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**Essays on organizational sociology:  
how purity impacts on individual careers, team design and domain  
switching**

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The present dissertation lies at the intersection between sociology and organization theories. The main objective is to investigate how categories, i.e. shared social representations, can influence three main organizational outcomes: individual careers, team design and domain switching.

Theories in the organization literature emphasize that organizations survival and success depend on legitimacy. Within this literature, recent studies have shown the link between categories and the legitimation of a social object or action. The present dissertation would like to extend the main findings of this literature.

Action is subject to social scrutiny. The legitimation processes describe how a set of agents ("audience") grant recognition and, thus, resources to a set of claimants ("candidates"). Legitimation is the result of schemas - or categories - that people have in mind and according to which they judge the others. Categories entail a code of conduct. Codes represent default assumptions about behaviour. Perceptions of the satisfaction or violation of applicable codes affect direction and strength of an audience's social approval. The differential allocation of critical attention and the factors that shape it are important issues for understanding how certain categories come to be regarded as more legitimate than others.

Candidates that do not match the categorical imperative set by audiences suffer an illegitimacy discount. The prospect of such illegitimacy leads candidates to demonstrate their compatibility with standards. This kind of process creates a pressure to be considered legitimate and, thus, to conform (Zuckerman, 1999).

The present dissertation argues that candidates that match pure categories suffer the same discounts. The concept of purity has been studied in the social sciences and it has usually been opposed to the concept of pollution. It is an ideal, an absolute feature. It gives the possibility to observe what happens at the extremes. In detail, the identification of pure categories by an audience creates three main effects on different organizational outputs: 1) it has a negative impact on the career outcomes of individuals 2) it hampers the mixing and matching processes at the team level 3) the negative effect can be removed switching domain.

Using data of Hollywood actors who performed roles associated with pure categories from 1929 to 2007, the present research explores the effects of purity on their career, on team composition and on categorical boundaries.

## **CATEGORIES AND PURITY: DEFINITIONS AND MAIN MECHANISMS**

Categories are defined as classes about whose meaning an audience segment has reached a high level of intentional semantic consensus. They entail a code of conduct referred to two dimensions: a blueprint containing a set of specifications and penalties for violating them (Polos, Hannan & Carroll, 2007). A social code is both a set of signals and a set of rules of conduct. Codes represent default assumptions about behavior (Polos et al, 2002). There are sets of agents who develop codes for categories. These sets of agents are called "audiences". They construct and promote schemas of evaluation that are regarded as justifiable by others in the market. (Hsu & Hannan, 2005). Identities are built of such codes (Polos et al, 2007). An identity consists of defaults about the satisfaction of a schema that constrains what is expected and not expected (Deux & Martin, 2003). Perceptions of the satisfaction or violation of applicable codes affect direction and strength of an audience's social approval. An observed violation of a code generally causes an audience to devalue the individual belonging to a certain category. This kind of process creates a pressure to be considered legitimate and, thus, to conform. Existing structures are reproduced and actors are constrained by accepted models. An actor who defies prevailing



socio-cognitive frames risks generating confusion among relevant audiences, thereby producing social penalties in the form of lack of attention or rejection. The alternative situation - candidates that match the categorical imperative - is described in the typecasting example. Zuckerman et al. (2003) argue that, in the labor market, within an interface between a set of candidates who compete with one another to be selected by an audience, audience members engage in two stages of choice: first, they identify the set of offerings that will be considered and, second, they select from among the members of this consideration set. This kind of process creates a trade-off. Candidates who success in associating themselves with one such category enjoy greater success in attracting employers' attention. Once the candidate has achieved sufficient recognition to obtain a sustainable line of work in a particular category, the value of having a strong association with the category begins to be dwarfed by its costs.

Literature on organizational identity suggests the existence of a distinction between minimum standards of conformity and elevated standards. Once an organization satisfies the minimum standards of membership within a particular category, elevated standards assist stakeholders in making within-category distinctions (King and Whetten, 2008).

If actors face pressure to conform and to be judged as legitimate by the audience, their final aim should be to reach an ideal, to be judged extremely aligned. What happens in this case? What happens if the categorical imperative is perfectly matched and individuals try to be coherent with an ideal? Ideal is represented by purity. The concept of "purity" has been studied in the social sciences and it has usually been opposed to the concept of "pollution" (Douglas, 1966: 34). It is an ideal, an absolute feature. It implies that purity is given by the fact to be more extreme than any other form (Douglas, 1966). Purity is linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984). Purity implies the idea of separation. The process of ordering a socio-cultural system is called "purity," in contrast to "pollution," which stands for the violation of the classification system, its lines and boundaries (Douglas, 1966). If purity means clear lines and firm borders, then pollution refers to what crosses those boundaries.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The dissertation develops the link between categories and legitimation focusing and testing three different research questions:

- 1) Does Purity have a positive or negative impact on individual careers?
- 2) Does Purity have a positive or negative impact on team design?
- 3) Does Purity have a positive or negative impact on domain switching?

## **STUDY 1 - THE DANGERS OF PURITY: ROLE CATEGORIES AND INDIVIDUAL CAREER OUTCOMES**

The importance of careers – sequences of work experiences over time - and their influence on the economy has been recognized by organizational scholars according to a long tradition of studies (Barley, 1989; Jones & Dunn, 1997). They are able to determine the well being of individuals and the entire society. To understand careers' meanings and mechanisms has become a particular critical need in the contemporary economy, in which flexibility and uncertainty coexist. New concepts and new models of careers

have been developed to capture the complexity of the new era. There appears to be wide agreement by organizational studies that in the contemporary economy careers are not simply firm-centred trajectories that route individuals through defined and secured patterns tightly coupled in the firms but they are relatively unstructured or "boundaryless". Boundaryless careers are occupational paths that are not bounded within specific organizations, but grow through project-based competency development across firms in an industry network (Jones & DeFilippi, 1996). Traditional ideas on employment emphasize stability, hierarchy and clearly defined job positions for career progression. Alternative ideas emphasize continuous adaptation of individuals to a rapidly changing environment. The high level of uncertainty implied in these career trajectories makes necessary – more than in other contexts - the definition of criteria to determine the success or failure of a career. The boundaryless career is more complex and ambiguous than a firm bounded career. This ambiguity can be either a form of great freedom or a source of big anxiety. Freedom arises from constructing new beginnings with new projects and terminating unsatisfactory career experiences through completing projects and moving on. Anxiety arises because there are no clear cut career paths for success, no identifiable

temporal ordering to organize and anticipate one's life (Jones & DeFilippi, 1996). In contexts of great ambiguity like these – it is the case of advertising, architectural design, biotechnology, computer software, consulting, fashion, film, law, medicine, public accounting and public relations - to manage freedom and anxiety at the same time, it becomes even more crucial to establish what determines the success or failure in the individual career.

Many scholars have tried to establish which factors are able to influence the future career outcomes and to reduce uncertainty. Many dimensions have been selected and many levels of analysis have been used by the organization literature. The probability of a successful career can be influenced by the context. This is the case of Silicon valley in which the opportunities of learning offered by the regional context are able to influence careers (Saxenian, 1996). Others used a competency-based perspective, highlighting that the knowing-why, knowing-how and knowing-whom individual competencies can be useful in defining a career (DeFilippi & Arthur, 1996). Others adopted a knowledge perspective, pointing out that only the interplay between industry-knowledge and the self-knowledge can guarantee successful outcomes in the boundaryless careers (Jones and

DeFilippi, 1996). Zuckerman and colleagues (2003) studied how the assumption of a more or less simple identity influences future career outcomes. In a sense, the boundaryless career is "bounded" by past experiences and typecasting effects. In particular, careers are considered to be influenced by social phenomena. The authors argue that an actor's position in the market and the rewards associated with it cannot be reduced to individual attributes or preferences but they can be linked to social attributes, social action and past work. Assuming this perspective, the labor markets tend to be divided into relatively discrete categories, i.e. a shared social perception and representation. Categories reflect the dominant theory of value used by the labor market participants or "audience". Actors face pressure to demonstrate adherence to the categories that guide valuation. The differential allocation of critical attention and the factors that shape it are important issues for understanding how certain categories come to be regarded as more legitimate than others. Candidates that do not match the categorical imperative set by audiences suffer an illegitimacy discount.

If actors face pressure to conform and to be judged as legitimate by the audience, their final aim should be to reach an ideal, to be judged extremely aligned. What happens in this case? What happens if the categorical

imperative is perfectly matched and individuals try to be coherent with an ideal? Extending the Zuckerman and colleagues' perspective, the aim of the study becomes to study careers through a specific attribute in the categorization process: purity. The concept of "purity" has been studied in the social sciences and it has usually been opposed to the concept of "pollution" (Douglas, 1966: 34). It is an ideal, an absolute feature. The present study argues that purity, intended as an ideal given by the absence of pollution, creates a stigma effect. A sort of paradox is generated. Once there is a perfect fit with the category and the ideal is reached, to be coherent with the ideal brings isolation. Extreme distinctiveness generates a strong marker that is difficult to be changed or forgotten. As a consequence, purity has a negative impact on the chances of a successful career. In particular, the present analysis sustains that roles – considered "categories for the labor market" (Zuckerman et al., 2003) - associated with pure categories have a negative impact on the individual careers.

Selecting the purity feature gives the possibility to explore the individual dimension and its extremes. In the past analyses, the career processes are observed through the connection among different levels. Career is the key link between the individual and the organization (Jones & Walsh, 1997), the

individual and the institution (Jones & Dunn, 2007), the individual and the market (Zuckerman, 2003). The present study wants to focus on the individual level, considering careers as work histories for the individual. In the boundaryless careers the individual is the central actor: "boundaryless careers unfold as people move for projects, develop market niches rooted in competencies and strategies and create opportunities based on prior performance and networks of professional contacts" (Jones & DeFilippi, 1996: 89). The association between roles and categories gives the possibility to maintain, also in the empirical part, the individual level of analysis (see the next paragraph).

The present study tested the hypotheses in the context of the Hollywood film industry from 1929 to 2007 selecting the actors who have portrayed the roles of Jesus Christ, Adolph Hitler, Judas Iscariot and Mahatma Gandhi in their careers. The Hollywood film industry seems a particularly appropriate setting for the study. The high level of uncertainty that characterizes the careers of Hollywood's actors allows observing the career outcomes in the context of boundaryless careers. "Filmmaking is a tenuous enterprise. It entails high personal and career risks" (Baker and Faulkner, 1991). The roles of Jesus Christ/Mahatma Gandhi and Adolph Hitler/Judas Iscariot are



commonly associated, by the sociological and social science literature, with concepts like "pure good" and "pure evil". These roles are associated with pure categories of positive and negative extremes (Fine, 2001) and, thus, they represent an interesting unit of analysis for the present study.

## **THE CONCEPT OF PURITY AND ITS NEGATIVE EFFECT ON INDIVIDUAL CAREERS**

The concept of "purity" is defined by Mary Douglas (1966) in her book "Purity and Danger" as: "wholeness which demands that every individual should be a complete and self contained specimen of its kind and there should be no mixing of kinds". In other words, purity is the absence of pollution. There is a place for everything and everything in its place. What is "in place" is pure, what is not is pollution. When something is out of place or when it violates the classification system in which it is set (Douglas, 1966:35), it is "polluted". It (dirt) implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Such a characterization includes two key components 1) the idea of purity which generically and categorically opposes itself to "mixing" 2) the idea of purity as a desirable and idealized attribute.

1) Purity implies the idea of separation. The process of ordering a socio-cultural system is called "purity," in contrast to "pollution," which stands for the violation of the classification system, its lines and boundaries (Douglas, 1966). If purity means maps and classification systems which locate things where they ought to be, it follows that considerable attention will be given to the lines and boundaries of these maps. The prime activity of a group with a strong purity system will be the making and maintenance of these lines and boundaries (Douglas, 1966). "The ideas of purity and wholeness have the main function to systematize a disordered experience. It's only overemphasizing the difference between joint and separate, above and under that it is possible to create order (Douglas, 1966). If purity means clear lines and firm borders, then pollution refers to what crosses those boundaries or what resides in the margins and has no clear place in the system.

2) "Pollution is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained" (Douglas, 1966). Purity is an ideal, it is an absolute feature; a vision of the condition which needs to be diligently protected against disorder (Bauman, 1997). It implies that purity is given by the fact to be more extreme than any other form (Douglas, 1966). Purity is linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or

under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984). In other words, categories represent positive or negative extremes.

