Case Study Research on Methods for Utilizing Film Festival Organizations
to Impact Local Identity Development
(映画祭運営組織を地域アイデンティティ開発のために
利用する方法に関する事例研究)

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Publication List

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Summary of Thesis Argument

CHAPTER 1:

Problem statement

This thesis argument is a response to the following problem: Numerous Japanese local governments use globally networked film festival organizations as a tool to achieve internally driven local development. However, there is not enough understanding of the non-economic impacts of globally networked film festival organizations on development, which results in lost opportunities for local governments and film festival organizations to impact internally driven local development.

Research goals

This thesis has two research goals:

1) Propose a local development model that captures a) local identity development, and b) the role of globally networked organizations in local development.

2) Apply the model to a select group of globally networked film festival organizations in Japan using case study methodology, and identify specific strategies which film festival organizations and local governments use to impact local development through local identity.

Relevance to urban planning

This thesis is relevant to urban planning on two levels:

           1) Local development theory

This thesis uses systems theory as the basis for understanding local development, as systems theory emphasizes internally driven development for localities. However, this thesis identifies two shortcomings for systems theory.

a) Although systems theory acknowledges the importance of culture and local identity

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for internally driven local development, the theory focuses on the role of firms and does not capture non-economic aspects of development.

b) Systems theory proposes that local development is driven by firms that transform tacit and explicit knowledge. However, systems theory assumes that tacit information can only be exchanged locally, and does not model the role of globally networked organizations in local development.

This thesis expands on systems theory by incorporating social learning theory, which makes it possible to model the development of local identity as well as globally networked organizations.

2) Importance of internally driven local development for Japanese regional cities

Japanese regional cities need to achieve internally driven local development in a knowledge-based and globalized economy. Thus, it is important for Japanese regional cities to be able to utilize global networks as part of local development processes. This thesis aims to improve understanding of globally networked film festival organizations as tools for developing local identity.

CHAPTER 2:

Conceptual framework:

In order to model local development that harnesses global networks to impact local identity development, this thesis uses three theories: network society theory, systems theory, and social learning theory.
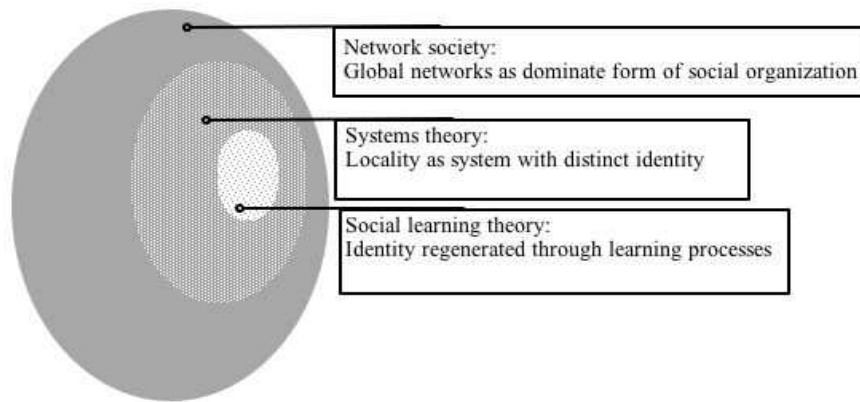
Figure: Relationship between three theories in conceptual framework

Network society theory

  I use network society theory to model the role of globally networked film festival organizations in the development of local identity. This theory argues that as a result of the prevalence of electronically based communication, global networks have become the dominant form of social organization. As a result, spatial proximity is no longer a necessity for many types of social interaction. For localities, the implication is that development is dominated by global networks. The predicted result is "fragmented" local development, in which localities are developed by a logic dictated by global networks. I ask if it is possible for globally networked organizations (such as film festivals) to contribute to "integrated" local development, which creates local identity that is embraced by and broadly relevant to the entire community.

Figure: "Fragmented" local development, in which local development patterns are dominated by global networks

Figure: "Integrated" local development, which creates shared identity that is broadly relevant to the community as a whole

CHAPTER 3:

Systems theory:

Network society theory predicts that globally networked film organizations will create "fragmented" local development. Is there a way to conceive of "integrated" local development that harnesses globally networked organizations? Systems theory provides a model for this kind of development, as it accounts for the roles of both local and non-local ("global") networks in development processes.

According to this theory, each locality is a "system" that has a distinct identity, which consists of economic, political, social and cultural aspects. Each local system regenerates its identity through "learning processes," which engage both local ("vertical") and non-local/global ("horizontal") social networks and knowledge.
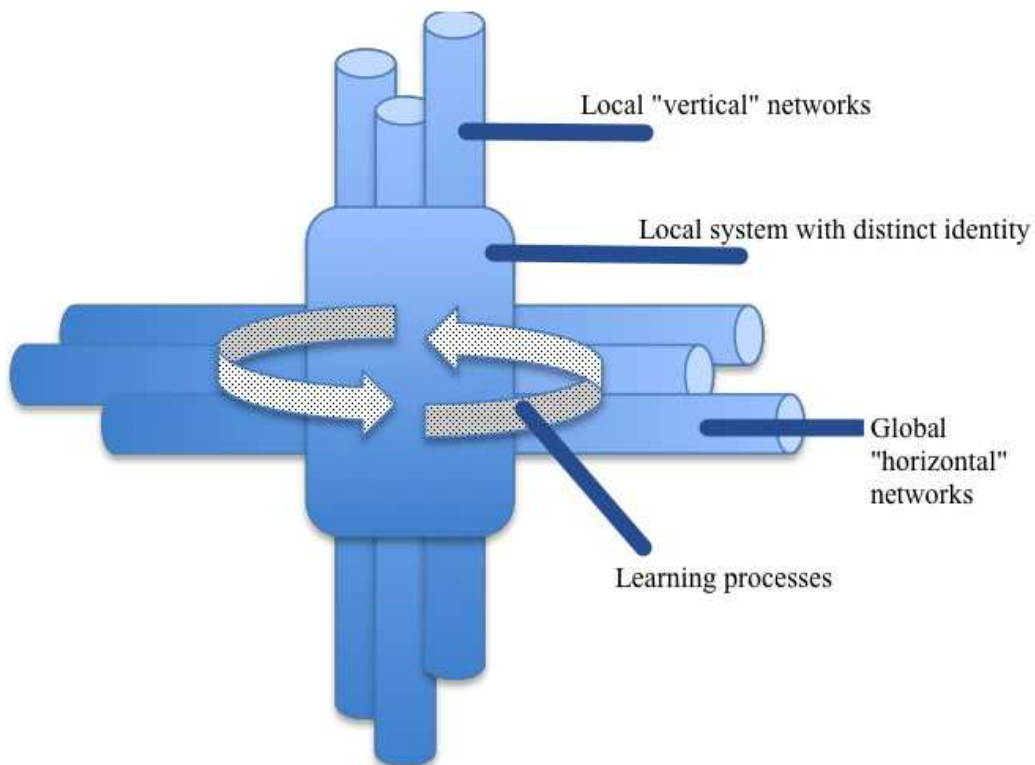
Figure: Overview of systems theory

I define local identity as the shared concepts, ideas, and images about the locality that local residents incorporate within their own identity, and which they use to differentiate their locality from other places. I focus on the learning processes through which film festival organizations utilize global and local networks and knowledge to re-generate local identity.

Social learning theory:

I apply the model of "social learning theory," as this theory does not assume that "tacit" knowledge is necessarily tied to territory, and makes it possible to model the development of local identity (a non-economic aspect of local development). Social learning theory identifies two aspects of learning processes, namely "reification" and

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"participation," which interact to generate new meaning within communities (called "communities of practice"). "Participation" refers to the subjective experiences of community members as they interact in various activities to share and create new knowledge. "Reification" refers to the creation of tangible symbols that objectify knowledge, such as documents, films, and monuments, which can be used to share knowledge within the community, and also to communicate knowledge to outside communities.

In this thesis, I focus on the two aspects of "reification" and "participation" to understand the learning processes through which film festival organizations create new meaning, and thus contribute to local identity development. Thus, I propose two patterns of local development impact:

	"Fragmented" **local identity development**	**"Integrated"** **local identity development**
Reification	Creates symbolic value primarily for the film festival network	Creates symbolic value that is also relevant to the locality
Participation	Film festival organization is primarily engaged with other film-related organizations	Film festival organization also engages with locally based organizations and networks

CHAPTER 4:

Based on this conceptual framework, I ask the following research questions:

Research questions and hypotheses

1) To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development as part of their mission/goals?

   • Hypothesis: There will be a strong tendency for film festival organizations to

prioritize the film festival network agenda, resulting in "fragmented" local development (network society theory).

2) What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development?

- Hypothesis: There will be a strong correlation between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development (systems theory).

3) What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what are the obstacles to "integrated" local development?

- Hypothesis: Such strategies will focus on workshops and competitions, which create increased opportunities for engaging with local and global networks, and will face the obstacles of overcoming boundaries with local groups, and making the film festival content relevant to local networks (social learning theory).

4) Is there evidence of impact of film festival organizations on "integrated" local identity development?

- Hypothesis: For film festival organizations that engage both local and global networks, using both participation and reification learning processes, it will be possible to find evidence of impact on "integrated" local identity development (systems theory, social learning theory).

CHAPTER 5:

Methodology:

I identify 39 film festival organizations in Japan that meet the following criteria:

1) Non-for profit organizations

2) Oriented towards having an impact on local development (excluding festivals that are exclusively focused on film culture or mission; excluding student film festivals)

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3) Established in 2005 or later

I then classified the film festival organizations according to a typology based on network status and locality scale.

Research question 1: To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local development as part of their mission/goals?

Methodology:
- I did text analysis of the film festival organization mission statements, and identify ways in which they aim to impact local identity.
- Test question to asses the presence of impact on local identity: Could this film festival organization's mission statement be carried out anywhere, or is it specific to this locality's identity?
- Then, I did pattern matching of the intended impacts on local identity, and group the film festival organizations into "strong" and "weak" intended impacts.

Data analysis:
I identify 5 patterns through which the 39 film festival organizations contribute to local identity.

Strong: Contribute to locality's core identity

Strong: Contribute to locality's general cultural development

Strong: Contribute to locality's film culture development

Weak: Make national/international-scale impact on film culture

Weak: Introduce film culture to locality

Strong impact
Locality's core identity
Locality's general cultural development
Locality's film culture development

○───────────────────────→

Weak impact
National/international-scale film culture
Introduce film locally

○───────────────────→

Figure: Extent to which film festival organization mission
statement prioritizes local identity impact

***Research question 2: What is the relationship between local government funding and
prioritization of "integrated" local development?***

Methodology:

- I categorized the film festivals according to the level of local government
  funding.
- I created a matrix which categorizes film festivals according to intended impact
  on local identity (strong/weak) and local government funding
  (low/medium/high).

Data analysis:

- There are 28 film festival organizations included in this matrix (the remaining 11
  film festival organizations are excluded because of insufficient data).
- I identify 4 patterns in the matrix of local identity/local government funding.
- (1) "Integrated" local identity pattern:
- High funding/strong local identity: 7 film festivals
- Medium funding/strong local identity emphasis: 5 film festivals
- (2) "Fragmented" local identity pattern:

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- High funding/weak local identity: 7 film festivals
- Medium funding/ weak local identity: 4 film festivals
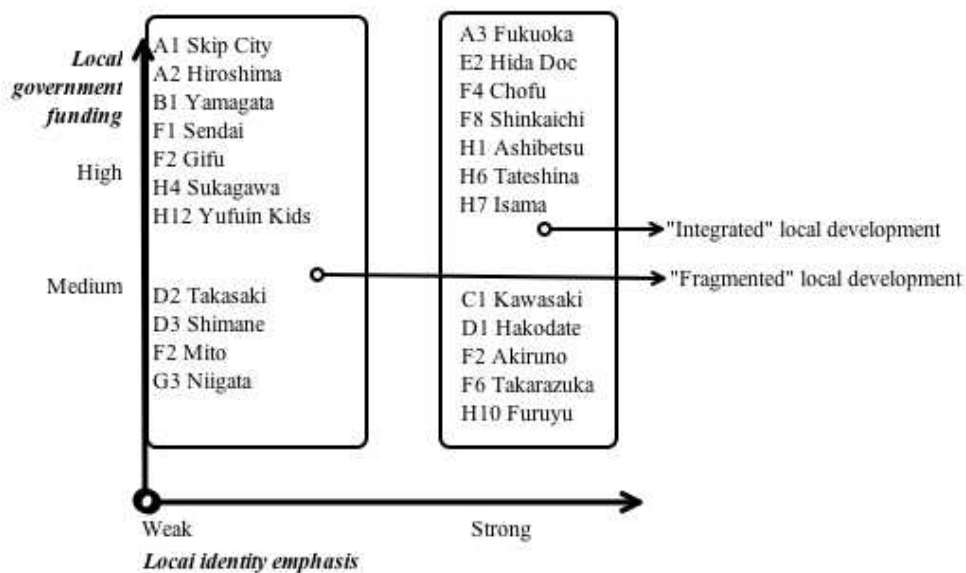
Figure: Relationship between local government funding and emphasis on local identity

CHAPTER 6:

Research question #3: What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what obstacles prevent "integrated" local development?

Methodology:

I create a matrix that has two elements: learning processes ("reification/participation") and networks ("local/global"). I then select 10 film festival organizations as case studies, and identify a specific function that most represents the film festival organization's core mission. I analyze the process through which the function is realized, and identify key actions, which I use as data points. I plot these data points on

the matrix to map the process through which the function is realized.

Data analysis:

I identify in total 5 patterns of engaging with local/global networks through reification/participation learning processes. In addition, I identify 35 learning process strategies through which film festival organizations harness local and global networks to achieve local identity creation.

Research question #4: Is there evidence of impact of film festival organizations on "integrated" local identity development?

Methodology:

- I did fieldwork for 1 of the 10 case studies to identify specific "participation" and "reification" strategies
- I did fieldwork for 1 of the 10 case studies to assess the impact on local identity through an audience survey (Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival)

Data analysis:

- Fieldwork of the Isama Studio Film Festival does not indicate that the film festival overcomes the barriers of participation.
- Cross tabulation analysis of the Yamagata International Documentary Film

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Festival audience survey does not find statistical significance that the film festival organization has improved the local identity.

Finally, I discuss validity and reliability issues in the research design, and the implications of the research results for "integrated" local identity development in contemporary society.

CHAPTER 7:

Discussion of Research Results

Question #1: The evidence does not support the hypothesis, which predicted that film festival organizations would prioritize impact on film festival networks (based on network society theory). I found evidence of film festival organizations that prioritize impact on local identity. In response to the research result, I discuss the Sundance Film Festival, which I argue prioritizes "fragmented" local development, and three Japanese cases (Shinkaichi in Kobe: Fukuoka; Ozu in Tateshina) that I argue support "integrated" local development.

Question #2: The evidence does not support the hypothesis, which predicted that film festival organizations that receive local government funding will prioritize local development. I found evidence of film festival organizations that receive high levels of local government support, but do not prioritize local development. However, further discussion of two cases in the United States (San Francisco International Film Festival; Heartland Film Festival in Indianapolis) show examples in which local government gives little funding, but nonetheless, the film festivals prioritize "integrated" local development. These cases demonstrate that film festival organizations can have a strong mutual commitment with the local community in a way that transcends local government support.

CHAPTER 8:

Question #3: The evidence supports the hypothesis, which predicted that strategies such as workshops and competitions create more opportunities for engaging local and global networks. Through the case study analysis, I identify 5 patterns of film festival learning processes, and 44 strategies for impacting "integrated" local identity development. However, these case studies were limited by the fact that I only analyzed one specific function for each film festival organization. This methodology fails to capture impacts by festivals like the Takasaki Film Festival, which has year-round activities through operating a local mini-theater, and the Shimane Film Festival, which holds screenings that rotate through several towns.

Question #4: The evidence does not support the hypothesis that film festival organizations that engage both local and global networks result in measurable impact on local identity development. However, it is also important to recognize that this thesis assumes that local development must "comprehensively" impact the entire locality. If this assumption is removed, it becomes possible to consider alternative models for impact, such as contributing to an "ecology" of cultural organizations within the locality (such as the Isama festival in Nakanojo Town, Gunma Prefecture) or impacting outside perceptions of the locality (such as the Yamagata film festival).

I make the following recommendations to local government officials and film festival organizations that aim to impact local identity development:
1) Incorporating local identity into key practices.
2) Incorporate local identity into mission statement
3) Use learning process strategies (translation, linking practices, establishing legitimacy) to engage global filmmakers with local themes, through local participation.

Chapter 1   Research Problem: Insufficient Understanding of How to Use Film

Festival Organizations for Local Development in Japan

1.1   Film Festival Organizations and Local Development

1.1.1   Gap in Understanding Film Festival Organization Contributions to Local

Development

This thesis focuses on the research problem of the need to improve understanding of how to use film festival organizations for local development in Japan. I identified this problem in my field research about the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF), while I was conducting an interview with the head of Yamagata City's Cultural Affairs Department and two representatives from YIDFF. Yamagata City founded the biennial film festival in 1989 to commemorate the city's centennial, and since then has funded roughly 80% of the film festival's budget. The festival has grown into one of the world's major documentary film festivals and in particular has been a leader in developing documentary film in Asia. However, since the late 1990s there was increasing tension between Yamagata City Hall, which provided monetary and personnel support for the festival, and the professional staff who organized the film festival. In short, the city was facing severe budget constraints, and was asking the film festival organizers to justify the festival's receipt of local public support. The film festival organizers replied that the festival had become a beacon for documentary filmmakers in Asia, and had put Yamagata on the map for film lovers everywhere. However, the local government representative wanted to know: How does the film festival contribute to the average citizen in Yamagata City? How does it impact the city as a whole?

This thesis is a response to the gap between the film festival organizers, who aimed to make an impact on Yamagata through the festival's contributions to documentary

film, and the local government, which wanted to improve the city as a whole. There are a number of ways to approach this gap. From a public policy perspective, both the local government and film festival organization needed to clarify their goals, which would enable them to establish a shared set of criteria for evaluating the film festival's impact. From a public management perspective, both parties could improve their communication and decision-making processes. From an economic development perspective, the festival's impact could be quantified in terms of economic impact or contingent valuation.

This thesis approaches the problem from the perspective of urban planning, and focuses on the problem of how film festival organizations can contribute to local development. In order to contribute to understanding how globally networked film festival organizations can be used to achieve local development, this thesis aims to accomplish the following two goals:

1) Propose a local development model that captures non-economic aspects of local development, specifically focusing on local identity development, and that captures the role of globally networked organizations in development;

2) Apply the model to a select group of globally networked film festival organizations in Japan using case study methodology, and identify specific strategies which film festival organizations and local governments can use to impact local development through local identity.

The following sections show the broader significance of the research goals by arguing that film festival organizations are uniquely positioned to harness global film culture towards local development in Japan.

1.1.2   Significance of Focusing on Film Festival Organizations in Japan

This thesis focuses on film festival organizations in Japan because a significant number of the festivals focus on alleviating two spatial tensions: 1) the wealth gap between the Tokyo capital regions and, to a lesser degree, other major cities, and other regions of Japan, and 2) suburbanization and the hollowing out of downtown areas and "main street" (*shotengai*) shopping streets.

Film festivals generally place little emphasis on ethnic identity, reflecting Japan's self-perceived homogeneity and restricted immigration policy. In contrast, a significant portion of film festivals in the U.S., Canada, and other multi-cultural countries deal with issues of ethnic identity and the integration of marginalized people into mainstream society. Such film festivals that deal with specific cultural traditions tend to focus on introducing foreign cultures.

There are currently close to 100 film festivals held annually in Japan, ranging from student-sponsored festivals to billion-yen international festivals. The growth of film festivals is rooted in three factors 1) community-based screenings, 2) demand for films from abroad and aspirations for international cultural influence, and 3) local government interest in cinema as a tool for cultural influence.

(1)   Community based screenings

Non-commercial screenings can be traced to screenings in the 1950s held by groups of people linked to the labor movements. In the 1960s and 70s, student "cine clubs" linked together to form the "Cinemateque Japonese" network to jointly import and distribute films. Athene Francaise Cultural Center, established 1970, was one of the centers for this activity. From 1980s there were increasing numbers of "mini theaters" that screened independently produced films. Areas without "mini theaters" often have film festivals.

An important subset of mini-theaters are citizen-run movie theaters, which are financed through donations and subscriptions from local businesses and residents. Examples are Theater Kino in Sapporo, which became an NPO in 1998. Nagoya

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Cinemateque started as independent screening group 1971, and was established as a mini-theater in 1982. The facility has a lending library, store, and serves as sa base for independent filmmakers in the area. Cinema 5 in Oita opened 1989, taking over a failing commercial cinema. Osaka's Cinema Nouveau is another example.

(2) Demand for films from abroad, and aspirations for international cultural influence

Japan's first international film festivals began in the 1980s, inspired in part by the success of the Japan Foundation's South Asia Film Festival (Minami Ajia no Meisaku o motomete) in 1982, which received attention for showing hard-to-see films from Asia, and bringing actors, directors, etc. to Japan, and for obtaining two-year non-commercial distribution rights in Japan and showing works through the country. Film festivals soon became a way for cinema enthusiasts to gain access to films from abroad.

In addition, this time period coincided with Japan's ascendency as an economic power, and growing role in international affairs. On the cultural front, film became a new territory for cultural institutions to demonstrate Japan's clout. The Tokyo International Film Festival, established 1985, was the most ambitious effort to create a film festival on par with Cannes, Venice, and Berlin through high-profile premieres, glamourous red carpet events, and guest appearances by major movie stars.

(3) Local government interest in cinema as a tool for cultural influence

Other international festivals were established in the late 1980s and early 1990s, in the time period before the economic constraints of long-term economic contraction. In general, these international film festivals were spearheaded by regional cities that aimed to achieve cultural influence beyond Japan. In addition, from the mid-1980s, international film festivals were a favorite way for cities to celebrate and commemorate anniversaries. Thus, a number of local governments initiated film festivals to commemorate the centennial of the city's incorporation.

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The first public facility devoted to film was the National Film Center (est. 1970), expanding on the Film Library within the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo (est. 1952). Local government support has sometimes extended to public facilities to present films throughout the year. In 1982 Hiroshima City became the first local government to create a facility exclusively for films, using the Hiroshima City Eizo Bunka Library to cultivate Hiroshima as an "international peace culture city." Kyoto, Kawasaki, Yamagata and Fukuoka followed (Network Kaigi 1996, Fukuoka).

1.1.3 Originality of Thesis Argument

The originality of this thesis argument stems from creating a local development model that focuses on 1) local identity development as the primary outcome to be measured, and 2) globally networked cultural organizations as the main actors.

First, by focusing on local identity, this thesis provides a counterpoint to local development theories that focus on economic impact. Economic impact research for cultural organizations such as film festivals generally focuses on discrete events. Impact is measured by calculating direct and indirect economic impact of a specific activity in the form of money spent by tourists, increased awareness of the locality through media coverage, and increased business to local firms and individuals. Alternative approaches are to use cost-benefit analysis, which attempts to compare benefits to the costs on a societal basis; and contingent valuation, which asks people how much they would be willing to pay for intangible benefits (Allen et al. 2000; for example, Decima Research 1994, economic impact assessment of the Toronto International Film Festival). However, as is argued in section 1.3, culture has been increasingly recognized as playing a critical role in local development. It is insufficient to analyze the role of culture purely in terms of economic impact.

The second dimension to the originality of this thesis argument is the focus on

modeling the role of globally networked cultural organizations in local development. There main approach to modeling local development is localization theory, which ties development with locality through arguing that face-to-face interpersonal contact is essential to knowledge creation. However, such theories focus almost exclusively on firms and individuals as the unit of analysis, and analyze impact in terms of tangible economic benefits (number of workers, firms; revenue flows, etc.).

The table below diagrams the existing theoretical approaches to modeling local development, and identifies a gap in terms of modeling the role of organizations in creating cultural impact. In the tradition of localization theory, this thesis focuses on learning processes as the central element to local development. However, I broaden the scope of the research by focusing on learning processes within communities of practice, which makes it possible to select units of analysis other than firms, and to assess non-economic/intangible development outcomes (Chapter 3).

Role of organization

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Contingent valuation analysis (Seaman 2002)

Economic impact studies (Decima Research 1994)

Cultural impact

Economic impact

Creative cities (Landry 2000, Sasaki 2008)

Creative class (Florida 2002)

Cultural districts (Stern 2007)

Learning region (Florida 1998)

Industrial districts (Markusen 1996)

Territory based innovation (Sorensen 2008)

Regional industrial agglomeration (Storper 1998)

Comprehensive theory

1.2   Challenges Facing Regional Cities in Japan

1.2.1   Globalization and Knowledge-based Economy

Japanese regional development in the postwar period has been characterized by equalizing the distribution of economic activity from Tokyo to regional cities. This redistribution of development was guided by central government policies, which remedied income disparity among regions in Japan, as demonstrated by the rapid drop from 1961 through the mid-1970s in the gini coefficient for per capita income among prefectures (Morotomi 2010).

However, these regional development policies began to lose their effectiveness in the 1990s, due to the twin forces of globalization and the transformation to a knowledge-based society. In addition, Japan is now confronting an additional challenge that is unique among developed nations, namely population decline and aging population. Japan's population has begun to decline since 2005, and it is projected that the population will concentrate in Tokyo and regional cities will face depopulation.

1.2.2   Urban Planning Response to Challenges Facing Japanese Regional Cities

The Comprehensive National Land Development Law of 1950 played a major role in distributing industry among regions and resolving regional differences in Japan, until the law was dismantled in 2005 by the National Spatial Planning Act. In other words, this law from 1950 underpinned the successive Comprehensive National Land Development Plans and all other regional development plans and laws. These plans strove to balance industrial development throughout regions in Japan, and included the National Land Use Planning Act.

