familiarity and Uniqueness: Branding Singapore as a Revitalized Destination**  
By: Can-Seng Ooi  
November 2009
- #37 **Notes for a Theory of Values**  
By: Brian Moeran  
December 2009
- #38 **Translating Fashion into Danish**  
By: Marie Riegels Melchior, Lise Skov and Fabian Faurholt Csaba  
December 2009
- #39 **Re-scaling Governance in Berlin's Creative Economy**  
By: Bastian Lange  
December 2009

- #40 **The Banyan and the Birch Tree: Family ties and embeddedness in the Indian film industry in Bollywood**  
By: Mark Lorenzen and Florian A. Taeube  
January 2010
- #41 **Bangalore vs. Bollywood: Connectivity and Catch-up in Emerging Market Economies**  
By: Mark Lorenzen and Ram Mudambi  
January 2010
- #42 **Talent retention in Danish film: (meso) industry level factors**  
By: Chris Mathieu  
January 2010
- #43 **Creativity, Public Engagement and Political Accountability: The New Measure**  
By: Linda Lees  
January 2010