The present study argues that roles associated with pure categories have a negative impact on the individual careers. Matching pure categories creates illegitimacy discount. Certain beings or objects are thought to possess a kind of substance that renders them untouchable or unapproachable. In some cases, they may be thought of as particularly pure according to the positive extreme; in other cases, on the contrary, it is their pure extreme of "badness" that entails the obligation to keep them apart. An example is given by the structure of the ancient Greek town (or polis). Usually, the *acropolis* (the place of worship) and the *necropolis* (the place of death) were positioned above or under the regular city; they were separated from the daily activities of the citizens. The place of prayer creates a sense of a religious distance; it incorporates the level of aspirations that remember the citizens their human nature compared to a divine model or God. The place of death, instead, provokes a sense of fear. In both cases, purity is perceived as a taboo. Taboo refers to something that is strictly and collectively forbidden; it is the prohibition against contact with a thing, an animal, or a

person. As far as people are concerned, the notion of taboo applies to persons at both ends of the social ladder: kings as well as beggars, priests as well as hermits. These people or objects possess a religious power or force that determines a sense of danger; they are considered to be taboo by virtue of this power. In the Polynesian context, the word taboo has largely been thought to be inseparable from the idea of "mana", a term that refers to the power or force attached to some people or objects. Due to this power, these subjects need to be separated. As a consequence, purity, intended as the absence of pollution, determines a stigma effect, i.e. isolation. Purity, for its absolute nature, implies an extreme judgment by an audience. The extreme judgment determines a strong marker for the subject who has portrayed the role associated with the pure category. Pure categories are given by the fact to be more extreme than any other form (Douglas, 1966). They are linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984). This extreme distinctiveness implies separation. The prime activity of a group with a strong purity system will be the making and maintenance of lines and boundaries (Douglas, 1966). Purity implies a vision of the condition which needs to be diligently protected

against disorder (Bauman, 1997); it is the absence of pollution. As a consequence, purity implies isolation. It determines a negative effect for the subject involved in the career process. A sort of paradox is generated. Once the individual has reached the ideal and the categorical imperative is perfectly matched, an illegitimacy discount is generated. Purity is able to specify the relationship between roles and categories. It establishes a direction for the link. Pure categories have a strong impact on roles. Pure categories influence the evaluation by an audience about the roles portrayed by an individual. It creates a negative effect on the chances of a successful career:

**Hypothesis:** Association with pure categories will have a negative effect on individual careers.

## **METHODS**

### **EMPIRICAL SETTING**

The present analysis would like to test the hypothesis in the context of the Hollywood film industry from 1929 to 2007, which seems a particularly

appropriate setting for the study. The first motivation is about the high level of uncertainty that characterizes the careers of Hollywood's actors. It makes high the level of job mobility and it allows observing the careers outcomes. "Filmmaking is a tenuous enterprise. It occurs in a business and technical environment characterized by high stakes, risk and uncertainty. It requires substantial investments of financial capital for properties, artists and support personnel. And it entails high personal and career risks. No one person in the entire motion picture field knows for certain what's going to work (Baker and Faulkner, 1991). The second reason is represented by the fact that in this context of high uncertainty and high mobility, the audience evaluations affect the perceptions and behaviors of relevant social actors. Producers use personal rankings when deciding how to develop their projects, judging that some actors represent assets that will increase the projects- likelihood of success and others will have a negative impact on it (Perretti & Negro, 2006). Audience evaluations become determinants of future success or failure in the individual careers. A third motivation is expressed by Zuckerman et colleagues (2003): "Since jobs are under the short-term production systems I may investigate whether such careers really are "boundaryless" or are more structured". The fourth reason is that it is a

context in which roles and categories have a strong function and are observable. "Hollywood is always in flux. Part of this stems from Hollywood's free-lance market-based context, which induces movement and mobility; part comes from the short-term, project-based nature of filmmaking itself. In such a context of fluidity and flux, roles (and thus categories) provide stability and continuity (Baker & Faulkner, 1991). In particular, in the Hollywood film industry it becomes possible to analyze roles of positive and negative extremes (the hero and the villain). The list "100 heroes and villains" selected by the American Film Institute – AFI- in 2003, offers an example of the existence of this dichotomy between good and bad in the movies. Some actors are linked to good or bad characters for their entire career. "In detail, roles are intended as set of skills" (Zuckerman et al., 2003). These skills can be used by actors to portray positive or negative characters. Jack Nicholson or Humphrey Bogart are examples of the bad side and James Stewart or Spencer Tracy are icons of the good side. Roles are able to represent the bad and good ideals at the individual level (Faulkner, 1983), to capture the "pure good" and "pure evil" categories in the Hollywood context. The final motivation is pragmatic: owing to the great

demand for information about the feature-film industry, comprehensive data are available on the hundreds of actors who have ever acted in this industry.

## **SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION**

The sample focuses on the actors who have played, during their career, pure roles such as Jesus Christ and Adolf Hitler (Judas Iscariot and Mahatma Gandhi are integrated for testing and checking robustness) in movies produced or distributed by the Hollywood system. The analysis excluded TV series because their production, distribution and playing require different sets of resources and capabilities (Jones, 2001) and silent movies, which by 1930 were a minor and declining product type in the industry (Balio, 1993). For this reason the study starts the observation period in 1929 when the majors had completed their transition to sound. Obviously, the Hitler and Gandhi movies were produced and distributed a little bit later. The first Hitler movie was released in 1939. The first Gandhi role was portrayed in 1946. The analysis ends in 2007 for a quite obvious availability of data. The main source of data is the Internet Movie Database (IMDB). The analysis is integrated with dedicated books like "Jesus at the Movies" by B. Tatum



(2004) and "The Hitler Filmography" by C. Mitchell (2002). A completely new database containing the individual careers of the actors who have played the selected roles has been constructed.

There are two important passages in the database construction: 1) Every movie in which an actor has played the role of Jesus, Hitler (and for the robustness check also Judas or Gandhi) is registered with its most important information. 2) Starting from the single movie, for every actor is reconstructed the complete filmography. The other movies that the single actor has played in his/her career are inserted in the database as "previous" or "post" movies depending on the fact that the actor has played them before or after the target movie with the focal role. The major fields in the database include information about the movies and about the target actor. Data are collected and analyzed for 94 "focal" movies in which an actor has played the roles of Jesus and Hitler (the focal movies become 131 adding Judas and Gandhi) for a total of 3.324 movies (total movies become 5.329) related to the entire actors' filmography.

The roles of Jesus, Hitler, Judas and Gandhi are selected because they are commonly associated, by the sociological and social science literatures, with concepts like "pure good" and "pure evil". "Jesus is proclaimed from the very

beginning of his career as fully good. Jesus is constantly presented as the physician who brings cleanness, forgiveness of sins, and wholeness to God's covenant people. Even though Jesus may be in contact with unclean people, he gives wholeness and purity to them; he never loses it as a result of that contact" (Neyrey, 1986). "Hitler is surely the most dramatic exemplar of the category of evil. He is considered profoundly immoral and dangerous. He is perceived to have violated canonical values of society. Hitler is associated with a demonization process (Fine, 2001). "Judas is the persona of pure evil. The traditional portrait of Judas is that of a selfish man. It is said that Satan entered into him" (Schonfield, 1965). "Mahatma Gandhi, one of the wisest and most inspired thinkers and humanitarians who ever lived, is very closed to ideals of purity" (Fischer, 2010). These roles are associated with pure categories of positive and negative extremes and, thus, they represent an interesting unit of analysis for the present study.

## **ANALYSIS**

Data consider the movies the target actors have portrayed in their career (organized as "before" and "after" the focal roles) and the different

semesters in which the actors have portrayed the roles. The choice to consider two semesters per year instead of having one year for each observation allows to capture all the observations. Many actors, in fact, have portrayed different roles in a single year. Only considering two semesters per year, it is possible to maintain the differentiation between the focal roles and the "before" or "after" movies. Movies are attributed to semesters according to the release date given by the Internet Movie Database. Time starts, for every actor, with the first semester in which the actor has portrayed the first role in his career and ends in 3 possible ways: 1) with the death of the actor 2) with the last observation in 2007 that represents the last year of the considered sample 3) with the last role he has portrayed for different and unknown reasons (retiring, changing job, not being selected for other roles...). In the 3) case the choice was to add 5 years (or 10 semesters) more in the data to capture the effect in the following periods.

The selected model is logit. It is useful to predict the probability of occurrence of an event in the case of a binary dependent variable. In this case, it is able to capture the probability to work in the next period, given the event of having portrayed the focal roles in the current period.

## MEASURES

*Dependent Variable.* The individual careers' outcomes, denoted as *individual career*, are measured as a dummy variable that assumes value "1" when the actor works and "0" when the actor doesn't work for each semester. The probability of obtaining work it is a career outcome that is easily measurable, is desired by all actors and is in fact achieved by a small minority of them (Zuckerman et al., 2003).

*Independent Variable.* Roles associated with pure categories of positive and negative extremes, defined as *purity*, are measured as a dummy variable that assumes value "1" for the roles of Jesus Christ and Adolph Hitler and "0" otherwise. To capture the effect in the following semester, the variable presents a lag=1.

*Control Variables.* The study uses a number of control variables to account for artist characteristics that influence the probability of them finding gainful employment. The analysis controls for the previous positions ("position") of the artist in the screen credits. Past experience can have an impact on the probability of success and failure in an actor's career. A measure of *tenure* has been included as the number of years an actor has worked in the film

industry since 1927 – from the first role an actor has portrayed to the last - to control for career span (Bielby and Bielby, 1999). It presents a lag=1. In the Hollywood system to be American can affect the individual careers. To be European, Canadian, Australian can have an impact in the selection process by the Hollywood producers. To capture this effect, the study contains a control for the actors' *ethnicity*. The variable is a dummy that assumes value "1" if the actor was born in the USA and "0" otherwise. It is important to consider the actors' status. Hollywood has always been a "caste-system where big stars didn't pal around with unknowns (Goldman, 1984). The previous actors' success or prestige can have an impact on the future probability to be selected in other movies. To control for it, the decision was to insert the Oscar *nominations* (with lag=1). The Oscars represent the most influential award in the film industry and a primary way to obtain deference. Oscar is considered to be the ultimate achievement in the film world, the epitome of professional success (Levy, 2003). The analysis doesn't include the Oscar *wins* because they are a too rare event in the dataset. *Financial resources* can have an impact on employment because films with higher resources can have a greater freedom in selecting actors and can select the most famous ones. The study inserts a dummy variable to indicate whether a

film uses more costly technologies (color, wide screen, etc.) as a proxy for high financial resources. Finally, a dummy variable has been constructed to capture the time dimension.

## RESULTS

Table 1 reports the means, standard deviations and correlations among the variables used in the study.

### Table 1 about here

Regression results are presented in Table 2. Model 1 shows how the control variables affect the probability of obtaining a job in the next period. As expected, the previous positions of the artist in the screen credits and high financial resources increase the odds of employment in the next year. The *Oscar nominations* shows a positive effect on the individual careers. The Status of actors has a demonstrated role in the Hollywood system (Pontikes, Negro & Rao, 2008; Perretti & Negro, 2006). To be non-American for portraying non-American roles like Jesus and Hitler can guarantee some privileges in the selection. The ethnicity variable shows, in fact, a negative

effect. The other control variables show only non-significant effects. In the next step, with Model 2, are presented the results for the logit model that wants to measure the impact of roles associated with pure categories, portrayed in the current period, on the probability of obtaining a work in the next period for the individual who has portrayed the role. The effect is negative and significant. The hypothesis is strongly supported. Purity has a negative effect on the individual careers outcomes.

### **Table 2 about here**

The present study tests the robustness' findings in four ways. First, starting from the consideration according to which the selection of only two pure roles can be too restrictive for the analysis, I decided to extend and integrate the empirical search adding other pure roles (Gandhi and Judas). The integration allows to be sure that the empirical part is strong and the hypothesis really supported (model 3). The full database contains data for 131 "focal" movies in which an actor has played the focal roles and for a total of 5.329 movies related to the entire actors' filmography.