The Comprehensive Plans were revised every 7 to 10 years, and formed the basis for postwar land use and spatial policy. The national development plans aimed to achieve even development throughout Japan, and established a national minimum to

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enable everyone to enjoy a basic level of social services throughout Japan. First, the plans distributed industry throughout Japan, in places outside the 4 major industrial centers of Tokyo, Nagoya Osaka and Kitakyushu. This was achieved through a 1962 act that designated 15 new industrial cities to be the targets for intensive investment in harbor areas and industrial districts, with companies then encouraged to locate in these regions. These regions became typified as the "kombinat" style of development in coastal areas, in which raw materials and services were to be obtained from adjacent areas, thereby attracting new companies and local demand for services due to increasing local standards of living, and leading to new development in the region. This kind of development focused on anchor points. The Factory Regulation Law (Tokyo capital region in 1959, Kinki region in 1964) controlled the concentration of industry in big cities, and supported the dispersal of industry (Morotomi 2010).

The 4th plan went into effect at the peak of the bubble, and included the Resort Law the "minkatsu" law targeting public-private sector projects for urban development to create new central geographical points for development. However, after the bubble crashed, those developments proved to be economically unviable. From the 1990s, globalization and the transformation to a service/knowledge based economy made it more difficult to control development through national policy, and the relevance of a national plan came into question. As the impact of big projects lessened, this approach to dealing with regional inequality came into question, particularly in consideration of the high environmental costs of development that prioritized economic growth. In addition, suburbanization remedied the problem of overcrowding in city centers, which removed the need to relocate economic activity to regional cities (Onishi 2010).

The end result was that in 2005, the Comprehensive National Land Development Law transformed into the National Spatial Planning Act. Rather than prioritizing national industrial/economic development, and the focus shifted to land conservation, sustainable regional development, and the cultivation of civil society

through citizen participation and NPOs.

1.2.3 Importance of Local Development for Japanese Regional Cities

Rather than regional development that relies on external investment from public funds and private companies, there is growing recognition that endogenous regional development is critical for regional development. This approach develops local businesses, which begin a virtuous cycle of increased local tax revues, and improved standard of living. The critical elements are to achieve bottom up development that originates from regions, and to work within context of globalization and knowledge based economy.

What if Japan fails to develop its regional cities? As Morotomi argues, the weakening of Japan's regional cities is a problem because each region loses its identity, which diminishes diversity. This loss of regional diversity is an overall loss for Japan as a whole when viewed as an overall system, and compromises Japan's ability to thrive. Other countries like Italy, the US and Germany cultivate regional characteristics, which in turn become a source for creativity and development. The development of regional identity strengthens Japan as a whole, and enables Japan to withstand the waves of globalization. Why? Because the uniqueness that emerges from diversity interacts, resulting in creativity. Japan's strength will be jeopardized by the homogenization and elimination of regional differences, which will result in homogenous ideas, as industry gets concentrated in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. However, this homogenization will be the result of globalization's pressure if nothing is done. It is not possible to prevent globalization; however, it is of utmost importance to use policies to mitigate globalization, or even harness globalization, to cultivate and develop regional distinctiveness (Morotomi 2010).

In response to the above issues, Japanese cities are faced with the urgent need to generate endogenous development within a globalized and knowledge-driven economy.

This research focuses on those challenges, as follows:

1) Focus on the development of local identity

Endogenous development requires that each locality call upon its own internal resources for creating new value. In terms of economic development, this kind of development focuses on utilizes local resources to create new outputs, and then to satisfy the resulting increases in demand through locally produced goods and services. The result is a virtuous cycle of local development, in which local demand is satisfied by local production (Onishi 2010).

This research focuses on cultural development, which is a critical aspect of sustaining the distinctiveness of each city. Cultural development results in improved amenities for local residents, which enables the locality to maintain and grow its population, and creates a basis for local distinctiveness (Matsubara 2010). In particular, I focus on the development of local identity, which occurs in the form of the "image" held of a place by residents and outsiders, and the relationships among individuals and organizations within a place.

2) Focus on utilizing global networks in local learning processes

In the context of a knowledge-driven economy, it is widely recognized that the critical process driving development within organizations is "knowledge creation." This model of "knowledge creation" (also called "learning processes) has also been applied to regional development, through concepts such as the "learning region." In this research, I focus on the learning processes that occur in the development of local identity. As discussed above, global forces exert homogenizing pressures and threaten to obliterate regional distinctions. These global forces cannot be excluded from the local development process. Rather, global networks need to be harnessed and utilized to create and sustain the local economy, culture and society. Thus, this research focuses on

the ways in which global networks can be utilized toward developing local identity.

1.3   Modeling the Role of Cultural Organizations in Local Development

1.3.1   Recognizing the Role of Culture in Local Development

Film festivals can be understood as an aspect of cultural development. The past forty years have seen a transformation in the fundamental relationship between culture and development. In the paradigm of modernism, progress was equated with universal culture, and cultural differences were framed in terms of their contributions to economic growth – either as instruments or obstacles to growth, or in some cases ornamental byproducts of growth (Rana and Piracha 2006).

Initial conceptions of cultural development merely boosted culture's relative importance within economic processes, which resulted in an oversimplified compartmentalization of culture into fine arts, performing arts, preservation, etc. (Rana and Piracha 2006, p. 31), at national and local levels. At the same time, there has been a tendency to collapse culture into a self-contained thing, at the national level as a monolithic code for state culture, and at the local level as the idealized last frontier of authenticity and "prelapsarian purity and unity" (Pieterse 2001, p. 60). More sophisticated approaches see the introduction of culture into development frameworks as an opportunity to find "a new sense of balance between universalism and localism" (Pieterse 2001, p. 60) and understanding culture as an arena for generating differences amid the homogenization of globalization (Clifford 1988).[1]

Thus, on a theoretical level, the introduction of culture serves as an antidote to development theories that assume a homogenous, fixed path. At the same time, cultural development can be understood as responses to the crisis that national governments

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[1] The introduction of culture in modernization is tightly intertwined with rethinking the Westernization = modernization paradigm. See Pieterse (2001), and Rana and Piracha (2006) for the context of these arguments.

faced in trying to revitalize regions hit by de-industrialization and loss of manufacturing jobs from the 1970s onwards. Creative cities theory represents the intersection of these two theoretical trends, namely regional revitalization and antidote to the homogenization of modernization theory. Creative cities theory was initially developed in response to de-industrialization of cities in the UK (Landry 2000) and mid-sized European cities (Bianchini and Parkinson 1993), and has been hugely influential in urban policymaking and planning (Sasaki 2001). However, creative cities development is not adequate for addressing the two thesis research questions because it is targeted primarily for practitioners and takes a toolkit approach.

1.3.2 Increasing Role of Cultural Development for Urban Planning in Japan

There are three main areas in which the role of culture in urban development has changed in Japan over the past four decades. The first is the role of culture within local government planning and administration. Second, the widespread building of cultural facilities in local governments throughout Japan, particularly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, through incentives and subsidies from the central government. Third, culture has been seen to be a vital force in economic development, through the introduction of "creative city theory" city into urban planning discourse over the past decade.

a) Culture as antidote to "sectionalized" local government administration

In Japan, the Cultural Department within the Ministry of Education and the Cultural Treasures Preservation Committee were merged in 1968 to create the Agency for Cultural Affairs as an agency attached to the Ministry of Education. At first, most of the budget went toward preservation. However, gradually the role of culture in local government was recognized, and the Ministry of Home Affairs established the Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities in 1994. At the local level, culture came to be recognized in the late 1970s as an antidote to "sectionalized" local government, in

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which departments implemented policy without a unified vision of the overall city's development. Culture was seen as having the ability to bridge various departmental divisions, such as education, economic development, and infrastructure development. In addition, culture was seen as being an important aspect of creating cities with genuine prosperity and affluence, in order to improve the quality of life for local citizens in areas beyond infrastructure and physical improvements. Thus, many local developments moved their cultural departments from the board of education to the comprehensive planning department, and expanded their conception of culture from "preservation" to "active creation." Kyoto City was the first local government to create a cultural affairs department in 1958, and by 1977 all prefecture-level local governments had a cultural affairs division.

b) Cultural facility construction

From the mid-1980s, there was a boom in the construction of cultural facilities in cities and towns throughout Japan. This movement was spurred by subsidies and loans from the central government, as part of an effort to improve quality of life by making culture readily available throughout Japan. The construction of cultural facilities reflected two aspects of regional development in Japan: first, channeling public funding into infrastructure projects, and second, the emphasis on providing a "national minimum" that maintained a consistent standard throughout Japan. However, by the mid-1990s the cultural facilities were being criticized as "empty boxes." Local governments took on huge debts to finance the projects, but were unable to maintain cultural programming, both because of the lack of funds and expertise.

c) Creative city theory

Creative city theory has been introduced to Japan since the late 1990s, and has been characterized as one of the major urban theories of the early 21st century, alongside

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"world cities," "sustainable cities," and "compact cities." As of 2008, Kobe and Nagoya had filed applications, and Osaka and Kanazawa were in the process of preparing applications to be endorsed by UNESCO's Creative City Global Alliance.

Sasaki defines creative cities as "cities with creative spaces where creative problem solving can occur regarding regional social issues and global environmental issues, in which there is a dynamic and flexible urban economic system, and abundant creativity regarding culture and industry, supported by free creative activities amongst local residents" (Sasaki 2008, p. 8), and he outlines six conditions for creative city development:

(1) Urban economic system that is rich in the self-revolutionizing capability to deal with waves of global restructuring, through developing flexible industry and workers that are able to develop their own abilities, in addition to artists and scientists who are engaged in creative activities.

(2) Infrastructure to support creativity, with NPO sector and associations that support creative work; environment that makes it easy to establish new businesses; protection of rights of SMEs and craft industries; cultural facilities like universities, technical schools and research industries and theaters and libraries that support artistic and scientific creativity for the city

(3) Balance between the development of production and consumption, so that industrial development improves the quality of life for urban residents, and there is industrial vitality and lifestyle cultural that stimulates the development of new industry in the areas of the environment, healthcare and the arts through providing fully developed social services

(4) Maintenance of urban environment and aesthetics to increase the creativity and sensitivity of residents; protection of the urban environment; plans that regulates the spaces where production and consumption occur

(5) Regional administration that is in charge of the environmental management in the widest sense of the word of region, and the local government too – a system of citizen regarding the local government administration, that protects the creative and diverse activities of residents.

(6) Capable officials who can create policies and be in charge of finances to support creative local government administration

1.3.3 Measuring Cultural Development

As argued above, culture is being increasingly recognized as an important aspect of local development. In order to ensure that culture is factored into development policies, there have been significant efforts over the past two decades to identify qualitative and quantitative aspects of culture that can be measured through indicators (UNESCO 2000). The primary difficulty in dealing with culture on its own terms, and not as an instrument for economic development, is the difficulties in measurement. Throsby has pioneered the field of cultural economics, and argues that cultural value exists independently from economic value. He proposes that "the economic impulse is individualistic, and the cultural impulse is collective" (Throsby 2001, p. 13) In contrast to the self-interested basis of economic behavior, cultural behavior "reflects collective as distinct from individualistic goals, and derives from the nature of culture as expressing the beliefs, aspirations and identification of a *group*...Thus, the cultural impulse can be seen as a desire for group experience or for collective production or consumption that cannot be fully factored out to the individuals comprising the group (Throsby 2001, p. 13).

These divergent qualities of economic and cultural impulses lead to distinct types of value. Cultural value cannot be understood within the individualistic framework of economics. How can we approach cultural value? Throsby suggests "that the starting point of an identification of value . . . lies in the irreducible principle that

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value represents positive characteristics rather than negative, an orientation to what is good rather than bad, better rather than worse." Furthermore, the formation of value occurs within a moral and social universe . . ." (Throsby, 2001, p. 27). Humanist conceptions of cultural value (until cultural modernism) emphasized transcendental, objective, and universal characteristics that were inherent to cultural value, a view which has come tumbling down with modernism and postmodern critiques. Throsby suggests four propositions to establish a stable concept of cultural value: First, that people are capable of their own internally consistent responses to culture (and art?), which can be delineated from responses conditioned by social and political context (i.e. class). Second, individual responses will have some kind of consistent regularity, which makes it possible to find consensual agreement. Third, there are many kinds of cultural value, and these are constantly changing. Fourth, measurement might be impossible (Throsby 2001, p. 28). If we can accept that individuals can have valid responses to culture, and that consensus is possible (although not fixed or quantifiable), then he suggests we disaggregate culture into several components; criteria for measuring these types of value can then be created. The evaluation could still be absolute or relative, with objective or subjective measurements and fixed or movable scales for assessment. Cultural value characteristics (Throsby 2001, pp. 28-29).

> Aesthetic value: harmony, beauty of form
>
> Spiritual value: inner life
>
> Social value: connection with other people
>
> Historical value: connection with past, access to past
>
> Symbolic value: conveys meaning
>
> Authenticity value: that it is real in and of itself

Furthermore, these aspects of cultural value are not necessarily reflected in individualistic economic-based decisions, for four reasons: 1) people might not have enough information to make a fully informed decision (culture and art requires a build

up of knowledge), 2) it might be impossible to express aesthetic value (or other types of cultural value) in terms of preferences (i.e. a red and blue painting are different, but maybe it is impossible to rank these preferences), 3) someone can recognize cultural value, but not correlate that with a willingness to pay, and 4) the preference for something might be dependent upon it being collective – i.e. enjoying a sense of connection in a theater audience, or enjoying national identity. Thus, cultural value cannot be encompassed within economic value (Throsby 2001, p. 32).

Throby's solution to the cultural valuation problem is instead of trying to value "cultural goods and services," he posits them as "cultural capital."[2] Even without clear monetary valuation, you can still talk about enhancing, maintaining, or destroying an asset. Thus, by conceptualizing culture as a "thing," Throsby proposes cultural sustainability standards (Throsby 2001, pp. 57-58). Culture should be available for the general well being; present use should not compromise future generations; cultural diversity should be maintained because it can lead to new capital formation. This thesis uses Throsby's propositions on cultural capital as a departure point for assessing local cultural development.

1.3.4 Research Focus: Local Identity Development

This thesis focuses on the impact of culture on local development through the development of local identity. The creation of local identity can be understood through social identity theory, which proposes that each person's self-concept is made up of their personal identity (talents, skills, personality traits, and other specific attributes) and

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[2] The concept of cultural capital is often associated with human capital, based on Bourdieau's definition of cultural capital as symbolic status and knowledge accumulated by individuals to maintain their social status (Bourdieau 1984). Bourdieau's concept of cultural capital was generated as part of a broader critique of capitalist society, but has also been utilized in cultural development policy (Jeannotte 2003).

social identity. Social identity is defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, quoted in Lantz and Loeb 1998). Research on social identity supports the connection between identity with locality and social cooperation (Bonaiuto et al 2008).

This process occurs as follows: each person has their own image of the city, which is usually not articulated. When some kind of vision or image of the city is proposed, the unarticulated images are made clear. In some cases, the individual visions come into conflict, which clarifies the vision within each person and can lead to a shared vision. This happens through individuals coming together to form a shared concept of local identity, or though emphasizing differences with other places and projecting the distinctive local identity outwards. This process has been described as the "theming" of a locality（主題化 shudaika）.

Place-based identity can be defined as the "self-determination of the region through that region's distinctive characteristics." The distinctiveness of regional identity has been battered by modernity and the homogenization of mass-production-based society, and again by globalization. Rather that recreating lost regional identity, it is more relevant to focus on the processes through which identity is created within our contemporary context. Identity needs to be understood as undergoing constant transformation and needs to be recreated and reconstructed by the region itself (Watanabe 2010). Pollice argues that geographic identity is the "belonging" ties that create the "lived space" that integrates physical space with social space (Pollice 2006).

1.4　Identifying Film for Research Focus

1.4.1　　　Discussion of Potential Areas of Cultural Activities

The table gives examples of cultural activities that can potentially engage with local identity creation.

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Sports	Potentially all sports with global networks – i.e. sports that are represented in the Olympics; Examples of specific networks; - "Under 21" national soccer teams - International high school baseketball teams - Yoga schools
Performing arts	"Modern performing arts," and traditional national performing arts with global reach - Contemporary dance companies - Ballet companies
Exhibition arts	Physical art and media (reproducible art) shown in museum settings Museums with collections that are loaned for traveling exhibitions Museums and art cinemas that show non-commercial films Festival organizations that program regular events
Production of cultural works and products	Art schools Studios of individual artists Film production companies

Table: Examples of cultural networks that can potentially contribute to local identity development

The examples of judo and a traditional Japanese festival are discussed below.

- - Judo

Judo is an example of a sport that has become a global sport, with organizations throughout the world that standardize the sport while adapting it to local audiences and wrestlers. In the process, the sport itself has changed, such as the introduction of colored jerseys to more easily identify the opponents, as opposed to the white outfits used before internationalization; and new scoring methods that emphasize

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outcomes. These changes that emphasize commodification and spectacle can be understood as the result of pressure to appeal to audiences worldwide through television. There are subsets of judo wrestlers in Japan who regret the internationalization of the sport, and compare its fate with kendo, a sword-based sport that has not expanded aggressively beyond Japan and is seen as retaining the original "bujutsu" ideals (Hamaguchi 2006).

- - Festival

Festival tourism in Japan is an example of a single local festival organization expanding its network to a national level, in the process gaining a tourism audience, but also leaving itself open to changes in the way the festival is run. The "kenka matsuri" (fight festival) at Matsubara Shrine in Himeji City is an example of a vibrant festival with roots going back over 1,000 years. The festival draws people back to their hometown from all over Japan, with participation in the festival is limited to people who were born within shrine parish units. However, the festival organizers are aging, and the next generation of organizers tend to work outside the immediate community and have weaker ties. The Himeji local government has pressured the festival organizers to accommodate tourists, and those who identify with the region as a whole want to see the festival broaden its appeal to enhance Himeji's prestige within Japan. In response, conservatives have fought to retain the festival's autonomy, and prioritize the festival's symbolic and social meaning for the immediate community (Ikeda 1999).

1.4.2   Film as Agent of Cultural Development

Film is often viewed as a purely commercial product, but its relationship with place has been clear from the outset of film history. Specifically, Benjamin's 1935 essay on the film illuminates the medium's significance in severing the link between art and place, and demonstrates that film exhibition was a revolutionary force that ushered

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modernity into the arts (Benjamin 2001). At the time, the appearance of cinema was closely linked to changes in urban space and consumption, as epitomized in the "flaneur" who wanders through the city, perceiving and reorganizing the environment as a spectator and consumer. More profoundly, Benjamin proposed that cinema reorganized space and time relations, not just through the eyes of the flaneur, but in ways that fundamentally transformation art's function in society. Film's ability to fluidly manipulate time and space was demonstrated in the late 1890s by early filmmakers who reversed actions, reorganized the sequence of actions, and cut together sequences that defied space- and time-bound reality. Initially alarmed, audiences quickly came to adopt this new visual language that blurred space and time, alongside technical innovations like the telephone, which collapsed space, and the electric light, which blurred the distinction between day and night (Natter 1994).

Benjamin identified broad consequences to this new way of relating to time and space. The link between tradition and place was articulated by Benjamin in his seminal essay on reproducible cultural objects, in which he argued that "cult value" underpins traditional culture. Within the context of traditional culture, cultural objects have cult-based value, which is grounded in their use in ritual. Such ritual objects need not be available for viewing, or perhaps are only accessible to a few people, and serve as instruments of magic to bridge the human world with mystical forces. The existence of the object is most important, more so than its exhibition. Accordingly, cultural objects in pre-modern society were inseparable from their cult-based context, and hence imbedded in both place and community. Cultural objects were used in rites and rituals as a means for appeasing nature and uncontrollable forces, as exemplified by relics shown only on feast days or portable shrines brought out solely for annual festivals.

Thus, sacred and pre-modern art and architecture represent "traditional/place-time based" culture. Sports like sumo, kendo and aikido likewise closely tied to ritual, as are traditional life performances such as tea ceremony, noh theater and gagaku music.

The experience of traditional cultural forms such as kabuki, noh, bunraku and tea ceremony is likewise tied to specific performance sites, such as kabuki halls, shrines and temples, and specially designed tea rooms.

As a reproducible cultural form, film is liberated from ritual, which simultaneously liberates it from a specific place. Thus, film is at liberty to meet the viewer in the movie theater, an art gallery, television, mobile device, etc., and served as the quintessential cultural object of the 20th century, having proved adaptable to encompass high-art, commercial productions, sub-culture films, ethnographic cinema, etc. Trends in film presentation have been shaped by broad demographic and economic transformations, including downtown movie theaters, drive-in theaters, suburban cinemaplexes, televised film screenings, and films produced for mobile devices.

A clear transition arises with the transition from pre-modern to modern culture, and the emergence of new contexts for experiencing this culture. As culture was liberated from its sacred/cult-based roots, new contexts were created through institutions of the state and market, epitomized by the creation of great museums by the state (Louvre), industrialists (Metropolitan Museum of Art) and corporations/entrepreneurs (Broadway theaters, movie theaters). The use-value of art shifted from cult and ritual to moral improvement (uplifting the masses, inculcating values) and "art for arts' sake" (self-referential contemporary art).

Through liberating cultural objects from cult-determined uses, film also empowered the role of the masses in social and political life. For Benjamin, this was film's most significant impact. Mechanical reproduction made cultural objects accessible to the masses in new ways, and replaced pre-modern emphasis on authenticity and eternal value with new criteria for value. Whereas the non-reproducible cultural object established a clear value hierarchy based on the superiority of the authentic original object as repository for eternal value, reproducible film was accessible to unlimited audiences, each person with their own perspective and

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evaluation criteria. Benjamin was optimistic about the political and social ramifications, as he associated the hegemony of the original object with fascism, and saw new possibilities for mass involvement in society and politics (Natter 1994). Later, Adorno and Frankfurt School theorists took a decidedly pessimistic viewpoint, as they saw the appropriation of culture by commerce and the disappearance of territory from which to take a critical viewpoint of capitalist society.

Benjamin also saw the camera as liberating the audience from their everyday social space, which can too easily be taken from granted and assumed to be unchangeable, in other words, a prison. Through showing everyday objects and places in different scales of the close-up, medium, and long shot, and positioning these objects and places in unexpected ways, the camera uses follows its own laws to show us new ways of seeing the world. Thus, Benjamin writes:

> "Our taverns and metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling" (quoted in Natter 1994, p. 211).

The digitalization of film has transformed the media yet again, resulting in cinema that "remediates" itself through adopting techniques from videogames, computer interfaces, and online interactive experiences (Bolter 1999). Manovich characterizes "new media" as follows (Manovich 2001):

- - media that is numerically coded

- - objects exist as independent samples, and can function as fractals

- - aspects of the production process are automated (as opposed to the presence of human intentionality)

- - media can be subject to variability (instead of being limited to exact mechanical replicas, data can be reproduced in different ways because it is stored numerically; this

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can be automated, or totally customized)

˙- transcoding (culture layer and cultural layer)

˙- media can be programmed, leading from the transformation of media theory to software theory.

The transformations that Manovich describes correspond in many ways with the "codification" of knowledge, which transforms it into information that has the potential to become ubiquitous. It is possible to infer that "new media" can potentially become liberated from spatial constraints and transformed through networks that are based on non-spatial types of proximity. In this sense, new media is an ideal object of study for understanding the interaction between "spaces of flows" and "spaces of places." Indeed, the explosion in film festival organizations corresponds with the changes identified in network society theory, as will be discussed below.

1.4.3   Film as Representation and Creation of Collective Meaning

Film is relevant to local development on at least three levels. First, film and media production are economic activities, which can be analyzed in terms of industrial clusters and agglomeration (Scott 2000). Second, film is a tool for communication, and has particularly profound impacts on the formation of social relations given the technological impacts of new media (Jankowski 2006). Thirdly, film exists as a media that generates meaning. This thesis is focused on local development through the creation of cultural value, defined as shared symbolic value (see 6.5.1). Thus, this discussion focuses on the third aspect, namely the creation of shared meaning. This shared meaning be focused on place, and hence, can connect film with local development.

Aitken and Zonn argue that film is successful to the extent that is able to sustain meaning, and that the generation of meaning occurs through narrative conventions (plot development, characters, use of color, lighting, etc.). Film has its own abstract "space"

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(parallel to "space" in the context of geography) of the film/video frames. At the same time, neutral spaces within film are imbued with their own sense of history and geography, which transform them into "places." Whereas early cinema used neutral backgrounds and focused exclusively on the actions of the protagonists, filmmakers began imbuing these backgrounds with meanings in order to reinforce the self-contained reality within the film's narrative. Thus, the city in film noir is not simply a static background for detective stories, but instead is portrayed through lighting and selection of locations as evil, sinister and alienating (Aitken and Zonn 1994).

Thus, film geography provides us with the following insight: Films can deliberately imbue backgrounds with meaning and transform them into "places" that contribute to the overall story and narrative of the film. These "places" within the film in turn correspond with "places" that are experienced in the real world – for example, the city of film noir. The film audiences then internalize the meanings of the "place" as conveyed within the film narrative. In this sense, film narratives have the potential for generating collective meaning. The film itself can potentially become a "chronotope," or repository for collective meaning (discussed in 1.3.2; Jordan 2003). In addition, certain locations that appear within a film can serve as chronotopes, as well as actors, filmmakers, characters, etc. These chronotopes initially exist only within the narrative world of the film, but can in turn be turned into physical monuments or events that enable people to collectively experience and pass on the shared meaning. Such chronotopes are not limited to film, and can also be created through music, concerts, books, etc. Examples include the farm that was featured in the film *Field of Dreams,* which has become a destination for fans of the film; statues of characters from the stories of Shigeru Mizuki that are erected in Shimane Prefecture; and the phenomena of manga and anime fans in Japan visiting places that are used as backdrops or settings in popular stories. Such "chronotopes" can become the source for creating local collective meaning, which can potentially counterbalance the homogenizing impacts of "spaces of

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flows," and then can also become subsumed by "spaces of flows" if they become objects for globalized consumption or serve primarily as tourist attractions.