Second, the study considers also the distinction between roles of positive and negative extremes (model 4). The hypothesis is that they have the same

effect, but it is important to maintain the distinction to know if the category of pure good has a different effect compared to the category of pure evil. The variable, called pure good/evil, is measured as a dummy variable that assumes "1" if the actors have played a positive role (Jesus or Gandhi) and "0" if they have portrayed a negative one (Judas or Hitler). Third, it considers if the construction of different databases - one for the positive roles and one for the negative ones - can affect the results (model model 5 and model 6). Fourth, it modifies the dummy variable measuring *purity* (model 7). It assumes value 1 for the focal roles, remaining 1 in the post periods, and 0 otherwise. Neither exercise affect the results. Table 3 presents a reestimation of the full models under the different cases. The main findings remain unaffected.

### **Table 3 about here**

## **CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY**

My findings support the idea that purity have a negative impact on individual careers. This research offers new insights to the category and audience legitimation literature. Deviants suffer an illegitimacy discount. Recent



research holds that candidates that pollute a focal category, by copying or borrowing elements from other categories, are susceptible to illegitimacy costs. I argue that candidates matching pure roles incorporating categories of positive and negative extremes suffer the same discounts. A comparison between my study and the Zuckerman et al. (2003), highlighting similarities and differences, can be useful to understand the main contributions of the present study. The starting assumptions are the same: a) the labor market tends to be divided in relatively discrete categories b) a link between roles and categories exists and has been demonstrated. It is possible to identify the main differences: 1) Careers is not only influenced by the fact of having a more or less focused identity. It is a matter of purity. 2) Purity deals with extremes. Pure categories are given by the fact of being more extreme than any other form. This is a point of view that allows to analyze individuals for their black/white features, to observe what happens if the categorical imperative is perfectly matched. With a unique variable it is possible to analyze the positive and the negative side of human being. It considers a more specific aspect compared to Zuckerman et al. (2003) but also a more peculiar case compared to the analyses about middle status conformity (Philips & Zuckerman, 2001) or the difference between low status and high

status (Perretti & Negro, 2006). Status differentiation considers the two extremes of a continuum. Purity is about two different extremes (i.e. extremely good and bad, low and high, black and white) 3) In Zuckerman and colleagues' study, individuals can experience some limitations in future identities but some mobility from one role to the next is hypothesized as possible. The effect of purity is drastic and absolute. Purity implies isolation. 4) Purity is able to specify the direction of the link between roles and categories. Pure categories have a strong impact on roles. Pure categories influence the evaluation by an audience about the roles portrayed by an individual. 5) The empirical analysis in the Zuckerman and colleagues' study refers to genre to measure roles and, consequently, labor-market categories. It is a more aggregate level than the individual one. The present study, using roles in the analysis selects a more micro measure, able to represent the individual level. Recent research holds that categories are characterized by a certain level of fuzziness. This view of categories as fuzzy sets makes explicit a core image in cognitive psychology, cognitive science, and cultural sociology (Rosch 1975; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Hampton 1998). A candidate's grade of membership (GoM) in a category (or degree of typicality as a member of a category) from the perspective of an audience member

tells the degree to which it fits the schema she associates with the category. Degrees of membership in categories have significant consequences for candidates. Category membership can be linked to the intrinsic appeal of a candidates to an audience member—the degree to which the producer/product fits her taste (Hannan et al. 2007). Roles are able to define better the degree of membership. Category is an higher set compared to roles. In every category, there are individuals portraying some roles. Considering roles allows to establish more clearly the degree of membership of individuals in one category. The analysis of roles associated with categories can be useful also referred to the "partiality" argument (Hannan, 2008). Although existing theories and empirical studies treat categories as unitary phenomena, close examination of empirical studies reveals that many individuals or organizations do not fit fully into the categories used by members of relevant audiences. Put differently, social agents often perceive memberships in categories to be partial. Considering a more micro perspective - as roles - can be useful to reduce partiality issues. Moreover, considering purity and its main effects, I consider how a moral panic (Cohen, 1980) demonized individuals or groups. Much of the work on moral panics emphasizes the impact of the public factors and the role of reputational

entrepreneurs; by contrast, I emphasize the informal, micro-level process by which the demonization of a single role led to wide-spread discrimination and prejudice for the entire career. A single event or role leaves an irremovable stain. The effect of purity does not decay rapidly over time. It confirms a long tradition of studies that analyzes the pervasiveness of stigma (Goffman, 1963; Pontikes et al., 2010). Once tainted by a bad evaluation, the stain given by purity sticks and persists over time. In addition, new-institutionalists argue that audiences and interactants typically discipline actors to play roles that they can understand generating conformity (e.g., DiMaggio and Powell 1983; Meyer and Rowan 1977; Scott 2001). The present study goes beyond this statement; audiences discipline actors to play roles that are so understandable and vivid in the collective imaginary, so linked with archetypical categories (i.e. pure good and pure evil) common to everyone, that, at the end, the effect is not of conformity, but of demonization. In addition, the purity argument, considering both the negative and positive extremes in the creation of a stain effect, may be considered as an attempt to reconcile the position according to which the things that are negative have stronger effects than those that are positive (Baumestier et al., 2001). Pure role categories both of negative and positive

extremes generate the same effect. Finally, in the purity argument is possible to see a force for innovation and a response to the social change issues. Legitimacy is certainly a stalwart of social order, whereas illegitimacy or the delegitimation of a person, a structure or a policy signals the potential for the social change (Hegtvedt, 2004).

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT PRACTICE**

Human resource management is a peculiar process that the company can manage to have success. Recruiting the right person and investing in talents may really influence the company's performance. Especially, in boundaryless careers' contexts, the selection process needs to be fast and, at the same time, effective. While positions in labor markets are defined by skill differences and the assignment of workers to position is conducted on the basis of a candidate's past, the difficulty of measuring skill introduces systematic bias into the process, which works to break the link between skill and position. Purity may offer a criterion of choice, able to fill the gap, even when other information are missing or incomplete. Structural sociological implications in the labor market may begin with skill but emerge with a more

complex picture. Employers (and candidates) should be aware of these implications for avoiding the dangers of purity. As a consequence, they need to collect more information about external audiences and the social rankings they develop. Considering the effects of purity allows not only to avoid bad results ex-ante but also to explain the reason why bad results occur ex-post. It may help the company or the project in saving money for the future.

## **LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

Despite the support for the hypothesis, the present study presents several limitations and these suggest directions for future research. First, the study refers to a selective analysis of roles. These roles constitute a database relatively limited in the number of observations and don't consider that sometimes the individual career process is given by the interaction among different roles portrayed in the entire career. Roles can acquire their meaning also through the relationship with other roles. It could be interesting to develop the analysis considering other roles interacting with the focal ones. Second, the study is limited to one context – the Hollywood film industry. It would be important to extend the study to other national

contexts – not only the movies produced and distributed by the Hollywood system, but also by some European or Asian countries – and to consider different settings to generalize the main finding. To study roles and categories in other sectors organized for boundaryless careers – biotechnology, aircraft, consultancy – can offer an interesting perspective. The present study considers the individual level of analysis for analyzing the extremes. It could be possible to analyze the purity dimension and the extremes according to different levels (organizations, teams, networks). Some opportunities for future research could be given by the consideration that the hypothesized effect – a negative impact on individual career – produces effects similar to a stigma process. Stigma is the denigration or stain that the person experiences which negatively impacts his/her image or reputation (Goffman, 1963). The association between roles and pure categories creates a negative marker for the individual that is difficult to be changed or forgotten. The main effect created by purity for the individual is something similar to “denigration” or “stain”. The individual who has portrayed the role associated with the pure categories experiences a negative judgment by the audience, a lower probability of being selected by

the labor market. He experiences similar effects than those produced by a stigma process. It could be interesting to develop this kind of analysis.

## **STUDY 2 - THE PARADOX OF PURITY: ROLE CATEGORIES AND TEAM DESIGN**

Deciding whom to put on a project or team is one of the most crucial choice for a manager or team leader because it impacts on team performance. The chief challenge for manager in assigning people to a project team is to evaluate their potential for helping the team achieve high performance (Reagans, Zuckerman, & McEvily, 2004). Team composition refers to the nature and attributes of team members (Guzzo & Dickinson, 1996). It deals primarily with diversity (i.e., within-team heterogeneity) and to the degree to which members or sub-groups of a team are similar or dissimilar along different attributes, such as gender, ethnicity, age, education, culture, and functional experience (Jackson, May, & Witney, 1995). Team members vary in what they bring to the group in terms of skills, values, attitudes, personalities and cognitive styles. Some attributes are assigned to individuals or groups based on traits beyond their control (i.e. sex, race, or



parental social status), some others are those which the individuals acquire during their lifetime as a result of the exercise of knowledge, ability, skill and/or perseverance (i.e. education and occupation). The development of the skills, attitudes, behaviors, knowledge and values of individual members of society can be seen as a social process. It is based on characteristics of social actors around which evaluations of or beliefs about them come to be organized. In a group, an individual uses these learned behaviors to influence others and, in turn, is influenced by other individuals on the team (Simon & Pettigrew, 1990). Perretti & Negro (2006), focusing on status as an important social process, analyze it as a dimension of member heterogeneity. Status is defined as position within a social structure that confers rights, prestige, or honor upon an individual according to various ascribed and achieved criteria (Parsons, 1970). Status not only relates to the position of an individual but can also be an attribute of a group that, within its larger social environment, has successfully claimed a specific honor and thus enjoys certain privileges (Parsons, 1953). In contexts characterized by uncertainty and risk, distinct evaluations by external audiences sustain status hierarchies (Podolny, 1993). and lead to the emergence of status-based "homophily" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), which

influences the range of possible interactions among team members. However, sociological research on status also points out that social conformity is highest in the middle of a status hierarchy and lower at the top and the bottom. These arguments suggest that status has a U-shaped relationship with the extent to which team design is characterized by newness of team members and newness of combinations of team members. In the present study, I would like to study the same outcomes - newness of team members and newness of combinations - focusing on another acquired feature: role categories. According to Zuckerman, roles are the labor market categories. Zuckerman et al. (2003) argue that, in the labor market, employers screen candidates according to recognized categories. Employers exert strong constraints on candidates to conform to the expectations inherent in the identities of the category with which they are associated. Greater fit with an employer's (or audience member) schema yields approval and causes audience members to take for granted that behavior. Beliefs about schema conformity thereby become default assumptions of everyday life. By contrary, deviants are punished in the form of social penalties. By trying to broaden their identity to include multiple and diverse roles, actors risk being devalued and even rejected. As a result,

actors are pressured to conform. In particular, within an interface between a set of candidates who compete with one another to be selected by an audience, conforming to the expectations of a single category increases the likelihood that a candidate will gain attention from relevant audiences. However, such a simple and clear identity restricts future opportunities outside the initial category. Audiences have an easier time making sense of specialists, but a clear association with a single category restricts the range of future opportunities.

If actors are guided by the pressure to conform, the final aim is to reach an ideal, to have audience convergence toward a common set of social codes. What happens if the categorical imperative is perfectly matched? The study wants to investigate if portraying an ideal role category has a positive or negative effect on newness of team members and newness of combinations of team members. The ideal is given by the concept of "purity". Purity has been studied in the social sciences and it has usually been opposed to the concept of "pollution" (Douglas, 1966: 34). It is an absolute feature, it gives the possibility to observe what happens at the extremes. The present study argues that purity, being opposed to the concept of pollution, creates stigma

effects, i.e. isolation. In particular, roles associated with pure categories ("role categories") enhance the employment of newcomers and the use of new combinations of team members. It is a form of segregation in which only the newcomers, the inexperienced can be associated to pure actors. Extreme distinctiveness implies isolation. Members with past experience and status in the industry, decide not to be part of a team in which a pure role is present.

This study, focusing on purity, extends the Perretti and Negro's perspective and the previous literature about category formation and audience legitimation. Deviants suffer an illegitimacy discount. Recent research holds that candidates that pollute a focal category, by copying or borrowing elements from other categories, are susceptible to illegitimacy costs. I argue that candidates matching pure categories suffer the same discounts.

I tested the hypotheses in the context of the Hollywood film industry from 1929 to 2007. The Hollywood film industry seems a particularly appropriate setting for the study. Since the dissolution of the vertical integrated studio system in the 1950s and 1960s, the film industry has been organized not around traditional hierarchies and in-house human resources department but around projects (Storper, 1989). Moreover, films are temporary team-based

projects in which managers constantly mix and match artistic and technical members in the hope of increasing the chances of producing hits (Caves, 2000). In particular, for testing purity, the roles of Jesus Christ and Adolph Hitler are selected because they are commonly associated, by the sociological and social science literatures, with concepts like “pure good” and “pure evil”. These roles are associated with pure categories of positive and negative extremes (Fine, 2001) and, thus, they represent an interesting unit of analysis for the present study.

The study is organized as follows: the first part is centered on the construct of diversity in teams. The second offers a definition of the category concept and describes the association with roles. The third part focuses on purity and explains how purity determines a stigma effect in team composition. The fourth part describes the empirical analysis.

## **DIVERSITY IN TEAMS**

Teams act in the service of two generic functions: a) to complete teams projects and b) to fulfill member needs (McGrath et al., 2000). The team's success in pursuing these two functions largely depends on team

composition (who is in the team). Team composition usually involves 1) a selection process, in which an organization or a team leader invites potential members to be part of a new or existing team and 2) a reciprocal evaluation process, in which potential candidates screen existing members and other potential candidates to decide whether to join the team (Ilgen, Hollenbeck, Johnson, & Jundt, 2005). Team composition deals primarily with diversity (i.e., within-team heterogeneity) and to the degree to which members are similar or dissimilar along different attributes. The diversity attributes I investigate are newness of team members and newness of member combinations, which lead to discriminate, as a first approximation, between two kinds of members: newcomers and experienced members or old-timers (Jackson, Stone, & Alvarez, 1993). Both the organizational learning and the organizational demography perspectives have examined this dimension of diversity. The literature on organizational learning (Levitt & March, 1988; March, 1991) shows that the mixing of these two categories of members affects organizational learning and innovation. On analyzing the relation between the exploration of new possibilities and the exploitation of old certainties, March (1991) suggests that personnel turnover between old-timers and newcomers produces a tradeoff of knowledge distribution.

Experienced members on average know more, but what they know is redundant with the knowledge already reflected in the organizational code, and they are less likely to contribute new knowledge. On the other hand, new entrants are less knowledgeable than the individuals they replace, but what they know is less redundant with the organizational code, and they are more likely to deviate from it. The literature on organizational demography and diversity shows that the newcomer/old-timer attribute is also relevant for team effectiveness and socialization process (Chen & Klimoski, 2003; Jones, 1986; Louis, 1980; Saks, 1995). Newcomers and old-timers not only are distinct and identifiable group of individuals inside organizations, but also have a different interpretation of organizational reality and use different sense-making processes (Louis, 1980; Rollag, 2004). Old-timers are more socialized than newcomers because they have had more time to observe, to accept, and to adopt predominant norms and values, but they are also the major source of inertial behavior, of rigidity and of resistance to new solutions (Rollag, 2004). On the other hand, newcomers are more flexible, but their organizational integration can be a costly and time-consuming process. In entering unfamiliar organizational settings, newcomers may experience a reality shock or a sense of surprise. By experiencing a liability

of foreignness, newcomers incur the risks of higher information search costs, of stereotyping, and of marginalization by old-timers (Jackson et al., 1993). In creating a new team, managers not only select between newcomers and old-timers but operate a strategic choice between mixing and matching. Mixing involves balancing the advantages of recombining old-timers used in previous teams - thus exploiting the knowledge and wisdom gained from prior team experience - with the advantages of introducing newcomers without prior experience, thus allowing the exploration and future exploitation. Matching involves having old-timers be part of old combinations or form new combinations, either with other old-timers or with newcomers (Perretti and Negro, 2006).

Over time and contexts, teams and their members interact among themselves and with other persons in contexts. The strategic decisions of mixing and matching newcomers with old-timers are based on an evaluation process in which individuals are judged according to some schemas. In other words, individuals are screened according to some categories, i.e. shared social perception and representation. There are sets of agents who develop codes for categories. These sets of agents are called "audiences". Audiences,



and the beliefs they hold, determine the degree of legitimacy conferred onto categories. If the audience perceives general conformity with the codes that it is applying, then it begins to take for granted that members of the category will conform to the code. Candidates benefit from the legitimacy that is accorded to a category by demonstrating their similarity to other category members. Social codes, however, can also pose limits to action due to implied sanctions if expectations are violated (Zuckerman, 1999). The fundamental goal is to construct and promote schemas of evaluation that are regarded as justifiable by others in the market. This justification can be attained through the creation of a principled, and thus defensible, ideology of standards (Hsu, 2005). Two alternatives are possible: 1) the ideology of standards is not matched 2) the ideology of standards is matched. 1) In a series of studies, Zuckerman and colleagues (Zuckerman, 1999, 2000; Zuckerman et al., 2003) show that organizational and individual actors that do not neatly fit into commonly used categorization systems are overlooked by key market intermediaries or perceived to lack the skills necessary for anyone category. They are also interpreted differently by different parties, leading to greater volatility in their market performance (Zuckerman, 2004). In his study of illegitimacy costs in the stock market, Zuckerman (1999)

demonstrated that when American companies were not covered by the securities analysts who specialized in the industries in which they operated, their stock prices suffered discounts. Conversely, categories that receive greater coverage from gatekeepers, such as critics, analysts and editors, will be more salient to audiences and more likely to achieve an established or taken for granted status. 2) Zuckerman, Kim, Ukanwa, and von Rittman (2003) provide an illustration of meaning giving in their study of career dynamics among U.S. film actors. They find that newcomers to the film industry who specialize by concentrating their roles in fewer genres have a higher likelihood of future employment. This occurs because patterns of participation across categories provide signals of an actor's expertise to audience members; actors who participate in multiple categories are viewed as lacking expertise in each category. On the other hand, specialist actors are recognized as having skills appropriate for the particular category (or categories) they participate in, but run the risk of being seen as lacking the skills necessary for other categories. They analyze the typecasting mechanism using Hollywood as their empirical setting and many examples are given. Sylvester Stallone, who has acted against his action image in several comedies and dramas, is often mentioned as an example of the

"action man". Lucille Ball was typecast as the comedian American actress, Jerry Lewis as the brilliant American actor. Harrison Ford is considered as the American "hero", Jack Nicholson is considered as the "bad face" of the Hollywood system. In proposing these examples, the authors suggest that categories are incorporated by roles. Sylvester Stallone expresses his action image in the roles of Rocky or Rambo, Harrison Ford is an hero in his role of Indiana Jones, Jack Nicholson is the bad face in the role of Jack Torrance in Shining or the Joker in Batman. Roles, defined as set of skills, as well as expectations about and norms associated with the individuals who occupy them (Baker & Faulkner, 1991), are the labor market categories (Zuckerman et al., 2003). If roles incorporate legitimate categories (Zuckerman, 1999), considering the association between roles and categories becomes possible to capture the individual level of analysis. Roles are necessarily referred to individuals. They give the opportunity to identify a more micro level of analysis, to specify the structure of a single category, to describe what people do within a certain category. Following this line of reasoning, the present study focuses on this peculiar association identifying "role categories" as the main unit of research.

## **HOW PURITY IMPLIES ISOLATION IN TEAMS**

The concept of "purity" is defined by Mary Douglas (1966) in her book "Purity and Danger" as the absence of pollution. Dirt is essentially disorder, it offends against order. Eliminating it is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment. . What is "in place" is pure, what is not is pollution. Purity is linked to the ideas of "power and danger". It incorporates two key components: 1) the idea of separation 2) the idea of ideal attribute.

1) Order implies restriction. Defilement is never an isolated event. It cannot occur except in view of a systematic ordering of ideas. For the only way in which pollution ideas make sense is in reference to a total structure of thought whose key-stone, boundaries, margins and internal lines are held in relation by rituals of separation. In other words, purity requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong and that different classes of things shall not be confused. The idea of purity generically and categorically opposes itself to "mixing". It's only overemphasizing the difference between joint and separate, above and under that it is possible to create order (Douglas, 1966).

2) Purity is an ideal, it is an absolute feature; a vision of the condition which needs to be diligently protected against disorder (Bauman, 1997). It implies that purity is given by the fact to be more extreme than any other form (Douglas, 1966). Purity is linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984).

Social grouping has always been linked to concepts of purity. A basic idea of social grouping emerged in one of the late poems in the earliest of the Hindu scriptures, the Rig Veda. In this mythic account, probably composed about three thousand years ago, the primeval man was sacrificed to make the varnas (castes): the Brahmans emerged from his head, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. The existence of a social ranking creates the figures of untouchables, those belonging to castes outside the fourfold Hindu Varna system. What is pure exists only as the contrary of what is impure. Purity belong to a category or a system of classification.

Purity, intended as the absence of pollution, creates isolation. In particular, roles associated with pure categories generate stigma effects. Within a

group, the extremes are perceived as dangerous or to be taboo. In a classroom, for example, the "first of the class" and the "stupid of the village" are usually separated by the rest of the class. The smartest one creates a sort of envy or remember the others their limits. The most stupid becomes someone to deride and to avoid; people in the class have to defend themselves from the danger of becoming like him. Usually, in a group, the idealists and the traitors entail the obligation to be kept apart. The idealists recall the "sacred" dimension, they are perceived as far from the every-day or sinner men. The traitors, on the contrary, remember the "defiled" side of the human being; they are perceived as dangerous. They have both a form of power that generates taboo. The word taboo was first used in the English language by Captain James Cook, who, as early as 1777, reported that some chiefs in Tonga were not allowed to behave like common people: they were taboo, Cook explained. The first European observers were not quite sure whether taboo meant "sacred" or "defiled." This uncertainty is probably due to the fact that the concept is ambivalent, and can mean both, depending on the case. Taboo can be created by purity in a positive or negative extreme. A sort of paradox is generated. Once there is a perfect fit with the category and the ideal is reached, to be coherent with the ideal brings isolation. A

man possesses purity only if he regularly acts in accordance with a deliberate pattern. (Kekes, 1983). This extreme coherence in following a pattern implies an extreme distinctiveness. Purity is linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984). A strong marker is generated and it may accordingly imply isolation. Members whose roles are associated with pure categories are segregated from the other members. They are labeled as extremely different, stereotyped according some positive or negative characteristics, excluded from a social group and discriminated by others. They are separated in the social system and, therefore, are seen as marginal beings. All precaution against them must come from others. It seems to exist a rule against contact with pure members. The old-timers, the individuals with a past experience in the industry, decide not to part of a team in which a pure role is present. They don't want to be mixed with them. Only the inexperienced members, the newcomers, the individuals that do not have a previous knowledge of people in the industry and that incur the risks of stereotyping and of marginalization by old-timers, can be associated to pure

actors. In other words, purity enhances the employment of newcomers and the use of new combinations of team members.

**Hypothesis:** In teams, members who are associated with pure categories will have a positive effect on (a) newness of team members and (b) newness of combinations of team members.

## **METHODS**

### **EMPIRICAL SETTING**

The present study tested the hypothesis in the context of the Hollywood film industry from 1929 to 2007, which seems a particularly appropriate setting for the study. The first reason is that it is a quite commonly used setting. The examples given by Zuckerman et al. (2003) are taken from the Hollywood reality, Perretti and Negro (2006) analyze teams in the Hollywood context. This study just follows a consolidated tradition. The second reason is given by the fact that team processes are observable. Films are temporary team-based projects. Each film is regulated by a separate contract linking its producer to the actors, director and other key talents (Caves, 2000). A dual



matching process between film projects and their participants takes place (Faulkner & Anderson, 1987). There is an intensive filtering activity through which managers identify and recruit the principal artistic and technical members. At the same time, candidates distinguish among projects. Moreover, and it represents my third motivation, the high level of uncertainty activates a legitimation process. This system of single-project organizations require legitimacy and credibility to attract creative and financial resources, perhaps even more than other types of organizations, due to Hollywood's high stakes, uncertainty, ambiguity, and lack of consensus about professional competence (DiMaggio, 1977). In other words, audience evaluations matter. They affect the perceptions and behaviors of relevant social actors. Team leaders use personal rankings when deciding how to develop their projects, judging that some actors represent assets that will increase the projects- likelihood of success and others will have a negative impact on it (Perretti & Negro, 2006). The fourth reason is that it is a context in which roles and categories have a strong function and are observable. No one person in the entire motion picture field knows for certain what's going to work. Roles (and thus categories) provide stability and continuity. Roles persist, even as the projects start up and end, people come and go (Baker &

Faulkner, 1991). The final motivation is pragmatic: owing to the great demand for information about the feature-film industry, comprehensive data are available on the hundreds of teams formed in this industry.