Chapter 2   Conceptual Framework: Network Society and "Fragmented"/
        "Integrated" Local Development

2.1   Introducing Network Society Theory

    2.1.1   Relevance of Network Society Theory to Thesis Argument

        This thesis aims to understand the barriers that prevent local governments from effectively engaging with film festival organizations to achieve local identity development. As argued in the previous chapter, film festival organizations exist within a global context of the larger film industry, and are part of a global film festival circuit. Are there underlying societal factors that explain how such global networks function, and that can account for the motivations, priorities, and choices made by film festival organizations? Network society theory is a broad set of propositions by urban planner/social scientist Manuel Castells, and focuses specifically on fundamental changes in society that have led to the rise of global networks, such as the film festival circuit. This chapter presents network society theory, and uses this theory as a lens for understanding the challenges toward harnessing globally networked film festival organizations for local identity development.

        2.1.2   Theorizing the Impact of Technology on Social Processes - From
        Industrialism to Informationalism

    Technology can be understood as "the use of scientific knowledge to set procedures for performance in a reproducible manner," and can be seen as the defining aspect of historical change (Castells 2004, p. 8). Following this line of thought, historical eras can be defined by a specific technological paradigm. The 19th century through the 1970s was dominated by the technological paradigm of industrialism, "characterized by the systemic organization of technologies based on the capacity to generate and distribute

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energy by human-made machines without depending on the natural environment… Energy is the primary resource for all activities, and by transforming energy generation and the ability to generate it to any location and to portable applications, humankind became able to increase its power of nature, taking charge of the conditions for its own existence" (Castells 2004, p. 8).

Industrialism was subsumed by informationalism after the 1970s, when the central technology of information processing and communication enabled revolutions in digital electronics and genetic engineering. The defining characteristic of the "information age," as described by Castells, is the central role of microelectronics information technologies resulting in the "extension and augmentation of the body and mind of human subjects in networks of interaction powered by microelectronics-based, software-operated, communication technologies" (Castells 2004, p. 7). In contrast, the previous era was defined by industrialism, or the "systemic organization of technologies based on the capacity to generate and distribute energy by human-made machines without depending on the natural environment" (Castells 2004, p. 8). Castells argues that at some point in the 1980s advancements in electronics communications propelled social relations into a new phase of overall social functioning, namely the network society.[3] Informationalism is distinct from industrialism in three areas:

1) the capacity of information and communication technology is capable of *self-expanding*; in other words, the very development of better, faster and bigger processing capability enables further innovation and development. Thus, technology pulls itself up by its own bootstraps.

2) Information and communication technology can be recombined, a phenomenon

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[3] Among theorists looking at big-picture change, Castells is distinguished by aiming for a comprehensive explanation for basic social processes. McLuhan also dealt with transformations in technology and how they have fundamentally impacted the way we think and interact; however, he focused on the relationship between modes of communication and the way we perceive the world (McLuhan 1964).

described as *hypertext.* This recombining and processing of information fuels innovation.

3) The distributing flexibility of information and communication technology enables it to penetrate into all social relations. This *ubiquitous* quality (not a word that Castells uses in his description) of technology means that information can potentially be accessed anywhere at anytime. The ubiquitous quality of information in turn transforms social relations, and creates what Castells describes as "spaces of flows," or spaces that are defined by networks of information flows.

2.1.3 Emergence of Network Society

While technological revolutions clustered into the paradigm of informationalism, the ramifications on social organization were by no means predetermined. Rather, there was a convergence of social, economic and cultural changes from the 1960s that converged, thereby transforming social organization. The first broad change was the crisis in both statism and capitalism, culminating in the oil crises of the 1970s, which gave rise to economic liberalization in the US under Reagan and the UK under Thatcher, and in developing countries through IMF policies. The USSR responded with the *perestroika* reforms, which spun out of control and resulted in the dissolution of the Soviet bloc. These transformations set the stage for globalization and the extension of multinational corporations. Second, the social movements of the 1960s transformed cultural values, and gave birth to focused efforts to change the role of women in society, and challenge industrialism through the environmental movement. These transformations coincided with the emergence of the communication and information technologies at the heart of the informationalism paradigm. In concert, they resulted in a new form of social organization, which Castells terms the "network society" (Castells 2004).

Castells defines a network society as "a society whose social structure is made of

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networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies" (Castells 2004, p. 3).[4] Networks consist of nodes that are connected together. There is no center to a network; rather, the nodes that make up the network have different degrees of relevance, depending on the node's ability to absorb and efficiently process relevant information. When a node becomes redundant or useless, it is deleted from the network, and new nodes can be added to the network. Thus, networks are constantly reconfiguring themselves. Flows are "streams of information between nodes circulating through the channels of connection between nodes" (Castells 2004, p. 3).

The goals and values of any given network are determined by a program, which consists of codes that establish the criteria for success. For example, financial networks in a capitalist system will value capital accumulation, where as state-dominated networks might value military power, or media power (depending on the underlying sources of authority). Castells proposes that networks are not capable of altering their own programs; rather, changes to the network's goals must be introduced from outside the network. There are two modes of interaction between networks, namely cooperation or competition. Cooperation depends on the existence of communication protocols that make it possible for networks to interact, and connection points between networks ("switches"). Networks are able to triumph over their competition by being more

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[4] Castells' "network society" is distinct from the network analysis. Whereas Castells posits networks as the driving force that is shaping contemporary society, network analysis can best be understood as a tool for social analysis. Sociology had previously had used sampling and statistics as the main methodology for gathering data about a group of people – according to this approach, data points are gathered about attributes of individuals, companies, etc. In contrast, network analysis opens the door to a whole new way of gathering data about groups, namely through looking at both attributes and relationships among individuals. Network analysis has made possible insights such as the strength of weak ties, and is a key approach for analyzing social capital (Knoke, David et al 2008; Freeman 2008). However, it is not relevant for this thesis argument.

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efficient, or through better cooperation.

Such networks are global in their expanse, but do not include everyone globally. Nodes are "on" or "off" any given network, but just because a node is excluded from a network does not mean it is exempt from the network's impact. Networks are inherently uneven, and network society coexists with social organizations of industrial and agricultural societies.
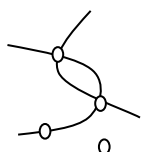
Layer 1: Analysis of interrelated global networks
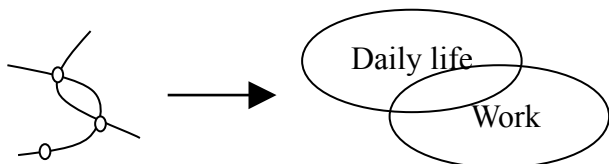
Layer 2: Analysis of how networks structure life and work

Daily life

Work

Society outside of the global network structure

Layer 3: Analysis of interrelated global networks

Figure: Three layers of analysis for network society theory

Castells proposes three layers of analysis for network society: first, in terms of interrelated global networks that are constantly reconfiguring and being reprogrammed. Second, as interactions among dominant networks, which structure core activities of life and work. Third, the network society can be seen as the interactions of the dominant networks with forms of social organization that lie outside the global network structure (Castells 2004). This third layer of analysis is precisely the arena of this thesis, as it focuses on the potential for local agendas to assert themselves via globally networked organizations (see figure).

2.2 Spatial Aspects of Network Society Theory

2.2.1 Space as Central Element in Network Society Theory

Network society theory conceives of space as being constantly recreated within social contexts. Thus, network society theory rejects the idea of space as a stable container. The nature of space is rooted in the functions and behaviors of networks.

Network society theory recognizes that all social processes have a spatial component, meaning that all social interaction necessarily happens somewhere; this spatial aspect of social relations is material and can be observed empirically. As Stadler comments, for Castells "a theory of space is therefore an essential element of a comprehensive social theory, and visa versa. In fact, Castells has always taken them to be coextensive . . . In such a perspective, space is not a container. Space is not a given, nor is it stable. Rather, space is constituted by social relations and transformed along with them" (Stadler, 2006, p. 141).

Space, in this view, is significant in that it enables people to share time together. Historically, in order to "share time" together, people needed to be in the same physical place. Electronic communications have changed this relationship. With electronic

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communication, people can share time even when they are not in the same place; and, social institutions transform accordingly. The threshold was passed in the late 1980s, according to Castells (Stadler 2006, p. 145), when the compression of time and space crossed a turning point – the world was no longer shrinking; rather, "your office has just expanded" (Stader 2006, p. 147).

2.2.2 Space of Flows

This environment is not just characterized by the collapse of spatial distance; rather, it is qualitatively different, and has its own logic, which Castells describes as the "space of flows." Castells defines space of flows as "the material arrangements that allow for simultaneity of social practices without territorial contiguity" (Castells 2000a, p. 19). This kind of space is not necessarily electronic, virtual or cyberspace, but rather consists of the physical infrastructure that enables the flow of information and goods. The characteristics and location of this infrastructure play a key role in the way the space of flows functions, and how this kind of space relates to other spaces. In addition, different networks will have different goals, and thus various ways of utilizing technological infrastructure. Thus, the logic of operation will differ for financial networks versus black market currency networks.

- Infrastructure

The first dimension of this "space of flows" is the infrastructure that makes it possible to have social exchanges in real time without being in the same place. This infrastructure includes the networks that enable internet-based communication, and also high-speed transportation that makes it possible to move people and goods quickly to a place. In the absence of links to this technological network, a place lacks the potential to link to the space of flows.

- Nodes and hubs

The space of flows cannot exist simply anywhere; technology, and

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maintenance and operation of that technology, are prerequisites. Hence the pattern of nodes and hubs, which structure network connections and activities; the location of nodes link specific places with certain networks, such as Wall Street for finance or Silicon Valley for computer science. Castells describes hubs as the spaces where exchanges occur, including airports, train stations, harbors, etc. These specialized nodes and exchange hubs have always existed. Castells writes that the difference in a network society is their new role, namely that "they are dependent on the network, that their logic depends on their place in the network, and that they are sites to process signals that do not originate from any specific place but from endless recurrent interactions in the network" (Castells 2000a, p. 20). While it is possible to create a hub from scratch, as in national projects to create science cities, etc., in fact any given hub requires a complex ecology of human resources, as described by Sassen's global city research. Thus, "it is the size and complexity of the nodes that explains why the distribution of nodes follows a historical logic, and why the major cities still play a central role, despite the placeless logic of processes organized within the space of flows" (Stadler 2006, p. 149).

- Physical space

Thirdly, the space of flows is characterized by the physical space where the people operating the network work, live and play. Castells sites examples such as VIP lounges, segregated residents near nodes and hubs, or "generic" international business hotels. Thus, "the space of flows is a material infrastructure that enables functional units to be organized into a single whole, operating in real time, independent of their geographical location . . . The exact configuration between the nodes and their relation to the space of places depends on the program of the network" (Stadler 2006, p. 154).

- Electronic space

In his formal exposition of theory, Castells identifies the above three aspects of "space of flows." In other writing, he also elaborates in a fourth kind of "space of

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flows," namely electronic spaces. These are another type of space created by social interaction, and consist of online communities and forums that enable network activities. More generally, this kind of space consists of the platforms (social networking sites, video transfer systems, online marketplaces) where network interaction happens.

This thesis focuses on the second aspect of "space of flows," namely network nodes and hubs. However, this thesis does not take the perspective of network hubs and nodes; rather, this thesis looks at the "space of flows" from the perspective of the locality. Castells describes this alternative space as "space of places." The concept is introduced in the next section.

1a) Technological infrastructure	Information systems, telecommunication and transportation lines
1b) Networks of interaction	Goals and actions of each network result in different space of flows
2) Nodes and hubs	Structure connections and activities in specific locations
3) Habitats for social actors	Habitats for people who operate the networks, including places to live, shop, etc.
4) Electronic spaces	Websites, online forums, email platforms, etc. where network activities are conducted

Table: Aspects of "space of flows," based on Castells 2000a, p. 19-20

2.2.3 Space of Places

While "space of flows" is the concept Castells proposes for understanding the spatial structure in a network society, "space of places" characterizes the spatial structure that predates electronic communication technology, and has been the kind of space where humankind has lived until our current age. Castells defines space of places as "a locale whose form, function, and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries

of territorial contiguity" (Castells 2000a, p. 20). The broad tendency has been the individualization of self-contained communities; but, as Castells observes, "you may have no community and still refer to your place as your main source of experience" (Castells 2000a, p. 20). Furthermore, territorial-based spatial interactions are primarily the basis for social organization and political participation, as well as cultural identity rooted in shared historical experience. [5]

| Space of flows | Spatial structure for dominant activities (financial flows, corporate management, media, professional sports, institutional religion, criminal economy, military power) |
| Space of places | Spatial structure for most experience and social interaction, and autonomous construction of meaning, and social/political resistance |

Table: Space of flows compared with space of places, based on Castells 2000a, p. 20.

As Stadler observes, "The key aspect of the space of flows is not its separation from the space of places, but its ability to fragment localities and reintegrate some of the components into new functional units on the basis of their connection to the space of flows. On the ground, this creates an entirely new, nonlinear pattern of land use characteristic of contemporary urban development. The analytical clarification of this key point, the emergence of a new spatial logic, expressed in the space of flows and the fragmentation of physical space in a variable geography of hyperconnection and

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[5] A graphic example of "space of flows" physical space is Starbucks, which offers globally standardized products and provides wireless internet connections. In contrast, a subset of cafes outside Waseda University in Tokyo strictly prohibit the use of mobile telephones and computers – clientele are not allowed to bring their computer equipment out onto the café table, thereby enforcing social interaction solely within the physical space of the café. Such cafes can be understood as "space of places."

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structurally induced 'black holes,' is one of the most substantial and original aspects of Castell's entire theory of the network society" (Stadler 2006, p. 166).

This thesis does not reject Castells' analysis of "space of places," and recognizes the fragmented nature of the landscape. In fact, the landscape doesn't look fragmented at all when seen from the perspective of network hubs and nodes – each fragment is conducive for social interaction within networks. Still, this thesis persists in asking whether there is a way to conceive of local development as being "integrated" from the perspective of the "space of places." While network society theory provides a robust model for the way "spaces of flows" function, in contrast the "space of places" is generally treated as "leftover" space. Albrechts and Mandlebaum, for example, describe "space of places" as "constituted from these places where local social and economic interactions occur in a more or less closed system" (Albrechts and Mandlebaum 2005, p. 4). A primary aim of this thesis is to propose a more robust theory for how the "space of places" have the potential for functioning as self-sustaining systems. Thus, this thesis directly challenges the assertion that "space of places" are closed systems.

2.2.4 Implications for Time

As discussed earlier, space and time are contingent concepts, and along with the idea of "space of flows," Castells proposes that "the network society is characterized by the breakdown of the rhythms, either biological or social, associated with the notion of a life-cycle" (Castells 2000b, p. 476). He proposes that "timeless time…occurs when the characteristics of a given context, namely the informational paradigm and the network society, induce systemic pertubation in the sequential order of a phenomena performed in that context…Elimination of sequencing creates undifferentiated time, which is tantamount to eternity" (Castells 2000b, p. 494). Examples include flextime, denial of death, and instant wars. However, most people do not live in the "timeless time" temporality, which is specific to the space of flows. The result is "timeless time"

structured by the space of flows, juxtaposed with multiple, subordinate temporalities structured by the space of places.

This thesis argument focuses on the implications of network society theory for local development, as networks overturn the function of spatial proximity as a necessary condition for social interaction. The implications for time are equally as acute and relevant for urban planning and local development theory, although they are not the focus of this thesis. The flows of people and capital result in drastic changes over time. Myers proposes the concept of "present place" as "the strategic site within which residents and elected officials are self conscious of changes that confront them and which they wish to control (Myers 2005, p. 34). Viewed from the dynamic flows within network society, this "present place" is a prison that creates arbitrary boundaries based on outmoded timeframes and territories. In contrast, network society encompasses the present as well as the near-term, as organizations and individuals take action that anticipates changes in the economy, technology, etc. (see figure). This thesis focuses on local development, and searches for a model that links "space of flows" and "space of places" processes. An important agenda for additional research is to focus on a conceptual framework that links local development with near-term future and long-term future timeframes (see figures).

Spaces of flows

Network society

The present place

Space of places

Present   Near-term   Long-term

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Spaces
of flows

Network society

*The
present
place*

Space of
places

Present   Near-term   Long-term

Spaces
of flows

Network society

*The
present
place*

Space of
places

Present   Near-term   Long-term
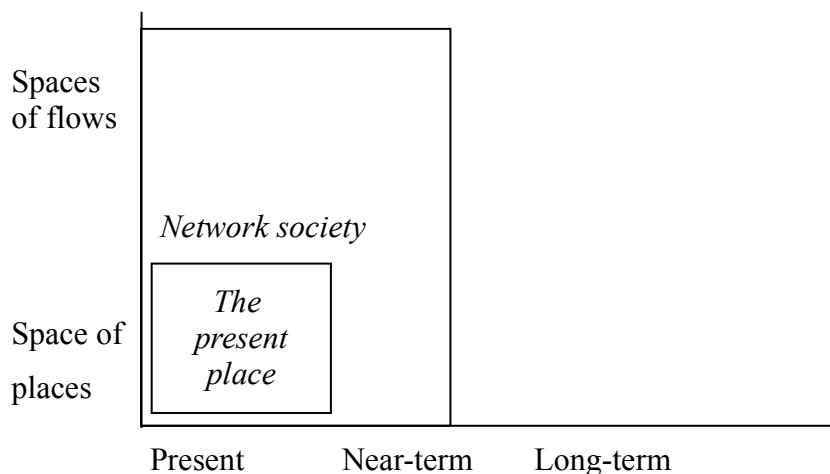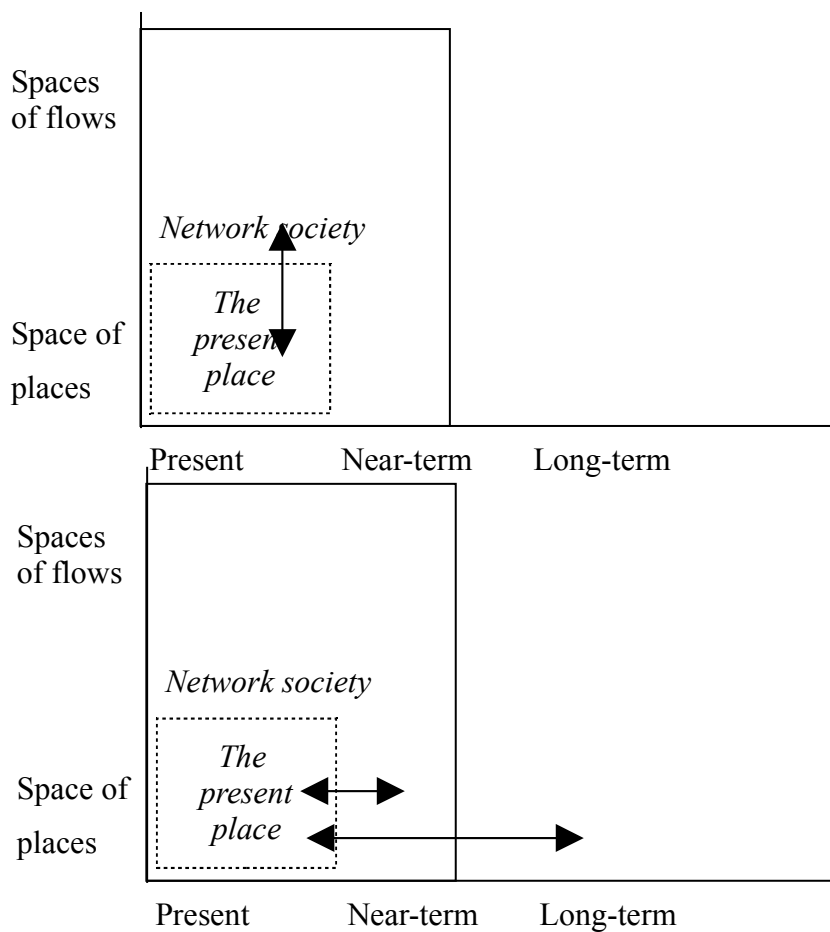
Figure: (Top) Urban planning's "present place" prison in comparison to network society; (Middle) Thesis agenda focuses on linking "space of flows" with "space of places"; (Bottom) Agenda for further research that links "present place" with near-term and long-term timeframes; based on Myers 2005, p. 37.

2.3   Possibilities for Local Development

2.3.1   Network Society Theory and Local Development

How can local development be characterized in contemporary network society? If social processes no longer require territorial contiguity, then where does that leave the concept of territorially defined "local" development? Given Castells'

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proposition of the fragmentation of localities, is it possible for place-based communities to interact with space of flow networks and integrate, rather than fragment? Is place-based locality in a network society an amalgam of people connected to networks, or is there place-based identity where the unit is local territory, rather than networks?

On one hand, some urban planner theorists view the "network" concept as being liberating. Beauregard, for example, argues that "as an adjective, the term 'network' is quite successful in negotiating the multi-dimensionality of the city," as it provides an alternative to the closed end models of hierarchies and systems (Beauregard 2005, p. 27). As discussed in Chapter 1, "functionalist" approaches to urban planning were manifest in fixed ideals of planned cities, and local development models made assumptions about rational human decision-making and stable growth patterns. The "network" concept can be seen as dovetailing with trends toward citizen participation and open planning practices. However, this view of "networks" is naïve, as it does not take into consideration the full implications of network society theory, namely the marginalization of territory-based local development.

Another response to network society theory has been the field of community informatics, which focuses on applying information technology to community development (Day and Schuler 2004, Taylor and Marshall 2004). However, this response also sidesteps a fundamental aspect of Castells' line of thinking, namely that development is governed by network society logic, and all development that occurs outside this framework is marginalized.

The above two responses to network society theory from within urban planning theory are naïve. Are there any attempts to deal with local development, from the perspective of network society theory? I identify two lines of thought that touch on the concept of local development, namely "grassrooting the space of flows" and "local identity." These arguments are explored in the next two sections.

2.3.2 Grassrooting the Space of Flows

As discussed above, Castells is not optimistic about "space of places" development, and does not give it much attention. However, Castells does address the relationship between spaces of flows and spaces of places in his 2000 article on "Grassrooting the Space of Flows." Here, he acknowledges that space of places are able to resist domination and assert alternative meaning, and can potentially affect change in the space of flows and networks themselves. Castells explores several ways that "autonomous expression of social meaning" can take place within the space of flows (Castells 2000a, p. 22). He focuses on social meaning expressed through electronic spaces in concert with space of places.

The first arena is personal communication via the internet, which can include email exchanges, chats and personal websites. While the communication infrastructure can be called "space of flows," the content conveyed is personal and not determined by network agendas. Of course, space of flows communication infrastructure can play a role in shaping or modifying the information content, such as ads placed automatically with email messages, and advertising experiments that link product marketing with personal preferences in social networking services like Facebook. In addition, individuals can use communication technology to launch their very persona onto "space of flow" networks, as when individuals transform themselves into a brand with tens of thousands of "friends" on popular social network services. However, to the extent that communication is initiated by individual users, it can be characterized as operating with some degree of independence from "space of flows" networks.

Castells identifies a second dimension of autonomous expression of social meaning as "purposive, horizontal communication," represented, for example, by information spread via the internet that would previously have been controlled by formal media organizations, government, and/or corporations. This kind of information can undermine control over information that is exacted by financial, political and media

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networks. At the same time, these networks also work to incorporate these non-official information sources, such as major newspapers including personal blogs as information sources on their websites, and corporations doing market research via informal product review websites.

Taken a step further, information can be conveyed purposively and horizontally, and also in cooperative networks. These networks of people can use the internet to organize, share information and coordinate action, and they have the ability to structure their actions in opposition to financial, media, government, etc. networks. A question arises: at what point are these groups autonomous sources of dissent, versus groups that embody the principles of "space of flows" networks? This question is relevant for the next step of communication identified by Castells, namely social movements. As Castells points out, these social movements can have any political motivation, and are of course not necessarily "progressive." Thus, "space of flows" and "space of places" do not exist in isolation from each other, nor is it a relationship of strict domination/resistance.

Personal interaction	People using the internet for personal communication
Purposive horizontal communication	People using the internet to deliver messages to a mass audience
Networks of solidarity and cooperation	People using the internet to organize into groups and cooperate
Social movements	People using the internet to mobilize movements that result in "real world" action
Interactive links between people and institutions	People using the internet to interact with institutions in new ways

Table: Grassrooting the space of flows (based on Castells 2000a)

Castells creates a dichotomy between "autonomous" creation of social

meaning, versus meaning generated purely by programmed networks. If this interpretation of Castells' argument is correct, then the critical issue is the "autonomous creation of social meaning," and territorial-based place is posited as a source for this kind of meaning. The implication is that this meaning is "authentic," and that it will be progressive; but of course, that need not be the case. Furthermore, "autonomous" meaning can be easily "co-opted" by networks, such as Gandhi or Einstein in Apple Computer advertising campaigns, etc, and individuals can clearly participate in both "resisting" and "participating" in space of flows networks.