## **SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION**

For the present study, the sample focuses on all 8.321 feature films produced from 1929 to 2007 by the seven largest U.S. motion picture industry producers (the "majors": Columbia Pictures, MGM, Paramount, RKO, 20th Century Fox, Universal and Warner Bros.). The roles of Jesus Christ and Adolph Hitler<sup>1</sup> are selected for measuring purity because they are commonly associated, by the sociological and social science literatures, with concepts like "pure good" and "pure evil". "Jesus is proclaimed from the very beginning of his career as fully good. Jesus is constantly presented as the physician who brings cleanness, forgiveness of sins, and wholeness to God's covenant people. Even though Jesus may be in contact with unclean people, he gives wholeness and purity to them; he never loses it as a result of that

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<sup>1</sup> It could be interesting to consider four pure roles (Jesus, Gandhi, Hitler and Judas) instead of two (see "The dangers of purity"), but some considerations about the extensiveness of the data and the presence of a strong control group, contrary to what happens in the previous study, suggest that the selection of two roles is preferable for the purpose of the analysis. Adding other roles risks to make heavier the analysis, more for a stylistic exercise than for real needs in the empirical part.

contact" (Neyrey, 1986). "Hitler is surely the most dramatic exemplar of the category of evil. He is considered profoundly immoral and dangerous. He is perceived to have violated canonical values of society. Hitler is associated with a demonization process (Fine, 2001). These roles are associated with pure categories and, thus, they represent an interesting unit of analysis for the present study. The analysis excluded TV series, animation, documentaries and short films because their production, distribution and playing require different sets of resources and capabilities (Jones, 2001). Also silent movies are excluded because by 1930 were a minor and declining product type in the industry (Balio, 1993). For this reason the study starts the observation period in 1929 when the majors have completed their transition to sound. Obviously, the Hitler movies were produced and distributed a little bit later. The first one was released in 1939. The analysis ends in 2007 for a quite obvious availability of data. The main source of data is the Internet Movie Database (IMDB). It has come to be recognized as the world's most comprehensive source of film data. It provides, in fact, information on all motion pictures released all over the world. It is organized in separate "lists" that can be downloaded and matched. For this study, I selected the lists of actors, actresses, directors, cinematographers, editors

and I matched all the people working in each movie, being able to reconstruct the entire cast for every movie. The main unit of analysis in the construction of the database is the "movie" classified according to its main information and to the people working in it.

## MEASURES

**Dependent Variables:** Teams' exploratory features are defined replicating the Perretti and Negro's measure of "newness" (2006). They argue that two variables directly describe 1) the presence of newcomers or "newness of members" and 2) new combinations of team members or "newness of member combinations". The two variables are operationalized by creating two indexes: 1) a *newcomers index* and 2) a *new combinations index*. Both indexes are based on the most important creative and technical members involved in a film project: the director, the actors/ actresses, the editor and the cinematographer.

The first index - *newcomers* - is a count of newcomers included in a film. In Perretti and Negro (2006), the index ranged from 0 to 5 because they considered only the two leading actors. I take into consideration all the

actors or actresses involved in the team to have the complete cast. For this reason, in the present study the index is weighted for the number of people working in a movie and it becomes a percentage. To avoid inflation in the first years of observation, individuals are considered as new if they have not been employed in the industry before 1926.

The second index - *new combinations* - scores dyadic combinations according to the level of newness each one involves. The selected dyads are director-actors, actors-actors, director-editor and director-cinematographer. Dyads, in fact, represent the essential unit of social interaction, the basis for more complex form (Simmel, 1902). For each movie, the first step regards the computation of the number of dyads involving new and previously employed personnel. As with the first index, a combination is considered as new if it has never been employed in the industry before 1926. The new combinations index is calculated as a composite of three sub-measures: 1)  $c_1$ , which is the proportion of dyads containing at least one new resources, 2)  $c_2$ , which is the proportion of dyads presenting new combinations of old resources and 3)  $c_3$ , which is the proportion of dyads that are old combinations of old resources. After applying a weight of +1 to  $c_1$ , 0 to  $c_2$ , and -1 to  $c_3$ , the

computation results in an average value that ranges from -1 to +1, with intervals that depends on the number of dyads involved in each movie.

**Independent Variable:** Roles associated with pure categories, defined as purity, are measured as a dummy variable. In particular, the categorical variable "*Purity*" with  $k$  classes of qualitative (non-numerical) information is replaced by a set of  $k-1$  quantitative dummy variables. The dummies assume value "01" if in a specific movie an actor has portrayed the role of Jesus Christ ("*Jesus*"), value "10" if in a specific movie an actor has portrayed the role of Adolph Hitler ("*Hitler*") and "00" otherwise ("*No-roles*"). The reference group "00" - movies in which the actors have portrayed neither the role of Jesus nor the role of Hitler - is omitted.

**Control Variables:** It is important to consider the team members' status. Hollywood has always been a "caste-system where big stars didn't pal around with unknowns" (Goldman, 1984). Status is a source of social stratification and can affect one person's control over another's behavior. To control for it, the decision was to insert the Oscar wins for each team member involved in the movie as the *Status* variable. Oscars represent the most influential award in the film industry and a primary way to obtain deference. Oscar is considered to be the ultimate achievement in the film

world, the epitome of professional success (Levy, 1987). *Financial resources* can have an impact on employment because films with higher resources can have a greater freedom in selecting team members, increasing the introduction of newcomers. The study inserts a dummy variable to indicate whether a film uses more costly technologies (color, wide screen, etc.) as a proxy for high financial resources. The institutional regime can influence the strategic choices made in a particular context. In detail, in 1948 a series of antitrust decrees issued by the U.S. Supreme Court imposed separation of exhibition interests from production and distribution activities on the vertically integrated major film studios. After 1948, the majors reduced their long-term contractual arrangements with creative talent and relied more on film-by-film deals (Perretti & Negro, 2006). To control for it, a dummy variable has been introduced. The *post-Paramount case* variable assumes value "1" for films produced after 1948 and "0" otherwise

## ANALYSIS

The selected model is polytomous logistic regression - ordered logit analysis (Long, 1997). The dependent variables, in fact, have outcomes ranked on scales ranging from 0 to 1 for the first index and from -1 to 1 for the second index. It is necessary to consider them as ordinal because their outcomes could be ranked in categories but the distance between them is unknown. It violates the assumption needed for using a linear regression model (McKelvey & Zavoina, 1975).

## RESULTS

Table 4 reports the means, standard deviations and correlations among the variables used in the study.

### **Table 4 about here**

Regression results are presented in Table 5. Models 1a and 1b in Tables 5 and 6, respectively, shows how the control variables affect the introduction of newcomers and the recombination of team members. *Status* has an important role in influencing the newness of members. In general, the higher



the status, the lower the probability of having newness of members and newness of member combinations. A higher *budget* allows to attract new resources and to change combinations. It has a positive relationship with the dependent variable. Higher financial resources could indicate a greater freedom in managing team. The *Paramount case* seems to influence team design in a positive way. The reduction of long-term contract after 1948 in favor of the diffusion of "boundaryless careers" encouraged newness of members and of combinations of members. In the next step, with Models 2a and 2b, are presented the results for the ordered logit model that wants to measure the impact of roles associated with pure categories on employment of newcomers and new combinations of team members. The effect is positive and significant. The hypothesis is strongly supported. Purity has a positive effect on the newness of members and newness of member combinations and enhances the chances of exploration. Also distinguishing between the positive (Jesus) and negative (Hitler) role, the effect remains the same. Even if the distinction between the roles of Jesus and Hitler shows just a tendency in favor of a stronger impact for the role of Hitler that confirms a long tradition of studies predicting that "bad is stronger than good" (Baumestier et al., 2001), considering the main effect, Jesus and Hitler have both a

positive impact on the employment of newcomers and new combinations of team members.

### **Tables 5 and 6 about here**

The present study tests the robustness' findings in two ways. First, it modifies the dummy variable measuring purity. It assumes value "1" if in a specific movie an actor has portrayed the roles of Jesus Christ or Adolph Hitler and "0" otherwise. Second, it considers alternative models of estimations: 1) ordered probit model 2) the continuation ratio, in which the categories for the ordinal outcomes are an interdependent progression of events. Neither exercise affect the results. Tables 7 and 8 present a re-estimation of the full models under the two cases. The main findings remain unaffected.

### **Tables 7 and 8 about here**

## **CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY**

My findings support the idea that purity is able to determine a form of isolation. This research offers new insights to the category and audience

legitimation literature. Deviants suffer an illegitimacy discount. Recent research holds that candidates that pollute a focal category, by copying or borrowing elements from other categories, are susceptible to illegitimacy costs. I argue that candidates matching pure categories suffer the same discounts. Starting from the main assumptions of Perretti & Negro's study (2006), this study is able to offer different conclusions and to extend the previous literature about category formation and audience legitimation. The assumptions in common are: a) team design is not exogenous but can be considered as the outcome b) it is influenced by social phenomena and, in particular, by a social stratification process. By contrast, this study offers a new perspective in the analysis of teams: 1) It is not only a matter of having a lower or higher status that determines different choices in team design. It is a matter of purity. 2) Status can assume a lower or higher level. Purity has an absolute value. 3) Status deals with positions, purity isn't linked to a simple change of position. It is a category's attribute that deals with the extremes. Status, in fact, is defined as "position within a social structure that confers rights, prestige or honor upon an individual" (Parsons, 1970). Positions change quickly and often in the rapid process of organizational creation and destruction (Baker & Faulkner, 1991). Purity is an attribute

generated by an absolute judgment. Its effect is drastic and unchangeable.

3) Purity gives the possibility to analyze the extremes, the black/white features of team members. Pure categories are given by the fact of being more extreme than any other form. 4) Purity is able to specify the direction of the link between roles and categories. Categories have a strong impact on roles. Categories of positive and negative extremes influence the evaluation by an audience about the roles portrayed by team members. 5) A manager's degree of freedom in deciding how to shape the composition of a team doesn't depend only by some variable attributes, but it is linked with the interactions among team members, with a specific evaluation process in which individuals are judged according to some schemas or categories. More broadly, Reagans and coauthors (2004) challenged the use of demographic criteria in relation to the intrinsic limits placed on a manager's ability to shape the composition of a team. The present study affirms that team members can be evaluated not only according to some ascribed criteria but also according to some acquired features. Focusing on attributes given by the exercise of knowledge, ability, skill and/or perseverance, it is possible to investigate more in depth the mechanisms of evaluation among audiences and candidates. The acquired features give rise to specific social processes in

which candidates are evaluated according to some personal decisions, patterns of careers, past experiences. Roles are exactly acquired features; they are "means to gain membership in a social community; they grant access to social, cultural and material capital" (Baker & Faulkner, 1991). Moreover, purity is able to specify the nature of these ascribed criteria. If in Zuckerman (2003), roles are defined by categories, in my study, purity defines and gives specification to roles. The level of analysis is more micro and gives the possibility to describe individuals and their attributes not using simply a proxy. Finally, the present analysis offers a different perspective of "newness". Newness is generally perceived as a form of innovation. I chose to focus on newness as a form of segregation. The present analysis selects the bad side of newness offering a quite new perspective. There is a tradition of studies considering newcomers as subjects of a "liability of foreignness". Like those entering a foreign culture, newcomers incur a "liability of foreignness" and, thus, incur the risks of high information search costs, stereotyping, and marginalization by old-timers (Jackson et al., 1993). In the present analysis the perspective is quite different: the newcomers are not the isolated ones, but the means for isolation. It is not a matter of isolation operated by old-timers versus newcomers. Pure actors may have a past

experience, may have worked in other teams. Newcomers become the explicit manifestation of isolation versus a particular sub-group of old-timers, the pure actors.

## **IMPLICATIONS FOR MANAGEMENT PRACTICE**

Selecting members for teams or projects is one of the strategic tool that managers can utilize to influence the final economic results for the entire company or for one single activity. Just one member of the team can alter the entire structure of the team itself. Making the right choice in team design can be considered as one of the key success factor for the company or project. My findings have three implications for action. First, purity may constrain choices of other members. By ignoring the purity attribute between members, team leaders may create power conflicts in the team design and execution process. Second, purity may be interpreted as a strong and clear signal of how a member is perceived by others driving automatic solutions to combine members at reduced risk. Third, purity should be used as a force of "creative destruction", being able to destroy some prior consolidated combinations of members and to create new alternative solutions. As a

consequence, managers need to collect more information about previous experience of members (past roles) and to implement systems of peer-to-peer evaluations; a continuous monitoring of perceptions among members can be useful to elaborate new teams or projects in an efficient way.