The merits of Castells' argument aside, it is not directly relevant to the question of territorially based local development, as it is framed fundamentally within the context of space of flows networks. In contrast, this thesis is focused on the possibility for "flowing" the space of places, rather than "grassrooting" the space of flows (see figures). How can "space of places" be developed in concert with "spaces of flows"? In the following sections, I will further explore whether network society theory can provide a basis for conceptualizing local development.
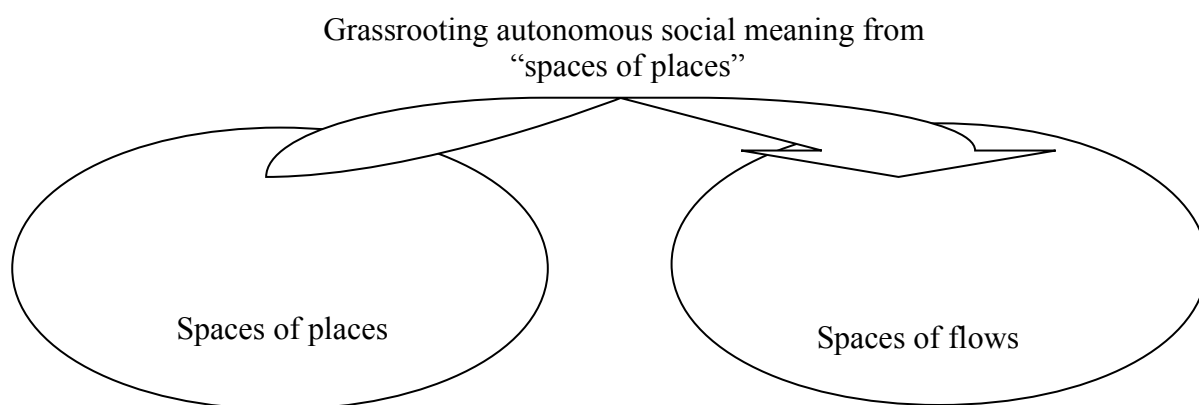
Figure: Castells' proposal on "grassrooting the space of flows"

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Sustaining the "space of places"
with the "space of flows"

Spaces of places

Spaces of flows
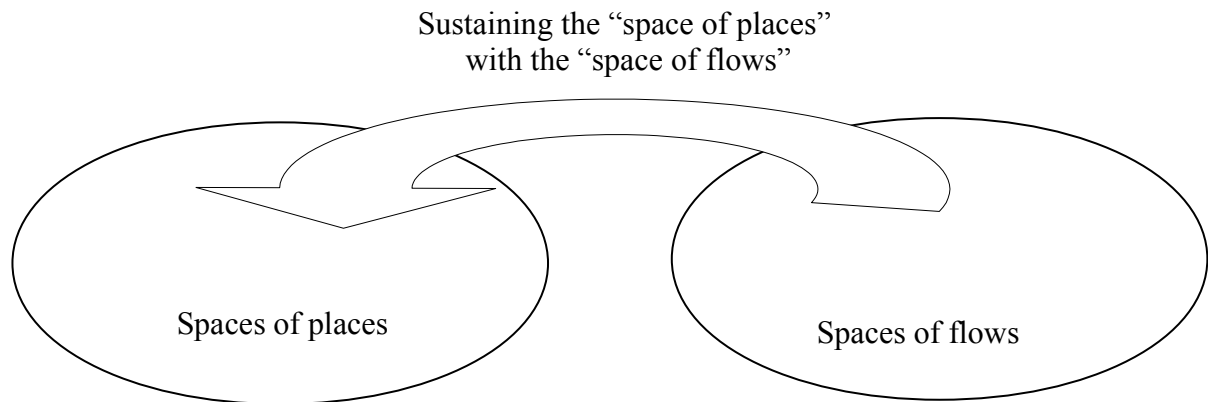
Figure: Thesis argument on "flowing" the space of places

2.3.3   Local Identity

Castells directly addresses issues related to place and locality in one other arena, namely the question of identity (Castells 1997, pp. 9-10). Castells argues that in an ideal world, people would be able to reflexively structure their own identity as they go about planning and living their lives. However, people are not able to structure their own identities because they experience disjunction between space of flows and space of places, in other words between politically processes and power within global networks versus place-based local societies. Castells suggests that only elites who live entirely in space of flows are exempt from this experience of disjunction. In the modernity/late modernity of industrial society (before the advent of network society in the mid 1980s), civil society provided a basis for the construction of subjects (Castells 1997, pp. 11-12). However, Castells argues that civil society is in the process of disintegration.

Castells describes three forms of identity building in network society;

- Legitimizing identity; rationalizes and extends domination of institutions; civil society

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- Resistance identity: those who are stigmatized resist; identity politics; leads to communes (Etzioni)

- Project identity: build new identity redefining place in society, and thereby transforming overall social structure; results in the creation of subjects (not individuals, but collective social actors)

Castells argues that in the network society "subjects, if and when constructed, are not built any longer on the basis of civil societies, that are in the process of disintegration, but as prolongation of communal resistance. While in modernity (early or late) project identity was constituted from civil society (as in the case of socialism on the basis of the labor movement), in the network society, project identity, if it develops at all, grows from communal resistance. . ." (Castells 1997, pp. 11-12).

Local identity itself can exist within the space of flows, as part of a network where identity is detached from locality. Thus, as Castells describes, there has been an internet-based Zapatista movement, in which nodes of supporters contribute to the overall network; furthermore, Castells implies that all participants in this network have access to and the right to the Zapatista identity, regardless of where they might be. Thus, as Stadler characterizes Castell's work, he says "It is not a contradiction to be a Zapatista in New York City" (Stadler 2006, p. 154).

From the perspective of network society theory identity is not a source for integrated local development. Identity is used to integrate fragmented individual identities; however, identity is used reactively, and is unable to find grounding in civil society. Furthermore, as discussed in section 3.3.2, Castells does not address the topic of utilizing "space of flows" networks to strengthen "space of places." Rather, he only addresses the opposite direction, namely the infusion of "space of places" subjectivity

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into "space of flows" network structures.

In short, the space of places is a kind of theoretical wasteland for Castells. Why is the prognosis for "locality" so dismal from the perspective of network society theory? The answer lies in the nature of networks: they are in essence without boundaries, a quality that is crucial to theorizing locality, and local development. While boundaries are on one hand "prison walls" that keep urban planning locked within the artificial confines of "present space," at the same time, boundaries are a necessary starting point to theorizing local development. The issue of boundaries is addressed in the next section.

2.3.4 "Fragmented" vs. "Integrated" Local Development

Castells is not optimistic about civil society or the possibility for territorial-based locality. When seen from the vantage point of the locality, the result is space that is organized according to the priorities and logic of global networks that happen to touch down in that specific place. This thesis describes such an outcome as "fragmented" local development; framed more specifically in within this research framework, the outcome is "fragmented" local identity development. In this kind of development, each locality has individuals, organizations, and communities which each have their own distinct identity, but there is little or no sense of shared identity based on territorial contiguity.

Is it possible to conceive of an alternative kind of local development, in which there is a basis for creating identities that are "integrated" according to territorial contiguity? As described above, network society theory does not provide the basis for such "integrated" development. To go a step further, locality is simply not a concern for network society theory. At no point is Castells interested in taking the perspective of the locality or local system; such an exercise would be fruitless, as his main objective is to provide a theory that explains as broadly as possibly what is happening in contemporary

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society. His agenda is society as a whole, not the problem of local development. His arguments focus steadily on the characteristics of network society.

In contrast, locality assumes an interest in creating boundaries and closure. Local development within a globally networked society is often rephrased as searching for ways to "fix the flow," or "grasp the flux": flow versus closure, flux versus fix, global flow versus cultural closure, and homogenizing trends versus reinforced cultural heterogeneity. Many social science disciplines, especially anthropology, are heavily invested in inscribing boundaries – these are taken for granted in fieldwork, while it is also acknowledged that those very boundaries are themselves fictions and constructions (Meyer and Geschiere 1999, p. 14). Social scientists (especially anthropologists) tend to pose identity as the antidote that "tames" globalization and creates closure. In contrast, advocates of "translocal" identities propose embracing the flows and open-enedness of globalization to open up new horizons, for example creating local identities in new places, etc. For place-based systems, the question of boundaries is important. The issue of boundary creation is the focus of the next chapter. This thesis uses network society theory and systems theory, introduced in the next chapter, to propose two patterns of local identity development, as follows:

"Fragmented" local development	"Integrated" local development
Creates symbolic value primarily for the film festival network	Creates symbolic value that is also relevant to the locality
Film festival organization is primarily engaged with other film-related organizations	Film festival organization also engages with locally based organizations and networks

2.4 Film Festival Organizations as Agents for "Fragmented" Local Development

2.4.1 Historical Background of Film Festivals

It is useful to analyze film festival organizations using the framework of network society theory. This thesis argues that film festival organizations can be understood as nodes/hubs on networks, and the behavior and motivations of film festival organizations can be explained accordingly. The first basis for arguing that film festival organizations behave as network nodes/hubs is that there is a close association between the historical analysis put forth in network society theory and the actual evolution of film festival organizations.

Film festival organizations have gone through three stages of evolution. The first phase spans from the establishment of the first festivals in Europe through the disruption of film festivals in the 1960s. The second phase, during the 1970s, is characterized by a shift in focus from national agendas toward artistic criteria. The third phase began in the 1980s, with the institutionalization of film festivals and the emergence of the international film circuit (Bauer 2007). I argue that this third phase coincides with the underlying changes in how communication technology has transformed the way that organizations operate, and that the "international festival circuit" can be understood as a global network as described in Castel's theory.

Film festivals got their start just prior to World War II in Europe. While the first festival was held in Milan in 1910 (Matsumoto 1994, p. 246), the oldest continuing festival is the Venice International Film Festival, begun in 1932 as an offshoot of the Venice Biennale (la Biennale di Venezia), founded in 1895. The Venice Biennale can be seen as the prototype for place-based cultural festivals, having spawned the Venice Music Festival (1930), International Theatre Festival (1934), and the Architectural Biennale (1980), and Dance (1999) and inspiring countless Biennale and Triennale cultural events worldwide. Cannes was begun in 1939 in reaction to Jean Renoir's *Le Grande Illusion* being denied the top prize at the Venice Film Festival because it was

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too pacifist; however, the festival was cancelled that year after opening night because of Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1st. The festival recommenced in 1946, and has been held annually since 1951. The festival's program has expanded steadily, with the film market Marche International du Film beginning in 1959, and the International Critics Week in 1962. The Directors' Fortnight founded in 1969, after anti-government protests by New Wave directors resulted in canceling the festival in 1968. In 1978, the non-competitive Un Certain Regard was started.

Following Venice and Cannes, film festivals appeared throughout Europe in the 1950s, reflecting the prosperity of the film industry, and also that countries used film festivals as platforms for proclaiming their economic and political recovery following the end of World War II (Matsumoto 1994, p. 246). The Berlin Film Festival was started in 1951 as an initiative by US and UK officials. In the eastern bloc, the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival was begun in 1950, and the Moscow Film Festival in 1959. The film festival wave gradually made its way to Asia, North America and Africa.

The explosive growth in film festivals coincides with the radical restructuring of the film industry from the 1960s onwards. Prior to the 1960s, the film industry was organized by major film studios, which controlled production, talent management, film shoot locations (in the form of studio back lots), and film distribution (through theater chains). The industry was organized around mass production of standardized products, controlled through standardized production and distribution chains. The studio system collapsed with changes in production technology (light weight 16mm cameras made it possible for filmmakers to create films independently of studio-controlled back lots) and distribution technology (the rise of the television eroded the monopoly that movie theaters commanded over leisure time). The structural changes have been analyzed as part of the overall advent of flexible labor, as industries become organized through networks of interconnected agents, rather than being consolidated within large firms. This structural change has been linked with the rise of regional industrial

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agglomerations in the film production industry, as film production dispersed from Los Angeles studio backlots and agglomerated in New York and other cultural production centers (Storper and Christopherson 1989).[6]

2.4.2   Film Festival Organizations within the Global Economy

The Information Age, as described by Castells, as wrought vast structural changes in film production and distribution, and transformations in the media industry as a whole. Where as mass media was built upon one-way distribution systems with rigid hierarchies, media in network society can be more accurately described as one-to-one or many-to-many (also called "n-way") modes of communication (Lievrouw and Livingstone 2006). The dramatic proliferation of film festivals can be understood as part of this transformation, in step with the rise of new and hybrid forms of communication and information sharing. As major film studios lost control of production and distribution, it became necessary to create new systems to distribute films. Film festival organizations were no longer just stages for a handful of studios to parade their major release and stars. Rather, they now took on new roles as arbiters of taste, markets for deal making between independent producers and distributors, and places for filmmakers to connect directly with audience.

Film festival functions exist to create new value. This thesis proposes that the film festival network creates new value through discovering films, and secondarily through offering unique opportunities to experience films. Value in terms of discovering films is evaluated intangibly in terms of a film festival's ability to discover new films and talent, which are then recognized through box office returns and critical acclaim. The prominence of a film festival within the festival network is tangibly expressed

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[6] Blair and Rainnie, however, dispute Storper and Christopherson's flexible production argument, and argue that in the UK the film industry has consistently had independent producers in tandem with major studios (Blair and Rainnie 2000).

through the number of competition submissions; prestige of jury members; number of film and media professionals who attend the festival; and references to the film festival in film publicity material and the media.

Each film festival organization must generate new value for the overall film festival "circuit." Specifically, film festival organizations create new value for filmmakers, film audiences, film industry professionals, and other film festival organizations. Thus, film festival guides focus on how revealing how film festival organizations work so that filmmakers can get their work accepted. Guides offer detailed strategies, including marketing strategies (self-promoting films through press kits, trailers, websites, and social networking), strategies for specific genres (short films, documentaries, etc.), and strategies on how to behave at film festivals (Gore 2004). Guides also help audiences identify the festivals that they want to attend, by listing "festivals that are worth the trip" (Langer 2000 pp. 1−15).

Each film festival must find a way to make its own unique contribution to the overall network. As Turan observes:

> "Given that there are so many of them, the key thing these multiple festivals share is the need to differentiate themselves from each other. Sometimes the   boast is straightforward, if a bit narrow, like Neuchatel's claim to be 'the only Swiss film festival devoted to the bizarre and the imagination,' Toronto's Rendezvous with Madness and its focus on the myth and reality of mental illness, or the Rencontres Internationales Henri Langlois in Poitiers, France, which concentrates on film school projects, annually choosing some sixty examples from approximately three thousand short- and medium-length works nominated by 140 schools" (Turan 2002, pp. 5-6).

In addition to programming, film festival organizations are distinguished according to their prominence within interconnecting film networks. The undisputed "hub" of film festivals is Cannes, where the population jumps 50% from 70,000 people twelve-day

festival. It is the world's largest yearly media event, with 3,893 journalists, 221 TV crews, 118 radio stations representing 81 countries in 1999. The film market attracts 6,000 participants from 1,500 companies in 70 plus countries (Turan 2002). Other festivals serve as geography-based hubs (i.e. Toronto and Sundance for North America, Pusan and Hong Kong for Asia) and/or genre-based hubs (SIGGRAPH for computer animation, Annecy for art animation, etc.). Programmers within film festival organizations will have their own list of film festivals that they keep an eye on.

In 1950 the Federation Internationales des Associations de Producteurs de Films (FIAPF, founded in 1934) created the first regulations of film festivals (Matsumoto, p. 246). The organization regulates film festivals from the perspective of film producers, to ensure that proper care is taken for copyright issues, etc. The organization has strict membership requirements, and as of 2007 there were only 46 film festivals represented. FIAPE can be understood as a "pre-network society" organization, which reflects the hierarchical nature of organizations rooted in the structure of industrial society. In contrast, contemporary film festival networks can be characterized as self-regulating, based on each node's contribution to the network's overall agenda, and from the perspective of outside agendas. Thus, film festival guides compile lists of festivals based on competitions that will boost the careers of aspiring filmmakers, or alternatively film fans who want to enjoy the event experience and leisure tourism. There are sub-networks on specific film genres, including animation, short film, regional cinema, etc., which overlap in terms of shared programming and programmers.

2.4.3   Research Question #1: Film Festival Organizations and the Prioritization of "Fragmented" Local Development

As argued above, when viewed through the lens of network society theory, film festival organizations can be understood as nodes/hubs that function according to the principle of generating new value for the network in which they operate. Thus,

within this landscape, "proximity" refers to organizations with similar agendas, and not physical proximity. In fact, physical proximity will be of little relevance, as film festival organizations actively use internet-based communication to communicate with filmmakers and festival attendees, and to access and distribute content relating to their activities. For example, for film festival organizations that focus on documentaries, the primary methods for generating new value are discovering new documentary films and filmmakers through competitions, and through innovative programs curate pre-existing documentary content with a fresh perspective (for example, historical retrospectives of important filmmakers, or programs focusing on documentaries from a specific geographical region). According to network society theory, impact on the locality itself will be of marginal importance for film festival organizations. However, in the case of Japan, there are numerous film festival organizations that receive funding from local governments, which raises the question of what impact the film festivals are having on their host localities.

This situation leads to the first research question, namely:

To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development as part of their mission/goals?

2.4.4 Hypothesis #1: Film Festival Organizations Will Prioritize "Fragmented" Local Development

The top film festivals for documentaries is the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam, Hotdocs in Toronto, Visions du Reel in Nante, and several well-known festivals also have distinguished documentary film sections, such as Sundance and the Berlinale. These festivals attract the top jurors for the competitions, which in turn attract the most entries from serious filmmakers. Such film festivals represent the major "hubs" for the documentary film festival circuit. There are smaller

hubs and nodes that create niches of new value, often within specific geographic areas or language regions. Examples of major regional hubs are the Sheffield Doc/Fest, the preeminent festival for UK-based documentary filmmakers; Leipzig, the central gathering place for German-language based documentary filmmakers; and CPH:Dox, a major arts festival in Scandinavia with a major documentary film component. The Yamagata International Film Festival made a name for itself in the early 1990s as the point of discovery for new documentary filmmaking in Asia, just as independent filmmaking was being revolutionized by low-cost equipment and filmmakers in countries like Korea were exploring new ways of self-expression after decades of authoritarian rule. Within Japan, film festivals such as the Yufuin Documentary Film Festival serve to discover local filmmakers, as a stepping stone to recognition by international film festivals. The figure below describes the festival landscape from the perspective of documentary film festival organizers, with film festivals linked and ranked according to their contributions to the overall network.
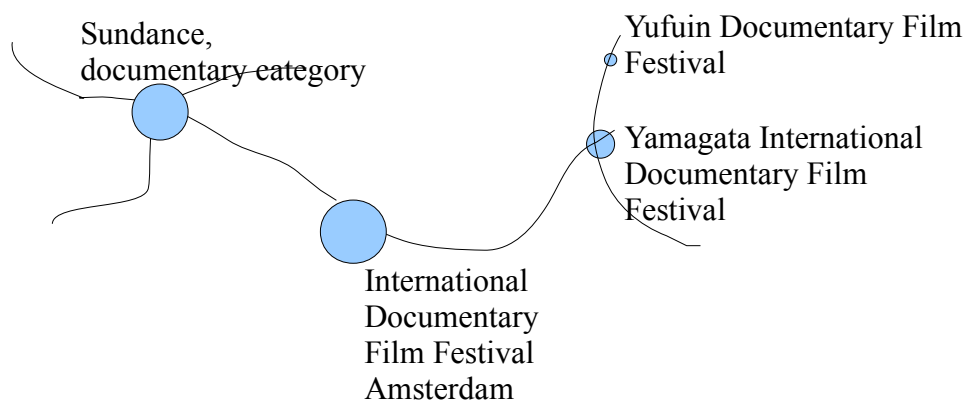
Figure: Landscape of globally networked documentary film festivals

The organizers of the Yamagata film festival assess the impact of the festival according to the way Yamagata has become a symbol of success for aspiring filmmakers throughout Asia, and film lovers throughout the world know the name

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"Yamagata." Given this orientation, it can be expected that film festival organizations like Yamagata will prioritize impact on the global film festival network, and not prioritize local development. Thus, the hypothesis for the first research question is that film festival organizations will prioritize "fragmented" local development.

Chapter 3   Conceptual Framework: Learning Processes and Local Identity
           Development

3.1   Systemic Approach to Modeling Local Development

   3.1.1   Systemic Approach to Local Development

   A theory that comprehensively tackles the question of local development is found in a "systemic approach." System theory is grounded in economic geography, and specifically localization theory. Systems theory is closely related to theories about territory-based innovation, described variously as agglomerations, innovative milieus, clusters, and local productive systems (Sorensen 2008).

   Systems theory's main contribution to localization theory and territory-based innovation theory is as follows: Systems theory proposes that changes in society due to technology need to be understood comprehensively as collective learning processes, and cannot be treated in isolation from cultural, economic, political and institutional aspects of development (Batten et al 2000). Thus, systems theory is as an alternative to linear models that treat organizations/institutions as "black boxes" and fail to explain the dynamics of innovation processes. Two standard "linear" models are Schumpeter's theory of innovation, which proposes that innovation begins with a base in science, then passes through firms to markets; and the "demand-pull" model that proposes a linear model in the opposite direction, with market demand stimulating firms to invest in R&D. In contrast, systems theory addresses the learning processes within firms, through the interaction between different kinds of knowledge (Cimoli and Guista 2000).

   3.1.2   Systems and the Creation of Borders

   What is the theoretical basis for creating boundaries, and differentiating between discrete localities? Conti and Giaccaria draw on the concept of autopoiesis, a

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term meaning "self-production" or "self-creation" that was coined in the 1970s by the Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela.[7] The concept originated from their search for a conceptual model answering the question "what is life?" The significance of autopoiesis lies in their understanding of life as systems with their own internal unity, constituted by a specific form of organization. They point to the principles of organization – as opposed to genetic reproduction, or vitalism theories that proposed a hidden "spark" - as the key to understanding life. Thus, a cell is an autopoietic system, meaning that it "pulls itself up by its own bootstraps" in self-creating its own components, and also generating its own spatial boundaries that differentiates the cell from its environment. The self-generating metabolism and boundary formation are simultaneous and interconnected (Arnoldi 2006). Such a self-organized system can be characterized as an "active open system," meaning that it is open to the outside environment, but is capable of regulating its exchanges and is responsible for its own behavior. Maturana and Varela proposed six criteria to an autopoietic system (quoted from Stadler 1997):

- the system needs a border to make it identifiable

- it needs components so that the system is analyzable

- the interaction of the components can be described in general physical laws, in other words, the system is a natural system

- the boundary is maintained by preferential neighborhood relations. The system, therefore, can stabilize its own boundary.

- The system is contained within and produces the boundary

- The system is self-productive. The system uses only its own components or transforms imported components.

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[7] Maturana and Varela's autopoiesis theory has broad implications for the way subject-object relations are conceptualized, and been applied in a wide range of social science fields, including legal theory, ethics, and politics (Zolo 1990-1991).

For the purposes of this thesis argument, the critical aspect of these six criteria is boundary creation. Specifically, a system needs to be able to:

1) Interact with outside systems, while maintaining its boundaries

2) Utilize inputs from outside systems to sustain itself.

These two themes are developed more fully below.

3.1.3 "Local Systems" and Local Development

Spatial systems are necessarily distinct from biological systems, and hence the conceptual framework cannot be used verbatim. Conti and Giaccaria propose a conceptual translation. They propose that territory/locality can be understood as the result of intermingling among different autonomous systems, which each have their own rules of operation that are reproduced in interaction with the local environment. These rules are dictated by internal representations of economic, social, political, etc. relations. These autonomous systems describe collective actors (groups of people, associations, firms, clusters of firms), and can be public, private, or a mix. Systems can have different degrees of formality, such as systems that take the form of NGOs, churches, etc., and more informal systems based on shared identity.

A local system exists to the extent that it constitutes an autonomous system, which has boundaries and possesses its own internal network. Interaction with outside systems occurs as disturbances, or as flows that are utilized in the system's self-generating metabolism. A local system dissolves to the extent that it exists as a heteronomous system, in which processes of change are dictated by external structures. The critical aspect of local development is to regenerate the core identity that differentiates the local system from its environment. There are two conditions that define local development:

1) The   local   system   maintains   its   boundaries   vis-à-vis   outside

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systems/networks.

2) Furthermore, the local system has internal networks that interact with outside systems/networks to regenerate its core identity. This core identity differentiates the local system from its environment.

3.1.4 "Vertical" and "Horizontal" Networks

Now I will use systems theory to clarify the processes through which local development occurs. There are two dimensions to local development:

1) "Vertical" relations -
Relations (economic, social, cultural, political, etc.) that are bound together in a specific place and time (see figure).

2) "Horizontal" or "supralocal" relations -
Relations that are a-spatial and independent of geographic location.

Thus, "vertical relations," which constitute the local system's identity, are descriptive of "territorial proximity," whereas "horizontal relations" describe "institutional proximity." Conti and Giaccaria argue that vertical (territory specific) and horizontal (supralocal) relations represent "the nucleus of essential local relations through which a community keeps itself distinct from others" (Conti and Giaccaria 2001, p. 189).[8]

Furthermore, vertical and horizontal relations can be characterized as "networks," as opposed to markets (transient) or hierarchies (top-down), the two types of social

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[8] According to Conti and Giaccaria's argument, the processes that generate the local system are primarily internal. In this respect, the systems approach contrasts with economic-based frameworks, which identify global capitalism institutions as the key forces that select the winning territories.

relationships conceptualized in economics (Conti and Giaccaria 2001, p. 192).

Figure: "Horizontal" (non-local/global) networks (based on Conti and Giaccaria 2001)

Figure: "Vertical" (local) networks (based on Conti and Giaccaria 2001)

Networks possess four characteristics (Conti and Giaccaria 2001, pp. 196-197):

- Reciprocity:

The network relations are maintained by the actors because they judge the network

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to be useful. However, this usefulness is not defined by administrative actions (hierarchies) or profit-oriented transactions (markets). Rather, there is a long-term commitment among the actors to sustain the network, and interactions are gauged based on the actors' expectations and perceptions. Within a local system, reciprocity encompasses social networks in addition to economic networks.

- Interdependency:

As opposed to dependency among actors in markets and hierarchies. Stems from the reciprocity and long-term commitment among the actors. Within a local system, actors are invested in the system's continuation, and thus identifies through self-reflexivity with the local system as a whole. Thus, actors tend to perceive each other as being interdependent.

- Loose coupling:

Within a network, the actors keep their individual autonomy (ability to diversify on their own initiative within and outside the network, thereby gaining access to a greater range of relations), while also maintaining reciprocity and interdependency (structuring relations to ensure stability and durability, and establishing the rough network borders). At either extreme, the network becomes either a market or hierarchy, with loose coupling in the middle. Specifically, within local systems the non-economic bonds help create the structuring relations.