## **LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH**

The hypothesis is strongly supported but, in the present study, there are several limitations that suggest directions for future work. First, the study focuses on a selective analysis of roles (Jesus Christ and Adolph Hitler). The inclusion of a broader range of pure roles indicating different extremes (pure good/ pure evil, pure black/ pure white, pure rich/ pure poor, pure innocent/ pure criminal...) could offer an interesting point of view. Also, this research is centered on the focal roles and its effect on the employment of newcomers and new combinations of team members. It could be important to study the possible "contagion" effects between the focal roles and the other roles within the teams. Second, the study is limited to one context – the Hollywood film industry. It would be important to extend the study to other national contexts – not only the movies produced by the Hollywood system,

but also by some European or Asian countries – and to consider different settings to generalize the main finding. To study roles and categories in other sectors organized for boundaryless careers – biotechnology, aircraft, consultancy – can offer an interesting perspective. Third, although I was able to assess the decisions of mixing and matching newcomers and old-timers, I did not analyze team or firm performance. Future research could attempt to specify what team design is best for superior performance. Fourth, despite the selected controls, I did not directly account for the strength of past team combinations. Fifth, the present analysis argues that purity creates an effect similar to stigma. Stigma is defined as the denigration or stain that the person experiences which negatively impacts his/her image or reputation (Goffman, 1963). The association between roles and categories creates a negative marker for the individual that is difficult to be changed or forgotten. It could be useful to extend this kind of process and to study in depth the formation of stigma. Sixth, the present research focuses on teams. It could be interesting to consider other levels of analysis. Organizations may be perceived as more or less pure (i.e. Red Cross vs. Mafia) or, perhaps, a domain switching may create different effects for pure people, team members or networks. Finally, in this study I analyzed the effect of purity on



newness of team members and newness of combinations of team members as a form of isolation. In future analysis should be possible to consider purity as a force of "creative destruction". Purity destroys the present order and should be consciously used to renew the established system.

### **STUDY 3 - PURITY AND SUCCESS ACROSS DOMAINS: ACTORS' CAREERS IN FILM AND TELEVISION**

The legitimation process explains how a set of agents ("audience") grant recognition and resources to a set of claimants ("candidates"). Candidates' action is subject to social scrutiny by a variety of agents, a heterogeneous set of agents that can be both internal (e.g., workers, managers, members of the board) as well as external (e.g., consumers, banks, funding agencies, intellectuals, professional bodies, unions, business circles, public opinion, and the media). Audiences screen candidates according to some schemas or categories (Zuckerman, 2003). Shared social representations are built considering the features and activities of candidates in relation to what audiences expect organizations can or should do. Social codes originate from this set of expectations, generating approval and advantages when respected

but also posing limits to action due to implied sanctions if expectations are violated (Zuckerman, 1999). A key audience serving as an institutional gatekeeper cognitively comprehends a candidate as a member of an existing category in the audience's classification system. Candidates that successfully pass audiences' scrutiny can obtain approval and advantages; those that do not conform to audiences' expectations suffer social penalties because they threaten reigning interpretative frameworks. In his study of illegitimacy costs in the stock market, Zuckerman (1999) demonstrated that candidates that do not exhibit certain common characteristics may not be readily compared to others and are thus difficult to evaluate. Such candidates stand outside the field of comparison and are ignored. It is this inattention that constitutes the cost of illegitimacy. Similarly, Zuckerman and colleagues (2003) argued that the interaction between employers and prospective employees can be framed as an interface between a set of candidates who compete with one another to be selected by an audience, in which employers screen candidates according to recognized cognitive categories. The advantages of typecasting consist largely in the foothold that it provides to candidates by giving them a viable, if generic, identity to assume. The main drawback is that the

identification with a particular category often prevents typecast candidates from being considered for other roles.

It is possible to understand legitimacy in depth, and in particular, as affirmed by Koçak, Negro and Perretti (2010), "the normative aspect of categorization system", paying more attention to the institutional setting in markets. Markets can be conceptualized as domains (Hannan et al. 2007). A domain is defined as "a culturally bounded segment of the social world containing producers/products, audiences, and a language that tells to whom these distinctions apply and what they mean" (Hannan et al. 2007). A space in the environment is not only a collection of resources, but also a culturally bounded social setting where interaction occurs among various sets of agents with different roles (i.e., producers/products and audiences). These interactions are based on the social approval of producer/ product identities by audiences. They exert control over candidates in a given domain and are able to reward the candidates that conform to their standards and punish those that deviate (Hannan et al. 2007). As a consequence, categories are embedded in domains. It is possible to affirm that domains are social spaces in which legitimation processes occur. They provide a set of signals of what would be considered legitimate.

In one domain, if the categorical imperative is mismatched, penalties are produced. Reaching the perfect match represents the ideal. Candidates are pressured to conform and to reach the ideal, the total convergence of audience, i.e. consensus. The ideal dimension is represented by purity. Purity is a concept studied in the social sciences (Douglas, 1966) and it usually opposed to the concept of pollution. It implies the extreme coherence in following a pattern and it is opposed to the concept of mixing. Who is pure is separated from others. Purity brings isolation. As a paradox, reaching the ideal means to incur in an illegitimacy discount. In particular, considering employment, to portray a pure role decreases the probability of obtaining a new job (Pirotti, working study)

The study wants to investigate if an illegitimacy discount attached to a candidate in one domain persists in a different domain or if there are some specificities in every domain in the legitimacy processes. If purity has created a social penalty in one domain, the switch to another domain allows to have success in the new domain? Every domain is a separate locus for legitimacy or are legitimacy evaluations linked across different domains? The effect of purity persists in a different domain? The research argues that the

illegitimacy discount caused by purity in one domain doesn't persist in a new domain. In particular, considering employment, the negative effects of purity on careers in one domain can be transformed in no-negative effects or, even, in positive results switching domain.

The present working study would like to test the hypotheses in the context of the Hollywood film industry from 1929 to 2009 selecting the actors who have switched domain from cinema to television. The selection is about the actors who have portrayed pure roles (Jesus Christ, Adolph Hitler, Judas Iscariot and Mahatma Gandhi) in the cinema domain and, after having obtained bad results in cinema, considered the possibility to pass in the television domain.

The study is organized as follows: the first part is centered on the definition of domains, categories and legitimacy. The second part describes the concept of purity. The third part describes the effect of switching domains for individual career. The fourth part describes the empirical analysis.

## **DOMAINS, CATEGORIES AND LEGITIMACY**

Hannan et al. (2007) define the concept of domain as a culturally bounded slice of the social world. A domain consists mainly of two main roles - audience and producer - and a language for telling what the roles mean. It includes the actors engaged in the production and consumption of a certain product or service and the characteristic languages they have. As a domain develops, these roles get elaborated and the language gets filled with content that audience members use to characterize producers. A domain develops a structure when an audience segment develops a common language. Hannan et al. (2007) theorize that, as the language in a domain develops, audience members classify producers into categories. Individuals generally announce their claims to competence for membership in a domain. This claim to membership in some set exposes an agent to scrutiny and evaluation by the audiences that follows the action in the domain and controls relevant resources. Audience segments are the units (sets of agents) within which categories emerge. Each category is characterized by a schema that codifies the features expected of the producers that belong to that category. Classification and categorization systems are embedded in

domains. Each domain is characterized by a set of rules, expectations, and conventions about valuation, of which category systems constitute an important part.

As a consequence, domains are the spaces in which legitimacy is constructed. Sociologists fundamentally consider legitimacy a collective process that implies the presence of both social audiences and social objects being evaluated and that depends on audiences' consensus about what features and actions these objects should have to be accepted in social contexts (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway, 2006; Ridgeway and Correll, 2006). The audience convergence toward a common set of social codes, as well as the persistence of such codes throughout the social domain, determines legitimacy. Audiences are able to reward the candidates that conform to their standards and punish those that deviate (Hannan et al. 2007). They screen and cluster potential claimants into different categories according to their observable features, then sort them out based on the association between those features and shared sets of rules or expectations (Zuckerman 1999). The respect of the rules generate approval and advantage, the violations of these rules pose limits to action due to implied sanctions. In other words, it is possible to consider a domain like a social

space that, by enhancing cognitive recognition and normative standing, can provide candidates with a set of signals of what would be considered legitimate (Carroll and Hannan 2000).

As in Koçak, Perretti & Negro in the empirical part of the study, I test my arguments by analyzing two domains in the labor market for actors: feature films and television series. There is an overlap of the set of actors across two domains, with some actors participating in both domains while others build their career in one domain. There is also some overlap of audiences, as some film producers moved into TV production. (Kovac, Negro, Perretti, 2010). However, presenting some differences in terms of production, distribution and promotion processes, they can be considered as distinctive domains (Caves, 2004).

## **PURITY AND STIGMA**

The concept of "purity" is defined by Mary Douglas (1966) in her book "Purity and Danger" as the absence of pollution. Purity is "subject to restriction". Purity defines boundaries of action, it is separate from what it is dirt. Dirt is



essentially a question of "matter out of place", of that it is considered inappropriate in a given context. It is concomitant with the creation of order. Purity fixes every event or behavior in defined models or schemas. Order implies restriction. "Uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained" (Douglas, 1966). Purity is held in relation by rituals of separation. In other words, purity requires that individuals shall conform to the class to which they belong and that different classes of things shall not be confused. The idea of purity generically and categorically opposes itself to "mixing". It is an ideal; a vision of the condition which needs to be diligently protected against disorder (Bauman, 1997). It implies that purity is given by the fact to be more extreme than any other form (Douglas, 1966). Purity is linked to the idea of being strongly identifiable for some characteristics judged by others above or under the average, of creating a fully positive or a fully negative impression (Light, 1984).

Purity, intended as the absence of pollution, creates isolation. "The person under purity is not regarded as holy, he is separated from contact with others" (Douglas, 1966). Purity is generated by the extremes (i.e. heroes and villains). It is linked with a sort of religious (or demoniac) power

attached to people, groups or spaces generating dangers and taboo. Heroes are perceived as sacred and archetypical figures that pertain to the aspiration level. Villains are viewed as form of collective danger. In both cases, a distance is created and pure people has to be isolated to preserve the actual order. Heroes and villains become untouchables because they generate a too strong impression in the collective imagery; they provoke, in the middle man, the memory of what he is not able to reach (his aspirations) or what he wants to avoid but it is, at the same time, desirable (i.e. bad habits, vices, a dissolute life). A paradox is generated. A strict purity is highly uncomfortable or leads into contradiction. Once the ideal is reached, to be coherent with the ideal brings isolation. An extreme coherence in following a pattern implies an extreme distinctiveness. A strong marker is generated and it may accordingly imply isolation. It can have a negative effect on careers. In careers, purity decreases the probability of employment (Pirotti, working study).

## **SWITCHING DOMAIN: THE EFFECT ON PURITY**

Starting from the idea that 1) domains are spaces in which legitimacy is constructed and 2) purity creates an illegitimacy discount in one domain, the study would like to investigate if there are some specificities in the legitimacy construction in each domain. I argue that if purity caused an illegitimacy discount in one domain, switching domain allows to build a different career trajectory in an another domain. If individuals who have portrayed pure roles during their career in one domain, obtaining bad results in that domain, decide to switch domain, can have a successful career. An example is given by James Caviezel. After his portrayal of Jesus Christ in Mel Gibson's controversial "The Passion of the Christ" (2004), he entered into series television in 2009, when he was cast as the lead in American Movie Classics revival of the 1960s drama "The Prisoner" (AMC, 2009). It was a great success in US and all around the world. The reasoning starts with the consideration that domains are different institutional spheres. Every domain is a separate locus for legitimacy; every domain has its own evaluative structure. Categories and evaluative schemas are embedded in specific domains. Categorical evaluations can be strongly domain-specific, even for

closely related domains. In the specific case, cinema and television can be considered to be quite separated loci. Television is conquering the status of a sector per se. People, rules and mechanisms have their specificity compared to cinema. Production, distribution and playing of TV series require different sets of resources and capabilities (Jones, 2001). In detail, "movie scripts follow different rules; literary inspiration does not work steadily nine to five on movie scripts (though it may on TV series), so time based compensation invites loafing on the job, haggling over performance, or both". "A new and separate figure of TV producer is posing his professional bases in the television sector". "As cinema films became vertically integrated from TV fare, the distributors' methods of promoting them changed considerably" "The television sector may also want to push for more freedom on its methods for raising revenues" (Caves, 2000). Audience members in a given domain should be indifferent to features of producers that pertain to their activities in other domains, or their evaluations of these activities should be different from the evaluations of the audiences in the other domains (Koçak, Negro & Perretti, 2010). This specificity of domain makes possible that the illegitimacy discount created by purity in one domain doesn't persist in a new domain. The possibility to start a new career creates a particular motivation

in the subject in doing better. It is perceived as a second possibility and the desire to forget a difficult past can foster the probability of success in the new domain:

**Hypothesis:** Switching domains, when an illegitimacy discount has been created by purity in one domain, has a positive impact or, at least, no negative effect on individual career.