- Power:

Relations are not necessarily symmetrical, depending on resource control and goals. Power relations can be described as: Competition (two actors share a common goal, which is controlled by a third party), conflict (two actors want to destroy each other through obstructing access to a specific relation), co-existence (goals are independent), cooperation (goals are reciprocally dependent), and collusion (goals aligned toward destruction of a third party).

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3.2   Film Festival Organizations and "Integrated" vs. "Fragmented" Local Identity
Development

3.2.1   Local Government Role in Film Festival Organizations

Film festival organizations create value through connecting audiences with filmmakers. However, film festivals are generally not profitable. The primary reason is the resources required to create film festival content that is original and creates new value for the film festival circuit. This discovery of new film content happens through competitions, or invitation programs which are curated by a programmer. Both cases require substantial resources. Competitions use resources for publicity, viewing all of the entries, and making a selection of films that has credibility for the film festival network. Invitation programs requires the expertise of a programmer who is familiar with contemporary social issues, film history, and new films. Screening films has become less expensive thanks to digital technology, as many film festivals only screen DVDs on video projectors. However, to have credibility as a global hub, a festival must offer professional-level screening equipment, which requires the rental of a film theater or substantial investment. Additional costs are incurred with inviting filmmakers to attend the festival, and holding events such as panel discussions and workshops.

At the same time, the revenues are generally limited to ticket sales, which are set according to the standard ticket prices for movie theaters. However, such prices do not take into consideration the customized nature of each screening, and do not cover the costs of creating new film line-ups from scratch. As a result, film festivals require additional support, which much be secured from the private, public, and/or civic sectors.

From the mid-1990s, film festival organizations have struggled to secure additional support, as both government funding and commercial sponsors have reduced their funding. Commercial sponsors have withdrawn support from film festivals as companies come under pressure to focus on profit-making activities. Tokyo International Fantastic Film Festival, a horror/SF festival started in 1995, was cancelled

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just 4 months before the 2006 edition was scheduled to begin. The main sponsor had withdrawn 6 or 7 years earlier, and it was difficult to find sponsors to cover the 50 million yen in operating costs. The film festival's production company was taken over by Fuji TV, which cancelled the festival as part of its cost cutting measures (*Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, September 2, 2006, p. 40). The cancellation of the Yubari Fantastic Film Festival in conjunction with Yubari City's bankruptcy thrust the fate of film festival organizations into the limelight.

At the same time, there are several film festivals which adamantly refuse to solicit government funding in order to maintain their artistic freedom, and rely heavily on volunteer support, such as the Yokohama Eigasai[9] and Okayama Film Festival.[10] The Namioka Film Festival is a well-known case where the local government's Board of Education funded the film festival, but then decided to withhold financial support because of objections to the moral content of several films scheduled for screening. Rather than changing the film program to mollify the Board of Education, the film festival organizers decided to cancel the film festival entirely.

While there are some film festival organizations that refuse to solicit government funding, in many other cases, local and national governments often fill the revenue gaps through subsidies. While the film festival organization's reasons for requesting funding are clear, the local government's reasons for giving the funding are often not clearly articulated. Nonetheless, local government support provides a point of connection that can anchor the film festival organization with the locality. Local government motivations for giving support generally span the following categories:

Educational goals:

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[9]Email correspondence with Kitami Akimitsu of the Organizing Committee on April 26, 2006.
[10]Telephone interview with Nakachi of the Organizing Commtitee on November 10, 2006.

- Yufuin Kid's Film Festival

Create opportunities for local residents to view films
- Jumonji Cinema Festival (Akita)
- Fuji-cho Furuyu Movie Festival (Saga)
- Yufuin Kid's Festival

As part of a local cultural facility's programming
- Sendai Short Piece Film Festival at Sendai Mediateque
- Skip City International D Cinema Film Festival at Skip City

Founded to commemorate an important local event
- Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (100th anniversary of the city)
- Sukagawa International Short Film Festival (opening of the international airport)
- Shimane Film Festial (Global Forum Geitsu Bunka Kaigi Shimane)
- Focus on Asia – Fukuoka International Film Festival (100th anniversary of the city)

Local Economic Development (tourism, film industry)
- Takarazuka Cinema Festival (historical connection with film studios)
- Tateshina Kogen Film Festival Ozu (tourism)
- Yufuin Cinema Festival (tourism)
- Akiruno Film Festival (tourism)
- Skip City (local film industry)

Local Cultural Development

- Shinyuri Film Festival in Kawasaki (as part of local cultural plan)

International Exchange

- Niigata International Film Festival (as part of international exchange organization)

Support citizen activities

- Tama Cinema Forum (funding for citizen-run groups)

3.2.2 Research Question #2: Film Festival Organizations and Local Government Support

The first research question focused on film festival organizations as nodes/hubs on global film networks, and the emphasis placed on generating new value for the film circuit. However, as the above section demonstrated, film festival organizations also are in need of public funding, and often receive a substantial amount of funding from local governments. Given the large role played by local governments in funding film festival organizations, it is important to ask if funding levels are related to film festival organization emphasis on local development. This leads to the second research question:

What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development?

3.2.3 Hypothesis #2: Relationship between Local Government Funding and Prioritization of "Integrated" Local Development

In regards to research question #2, this thesis hypothesizes that there will be a

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strong correlation between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development. However, while this is the commonsense outcome, it cannot be taken for granted. As Castells argues, local government authority is on the wane, as is civil society and the ability for legitimizing identities like film festival organizations to work through civil society institutions. In general, local governments (as well as nation-states) and civil society are woefully under equipped to face the challenges set forth by network society. Thus, according to network society theory, there is little possibility of local governments being able to control or guide local identity development. Rather, local identity development will be among the scraps leftover after networked organizations have fulfilled their goals of contributing to global networks.

There is, however, one sliver of hope for local governments: this lies in the possibility of local governments becoming fully proactive and liberating themselves from the stacked dolls framework and acting as chess players, with the freedom to decide their own strategies. Specific strategies for impacting local government include sharing autonomy with citizens, and creating specific programs for linking local government with citizens (Warner 2001). This "virtuous cycle" in turn gives support to citizens, while enabling civil society to remain vigorous and independent. Thus, it is possible for local governments to wield influence within the context of network society.

3.3   Local Development through Learning Processes
3.3.1   Types of Knowledge

Local development is defined as the transformation of knowledge ("learning processes") among territory-based ("vertical") networks and non-spatial ("horizontal") networks to regenerate the local system's core identity. This transformation of knowledge occurs through learning processes (see figure). Thus, the pressing issue for local development is the mechanisms through which territories sustain their local systems.

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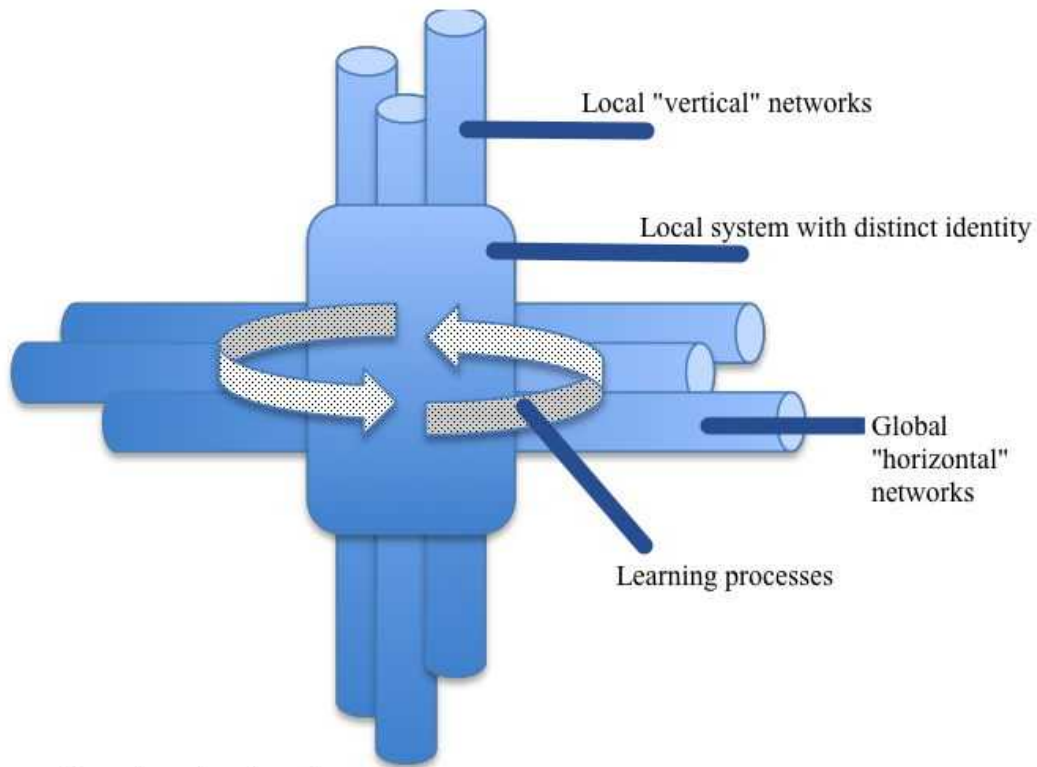
Figure: Overview of systems theory

In other words, local development occurs through the transformation of knowledge ("learning processes") among local ("vertical") networks and supralocal ("horizontal") networks to regenerate the local system's core identity. In keeping with the tenets of system theory, the learning processes for each locality are seen as being unique, resulting in unique development paths.

To model the learning processes through which local development occurs, system theory brings in the concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge. These concepts are situated within a crowded field of theories that differentiate between specific kinds of

knowledge and learning processes. These theories of knowledge and learning processes are primarily based on studies of firms, and reflect an underlying effort to shed light on economic processes (see table).

Type of knowledge	Description	Role within theories of learning within firms
Embrained knowledge	Conceptual skills, cognitive abilities	Defines the "mindset" of a firm as key influence on learning capability
Embodied/tacit knowledge	Practical thinking rooted in specific contexts, learning by doing	Defines knowledge that is not easily transferred, and forms the basis of a firm's competitiveness
Encultured knowledge	Meanings and shared understandings, such as stories, language and metaphors	Emphasizes shared knowledge that is a source of firm competitiveness
Embedded knowledge	Stable, organizational routines and behavior	Emphasizes knowledge that forms the basis for organizational structure within firms
Encoded/explicit knowledge	Embedded signs and symbols	Knowledge that is easily transferable among people and organizations

Table: Typology of knowledge as related to firms, based on Amin and Cohendet 2004, p. 3.

The concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge originate with Polyani's famous observation that "we can know more than we can tell," and were launched into academic and popular discourse through Nonaka and Takeuchi's research on knowledge creation processes in Japanese companies (Gertler 2003, Amin and Cohendet 2004, Lam 2000). Tacit knowledge is embodied within an individual and is not easily transferred, where as explicit knowledge is articulated in language or other codes and can be shared among people and organizations. Nonaka and Takeuchi argue that the

transformation of knowledge from tacit to explicit is at the heart of knowledge creation, and is the key to competitiveness of firms. They give the example of an appliance manufacture developing a breadmaking machine. The product development team first had to understand the process of making delicious bread, and that knowledge was embedded within the individual experience of a master bread maker. The team succeeded in transferring the bread maker's tacit/embodied knowledge into explicit/codified knowledge, which enabled them to use the knowledge to develop a successful breadmaking machine. Nonaka and Takeuchi argue that competitive advantage is based on knowledge enabling and occurs through a spiral of interaction between tacit and explicit knowledge (Nonaka et al 1995). Systems theory likewise focuses on economic development and competitive advantage, and introduces the argument that there is a spatial component to tacit and explicit knowledge.[11]

3.3.2   Tacit/explicit Knowledge

Systems theory adapts the concepts of tacit and explicit knowledge to model learning processes in the context of local development. Explicit knowledge is not only easily transferable among people and firms, but it is also easily shared between places. Thus, explicit knowledge is inherently footloose, and can be easily transferred across aspatial "horizontal" networks in the systems theory model. In particular, knowledge about facts ("knowing what") and fundamental innovations ("knowing why") can be easily codified as information and transferred between people across space. In theory, this codified knowledge is globally accessible to anyone with the necessary technical and cognitive tools.

In contrast, knowledge regarding the process of production and decision

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[11] Batten et al 2000 offer an alternative take on the tacit/explicit knowledge dichotomy, as they argue that explicit knowledge can be described as being "public," whereas tacit knowledge is personal, individual and private. They argue that this personal dimension ties innovation to the local environment.

making ("knowing how") can be characterized as being non-transferable, as it cannot be easily codified, and it becomes important to know the other people who possess such knowledge ("knowing who"). The barriers to transforming "know how" into explicit/codified knowledge are illustrated in the breadmaking example above, where knowledge of breadmaking (how to knead the bread, judge the texture of the dough, etc.) are embedded in the master breadmaker's personal knowledge. Such knowledge is context-specific and non-transferable, and is analogous to tacit knowledge. Conti and Giacaria go so far as to equate the creation of "know how" and "know who" knowledge with learning processes. Furthermore, they argue that sharing tacit knowledge requires face-to-face communication. In other words, tacit knowledge cannot be transferred through social practices mediated primarily by electronic communications. Stated in terms of network society theory, "global networks" cannot support the transfer of tacit knowledge. As Conti and Giaccaria state, "territory no longer appears as an 'additional' condition, but as a fundamental dimension of the organization of the contemporary economy and society" (Conti and Giaccaria 2001, p. 33).

In other words, systems theory proposes that in a knowledge-based economy, creating economic value depends on both transferable/codified knowledge and information, as well as context-based learning processes. Thus, knowledge moves through a constant cycle of being de-territorialized/codified so that it can achieve global significance, and also being territorialialized/contextualed so that it can be applied.

3.3.3   Social Learning Theory

A major weakness of the tacit/explicit knowledge framework is that it fails to explain how non-local networks can contribute to local development. The weakness in the argument is as follows: Conti/Giaccaria assume that tacit knowledge requires territorial proximity, which is what drives local development. However, if this is the

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case, then non-local firms/individuals are necessarily excluded from contributing to local development.

Indeed, Marshall, who initially theorized the phenomena of clustering and localization of industries, observed early on that "every cheapening of the means of communication alters the action of the forces that tend to localize industries" (quoted in Brown and Duguid 2000, p. 17-18). Taken to the extreme, the resulting phenomenon has been described as "ubi-quitifcation," whereby inputs into economic processes are available everywhere. Furthermore, the costs for these inputs is relatively the same (Maskell and Malberg 1999).[12] Tacit knowledge too can be a-territorial, i.e. in other words, it can be embedded within organizations or networks that are not necessarily territorial contiguous (Faulconbridge 2005, Allen 2000). From the vantage point of the firm, Von Krogh et al argue that globalizing local knowledge is critical for firms (Van Krogh et al 2000). The end result has been described as the "de-territorialization of closeness," as shared context becomes more important than spatial nearness (Gertler 2003). To quote Amin and Cohendet:

> "The everyday possibility of action at a distance, the everyday possibility of relational ties over space, the everyday possibility of mobility and circulation, the everyday organization of distributed systems, make mockery of the idea that spatial proximity and 'being there' are one and the same. There are many spaces of relational proximity, which is why we should be wary of claims privileging the special powers of place in the production of that rare asset called tacit knowledge" (Amin and Cohendet 2004, p. 108).

Thus, it is necessary to find an alternative learning process model that can explain how non-local networks can contribute to local development processes. To

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[12] However, Maskell and Malberg ultimately argue for the link between tacit knowledge and territorial proximity.

develop an alternative model for local development learning processes, this thesis draws on social learning theory. Instead of firms, this approach uses "communities of practice" as the unit of analysis to capture the social dimensions of learning. This thesis applies social learning theory to the specific realm of place-based learning processes, in other words, local development.

The focus on communities (instead of individuals, or firms) and social practices reflects a broader interest in going beyond the tacit/explicit knowledge paradigm (Wenger 1998, Lam 2000, Brown and Duguid 1991, Amin and Cohendet 2004), as well as dissatisfaction with the assumption that tacit knowledge cannot travel over distance (Gertler 2003). This trend can be traced to underlying changes in the knowledge economy, as traditional boundaries and hierarchies that defined tacit/explicit knowledge are breaking down. For example, the boundaries between specialists and non-specialists, and employees and organization are becoming increasingly blurred, and knowledge is created and distributed across new kinds of networks. An alternative to focusing on firms and specialists is to look at communities of actors. Whereas Nonaka and Takeuchi's "spiral model" of knowledge creation focuses on strategies for management of firms, the focus on social practices and communities can be described as a "social anthropology of learning" approach (Amin and Cohendet 2004; see table).

	Strategic-management approach	Social anthropology of learning
Entity that develops knowledge	Managers in firms	Community
Critical learning mechanisms	How managers integrate learning mechanisms at different levels of the firm	Learning mechanisms that align individuals to community
Definition of "competence"	Global strategic assets that cannot be easily imitated	Common skills, projects, etc. within a community
Knowledge governance	Hierarchy that defines firm's borders and coordinates activities	Functioning of communities, and reconciling different modes of learning
Incentive mechanisms for stimulating innovation	Rewards (monetary or otherwise)	Shared social norms
Role of rationality in knowledge formation	Bounded rationality	Weak forms of rationality;

Table: Contrasting "strategic-management" and "social anthropology of learning" approaches to knowledge and learning theory; based on Amin and Cohendet 2004, p. 5-8.

Wenger characterizes the assumptions behind "social theory of learning" as follows (Wenger 1998, p. 4):

1) People are social by nature, and this quality is central to the way we learn

2) Knowledge is understood within the context of a specific enterprise valued by society, and comes into being as a form of competence

3) Knowing occurs through participating in specific enterprises

4) Meaning ("our ability to experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful") is the end goal of learning

These assumptions do include the "rational man" that underpin the functionalist approach to urban planning and local development theory. However, social learning

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theory is consistent with the framework set out in systems theory, as social phenomena are understood to interpreted as a construct of reality that is viewed thrugh contextual filters.

Learning processes can be best understood as the intersection between micro and meta levels of analysis, where:

- Social systems (meta level of analysis) consist of "communities of practice," which are groups of people who share a common set of problems or interests, and deepen their knowledge in that area via ongoing interaction.
- Individual agency (micro level of analysis) consists of an individual embedding their identity within the community of practice.

Like the concept of the firm, communities of practice strike an analytical midpoint between individual agency and social systems. However, this approach analyzes the learning process by looking at it more broadly as a socially embedded process, which transcends the rigidity of organizations and the specificity of individuals (Wenger 1998, p. 279-280).

	Strategic-management approach	Social anthropology of learning approach
Social system level	Economic system	Social systems
Intermediate level	Firms	Communities of practice
Individual level	Rational agent	Bounded rational agent

Table: Comparing levels of analysis in strategic management vs. social anthropology of learning approaches

3.3.4 Context of Social Learning Theory

As the term "communities of practice" implies, practice is at the core of social learning theory. Practice can be described as the "production and reproduction of

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specific ways of engaging with the world. They are concerned with everyday activities and real-life settings, but with an emphasis on the social systems of shared resources by which groups organize and coordinate their activities, mutual relationships, and interpretations of the world." As Wenger argues, "practice," or human activity, has been the focus of inquiry as a way to find a midpoint between big-picture concepts of society as a system or structure, and models of individual thinking and action. As Wenger points out, Marx used "praxis" as a bridge between individual consciousness and the unfolding of history. Lave, who developed the communities of practice concept with Wenger, first turned to practice as a way to grasp human thought within real life contexts. Bourdieu used practice to make up for structuralist and functionalist theories of culture, and through focusing on cultural practices he shed light on how culture is reproduced and how it embodies class relations. Also, this approach is also influenced by Habermas' concept of lifeworld, which serves as an alternative to "systems" as a "background for a rationality of communication" (Wenger 1998, p. 281-282).

The concept of "communities of practice" initially came from anthropological research on apprenticeships as a learning process. It can be situated within two main axes of social theory, namely the tension between social structure versus individual agency; and the tension between social practices and individual identity.

This thesis utilizes Castell's network society theory to understand social structure. Indeed, network society theory tends to overlook the agency of individual actors – a weakness typical of social structure theories, as Wenger points out. As discussed previously, network society theory is explicitly not interested in boundary creation, including the formation of boundaries that define "locality." As a tool for analyzing specifically how localities function, this thesis utilizes systems theory as

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developed by Conti and Giaccaria. The individual level of personal identity and subjective experience are not addressed explicitly.

Specifically, this thesis is situated between theories of social structure and theories of social practice – the central concern for this thesis is theory of collectivity, which "address the formation of social configurations of various types, from the local (families, communities, groups, networks) to the global (states, social classes, associations, social movements, organizations).[13] They also seek to describe mechanisms of social cohesion by which these configurations are produced, sustained and reproduced over time (solidarity, commitments, common interests, affinity) (Wenger 1998, p. 14). As Wenger observes, "Ever since the early days of social theory, defining basic types of social configuration and analyzing the source of their cohesion and boundaries have been a central concern. Examples include:

- Social classes

- Societies and communities

- Groups formed through mechanical solidarity based on similarity, versus organic solidarity based on complementarity; occupational groups

- Open and closed groups; interest groups

Wenger also observes that "the concept of community of practice focuses on what people do together and on the cultural resources they produce in the process" (Wenger 1998, p. 283). Wenger looks to "practice" as the source of cohesion, and learning as the process through which cohesion takes place. The overall implied goal is understanding continuity and discontinuity, and different analytical tools reveal different

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[13] Note that in this quote, Wenger's understanding of local/global is very different from territorial scale. For Wenger, "global" refers to the generality of a concept. In contrast to network society theory's use of the "network" concept to describe connected nodes that are fundamentally aspatial, here "network" is characterized as being "local." Indeed, local and global are not always understood as spatial concepts.

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sources of both.

The "communities of practice" concept is related to social networks, in that both concepts focus on interpersonal ties. As Wenger observes, "communities of practice could in fact be viewed as nodes of "strong ties" in interpersonal networks, but…the emphasis is different. What is of interest to me is not so much the nature of interpersonal relationships through which information flows as the nature of what is shared and learned and becomes a source of cohesion – that is, the structure and content of practice" (Wenger 1998, p. 283).

Wenger's goal is to provide a systematic vocabulary to talk about learning as a social process. Placed within the larger context of social theory, the relationship between learning and social order becomes clear. And, "learning is so fundamental to the social order we live by that theorizing about one is tantamount to theorizing about the other" (Wenger 1998, p. 15). Using this model, the research topic can be rephrased as contributions of community of practices to local learning processes.

3.4   Core Concepts of Social Learning Theory

3.4.1   Communities of Practice

Associating community with practice is useful for two reasons: first, it makes the concept of practice more tangible, and hence more manageable, and second, it defines a special type of community, namely "community of practice." At the core of social learning theory, the community of practice concept makes it possible to understand shared learning. Communities of practice are sites of shared learning through the dualistic processes of *participation* and *reification,* through which *meaning* is negotiated.
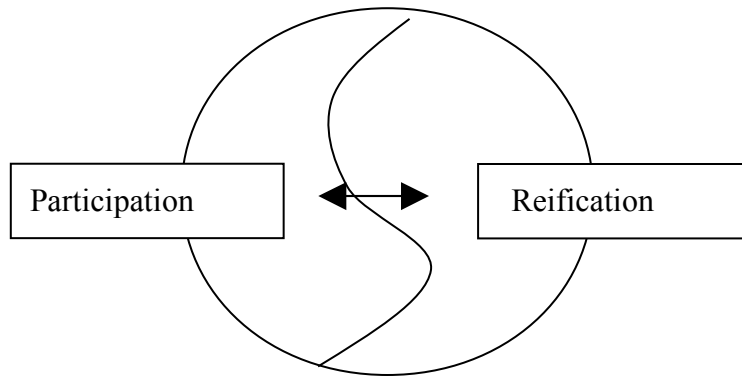
Wenger identifies fourteen characteristics that are typical of communities of practice (quoted from Wenger 1998, p. 125)

1) sustained mutual relationships – harmonious or conflictual

2) shared ways of engaging in doing things together

3) the rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation

4) absence of introductory preambles, as if conversations and interactions were merely the continuation of an ongoing process

5) very quick set up of a problem to be discussed

6) substantial overlap in participants' descriptions of who belongs

7) knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute to an enterprise

8) mutually defining identities

9) the ability to assess the appropriateness of actions and products

10) specific tools, representations, and other artifacts

11) local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter

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12) jargon and shortcuts to communication as well as the ease of producing new ones

13) certain styles recognized as displaying membership

14) a shared disclosure reflecting a certain perspective on the world

      As this list indicates, the definition of communities of practice emerges from an ethnographic perspective. The above characteristics call for participant-observer or similar ethnographic methodology. This way of defining communities of practice stems from Wenger's research approach, which uses ethnography to closely observe the interactions of individuals within a group, and to identify the fine-grained interactions that distinguish the boundaries between groups. As will be discussed below, social learning theory is useful for this thesis argument because it enables the demarcation of boundaries between groups *without* relying on "local"/"global" as the main criteria. However, the communities of practice concept as proposed by Wenger is most directly applicable to ethnography studies. The question remains as to how this concept can be adapted to sociological-oriented research – in other words, research that uses data that can be observed by "outsiders," rather than requiring ethnographic immersion within the community.

      This thesis attempts to bridge the methodological differences by analyzing Wenger's 14 "characteristics of communities of practices" into two broad categories, and translating these categories into concepts that can be used for sociology-based data collection and analysis (see table).

Ethnographic-based characteristics of "communities of practice"	Sociology-based characteristics of "communities of practice"
Information flow characteristics: The rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation Absence of introductory preambles, as if	Informal, rapid flow of information using shared jargon and jokes

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conversations and interactions were merely the continuation of an ongoing process Knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute to an enterprise Specific tools, representation, and other artifacts Local lore, shared stories, inside jokes, knowing laughter Jargon and shortcuts to communication as well as the ease of producing new ones	
Organization characteristics: Sustained mutual relationships – harmonious or conflictual Shared ways of engaging in doing things together Very quick set up of a problem to be discussed Substantial overlap in participants' descriptions of who belongs Mutually defining identities The ability to assess the appropriateness of action and products Certain styles recognized as displaying membership	Shared agenda and identity

Table: Translating "community of practice" from ethnography to sociological research

3.4.2 Participation

Social learning theory proposes that learning happens through participation and reification. Participation refers to membership in social communities through mutual recognition of fellow actors. Only actors (not computers, for example) are participants, as the key factor in participation is "mutual recognition." Note that mutual recognition does not necessarily entail a relationship of equality or respect.

This participation becomes part of the identity for each individual, and has bearing on all of their activities. Thus, participation becomes a source of identity – "an identity constituted through relations of participation" (Wenger 1998, p. 56). Participation is not something a person turns on and off depending on their engagement in specific activities. Rather, participation is part of their individual identity and shapes all of their activities. In participation, "we recognize ourselves in each other" (Wenger 1998, p. 58). This mutuality makes it possible to negotiate meaning.

Identifying participation as a key aspect of learning has implications for the way we understand learning in communities and organizations. For communities, the implication is that "learning is an issue of refining their practice and ensuring new generations of members." For organizations it means that learning "is an issue of sustaining the interconnected communities of practice through which an organization knows what it knows and thus becomes effective and valuable as an organization" (Wenger 1998, pp. 7-8). For this thesis, the question is to what extent the learning processes for each individual and for organizations are connected with the locality – through individuals identifying with the locality, and communities where the practices are connected to the locality.

3.4.3 Reification

Reification refers to producing something tangible that represents the

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experiences of participation. Reification makes it possible to share meaning. "…in reification we project ourselves onto the world, and not having to recognize ourselves in those projections, we attribute to our meanings an independent existence" (Wenger 1998, p. 58). In other words, reification refers to "the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness'."

Reification and participation are not mutually exclusive, but rather complement each other and make up for inherent limitations. Examples include:

Situation	Participation	Reification
Treaty negotiations	Ambassadors discuss the treaty in person	Ambassadors have a written document, which represents their discussions
Customer service for household appliances	Appliance manufacturer provides a telephone number so that customers can discuss their questions directly	Manufacturer provides a written manual with "frequently asked questions"
Death of a person	People who knew the deceased person gather and share stories together	Family/community creates a monument to commemorate the deceased person
Meeting	Co-workers have a meeting	Co-workers create a written report about their meeting

Reification by itself will tend to become rigid, and the resulting forms risk becoming obsolete. In addition, reified objects are open to multiple interpretations, and without the engagement of participation the purpose can get lost. Thus, "participation is essential to repairing the potential misalignments inherent in reification."

Likewise, participation by itself tends to be too informal, fluid and narrow, and can easily dissipate the learning process and resulting shared meaning. Thus, "mirroring the role of participation, reification is essential to repairing the potential misalignments inherent in participation" (Wenger 1998, p. 64). When either participation or reification

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prevails, it becomes difficult to coordinate within the community of practice. In such cases, it is not possible to establish shared meaning. Balance is critical.

3.4.4 Meaning

Wenger proposes that "practice" is both explicit and tacit, and always involves the whole person in both action and knowing, in both manual and mental activity. It is not a dichotomy concept. The creation of meaning is the end goal of practice. Thus, "practice is about meaning as an experience of everyday life….Human engagement in the world is first and foremost a process of negotiating meaning….Meaning exists neither in us, nor in the world, but in the dynamic relation of living in the world" (Wegner 1998, p. 52-54).

Meaning is created through a negotiation process involving the two processes of participation and reification interacting. These processes are a duality, as opposed to a dichotomy, which places the focus on understanding and classifying difference. Duality, on the other hand, involves understanding the interplay between both concepts. Similarly, the concepts do not define a spectrum, and they do not substitute for each other, as more of one will often increase the requirements of the other. Nor do they translate into each other. Rather, they transform each other. Thus, participation and reification form "a single conceptual unit that is formed by two inseparable and mutually constitutive elements whose inherent tension and complementarity give the concept richness and dynamism." (Wenger 1998, p. 66)

Wenger defines learning as "a tension between the socially defined competence of communities and our own experience, whichever is leading the other…", or a "changing experience of participation." (Wenger 2006, p. 2) Learning happens when a person embeds their identity within a community of practice, and makes that community's knowledge available to themselves. Each person must manage "these multiple forms of participation over time in the ongoing construction of an identity.

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Learning capacity then depends on our ability to develop these two elements together: multi-scale learning systems with identities that can navigate the structure of the system…" (Wenger 2006, pp. 4-5)

3.4.5   Boundary Creation and Reification/Participation

As argued in Chapter 2, boundary formation is a key aspect of local development. From the perspective of social learning theory, boundaries are not a bad thing, as they are inherent to defining communities of practice. Participation and reification can both create boundaries and form connections across boundaries, both of which are inherent to learning processes and the creation of shared meaning. The creation and crossing of boundaries is central to this thesis, as it points to the ways globally networked organizations can contribute to meaning creation beyond "global networks" networks to impact local development.

Boundary Creation and Crossing through Reification

In the case of reification, objects that form connections can be described as boundary objects. These products can cross boundaries and become part of different practices. Potential boundary objects include encoded information, artifacts of all kinds, places, and nature. Wenger identifies four ways in which boundary objects can create meaning across multiple communities of practice.

✧ Modularity: A specific portion of a boundary object is relevant to different people, such as articles in a newspaper that are each relevant to different constituencies.

✧ Abstraction: Boundary objects delete features that are specific to subjective or specific perspectives, such as maps that simplify geographic information.

✧ Accommodation: Boundary objects can be used for various activities,

such as a public space that accommodates different practices for different people.

✧ Standardization: Information about the boundary object is put into a format so each group knows how to deal with it from within their own community.

Boundary objects create connections through transcending spatiotemporal limitations of participation. Each person can't live everywhere in the world, and can't live in the past, but it is possible to connect to other places via newspaper and the past via artifacts. There are also limitations to connections that are formed via reification. When the reified object/idea is broken away from its community of practice, it becomes open to misinterpretation. Because reified things necessarily have some ambiguity and can accommodate multiple viewpoints, they can link across boundaries, but at the same time misunderstandings can arise and go unnoticed. In addition, reified things can end up reinforcing boundaries they were meant to cross. As Wenger observes, "when a boundary object serves multiple constituencies, each has only partial control over the interpretation of the object…Jurisdiction over various aspects of a boundary object is thus distributed among the constituencies involved, and using an artifact as a boundary object requires processes of coordination and translation between each form of partial jurisdiction…The crucial issue is the relationship between the practices of design and practices of use. Connecting the communities involved, understanding practices, and managing boundaries become fundamental tasks" (Wenger 1998, p. 108).

Boundary Creation and Crossing through Participation

Participation enables boundary crossing through individuals acting as brokers and being part of multiple communities of practice. Brokering refers to the "use of multi-membership (in different community of practices) to transfer some element of one

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practice into another…" (Wenger 1998, p. 109). Brokering entails the following processes (Wenger 1998, pp. 109-110):

- ✧ Translation, coordination and alignment between perspectives
- ✧ Legitimacy to influence the way a practice develops, get people's attention focused on a specific thing, and deal with conflicts
- ✧ Linking specific practices between communities, and introducing practices across communities, thereby causing learning

An occupational hazard of brokering is "uprootedness" where an individual belongs fully to none of the groups. On one hand, an individual loses the ability to broker if they become fully a member of any given community of practice. At the same time, if they are not fully a member, there is the possibility of them being rejected as an intruder. The key to brokering is to balance membership (legitimacy) and non-membership (new perspective).

There are also limits to brokering/participative connections. First, no one member can represent the practice as a whole. In addition, people's recollections change depending on what they are doing in the moment, and when isolated from their community of practice, members act differently than the way they would when with other community of practice members. These limitations can be addressed by sending boundary objects and brokers together. Thus, it can be argued that linking boundary objects and brokers increases impact on bridging practices.

Wenger identifies three types of boundary encounters:

- ➤ One-on-one: Each party can be frank, but the connections between two communities of practice will always be hostage to the two people who have made a link.
- ➤ Immersion: It is possible to see how practice really works, but the person who immerses themselves won't be able to act out their own practice.
- ➤ Delegation: Meetings of people representing multiple communities of practice

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make it possible to negotiate meaning with outsiders and within communities of practice at the same time. However, there is a possibility that participants will stay within their own practices.

Practice as source of boundaries (relationships, knowledge, language) can also be a source of connections. Specifically (Wenger 1998, p. 114):

➢ Boundary practices form when a boundary encounter becomes formalized with its own practice. The result is a form of collective brokering, and examples include task forces and committees. Such boundary practices must carry an independent identity, but also can't get completely self-absorbed.

➢ Peripheries can occur when a community creates practices that offer peripheral experiences, which serve to give casual but legitimate access to a practice, and can be a source of dynamism. Thus, peripheries, like boundaries, describe "edges," but with different emphasis: boundaries focus on discontinuities between inside/outside, and peripheries focus on overlap and connection, and function to extend participation opportunities to outsiders.

3.5 Film Festival Organization and Impact on "Integrated" Local Development

3.5.1 Film Festival Organizations as Communities of Practice

In effect, the raw materials (inputs) for film festival organizations are simple: film content and screening venue. Furthermore, digital technology has drastically reduced both costs, so that consumer-level hardware is adequate for professional-level film productions and screenings. This technology has resulted in an explosion of both film content and screening venues, and has partly fueled the film festival explosion in recent years.

Thus, this thesis defines film festival organizations as bodies of film festival produces that offer opportunities to watch and experience films in order to create new

value for audiences and filmmakers. The three main actors are film festival producers, filmmakers and audiences. Film festival producers provide screenings, special programs (workshops, symposiums), social events, and information (catalogs, website). Benefits for filmmakers include recognition, interaction with audiences, and industry contacts. Audiences benefit from the opportunity to view films, interact with filmmakers, meet other fans, and educate themselves on cinema.

Recognition
Audience interaction
Industry contacts
Education

Screening programs
Filmmaker services
Information provision
Educational activities
Social exchange

Access to films
Filmmaker interaction
Education
Meeting other fans

Filmmakers ⟷ Film festival organization ⟷ Audience
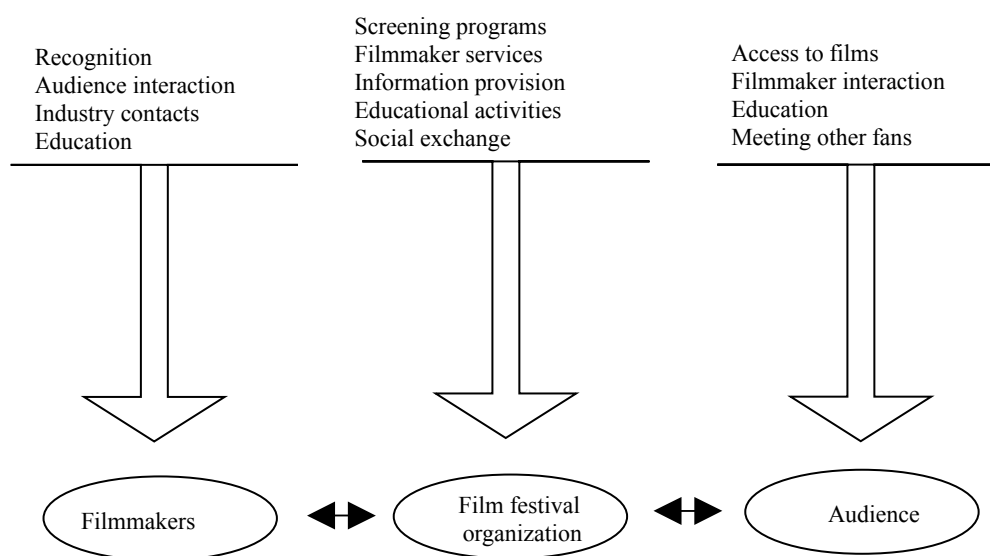
Figure: Model of film festival value creation

This thesis focuses on role of film festival organization in engaging filmmakers and audiences in learning processes. Using the social learning theory template, the film festival organization can be understood as a community of practice that is bound together through information flow (shared jargon, rapid and informal communication channels) and organization (shared identity and agenda). These aspects of the communities of practice enable the film festival organization to engage with filmmakers and audiences to collectively create new meaning, which is the end result of practice.

Industry-specific websites

Information flows:
Information channels

General websites,
email newsletters

Joining meaningful or prestigious content

Organization:
Shared agenda

Experiencing meaningful or entertaining content

Filmmakers

Film festival organization

Audience

Community of practice
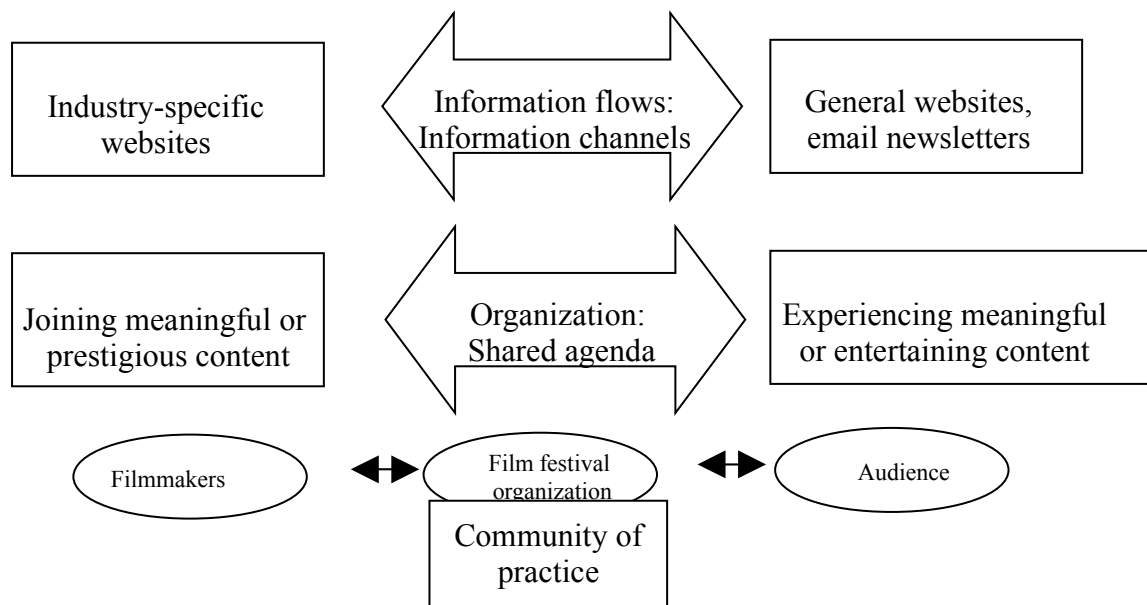
Figure: Film festival organizations as communities of practice

3.5.2 Research Question #3: Film Festival Organizations and Learning Processes

In the local development model proposed in this thesis, communities of practice are the sites for learning processes that fuel local development. As argued in the above section, film festival organizations can be understood as communities of practice. Social learning theory then focuses the spotlight on reification/participation strategies within communities of practice, which are the engines for generating new knowledge. The critical issue for this thesis is whether film festival organizations can generate new knowledge that contributes shared identity within the locality. This leads to the third research question, namely: What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what are the obstacles to "integrated" local development?

As discussed in the above section, film festival organizations are complex

communities that involve a diverse array of parties. In addition, film festival organizations engage in wide range of activities. It is too complex to comprehensively analyze all of the reification/participation strategies undertaken by multiple film festival organizations. Thus, the strategy used in this thesis is to break down the film festival's activities into "functions," which are used as the basis for isolating aspects of film festival organization for analysis.

A "function" is defined as a self-contained program or event that is organized by the film festival, which stands on its own through a coherent theme. Examples include a competition, symposium, workshop, etc. Each function will necessarily be comprised of smaller units (for example, a competition will typically consist of a call for entries, preliminary selection, jury selection, question-and-answer sessions with audiences, public screenings, and awards ceremony). Furthermore, functions will often overlap, such as a special screening program of works by jury members. In addition, the functions within any given film festival organizations are not necessarily equivalent in terms of scale. Bearing these difficulties in mind, functions are defined as activities that:

- have their own internal coherence based on theme and meaning
- are presented by organizers as self-contained building blocks through which the film festival can be understood
- can be used by participants (filmmakers and audiences) as the framework for organizing their understanding of the film festival

Functions can be identified as being primarily either "reification" or "participation" practices, thereby linking the concept with social learning theory. As discussed above, reification refers to "the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into 'thingness.' In the broadest sense, film itself can be understood as the reification of the filmmaker's experiences. Film festival organizations, in turn, create their own form of reification through creating contexts and giving meaning to the films. This reification takes the shape of awards,

publications of film festival selections, and archives that identify films as being worthy of preservation. In contrast, the key aspect of "participation" is the mutual recognition of actors. This recognition occurs within the community of practice itself, and enables the community of practice to engage with outside actors as well. I identify 10 key functions that are carried out by film festival organizations, and classify these functions as being primarily "participation" or "reification" practices.

Functions that are primarily "participation" practices
(1) Film selection process

The film selection process defines the quality and quantity of value that film festivals generate for filmmakers and audiences. Films are chosen through competitions or invitation, or a combination of "programs" within a single film festival. Festivals often use multiple programs combining invitational screenings and competitions to achieve diverse program goals and reach different audience segments. The film selection process is grounded in some kind of "authority" that gives the films legitimacy, and in turn create meaning for the filmmakers and audiences. This authority is typically based on involving individuals who are recognized by the larger film festival network. This function is universal to all film festival organizations.

(2) Markets

Elements beyond the screenings and publicity are developed to extend the festival's impact to both audiences and filmmakers. Film festivals have long been identified as markets connecting distributors with new works, and expand this function through organizing ancillary market-specific events where producers and directors present projects that are outside the screening program, including projects still in development. Film markets generally have separate charges for admission, booth rental and publication listings. In addition, film festivals are used to connect filmmakers with

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other service providers specific to the locale. In particular, festivals link with local film commissions to advertise the locale as a potential location for future projects.

(3) Filmmaker-audience Interaction

Perhaps the most crucial element in festivals is the opportunity for proximity among audiences and filmmakers. Media and celebrity-saturated events offer access at a distance, through red carpet parades of stars into venues and awards presentations. Festivals schedule question-and-answer periods following screenings, allowing filmmakers and audiences to have a controlled dialogue about the film. In addition, the screening itself gives filmmakers the chance to see audience reactions to the work. Festivals can also create opportunities for informal exchanges between filmmakers and audiences at parties and other non-official events. After-hour venues are sometimes arranged by the festivals themselves, or through co-sponsorship with local venues.

(4) Filmmaking workshops

Increasingly, festivals are expanding their role from screening to production through filmmaking workshops and competitions that award production funds for projects that are still in the planning phase. This expansion reflects the increasing focus on cultivating "creative industries" within local economies. In addition, workshops often have an educational aspect and focus on expanding opportunities for students or enhancing the cultural experiences of local residents.

(5) Other events

Festivals also serve to place films within broader social contents and develop program themes through panel discussions and symposia. These events contribute to the social impact of filmmakers by creating new links and contexts for the films, and enable audiences to educate themselves on issues raised in the films.

Festivals tend to be defined by their limited time span; however, the event-based nature of festivals forces festival producers to confront the challenge of keeping the attention of audiences throughout the year. In addition, festival producers often have year-round costs for office space and staff, which are underutilized during the down time. Thus, festivals use year-round activities to increase awareness within the local community, as well as provide additional opportunities for filmmakers to present their work. These events include regular screenings, social events, and educational programs. Festivals that create original programs also tour the screening line-up to other festivals, or to other cities as stand-alone screening events. Festivals that gain expertise in a specific area can also serve as programming consultants for other festivals and organizations that need screening content.

Such year-round activities help boost the festival's role as an integral part of the local arts community. This role is often formalized through creating membership programs for individuals, which provides the festival with a stable form of support beyond ticket sales and a way to connect more personally with audiences through targeted mailings, discounts, and special events.

Functions that are primarily "reification" practices

(1) Competition programs

Competitions offer filmmakers the opportunity to differentiate themselves through prizes, which in turn build their own personal resumes and boost the film's credibility to potential distributors and screening venues. Audiences can expect to see films that are both fresh and high quality. Competitions are labor intensive for festival producers, and involve publicity for the competition, cataloging and managing the entries, selecting the screening program, inviting a jury for the final awards, and organizing the actual prize money and awards ceremonies.

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An additional layer of labor and expenses is required for international competitions, including international shipping, subtitling, and transportation for jury members and selected filmmakers, and interpretation support during the festival. Film festivals often defray many of these expenses to the filmmakers through entry fees and requiring filmmakers to provide subtitled prints and cover their own transportation costs. Competitions also offer festivals concrete means for measuring their impact on both filmmakers and audiences, through tracking the number of submissions and also the future success of films "discovered" by the festival.

(2) Invitation programs

Invitational programs require the festival programmers to search out films. Programs are organized around a specific theme (i.e. introducing works from a certain country or region, or bringing together works by a single director). Invitational programs are generally less demanding than competitions, but require a festival director or selection committee with extensive knowledge of the theme being explored. Occasionally, invitation-based programs like the New York Film Festival and the New York City-based New Directors/New Films convey the prestige and cache of the best competitive programs. The choice of genre is central to defining the film festival's identity – animation, short-form works, documentaries, and/or focus on a specific region (i.e. local filmmakers, or filmmakers from Asia) or theme (gay/lesbian themed works, works dealing with environmental issues, etc.)

(3) Sanctifying film-related places

Film festival organizations can embody meaning in specific locations through recognizing their role in film production or film history, such as a place frequented by a famous filmmaker, locations used in well known films. In addition, film festivals can give cultural meaning to spaces that otherwise have gone out of use, such as warehouses

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or unused buildings that are converted for screenings, and proposing new cultural centers for film screenings.

(4) Publications

Festivals can also increase their potential impact on audiences and filmmakers through activities that extend beyond the festival space and time period. Catalogs and publications offer a means for defining the festival's identity through statement by jury members and the festival organizers, as well as creating value for filmmakers through publishing the film's synopsis and director's comments. Catalogs can also feature ancillary essays and articles that develop the festival themes. Most significantly, catalogs are an important way for festivals to connect sponsors with audiences through advertisements and sponsorship logos.

(5) Distribution and archiving

Festivals also extend their relationships with filmmakers beyond the event period through formalized distribution agreements and archiving copies of the films, particularly in the case of international festivals that import films that are not available through other distribution channels. Festival offices then act as agents for renting copies to other festivals or organizations for screenings during the contract period.

3.5.3 Hypothesis #3: Film Festival Organization Learning Processes through Reification/Participation

What learning strategies strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what obstacles will be faced? The hypothesis proposed is that learning strategies will focus on workshops and competitions, which create increased opportunities for engaging with local and global networks, and will face the obstacles of overcoming boundaries with local groups, and making the film festival content relevant

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to local networks.

As presented in earlier, the learning processes continually involve both brokering and boundary creation. In order to cross boundaries through participation, film festival organizations act as brokers. To cross boundaries through reification, film festival organizations create boundary objects. Social learning theory identifies 3 types of brokering processes, and 4 types of boundary objects. These each can be represented by data drawn from film festival organizations.

Participation: Types of brokering processes	Examples
Translation	Co-sponsoring screenings with local non-film groups
Legitimacy	Bringing in people respected within local non-film communities
Linking practices	Co-sponsoring workshops or events that are held by other non-film groups

Table: Types of brokering processes and film festival organization examples

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	Examples
Modularity	Programs that appeal to distinct audiences
Abstraction	Programs that simplify or delete references that are only known to film fans
Accommodation	Co-produced programs that allow other constituencies to utilize the film festival for their own agendas
Standardization	Making the film festival organization resemble organizing committee structures found in other arts and community groups

Table: Types of boundary objects and film festival examples

In order to contribute to "integrated" local development, film festival organizations must create boundary objects that are relevant to the locality, and engage

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in brokering processes that engage with local networks. This thesis proposes that the extent to which film festival organizations succeed in these two activities will largely determine the impact achieved on "integrated" local development.

3.5.4 Research Question and Hypothesis #4: Evidence of Impact

According to the local development model proposed in this thesis, film festival organizations can be expected to impact "integrated" local development if their learning processes engage with local networks. It is necessary to ask a follow-up question: Is there evidence of impact of film festival organizations on "integrated" local identity development? In other words, do the impacts predicted by the model actually happen? The hypothesis is that yes, for film festival organizations that engage both local and global networks, using both participation and reification learning processes, it will be possible to find evidence of impact on "integrated" local identity development.

Chapter 4   Research Design: Applying Case Study Methodology to Film
           Festival Organizations

4.1   Case Study Methodology

4.1.1   Case Studies as Experiments

Miles and Huberman define a "case" in qualitative research as "a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context" (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 25). Infinite possible relationships constitute the reality of society; furthermore, it is futile to search for universal laws akin to gravity, etc. that govern human relationships, as individuals possess their own intentions and motivations, and thus are constantly modifying their own relationships. Nonetheless, patterns, routines, and stable structures can be identified among these relationships and within society as a whole. In order to say something meaningful about these stable features, it is necessary to identify the actors and specific relationships that are deemed relevant.

Yin defines case studies as "an empirical inquiry that:

- investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when,
- the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which
- multiple sources of evidence are used" (Yin 1989, p. 23).

Case studies can take the form of open-ended journalistic explorations, descriptive studies, or more rigorous explanatory studies that strive for analytical generalizations. Thus, case studies can potentially be academic research or journalist research, qualitative and/or quantitative (Yin 1989, p. 24).

Case studies are often compared with "samples" in statistical analysis. However, it is more accurate to compare a case study with an experiment. Although experiments might use statistical analysis, the goal is to generalize to theory and not to a population. As Yin writes, "Case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes. In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample," and the investigator's goal is to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (Yin 1989, p. 21). The basis of analytic generalization is the development of an explicit theory (or propositions), which are used as a template (the source of criteria) for comparing the empirical results (Yin 1989, p. 38).