## **METHODS**

### **SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION**

The working study would like to test the hypothesis gathering data on the actors that portrayed pure roles (Jesus Christ, Mahatma Gandhi, Adolph Hitler, Judas Iscariot) in feature films released between 1929 and 2009 or in television series broadcast between 1946 and 2009 in the Unites States. The analysis starts the observation period for feature films in 1929 because silent movies are excluded and in 1946 for TV series because the television first

became commercialized in the U.S. in the early 1940s. The dataset is the result of the combination between films and TV series. The primary source is the Internet Movie Data Base (IMDB), the world's most comprehensive free source of film data. It provides, in fact, information on all motion pictures released all over the world.

The study considers a total of 131 movies in which an actor has played the selected pure roles of Jesus, Gandhi, Hitler and Judas. The aim is to analyze the individual career trajectory. Every movie in which an actor has played the focal role is registered. Starting from the single movie, for every actor is reconstructed the complete filmography dividing between feature films and TV series and indicating if they have been realized before or after the focal roles.

The roles of Jesus, Hitler, Judas and Gandhi are selected because they are commonly associated, by the sociological and social science literatures, with concepts like "pure good" and "pure evil". "Jesus is proclaimed from the very beginning of his career as fully good. Even though Jesus may be in contact with unclean people, he gives wholeness and purity to them; he never loses it as a result of that contact" (Neyrey, 1986). "Hitler is considered profoundly immoral and dangerous. He is associated with a demonization process (Fine,

2001). "Judas is the persona of pure evil. (Schonfield, 1965). "Mahatma Gandhi is much closed to ideals of purity" (Fischer, 2010).

## **ANALYSIS – SOME EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE**

Data consider movies and TV series the target actors have portrayed in their career (organized as "before" and "after" the focal roles). The intention is to test the hypothesis estimating, as in Zuckerman et al. (2003), the likelihood that the single actor appears in a film (or a television series) as a proxy for his/ her success in that domain. Purity is given by a dummy variable that assumes value "1" for the focal roles and "0" otherwise. As in Koçak, Negro & Perretti (2010), the analysis would use fixed effects logit regressions to estimate the likelihood that actors star in each domain (a film or a television show) in a given year. Fixed effects for actors control for stable differences across actors, such as their skill levels, attractiveness, gender, and ethnicity.

It is possible to make some preliminary considerations observing data. Of a total of 131 movies in which an actor has played the selected pure roles of Jesus, Gandhi, Hitler and Judas, I find that 95 have acted in both TV shows and films during the study period. Considering the difference in the number

of portrayed roles in the before and after period, 62 actors have worked more in the TV domain and 27 in the cinema domain after having portrayed a pure role (6 starred the same number of roles). Considering the difference just in the TV domain, 59 actors worked more in TV after having portrayed the focal role compared to what they have done in TV before it. Of these 59 actors, 31 have never worked for TV before the target role. Some empirical evidence seems to support the idea that switching domain (passing from cinema to TV) has a positive effect on careers when an illegitimacy discount has been created by purity in one domain (cinema). To infer the success in the television domain, it could be better to control for some characteristics of TV series: 1) the number of episodes in which the actors have played a role 2) the distinction between long and short series (a series is long if it includes at least 13 episodes) 3) the share obtained by the series. They are crucial factors in evaluating success in the TV domain. If, as indicated before, 59 actors worked more in TV after having portrayed the focal roles, 40 have been employed in long series and played in that series for more than the half number of episodes. Pure actors, after having portrayed their focal role in the feature films, have been employed in very famous series such as Love



Boat, Lassie, Boston Public, Super Car, The Prisoner, Life on Mars, US Marshal and NCIS.

### **Table 9 about here**

## **DISCUSSION**

Starting from the idea that domains are spaces in which legitimacy is constructed and purity creates an illegitimacy discount in one domain, the study would like to demonstrate that the illegitimacy discount caused by purity in one domain doesn't persist in a new domain. In particular, a career trajectory marked by purity in one domain should be transformed in a successful one in a new domain. The working study has some theoretical implications: 1) every domain has its own evaluative structure. Even if there are some overlaps in audiences and producers between domains, every domain maintains its specificity in the legitimacy process. 2) Purity has an absolute and drastic effect within the boundaries of one specific domain. Switching domain, the effect of purity changes its sign. A negative impact on

careers should be transformed in success. 3) There are some evidences within the literature that stigma transmits through mere proximity (Pontikes, Negro & Rao, 2010). The present study should demonstrate that the pervasiveness of stigma has a limited effect within a specific domain.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The present dissertation offers new insights to the category and audience legitimation literature. Within an interface composed by an audience, evaluating a set of claimants or candidates according to some schemas, people have two alternatives: they can follow the ideology of standards and, thus, obtain the audience consensus or violate the rules of conduct and, as a consequence, suffer social penalties. Kant expressed the idea of a categorical imperative: "Act only according to that maxim whereby you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law" (Groundwork of the Metaphysic of Morals). Candidates are pressured to conform and to demonstrate their compatibility with standards (Zuckerman, 1999). The present dissertation wants to investigate what happens if individuals try to be extremely coherent with the ideal of conformity or, in other words, try to

perfectly match the categorical imperative. The ideal condition is represented by the concept of purity. Recent research holds that candidates that pollute a focal category, by copying or borrowing elements from other categories, are susceptible to illegitimacy costs. I argue that candidates matching pure categories suffer the same discounts. Using the Hollywood empirical setting, I test the existence of such penalties at the individual level across careers trajectories and team composition. Pure actors have a lower probability to obtain a job and have an higher propensity to be isolated in teams. The effect created by purity is pervasive and persistent. It becomes necessary to enter in a new domain to delete the illegitimacy discount. Purity gives the possibility to study and discriminate among individuals analyzing their extreme features. It can be used as a criterion of choice by practitioners within organizational contexts to increase the overall company performance. Taking the right decisions about people or decreasing the risk to make the wrong choices can guarantee a better performance for the entire project or company.

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**TABLE 1**  
**Descriptive Statistics**

| <b>Variable</b>       | <b>Mean</b> | <b>s.d.</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> | <b>6</b> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>1. Career</b>      | 0.25        | 0.43        |          |          |          |          |          |          |
| <b>2. Purity</b>      | 0.02        | 0.16        | -0.22    |          |          |          |          |          |
| <b>3. Tenure</b>      | 16.88       | 13.46       | 0.01     | -0.07    |          |          |          |          |
| <b>4. Ethnicity</b>   | 0.64        | 0.47        | -0.07    | -0.00    | -0.16    |          |          |          |
| <b>5. Status</b>      | 0.11        | 0.49        | 0.05     | -0.02    | 0.42     | -0.11    |          |          |
| <b>6. Position</b>    | 6.64        | 8.91        | -0.06    | -0.01    | 0.02     | 0.08     | -0.03    |          |
| <b>7. Film Budget</b> | 0.97        | 0.16        | -0.08    | 0.01     | 0.15     | -0.08    | 0.05     | 0.07     |

**TABLE 2**  
**Results of Logit Model for the probability of obtaining work**

| <b>Variable</b>    | <b>Model 1<br/>Control<br/>Variables</b> | <b>Model 2<br/>Main model</b> |
|--------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| <b>Purity</b>      |  | -0.70*<br>(0.01)              |
| <b>Tenure</b>      | 0.00 (0.76)                              | 0.00 (0.86)                   |
| <b>Ethnicity</b>   | -0.34 (0.06)                             | -0.34 (0.06)                  |
| <b>Status</b>      | 0.28 (0.06)                              | 0.28 (0.05)                   |
| <b>Position</b>    | -0.01* (0.02)                            | -0.01* (0.03)                 |
| <b>Film Budget</b> | 36.61*** (0.00)                          | 36.59*** (0.00)               |

**Standard errors in parentheses**

**\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001**

TABLE 3

## Results of Logit Model for the probability of obtaining work. Robustness tests. Controls

| Variable              | Model 3<br>Jesus-Hitler-<br>Judas-Gandhi | Model 4<br>Jesus-Hitler-<br>Judas-Gandhi<br>with pure<br>good/evil | Model 5<br>Pure good | Model 6<br>Pure evil | Model 7<br>New dummy for<br>purity |
|-----------------------|--|--|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>Purity</b>         | -0.86** (0.01)                           | -0.86** (0.01)   | -0.79* (0.03)        | -0.91* (0.01)        | -0.86** (0.00)                     |
| <b>Tenure</b>         | 0.00 (0.32)                              | 0.00 (0.42)  | 0.01 (0.29)          | 0.00 (0.96)          | 0.00 (0.42)                        |
| <b>Ethnicity</b>      | -0.04 (0.83)                             | -0.09 (0.23)   | -0.14 (0.63)         | -0.03 (0.92)         | -0.09 (0.23)                       |
| <b>Status</b>         | 0.30 (0.09)                              | 0.28 (0.14)  | 0.63 (0.10)          | 0.26 (0.17)          | 0.28 (0.14)                        |
| <b>Position</b>       | -0.01 (0.08)                             | -0.01 (0.06)   | -0.01* (0.04)        | -0.01 (0.97)         | -0.01 (0.06)                       |
| <b>Film Budget</b>    | 36.70*** (0.00)                          | 37.71*** (0.00)  | -17.61*** (0.00)     | 38.80*** (0.00)      | 37.71*** (0.00)                    |
| <b>Pure good/evil</b> |  | -0.23 (0.31)   |                      |                      |                                    |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p&lt;0.05, \*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\*\* p&lt;0.001

TABLE 4

## Descriptive Statistics

| Variable                  | Mean | s.d. | 1     | 2    | 3     | 4    | 5    |
|---------------------------|------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|
| <b>1. Newcomers index</b> | 0.34 | 0.25 |       |      |       |      |      |
| <b>2. New comb. index</b> | 0.37 | 0.41 | 0.55  |      |       |      |      |
| <b>3. Purity</b>          | 0.05 | 0.27 | 0.20  | 0.17 |       |      |      |
| <b>4. Status</b>          | 0.20 | 0.40 | -0.00 | 0.07 | -0.00 |      |      |
| <b>5. Film Budget</b>     | 0.38 | 0.48 | 0.48  | 0.51 | 0.23  | 0.19 |      |
| <b>6. Post-Paramount</b>  | 0.45 | 0.49 | 0.42  | 0.46 | 0.18  | 0.24 | 0.77 |

TABLE 5

## Results of Ordered Logit Regression Analyses for the Newcomers Index

| Variable              | Model 1a<br>Control<br>Variables | Model 2a<br>Main model |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| <b>Jesus</b>          |                                  | 0.60***<br>(0.00)      |
| <b>Hitler</b>         |                                  | 1.15***<br>(0.00)      |
| <b>Status</b>         | -0.47*** (0.00)                  | -0.46***<br>(0.00)     |
| <b>Film Budget</b>    | 1.64*** (0.00)                   | 1.58***<br>(0.00)      |
| <b>Post-Paramount</b> | 0.65*** (0.00)                   | 0.64***<br>(0.00)      |

Standard errors in parentheses

\* p&lt;0.05, \*\* p&lt;0.01, \*\*\* p&lt;0.001

TABLE 6

## Results of Ordered Logit Regression Analyses for the New Combinations Index

| Variable              | Model 1b<br>Control<br>Variables | Model 2b<br>Main model |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
|                       |                                  | 0.43***                |
| <b>Jesus</b>          |                                  | 1.08***                |
| <b>Hitler</b>         | -0.31***                         | -0.29***               |
| <b>Status</b>         | (0.00)                           | (0.00)                 |
|                       |                                  | 1.66***                |
| <b>Film Budget</b>    | 1.72*** (0.00)                   | (0.00)                 |
|                       |                                  | 0.74***                |
| <b>Post-Paramount</b> | 0.74*** (0.00)                   | (0.00)                 |

Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$

**TABLE 7**  
**Results of Ordered Logit Regression Analyses**  
**for the New Dummy for Purity**

| Variable              | Model 3a<br>Newcomers<br>Index | Model 3b<br>New<br>Combinations<br>Index |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| <b>Purity</b>         | 0.24***<br>(0.00)              | 0.20**                                   |
| <b>Status</b>         | -0.47***<br>(0.00)             | -0.30***<br>(0.00)                       |
| <b>Film Budget</b>    | 1.62***<br>(0.00)              | 1.70***<br>(0.00)                        |
| <b>Post-Paramount</b> | 0.64***<br>(0.00)              | 0.73***<br>(0.00)                        |

**Standard errors in parentheses**

**\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001**

**TABLE 8**  
**Robustness Checks**

| Variable              | Model 4a<br>Newcomers<br>Index, Ordered<br>Probit Model | Model 4b<br>New<br>Combinations<br>Index, Ordered<br>Probit Model | Model 5a<br>Newcomers<br>Index,<br>Continuation<br>Ratio | Model 5b<br>New<br>Combinations<br>Index,<br>Continuation<br>Ratio |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|--|
| <b>Jesus</b>          | 0.37***   | 0.32***   | 0.45***<br>(0.00)  | 0.36***(0.00)  |
| <b>Hitler</b>         | 0.67***   | 0.63***   | 0.75***<br>(0.00)  | 0.76***(0.00)  |
| <b>Status</b>         | -0.27*** (0.00)   | -0.17*** (0.00)   | -0.41***<br>(0.00)                                       | -<br>0.29***(0.00)   |
| <b>Film Budget</b>    | 0.84***<br>(0.00)                                       | 0.91***<br>(0.00)   | 0.83***<br>(0.00)  | 0.98***(0.00)  |
| <b>Post-Paramount</b> | 0.33***<br>(0.00)                                       | 0.41***<br>(0.00)   | 0.35***<br>(0.00)  | 0.48***(0.00)  |

**Standard errors in parentheses**

**\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001**

**Table 9 – Some empirical evidence**

| Actorid | Year | Previous Cinema | Previous TV | Pure Role | Post Cinema | Post TV | Total | Difference Post | Difference TV |
|---------|------|-----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|---------|-------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1       | 1946 | 6               | 1           | 1         | 9           | 1       | 18    | -8              | 0             |
| 2       | 1946 | 4               | 1           | 1         | 35          | 1       | 42    | -34             | 0             |
| 3       | 1946 | 4               | 1           | 1         | 2           | 1       | 9     | -1              | 0             |
| 4       | 1946 | 82              | 1           | 1         | 4           | 1       | 89    | -3              | 0             |
| 5       | 1947 | 19              | 1           | 1         | 2           | 1       | 24    | -1              | 0             |
| 6       | 1947 | 50              | 32          | 1         | 10          | 1       | 94    | -9              | -31           |
| 7       | 1947 | 10              | 0           | 1         | 3           | 67      | 81    | 64              | 67            |
| 8       | 1947 | 1               | 3           | 1         | 2           | 2       | 9     | 0               | -1            |
| 9       | 1949 | 49              | 0           | 1         | 39          | 20      | 109   | -19             | 20            |
| 10      | 1949 | 70              | 10          | 1         | 26          | 31      | 138   | 5               | 21            |
| 11      | 1951 | 24              | 0           | 1         | 26          | 34      | 85    | 8               | 34            |
| 12      | 1951 | 14              | 2           | 1         | 5           | 41      | 63    | 36              | 39            |
| 13      | 1954 | 52              | 7           | 1         | 26          | 130     | 216   | 104             | 123           |
| 14      | 1958 | 20              | 0           | 1         | 0           | 6       | 27    | 6               | 6             |
| 15      | 1958 | 40              | 23          | 1         | 25          | 85      | 174   | 60              | 62            |
| 16      | 1961 | 35              | 2           | 1         | 15          | 16      | 69    | 1               | 14            |
| 17      | 1961 | 2               | 12          | 1         | 78          | 90      | 183   | 12              | 78            |
| 18      | 1962 | 30              | 10          | 1         | 17          | 50      | 108   | 33              | 40            |
| 19      | 1963 | 2               | 2           | 1         | 2           | 1       | 8     | -1              | -1            |
| 20      | 1965 | 17              | 2           | 1         | 96          | 26      | 142   | -70             | 24            |
| 21      | 1965 | 12              | 7           | 1         | 18          | 80      | 118   | 62              | 73            |
| 22      | 1966 | 10              | 20          | 1         | 3           | 80      | 114   | 77              | 60            |
| 23      | 1967 | 41              | 9           | 1         | 20          | 35      | 106   | 15              | 26            |
| 24      | 1968 | 10              | 4           | 1         | 14          | 30      | 59    | 16              | 26            |
| 25      | 1970 | 1               | 0           | 1         | 0           | 5       | 7     | 5               | 5             |
| 26      | 1971 | 53              | 5           | 1         | 80          | 21      | 160   | -59             | 16            |
| 27      | 1973 | 5               | 3           | 1         | 2           | 2       | 13    | 0               | -1            |
| 28      | 1973 | 0               | 0           | 1         | 4           | 5       | 10    | 1               | 5             |
| 29      | 1973 | 0               | 0           | 1         | 0           | 13      | 14    | 13              | 13            |
| 30      | 1973 | 0               | 0           | 1         | 7           | 85      | 93    | 78              | 85            |

|    |      |    |    |   |    |    |     |     |     |
|----|------|----|----|---|----|----|-----|-----|-----|
| 31 | 1974 | 3  | 1  | 1 | 1  | 0  | 6   | -1  | -1  |
| 32 | 1974 | 20 | 20 | 1 | 25 | 88 | 154 | 63  | 68  |
| 33 | 1975 | 39 | 1  | 1 | 10 | 11 | 62  | 1   | 10  |
| 34 | 1976 | 6  | 25 | 1 | 3  | 5  | 40  | 2   | -20 |
| 35 | 1979 | 67 | 0  | 1 | 65 | 40 | 173 | -25 | 40  |
| 36 | 1979 | 10 | 0  | 1 | 8  | 13 | 32  | 5   | 13  |
| 37 | 1979 | 40 | 22 | 1 | 1  | 98 | 162 | 97  | 76  |
| 38 | 1981 | 0  | 0  | 1 | 2  | 5  | 8   | 3   | 5   |
| 39 | 1981 | 40 | 0  | 1 | 5  | 11 | 57  | 6   | 11  |
| 40 | 1982 | 0  | 14 | 1 | 64 | 18 | 97  | -46 | 4   |
| 41 | 1983 | 4  | 1  | 1 | 2  | 1  | 9   | -1  | 0   |
| 42 | 1985 | 9  | 8  | 1 | 6  | 20 | 44  | 14  | 12  |
| 43 | 1988 | 10 | 1  | 1 | 70 | 1  | 83  | -69 | 0   |
| 44 | 1988 | 34 | 15 | 1 | 69 | 5  | 124 | -64 | -10 |
| 45 | 1989 | 99 | 41 | 1 | 12 | 0  | 153 | -12 | -41 |
| 46 | 1989 | 7  | 2  | 1 | 2  | 1  | 13  | -1  | -1  |
| 47 | 1989 | 1  | 1  | 1 | 6  | 10 | 19  | 4   | 9   |
| 48 | 1989 | 80 | 59 | 1 | 30 | 45 | 215 | 15  | -14 |
| 49 | 1990 | 21 | 0  | 1 | 30 | 10 | 62  | -20 | 10  |
| 50 | 1992 | 9  | 6  | 1 | 12 | 80 | 108 | 68  | 74  |
| 51 | 1993 | 7  | 0  | 1 | 2  | 4  | 14  | 2   | 4   |
| 52 | 1993 | 1  | 0  | 1 | 0  | 3  | 5   | 3   | 3   |
| 53 | 1996 | 40 | 27 | 1 | 2  | 4  | 74  | 2   | -23 |
| 54 | 1996 | 5  | 0  | 1 | 7  | 22 | 35  | 15  | 22  |
| 55 | 1996 | 1  | 0  | 1 | 0  | 17 | 19  | 17  | 17  |
| 56 | 1997 | 10 | 0  | 1 | 15 | 16 | 42  | 1   | 16  |
| 57 | 1998 | 25 | 4  | 1 | 18 | 21 | 69  | 3   | 17  |
| 58 | 1998 | 15 | 13 | 1 | 15 | 23 | 67  | 8   | 10  |
| 59 | 1999 | 0  | 6  | 1 | 0  | 9  | 16  | 9   | 3   |
| 60 | 2000 | 25 | 4  | 1 | 30 | 4  | 64  | -26 | 0   |
| 61 | 2000 | 21 | 2  | 1 | 2  | 1  | 27  | -1  | -1  |
| 62 | 2000 | 62 | 30 | 1 | 8  | 13 | 114 | 5   | -17 |
| 63 | 2000 | 70 | 3  | 1 | 2  | 14 | 90  | 12  | 11  |
| 64 | 2000 | 0  | 0  | 1 | 0  | 14 | 15  | 14  | 14  |



|    |      |    |    |   |   |    |    |    |     |
|----|------|----|----|---|---|----|----|----|-----|
| 65 | 2001 | 4  | 0  | 1 | 5 | 9  | 19 | 4  | 9   |
| 66 | 2002 | 13 | 1  | 1 | 6 | 1  | 22 | -5 | 0   |
| 67 | 2002 | 2  | 0  | 1 | 0 | 4  | 7  | 4  | 4   |
| 68 | 2002 | 7  | 0  | 1 | 3 | 12 | 23 | 9  | 12  |
| 69 | 2002 | 30 | 15 | 1 | 5 | 19 | 70 | 14 | 4   |
| 70 | 2003 | 1  | 2  | 1 | 1 | 1  | 6  | 0  | -1  |
| 71 | 2003 | 1  | 3  | 1 | 0 | 2  | 7  | 2  | -1  |
| 72 | 2003 | 1  | 3  | 1 | 0 | 2  | 7  | 2  | -1  |
| 73 | 2003 | 36 | 0  | 1 | 5 | 10 | 52 | 5  | 10  |
| 74 | 2003 | 7  | 8  | 1 | 2 | 18 | 36 | 16 | 10  |
| 75 | 2004 | 7  | 6  | 1 | 0 | 0  | 14 | 0  | -6  |
| 76 | 2004 | 4  | 4  | 1 | 0 | 0  | 9  | 0  | -4  |
| 77 | 2004 | 3  | 19 | 1 | 2 | 6  | 31 | 4  | -13 |
| 78 | 2004 | 3  | 0  | 1 | 1 | 5  | 10 | 4  | 5   |
| 79 | 2004 | 10 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 13 | 42 | 6  | 2   |
| 80 | 2005 | 3  | 2  | 1 | 7 | 1  | 14 | -6 | -1  |
| 81 | 2005 | 50 | 3  | 1 | 9 | 3  | 66 | -6 | 0   |
| 82 | 2005 | 3  | 3  | 1 | 0 | 2  | 9  | 2  | -1  |
| 83 | 2005 | 3  | 0  | 1 | 2 | 5  | 11 | 3  | 5   |
| 84 | 2005 | 15 | 0  | 1 | 2 | 14 | 32 | 12 | 14  |
| 85 | 2006 | 9  | 1  | 1 | 7 | 1  | 19 | -6 | 0   |
| 86 | 2006 | 8  | 5  | 1 | 2 | 1  | 17 | -1 | -4  |
| 87 | 2006 | 9  | 1  | 1 | 2 | 1  | 14 | -1 | 0   |
| 88 | 2006 | 2  | 3  | 1 | 0 | 2  | 8  | 2  | -1  |
| 89 | 2006 | 0  | 0  | 1 | 0 | 7  | 8  | 7  | 7   |
| 90 | 2006 | 18 | 8  | 1 | 0 | 10 | 37 | 10 | 2   |
| 91 | 2006 | 7  | 0  | 1 | 0 | 13 | 21 | 13 | 13  |
| 92 | 2007 | 4  | 1  | 1 | 0 | 0  | 6  | 0  | -1  |
| 93 | 2007 | 8  | 0  | 1 | 6 | 7  | 22 | 1  | 7   |
| 94 | 2007 | 11 | 0  | 1 | 6 | 8  | 26 | 2  | 8   |
| 95 | 2007 | 1  | 0  | 1 | 0 | 4  | 6  | 4  | 4   |