4.1.2 Overview of Research Design

The key element in creating analytic generalization is the research design, which links the initial research questions to the data and conclusions (Yin 1989, p. 27). As Yin writes, "research design is an action plan for getting from here to there, where 'here' may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and 'there' is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions" (Yin 1989, p. 28). Case studies are a subset of qualitative research, which is an interactive and iterative process. The significance of research design is that it establishes the underlying structure and connections between the components of the research (Maxwell 1996). The thesis argument as developed thus far is summarized below.

Research question #1: To what extent to globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local development as part of their mission/goals?

Propositions/conceptual framework:
Local development occurs in self-sustaining local systems, which have the

following characteristics:

i) Networks characterized by spatial proximity

ii) Intertwined economic, cultural, social and political relations, which have self-reflexivity (shared consciousness/representation of a local system) and duration (constancy of self-reflexivity)

Research question #2: What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local development?

Propositions/conceptual framework:

Local government funding *should* lead to greater prioritization of "integrated" local development

Research question #3: What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what obstacles prevent "integrated" local development?

Propositions/conceptual framework:

- Local development occurs through learning processes that engage global networks

- These learning processes occur within "communities of practice." I propose that film festival organizations can be analyzed as "communities of practice."

- Local development occurs through reification/participation that engage local and non-local networks. The result is boundary crossing/boundary creation, which sustains the local system.

Research question #4: Is there evidence of film festival organization impact on "integrated" local development?

The next step in the research design is to establish template/criteria, which form the basis for gathering and analyzing data. Yin proposes the following aspects to creating a template/criteria:

1) Specifying the units of analysis

2) Establishing the logic linking the data to the propositions/conceptual framework, and in turn back to the research questions

3) Establishing the criteria for interpreting the findings

4) Making analytic generalizations

These aspects are addressed in the following sections.

4.2 Data Analysis Template: #1 Specifying the Units of Analysis

4.2.1 Overview

There are three stages to specifying the units of analysis for case studies, namely identifying the following:

1) scope of the case studies

2) sampling parameters

3) case study units

4.2.2 Scope of Case Studies

The first step in specifying the units of analysis is to determine the scope of the case studies. There are two aspects of the cases to consider: first, whether multiple cases will

be used, and second, whether these cases consist of a single unit for analysis, or multiple units. The four possible types of case design are summarized in the table below.

	Single case designs	Multiple case designs
Holistic (single unit of analysis)	Type 1	Type 2
Embedded (multiple units of analysis)	Type 3	Type 4

Table: Four types of case study design (Yin 1989, p. 46)

The research questions look for evidence of "internally driven" local development across localities; thus, it is appropriate to use multiple case studies. In addition, the questions focus on the role of community of practices in regenerating local systems. Each case study focuses on a community of practice, which is functions as part of a network and is embedded within a local system. Thus, the research design can be described as an embedded multiple case approach (type 4).

	Single case designs	Multiple case designs
Holistic (single unit of analysis)	Type 1	Type 2
Embedded (multiple units of analysis)	Type 3	*Type 4* *- Multiple cases:* *finding patterns across localities* *- Embedded cases:* *community of practice, embedded within networks in a local system*

Table: Case study design for this thesis argument (based on Yin 1989, p. 46):

4.2.3   Identifying Sampling Parameters

The next step in identifying units for analysis is identifying the parameters for sampling. Sampling refers to "taking a smaller chunk of a larger universe." In order to answer the two research questions, I identify the following five sampling parameters (based on the definition of "internally driven" local development as self-sustaining local systems, which occurs through learning processes):

1) Local system: I use the municipal local government unit as a proxy for identifying local systems.

2) Local networks are based in the municipality

3) Non-local/global networks are represented by the film festival circuit

4) Community of practice: Organizations engaged in learning processes that sustain local systems; I focus on film festival organizations

5) Learning processes: Key functions carried out by the community of practices that reinforce and cross local boundaries through reification/participation

The relationship between the five sampling parameters and the local development are shown in the figure below:
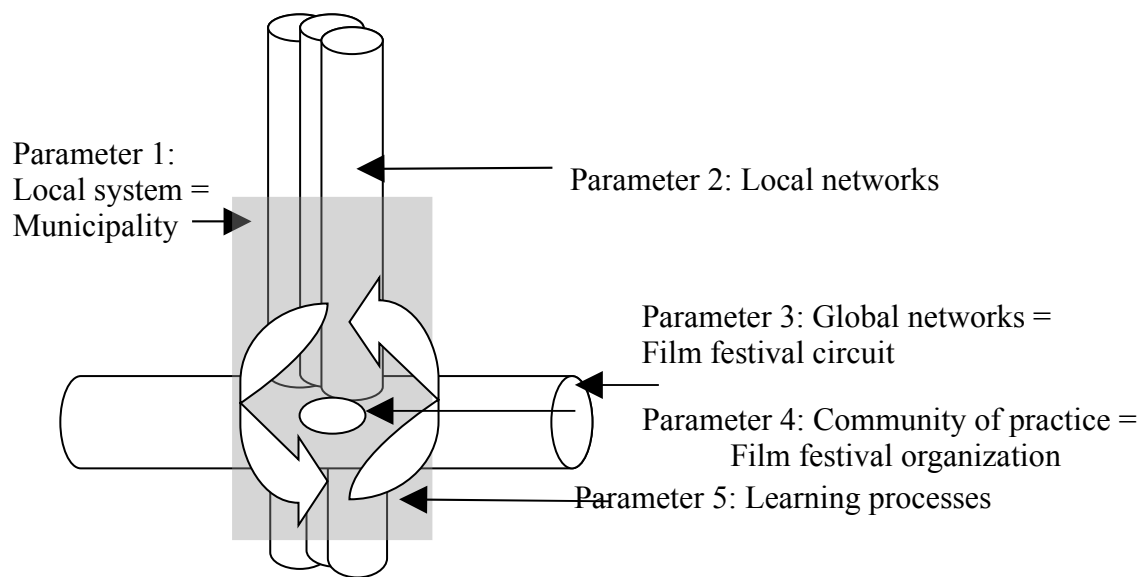
Parameter 1:
Local system =
Municipality

Parameter 2: Local networks

Parameter 3: Global networks =
Film festival circuit

Parameter 4: Community of practice =
Film festival organization

Parameter 5: Learning processes

Figure: Relationship between the five sampling parameters and the local development model

4.2.4 Identifying Case Study Units

Identifying case study units requires selection of specific case study targets that will be used to provide evidence to answer the research questions. Again, the overall goal is to answer the research question in terms of analytic generality – the robustness of the propositions – rather than statistical generalization. Based on the above sampling parameters, I identify a set of case studies to look for local development impacts, and a sub-set of case studies for analysis of learning processes. The criteria for selecting the initial set of case studies are organizations that are:

1) Identified with a specific municipality

2) Engagement with global networks

3) Engagement with local networks

4) On-going (i.e. have been in existence for a minimum length of time)

4.3 Data Analysis Template: #2 Establishing the Logic that Links Research Questions/Conceptual Framework to Data

4.3.1 Construct Validity

For case study methodology, it is necessary to establish the logic that links the research questions/conceptual framework with the data. This aspect of the research design is evaluated based on "construct validity," which refers to the use of operational measures that are correct for the concepts and the research questions (see figure). There are two aspects to construct validity.

1) Identify the specific aspects of the concepts to be studied, in relation to the research purposes and questions

2) Show that the measurements of these concepts are appropriate, through using a) multiple sources of evidence, and b) establishing the chain of evidence during data collection.
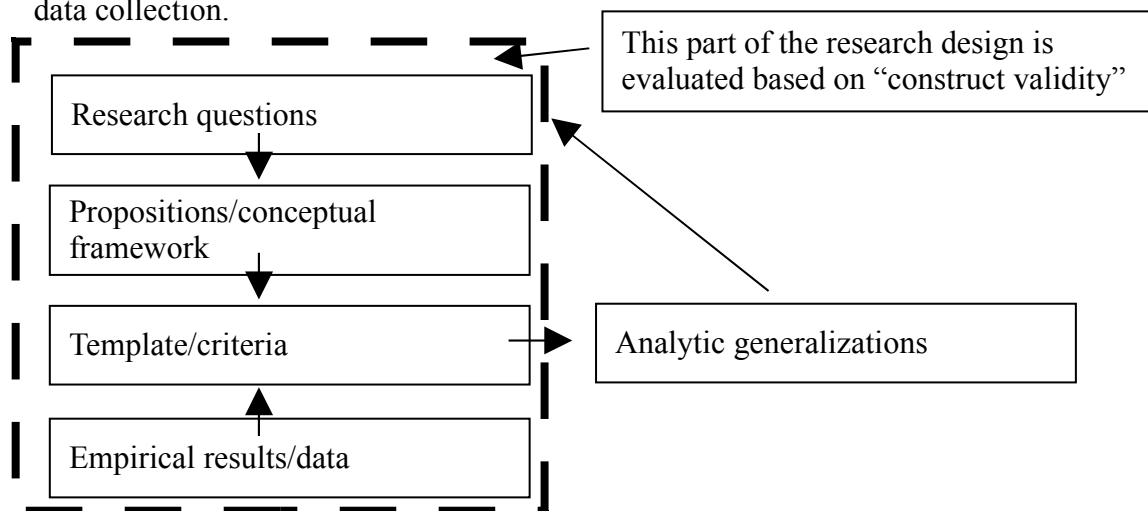
Figure: Logic linking research questions/conceptual framework to data is evaluated based on "construct validity"

4.3.2 Research Question #1: Film Festival Organization Mission Statements

Research question #1 aims to ascertain the extent to which each film festival organization (as proxy for "community of practice") aims to engage in learning processes that sustain the local system. I focus on the link between the organization and local system (see figure), and ask the following question.

Research question #1: To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development as part of their mission/goals?

Hypothesis: There will be a strong tendency for film festival organizations to prioritize the film festival network agenda.

The data for collection is the organization's mission statement, defined as follows: Statements created by the organization that specify the organization's overall goals (as opposed to goals for specific activities), which are available to the public (through organization publications, websites and publicity materials).

The data analysis is done with the software Text Analysis Mark-up System (TAMS). The data regarding the organizations are compiled into text files (one file for each organization). The data sources are identified using the following meta-tags:

Meta-tag: Data sources	Definition
source>primary_publication	Publication issued by the organization
source>secondary_publication	Secondary source publication about the organization
source>website	Organization's official website
source>correspondence	Written correspondence with organization representative (email or letter)
source>interview	Interview with organization representative (in person or telephone)
source>newspaper	Newspaper article about organization
source>web	Online information about organization

	(other than official website, such as blogs, forums, etc.)

Table: Codes used for text-based data analysis

The mission statements are input into TAMS as text, and coded to assess potential contribution to learning processes. The coding is based on the following criteria:

➢ Contribution to sustaining the local system – coded as "strong" or "weak"

➢ Test question: Could this organization's mission statement be carried out anywhere, or is it specific to this locality's identity?

4.3.3 Research Question #2: Local Government Funding

Research question #2 aims to identify the relationship between local government funding and the extent to which film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local development in their mission statements.

Research question #2: What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development?

Hypothesis: There will be a strong correlation between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development.

4.3.4 Research Question #3: Reification/Participation Strategies

Research question #3 asks what reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what obstacles stand in the way of development. In other words, this question focuses on how each film festival organization engages in learning processes that sustain the local system (see figure). Thus, the focus is on process, and involves establishing causality.

Research Question #3: What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what are the obstacles to "integrated" local development?

    Hypothesis: Such strategies will focus on workshops and competitions, which create increased opportunities for engaging with local and global networks, and will face the obstacles of overcoming boundaries with local groups, and making the film festival content relevant to local networks.

    For each organization, I identify a primary function that reflects the organization's core mission. I input data into TAMS about the function, and code the sources (same coding as described for question #1 above). I break down the function into discrete steps, and identify whether each step contributes primarily toward impacting global versus local networks.

4.3.5 Research Question #4: Evidence of Impact

    The final research question focuses on assessing the actual impact of film festival organizations on local identity development. I conducted in-depth research regarding the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival. This research consists of in-depth interviews, document analysis, and two surveys (Main Survey of the audience at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival 2005, and Online Survey of the film festival's supporters). I also conducted follow-up research regarding the Isama Studio Film Festival, to assess the kind of participation that engages with other local organizations/networks.

Research Question #4: Is there evidence of impact of film festival organizations on "integrated" local identity development?

Hypothesis: For film festival organizations that engage both local and global networks,

1 2 8

Map of Film Festival Organizations - Major Hubs and Hubs
(groups A, B, C, D, and E in film festival organization typology)

D1 Hakodate Harbor Illumination Film Festival/
Hakodate City, Hokkaido

B1 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival/
Yamagata City, Yamagata

E1 Hida International Animation Festival of Folktales and Fables/Hida City, Gifu
E2 Documentary Film Festival Hida Takayama/ Hida City, Gifu

D2 Takasaki Film Festival/Takasaki City, Gunma

A1 Skip City International D-Cinema
Festival/Kawaguchi City, Saitama

C1 Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival/
Kawasaki City, Kanagawa Prefecture

D3 Shimane Film Festival/ Matsue City, Shimane

A2 Hiroshima International Animation
Festival/ Hiroshima City, Hiroshima

A3 Fukuoka - Focus on Asia/
Fukuoka City, Fukuoka

E3 Yufuin Cinema Festival/ Yufu City, Oita

N
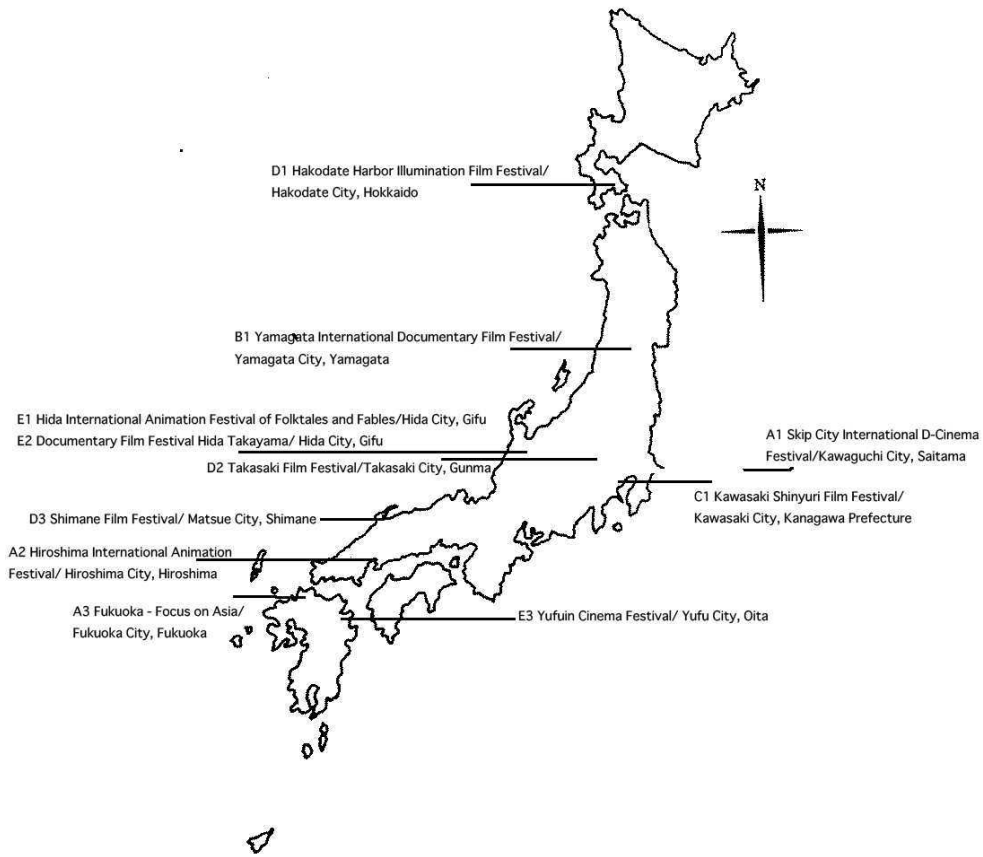
Map of Film Festival Organizations - Nodes in Cities
(Groups F and G in film festival typology)

G1 Aomori Film Festival/ Aomori City, Aomori

G2 Jumonji Cinema Festival/ Yokote City, Akita

F1 Shortpiece! Sendai Short Film Festival/
Sendai City, Miyagi

G3 Niigata International Film Festival/ Niigata City, Niigata
G4 Nagaoka Asian Film Festival/ Nagaoka City, Niigata

F2 Mito Short Film Festival/ Mito City, Ibaraki

F9 Shimonoseki Film Festival/
Shimonoseki City, Yamaguchi

F3 Akiruno Film Festival/ Akiruno City, Tokyo
F4 Chofu Film Festival/ Chofu City, Tokyo
F5 Tama Cinema Forum/ Tama City, Tokyo

G5 Gifu Asian Film Festival/ Gifu City, Gifu
G6 Mie Film Festival/ Tsu City, Mie
F6 Takarazuka Film Festival/ Takarazuka City, Hyogo
F7 Kobe Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo
F8 Shinkaichi Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo

G7 Okayama Film Festival/ Okayama City, Okayama

Map of Film Festival Organizations - Nodes in Rural Areas
(group H in film festival typology)

H1 Falling Stars Town Ashibetsu Film
School/ Ashibetsu, City, Hokkaido

H2 SHINTOKU Kuusou no Mori Film Festival/
Shintoku Town, Hokkaido

N

H3 Higashine Cinema Festival/
Higashine City, Yamagata

H4 Sukagawa International Short Film Festival/
Sukagawa City, Fukushima

H5 Kitashinano Obuse Film Festival/
Obuse Town, Nagano

H8 Fukaya Film Festival/
Fukaya City, Saitama

H7 Isama Studio Film Festival/
Nakanojo Town, Gunma

H6 Tateshina Kogen Film Festival/
Chino City, Nagano

H9 Cinema Jamboree in Nakatsugawa/ Nakatsugawa City, Gifu

H10 Furuyu Film Festival/
Saga City, Saga

H11 Yufuin Documentary Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita
H12 Yufuin Kids' Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita

using both participation and reification learning processes, it will be possible to find evidence of impact on "integrated" local identity development.

4.4   Data Analysis Template: #3 Establishing Criteria for Interpreting Data

4.4.1   Internal Validity

How can I know that my inferences from the data are correct? This issue is dealt with through addressing the "internal validity" of the research design. I interpret the data using two techniques.

First, "pattern matching" is used to ensure that the relationships I infer are valid. Pattern matching consists of comparing an "expected pattern" (based on the propositions/conceptual framework) with an "observed pattern" (based on empirical data). If these patterns match, the propositions/conceptual framework is confirmed (Hak and Dul 2009).

I propose two patterns of impact on local identity development:

	"Fragmented" local development	"Integrated" local development
Reification	Creates symbolic value primarily for the film festival network	Creates symbolic value that is also relevant to the locality
Participation	Film festival organization is primarily engaged with other film-related organizations	Film festival organization also engages with locally based organizations and networks

Second, "explanation building" is used to identify patterns based on the empirical data. This technique is used when there is not a pre-established pattern to use for interpreting the data; instead, patterns are induced from the data. These patterns in

turn can be used as the basis for theory building.

Map of Film Festival Organizations - Major Hubs and Hubs
(groups A, B, C, D, and E in film festival organization typology)

D1 Hakodate Harbor Illumination Film Festival/
Hakodate City, Hokkaido

B1 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival/
Yamagata City, Yamagata

E1 Hida International Animation Festival of Folktales and Fables/Hida City, Gifu
E2 Documentary Film Festival Hida Takayama/ Hida City, Gifu

A1 Skip City International D-Cinema
Festival/Kawaguchi City, Saitama

D2 Takasaki Film Festival/Takasaki City, Gunma

C1 Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival/
Kawasaki City, Kanagawa Prefecture

D3 Shimane Film Festival/ Matsue City, Shimane

A2 Hiroshima International Animation
Festival/ Hiroshima City, Hiroshima

A3 Fukuoka - Focus on Asia/
Fukuoka City, Fukuoka

E3 Yufuin Cinema Festival/ Yufu City, Oita

N

4.4.2 Research Question #1: Film Festival Organization Mission Statements

Pattern matching

To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development as part of their mission/goals? I identify organizations that are nodes/hubs on global networks, and collect data on their intended impact on local development. I use the following two pattern presented above as the basis for evaluating "weak" versus "strong" contributions to "integrated" local identity development.

Explanation building

I then take the patterns identified in the empirical data, and look for patterns in the ways that the organizations engage with the local system.

4.4.3 Research Question #2: Local Government Funding

What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local development? I collect data on the level of local government funding, and create a matrix that examines the relationship with intended local development impact.

Explanation building

I then take the patterns identified in the empirical data, and look for patterns in the ways that the organizations engage with the local system.

4.4.4 Research Question #3: Reification/Participation Strategies

Pattern matching

What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what are the obstacles to "integrated" local development?

1 3 4

I identify a subset of case studies, and select a function performed by the organization that expresses its core mission. I break down the function into discrete steps, and analyze each step according to the learning process (reification vs. participation). The ideal pattern for reification/participation strategies has the following two qualities:

- relevant to global film festival networks
- balance between reification and participation learning processes

Explanation building

I then take the patterns identified in the empirical data, and look for patterns in the ways that the organizations engage with the local system through reification/participation learning processes.

4.4.5 Research Question #4: Evidence of Impact

Cross tabulation analysis

For the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival Organization, I conducted an audience survey (sample size: 360 valid responses), and used cross tabulation analysis to assess the impact of the film festival on the audience's conception of local identity.

Explanation building

For the Isama Studio Film Festival, I conducted additional interviews of the film festival organizers to assess the specific actions taken to achieve participation-style learning processes.

4.5   Data Analysis Template: #4 Making Analytic Generalizations

4.5.1   External Validity

The basis for generalization is analytic (not statistical), and thus lies in the theoretical propositions. External validity is the test used to ascertain the areas to which the findings can be generalized. I address two aspects of external validity, namely replication logic and gradient of similarity. Replication logic is used to empirically test the generalizability of the findings, by identifying case studies where similar results should be found, and then collecting the necessary data. Gradient of similarity identifies contexts are more or less similar to this research. These two aspects are discussed in the following sections.

4.5.2   Literal and Theoretical Replication

The multiple case studies are analyzed using replication logic (cross-experiment design), as opposed to sampling logic (within experiment design) (Yin 1989, p. 53). The cases are selected because similar results are predicted (literal replication), or because contrary results are predicted for reasons based on the theoretical propositions (theoretical replication). When the empirical evidence does not match the predicted data, then the theoretical propositions must be revised accordingly.

- Theoretical replication: number of replications depends on the complexity of external validity.
- Literal replication: number of replications depends on the degree of certainty desired, and the subtleness of the differences with rival theories.

I create a typology of the case studies based on the local system's scale (Parameter 1) and the organization's scale (Parameter 4), as shown in the figure below.
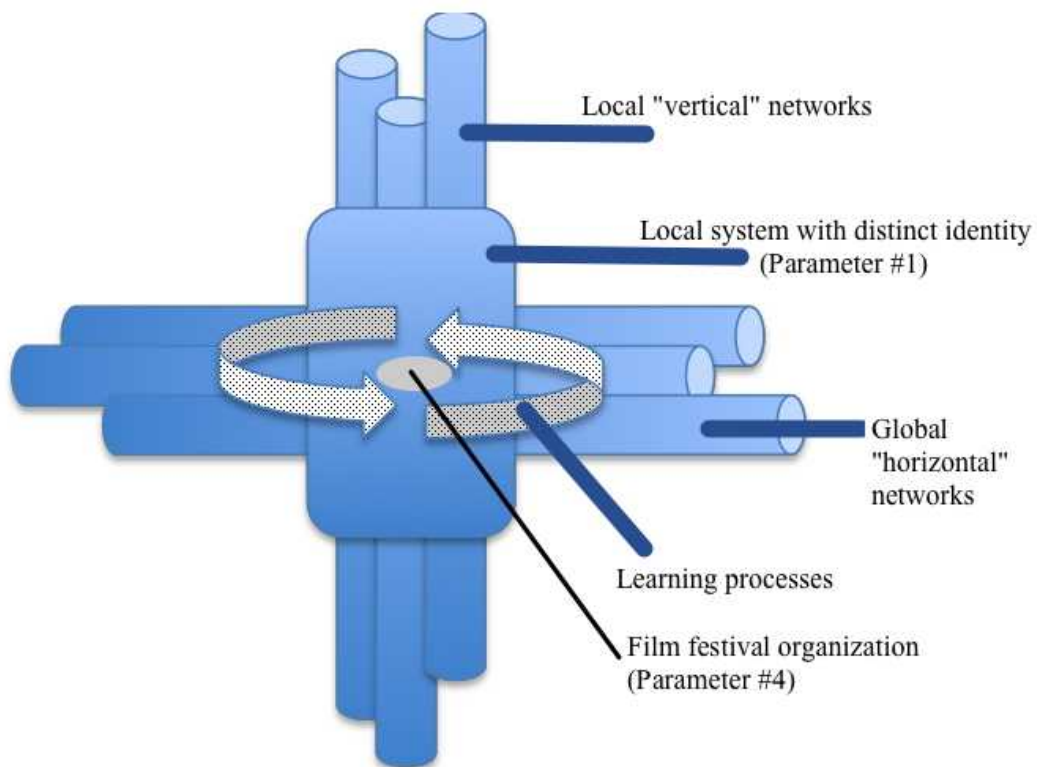
Figure: Overview of systems theory

The resulting typology is a matrix, as follows:

	Mega-urban	Urban	Rural
Major hub			
Hub			
Node			

Based on the proposed local development theory, I predict the following:

- Parameter 1 (locality scale)

1 3 7

➢ Locality scale does not determine the ability of organizations to contribute to learning processes. Mega-urban, urban and rural can potentially engage with "global networks" to achieve local development.

- Parameter 4 (organization scale)

➢ Major hubs will have greater potential to contribute to learning processes, as they can harness more resources from their global networks. However, major hubs will also be under greater pressure to give back to global networks. They will not benefit the local system, unless they the organizations prioritize local development as part of their central mission statement.

4.5.3 Gradient of Similarity

Gradient of similarity identifies contexts are more or less similar to this research.

Contexts for Local System (parameter 1):

✧ Public policy context
- Relationships between local, regional and central governments
- public policy agenda
- public funding sources

✧ Economic context
- Types and strengths of industries
- Overall economic conditions

✧ Social context
- Strength of social ties within the locality
- Ability to mobilize social capital
- Strength of third-sector institutions

✧ Cultural context
- Local historical heritage

1 3 8

- Symbolic and cultural capital

Contexts for Organization (parameter 4)
- ✧ Public policy context
  - Relationships between organization and public institutions
- ✧ Economic context
  - Primary economic focus of the organization
- ✧ Social context
  - Strength of ties within network
- ✧ Cultural context
  - Type of cultural field

Chapter 5   Case Studies: Classifying Film Festival Organizations based on
        Mission Statements and Local Government Funding

5.1   Identifying Case Studies

5.1.1   Criteria for Excluding Case Studies

While it is possible to apply the conceptual model to all film festival organizations, not all film festivals aim for local development; in other words, some film festival organizations do not explicitly develop territory-based network relationships, and hence do not engage in learning processes that contribute to the local system's identity. The next step is to identify case studies that meet the following criteria, namely film festival organizations that are:

1) Identified with a specific municipality

2) Engagement with global networks

3) Engagement with local networks

4) On-going (i.e. have been in existence for a minimum length of time)

This thesis is limited to film festival organizations that include local development as a specific element in the festival mandate, either implicitly through local government sponsorship, or explicitly as part of the film festival mission. This excludes for-profit film festivals (such as the Tokyo Video Festival sponsored by JVC and the Yamagata Movie Festival sponsored by Cable TV Yamagata) and NPO-sponsored festivals that have a specific mission other than local development (such as the Science and Technology Film/Video Festival.)

In addition, film festival organizations that are focused exclusively on developing film culture and/or introducing a specific type of film to their locality were also excluded. It is arguable that such film festivals benefit their local communities beyond

the narrow confines of film culture. Specifically, such film festivals primarily benefit film fans who enjoy the films; however, they also enrich the community as a whole by offering a wider range of cultural options to other residents, and making the community attractive for visitors and prospective residents and businesses. However, the thesis is focused on the ways in which global film culture can be linked with place-based culture for local social and cultural development. Thus, it is most relevant to focus on film festivals that explicitly strive to link global film culture with place-based local culture. Introducing film culture is an important function, and does contribute to local development; however, film festivals that focus exclusively on film culture are less effective as case studies for understanding the link between film and local culture.

Criteria for Excluding Film Festival Organizations	Excluded Film festival Organizations
For profit film festivals	Yamagata International Movie Festival (cable TV) Tokyo Video Festival (JVC)
Mission-specific film festivals	Science and Technology Film/Video Festival Earth Vision – Tokyo Global Environmental Film Festival Festival du Francais Tokyo, Osaka (Unifrance) Tokyo International Lesbian & Gay Film Festival Japan Wildlife Film Festival Kinder Film Festival Aomori International LGBT Film Festival
Film-culture specific film festivals (volunteer based)	Neo-Asian Film Festival in Asahikawa Yamagata Independent Production Image Festival Yokohama Film Festival Shimizu Film Festival Osaka European Film Festival Hiroshima Eizoten Fukuoka Asian Film Festival
Student film festivals	Tokyo Student Film Festival JCF Students' Movie Festival Yokohama Student Film Festival Kyoto International Student Film & Video Festival

Tokyo-based globally networked film festivals	Tokyo International Film Festival Tokyo FilmEx Pia Film Festival Image Forum Film Festival
Newly established film festivals (2005 or later)	Tokatsu International Film Festival (2005) Sapporo International Short Film Festival (2006) Oze no Mori Film Festival (Gunma Prefecture) (2005) Cineastes Organization Osaka EX (2005) Aomori International LGBT Film Festival (2006) Sanuki Film Festival (2006) Yubari International Fantastic Film Festival (restarted 2008)
Recently cancelled film festivals	Okinawa Film Festival Michinoku International Mystery Film Festival in Morioka Toyonaka Peace Film Festival Kyoto Film Festival (organizational change) Odawara Film Festival Shizuoka Film Festival Hagi International Film Festival Imari Kurosawa Film Festival
No response to information requests	Miyazaki Film Festival

Table: Film festival organizations excluded from case study research

It is difficult to draw the line in excluding film festival organizations on the basis of being solely "film culture" oriented, i.e. judging that are not relevant for understanding the link between local and global culture. Some film festivals are very clear in their orientation toward film culture, such as the Yokohama Film Festival and Fukuoka Asian Film Festival. These festivals stake their identities on their editorial independence and focus on film culture. However, there are several film festivals that fall in a gray area – film festivals that are run by volunteers and do not receive public support, but are not so fiercely independent (Asahikawa is excluded, but Nagatsugawa, Shimonoseki and Okayama are included in the case studies).

5.1.2　　　　Film Festival Organization Typology

The film festival organizations are categorized according to the scale of the local system and organization. First, film festival organizations are categorized according to their scale within "space of flow" film festival networks. The scale is based on film festival function, and is defined as follows:

Major hub: Global scale hub for major genre of film

Hub: Regional scale hub for narrow genre of film

Node: Small-scale node targeted to narrow genre of film

Major hub	4 festivals
Hub	7 festivals
Node	28 festivals
TOTAL	39 film festival organizations

Table: Film festival organization typology based on scale of organization

Second, film festival organizations are categorized according to the scale of their local system.

Mega-urban: Seireitoshi (Government Ordinance Cities), Tokyo capital region, and Osaka/Kyoto/Kobe region

Urban: Other cities, population over 100,000 people

Rural: Population under 100,000 people

	Mega-urban (Tokyo capital region, Osaka/Kyoto/Kobe	Urban (other cities, population over	Rural (population under 100,000 people)

	region, *seirei toshi*)	100,000)	
Major hub	A 3 festivals	B 1 festival	
Hub	C 1 festival	D 3 festivals	E 3 festivals
Node	F 9 festivals	G 7 festivals	H 12 festivals

Table: Film festival organization typology based on locality/organization scale

Following are maps showing the locations of the film festival organizations.

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5.1.3　Data Collection Restraints

For each film festival, I entered the data source and data relevant to the film festival organization's cultural goals. It should be noted that many film festivals do not have an explicit mission statement, or if they do, it is not made public. In the absence of an official statement, goals were inferred from official "Greeting" or "Message" statement by festival organizers and/or sponsors in publications or on the official festival website. However, even when official mission statements can be found, in some cases these statements may not accurately represent the film festival organization's intentions, particularly when the film festival is undergoing a management or organizational transition. In general, these issues arise because of the informality that tends to characterize film festival organizations. They are often started by a group of passionate volunteers who have a shared mission, and thus there is no strong need to explicitly state the film festival's purpose. The absence of a mission statement becomes a problem when the core organizers change, or when the festival needs to clearly represent itself to potential or actual sponsors. This aspect is both a weakness and strength of film festival organizations. In general, I predict that film festivals without mission statements, or inaccurate mission statements, will have comparatively less impact on local development impact. This issue will be addressed the next chapter.

5.2 Research Questions #1 and #2: Case Study Empirical Evidence

5.2.1 Mission Statements

Group A

Film festival organization/ municipality, prefecture	Data source	"Space of place" oriented cultural goals	Pattern	Notes
A1 Skip City International D-Cinema Festival (IDCF)/ Kawaguchi City, Saitama	2008 Official Catalog, "Greetings" p. 4-7 (no formal mission statement)	Weak; promote film production locally, but weak link with local identity	International impact (digital film)	Unstated assumption that international impact automatically builds local cultural capital (Kawaguchi's identity as media production center)
A2 Hiroshima International Animation Festival/ Hiroshima City, Hiroshima	2006 Official Guidebook, "Message" p. 3 and 5 (no formal mission statement)	Weak; promote peace through film, but weak link with local identity	International impact (animation film)	Refers to city using film to convey message of "love and peace," referring to atomic bomb history.
A3 Fukuoka – Focus on Asia/ Fukuoka City, Fukuoka	Official website accessed October 8, 2008, "Objectives" and "Who We Are"	Strong; Fukuoka as "energetic urban center of Asia"	Contribute to locality's core identity (link with Asia)	Film festival 1 of 50 events during "Asia Month"

Group B

B1 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF)/ Yamagata City, Yamagata	Official website accessed October 8, 2008, "Why Documentary Film Festival?"	Weak; introduce documentaries locally, but weak link with local identity	International impact (documentary film)	

Group C

C1 Kawasaki Shinyuri Film	2007 Official Pamphlet,	Strong; Kawasaki as "arts city"	Locality's general cultural	

Festival/ Kawasaki City, Kanagawa	"Greetings" p. 2 (no formal mission statement)	(*geijutsu no machi*)	development	

Group D

D1 Hakodate Harbor Illumination Film Festival/ Hakodate City, Hokkaido	Official website accessed April 4, 2008, "About the film festival"	Strong; Aims to promote Hakodate-Aomori region	Contribute to locality's core identity (Hakodate-Aomori region)	
D2 Takasaki Film Festival/ Takasaki City, Gunma	2008 Catalog, "Greetings" p. 2-3 (no formal mission statement)	Weak; Takasaki as "film city", but no clear link with local identity	Foster film culture for locality	Wants Japan to know Takasaki as "film city," but not clearly linked with local identity.
D3 Shimane Film Festival/ Matsue City, Shimane	*Shimane's Film and Culture*, 2006, p. 8	Weak; encourage film viewing in Shimane prefecture, but weak link with local identity	Foster local film culture	"Shimane approach" is to have festival travel through prefecture; Shimane least number of movie theaters in Japan; In evolution - has added filmmaking workshop

Group E

E1 Hida International Animation Festival of Folktales and Fables/ Hida City, Gifu	Official website accessed April 4, 2008, "About HAIFFF"	Strong; fable-based animation connects with Hida's culture of old tales and history	Contribute to locality's core identity (folk tales, history)	
E2 Documentary Film Festival Hida Takayama/ Hida City, Gifu	Official website, accessed January 26, 2008.	Strong; discover Hida Takayama and traditional culture throughout Japan via film	Contribute to locality's core identity (traditional culture)	
E3 Yufuin Cinema Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Official website, accessed April 4, 2008	Weak; "where Japanese fans and filmmakers meet"	National impact on Japanese film culture	Yufuin in a rarity – long-running film festival that is supported

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				primarily within the film world, with some local government, sponsors and volunteers

Group F

F1 Shortpiece! Sendai Short Film Festival/Sendai City, Miyagi	Official website, accessed April 7, 2008	Weak; aims to create opportunities to view short films; doesn't touch on Sendai's cultural identity	Introduce short film culture to locality	
F2 Mito Short Film Festival/ Mito City, Ibaraki	Official website, accessed September 24, 2008, "About the Mito Short Film Festival"	Weak; focused on discovering new short films and directors	National impact on short-film culture	
F3 Akiruno Film Festival/ Akiruno City, Tokyo	Official website, accessed April 4, 2008	Strong; let people know about Akiruno's natural environment through film	Contribute to locality's core identity (nature, landscape)	Film festival evolved mission as cinema-complexes expanded and offered more film choices
F4 Chofu Film Festival/ Chofu City, Tokyo	Official website, accessed April 11, 2008,	Strong; festival for Chofu City, home to many film production companies	Contribute to locality's core identity (film production)	
F5 Tama Cinema Forum/ Tama City, Tokyo	Official website, accessed April 11, 2008	Strong; Tama's original contribution to Japan's film industry through creating movie fan network; "21st century machizukuri"	Contribute to locality's film culture development	
F6 Takarazuka Film Festival/ Takarazuka City, Hyogo	Official website, accessed April 8, 2008	Strong; Builds on local Toho studio history and aims to generate new films	Contribute to locality's core identity (historic film studio)	Film festival equates citizens with film fans, and Takarazuka with film culture

F7 Kobe Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo	Official website, accessed October 15, 2008	Strong; Film festival themed on how to recover from disaster	Contribute to locality's core identity (disaster recovery through art)	
F8 Shinkaichi Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo	Official website, accessed April 8, 2008, "About the Shinkaichi Film Festival"	Strong; "Love/eros" theme promotes Shinkaichi's historical role as entertainment district	Contribute to locality's core identity (historic entertainment district)	
F9 Shimonoseki Film Festival/ Shimonoseki City, Yamaguchi	Official website, accessed October 17, 2008	Not specified		Film festival closely tied to actress Kinuyo Tanaka, who was from Shimonoseki

Group G

G1 Aomori Film Festival/ Aomori City, Aomori	15th Anniversary Pamphlet, 2006, p. 1.	Strong; aims to support and celebrate Aomori films and filmmakers	Contribute to locality's film culture development	
G2 Jumonji Cinema Festival/ Yokote City, Akita	Official website, accessed April 14, 2008	Weak; aims to create new local image as a "town with cinema," but not linked to local identity	Introduce film culture to locality	
G3 Niigata International Film Festival/ Niigata City, Niigata	Official website, accessed April 15, 2008	Weak; introduce films to Niigata and promote international exchange	Introduce international film culture to locality	
G4 Nagaoka Asian Film Festival/ Nagaoka City, Niigata	13th Festival Pamphlet, 2008, "Greetings"	Weak; introduce quality films not usually available and raise citizen international awareness.	Introduce Asian film culture to locality	
G5 Gifu Asian Film Festival/ Gifu City, Gifu	Official website, accessed October 20, 2008.	Weak; Weak; introduce quality films not usually available and raise citizen	Introduce Asian film culture to locality	

		international awareness.		
G6 Mie Film Festival/ Tsu City, Mie	Official website, accessed April 16, 2008	Not specified		
G7 Okayama Film Festival/ Okayama City, Okayama	2005 Festival Program	Weak; aims to introduce films not shown locally	Introduce film culture to locality	

Group H

H1 Falling Stars Town Ashibetsu Film School/ Ashibetsu, City, Hokkaido	Official website, accessed August 12, 2008	Strong; strengthen relationship between film locations and people	Contribute to locality's film culture development	
H2 SHINTOKU Kuusou no Mori Film Festival/	Official website, accessed August 12, 2008	Strong: Themed on environment and locality's rural setting	Contribute to locality's core identity (rural environmental issues)	
H3 Higashine Cinema Festival/ Higashine City, Yamagata	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008	Not specified		
H4 Sukagawa International Short Film Festival/ Sukagawa City, Fukushima	16th Festival Official Program (2004), p. 1-2.	Weak; introduce short films and develop cultural activities	Introduce short film culture for locality	Evaluated as strong social, but the mission statement is vague
H5 Kitashinano Obuse Film Festival/ Obuse Town, Nagano	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008	Strong; find and support creative minds that share Hokusai's sensibility	Contribute to locality's core identity (historical link with Hokusai)	
H6 Tateshina Kogen Film Festival/ Chino City, Nagano	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008	Strong; see Ozu's films and understand the place where many Ozu scripts were written; foster 21st century filmmaking through competition	Contribute to locality's core identity (continue Ozu's legacy)	
H7 Isama Studio	Official website,	Strong; build on	Contribute to	

Film Festival/ Nakanojo Town, Gunma	accessed October 29, 2008.	town's role as site for film shoots	locality's film culture development	
H8 Fukaya Film Festival/ Fukaya City, Saitama	Official website, accessed November 12, 2008.	Not specified		
H9 Cinema Jamboree in Nakatsugawa/ Nakatsugawa City, Gifu	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008.	Not specified		
H10 Furuyu Film Festival/ Saga City, Saga	Official website, accessed August 12, 2008.	Strong; enable people to enjoy watching films at hot springs	Contribute to locality's core identity (hot springs)	
H11 Yufuin Documentary Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Official website, accessed October 30, 2008.	Not specified		
H12 Yufuin Kids' Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Official website, accessed October 30, 2008.	Weak; introduce film to children	Introduce film culture to locality	

5.2.2 Local Government Funding

Group A

Film festival organization/ municipality, prefecture	Data source	Local government support	Other local support	Classification of local government support (High, Medium, Low)
A1 Skip City International D-Cinema Festival (IDCF)/ Kawaguchi City, Saitama	Email correspondence, Usui Hiroko, October 20, 2006	Main sponsor (funding from Saitama Prefecture and Kawaguchi City; use of public facilities; no data on exact level of funding)	Eigasai wo shien suru shimin no kai (Citizen's Committee for Supporting the Film Festival) raises 2 million yen, which funds the grand prize for the Short Film competition	High
A2 Hiroshima International Animation	Correspondence from Shimamoto Nobuo, Film	Main sponsor (about 50% of budget from		High

Festival/ Hiroshima City, Hiroshima	Festival Organizing Committee, November 1, 2006	Hiroshima City Cultural Foundation)		
A3 Fukuoka – Focus on Asia/ Fukuoka City, Fukuoka	Telephone interview, Kitazawa Yoshinori, October 12, 2006	Main sponsor (67% of budget from Fukuoka City, 3 and city employees work fulltime for the film festival)		High

Group B

B1 Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF)/ Yamagata City, Yamagata	2006 film festival budget, provided by YIDFF Organizing Committee	Main sponsor (75% of funding from Yamagata City, plus city employees work for the film festival)		High

Group C

C1 Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival/ Kawasaki City, Kanagawa	Interview, Nonaka Chieko at Roppongi Hills, Tokyo, October 27, 2005	Main sponsor (Kawasaki City; no data on exact level of sponsorship)		Medium

Group D

D1 Hakodate Harbor Illumination Film Festival/ Hakodate City, Hokkaido	Email correspondence, Nishizato Kousei, November 23, 2006	Main sponsor (48% of budget from Hakodate City, and assistance with ticket sales)		Medium
D2 Takasaki Film Festival/ Takasaki City, Gunma	Email correspondence, Takasaki City Cultural Division, October 18, 2006; Gunma Prefecture Board of Education,	Application based funding from Gunma Prefecture and Takasaki City (about 30% of total budget)		Medium

	October 23, 2006			
D3 Shimane Film Festival/ Matsue City, Shimane	Email correspondence, Yamamoto Takeo, October 6, 2006	Co-sponsor (Shimane Prefecture and 20 local governments that host film festival events; about 30% of total budget)		Medium

Group E

E1 Hida International Animation Festival of Folktales and Fables/ Hida City, Gifu	Telephone interview, Mori, November 12, 2008	Co-sponsor (no data on funding amount)		Insufficient data
E2 Documentary Film Festival Hida Takayama/ Hida City, Gifu	Telephone interview, Takayama City Hall Tourism Division, Wani Noriko, November 12, 2008	Main sponsor (85% of budget from Takayama City)		High
E3 Yufuin Cinema Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Telephone interview, Yokota Shigemi, October 20, 2006	Minor financial support (4% of budget from Yufu City)		Low

Group F

F1 Shortpiece! Sendai Short Film Festival/Sendai City, Miyagi	Email correspondence, Ogawa Naoto, October 5, 2008	Main sponsor (50% of budget, facility use, and personnel salaries from Sendai City)		High
F2 Mito Short Film Festival/ Mito City, Ibaraki	Telephone interview, Oouchi, October 13, 2008	One of the sponsors (about 20% of total budget from Mito City)		Medium
F3 Akiruno Film Festival/ Akiruno City, Tokyo	Telephone interview, Watanabe Jiro, October 20, 2006	One of the sponsors (40% of total budget and office support from Akiruno		Medium

		City)		
F4 Chofu Film Festival/ Chofu City, Tokyo	Email correspondence, Kondo, October 20, 2006	Main sponsor (95% of budget from Chofu City)		High
F5 Tama Cinema Forum/ Tama City, Tokyo	Email correspondence, Iguchi Mitsugu, October 18, 2006	One of the sponsors (about 15% of budget from Tama City; application based for Citizen Proposed Projects)		Low
F6 Takarazuka Film Festival/ Takarazuka City, Hyogo	Email correspondence, Mera Akemi, October 26, 2008	Sponsor (about 36% of budget and publicity support from Takarazuka City)		Medium
F7 Kobe Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo	Presentation by Okamoto Yoshikazu at Agency of Cultural Affairs Eigasai Convention 2006	Minor support from Kobe City		Low
F8 Shinkaichi Film Festival/ Kobe City, Hyogo	Telephone interview, Nishijima, November 4, 2008	One of the sponsors (about 50% of the budget from Kobe City		High
F9 Shimonoseki Film Festival/ Shimonoseki City, Yamaguchi	Telephone interview, Kawanami Kayako, November 4, 2008	Irregular minor funding from Shimonoseki City and Yamaguchi Prefecture)		Low

Group G

G1 Aomori Film Festival/ Aomori City, Aomori	Telephone interview, Kawashima Diaji, October 20, 2006	One of the sponsors (not financial support)		Low
G2 Jumonji Cinema Festival/ Yokote City, Akita	Telephone interview, Kurosawa Seiko, October 20, 2006	One of the sponsors (about 10% of budget from Yokote City)		Low
G3 Niigata	Telephone	One of the		Medium

International Film Festival/ Niigata City, Niigata	interview, Koike, October 18, 2006	sponsors (Niigata City partially pays personnel salaries and office space, and indirect funding through local arts foundations)		
G4 Nagaoka Asian Film Festival/ Nagaoka City, Niigata	13th Festival Pamphlet, 2008	One of the sponsors (no data on exact level of support)		Insufficient data
G5 Gifu Asian Film Festival/ Gifu City, Gifu	Telephone interview, Isawa, November 12, 2008	Main sponsor (100% of budget from Gifu City)		High
G6 Mie Film Festival/ Tsu City, Mie	Official website, accessed April 16, 2008	One of the sponsors (no data on exact level of support)		Insufficient data
G7 Okayama Film Festival/ Okayama City, Okayama	2005 Report, Okayama Film Festival Organizing Committee	Local government support in the past (discount on local venues)		Low

Group H

H1 Falling Stars Town Ashibetsu Film School/ Ashibetsu, City, Hokkaido	Email correspondence, Tada Akira, October 18, 2008	Main sponsor (67% of budget from Ashibetsu City)		High
H2 SHINTOKU Kuusou no Mori Film Festival/	Official website, accessed August 12, 2008	One of the sponsors (no data on exact level of support)		Insufficient data
H3 Higashine Cinema Festival/ Higashine City, Yamagata	Telephone interview, Hosoya, October 28, 2008	Higashine City gave financial support until 2007		None
H4 Sukagawa International Short Film Festival/ Sukagawa City, Fukushima	Annual film festival budgets, provided by Sukagawa local government	Main sponsor (50% of budget, and salaries for film festival personnel, office		High

		space in city hall)		
H5 Kitashinano Obuse Film Festival/ Obuse Town, Nagano	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008	No financial support from local government		None
H6 Tateshina Kogen Film Festival/ Chino City, Nagano	Official website, accessed October 28, 2008	Main sponsor (50% of budget from Chino City, film festival organization housed in city hall)		High
H7 Isama Studio Film Festival/ Nakanojo Town, Gunma	Official website, accessed October 29, 2008.	One of the sponsors (no data on exact level of sponsorship)		
H8 Fukaya Film Festival/ Fukaya City, Saitama	Official website, accessed November 12, 2008.	Level of support unknown		
H9 Cinema Jamboree in Nakatsugawa/ Nakatsugawa City, Gifu	Telephone interview, Yamamoto, September 30, 2006	One of the sponsors (no funding from Nakatsugawa City)		Low
H10 Furuyu Film Festival/ Saga City, Saga	Telephone interview, Nonaka, November 12, 2008	Main sponsor (30% of budget from Saga City, and film festival organization house in city hall)		Medium
H11 Yufuin Documentary Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Telephone interview, Yokota Shigemi, October 20, 2006	One of the sponsors (about 5% of budget from Yufu City)		Low
H12 Yufuin Kids' Film Festival/ Yufu City, Oita	Telephone interview, Nagae, October 5, 2006	Main sponsor (funding, office space, and personnel costs from Yufu City)		High

5.3 Case Study Data Analysis – Pattern Matching

5.3.1 Research Question #1: Mission Statements

The data results are applied to the research question: In what ways do film festival organizations aim to impact local identity?

This research uses the cultural development criteria drawn from cultural valuation theory, and applies the criteria to evaluate the mission statements of the 40 film festival organizations. The data is based on mission statements, and thus is limited to evaluating the intentions of the film festival organizations. The data does not include observations of outcomes, and thus cannot be used to make claims about the specific characteristics or scale of local cultural development outcomes.

Each film festival is identified as having "strong" or "weak" cultural impact, or impact that is not specified, as summarized in the table below. There are 18 case studies in which the film festival organization's mission statement specifies strong impact on local cultural development. Thus, the data supports the claim that there is potential for film festival organizations to contribute to local cultural development.

	Cultural impact not specified	Weak impact on local cultural development	Strong impact on local cultural development
Film festival organization	6 total F9 Shimonoseki G6 Mie H3 Higashine H8 Fukaya H9 Nakatsugawa H11 Yufuin Doc	15 total A1 Skip City A2 Hiroshima B1 Yamagata D2 Takasaki D3 Shimane E3 Yufuin F1 Sendai F2 Mito G2 Jumonji G3 Niigata	18 total A3 Fukuoka C1 Kawasaki D1 Hakodate E1 Hida Folktales E2 Hida Doc F3 Akiruno F4 Chofu F5 Tama F6 Takarazuka F7 Kobe

		G4 Nagaoka G5 Gifu G7 Okayama H4 Sukagawa H12 Yufuin Kids'	F8 Shinkaichi G1 Aomori H1 Ashibetsu H2 Shintoku H5 Kitashinano H6 Tateshina H7 Isama H10 Furuyu

Table: Summary of case study phase 1 results

5.3.2   Research Question #2: Local Government Funding

I assigned three levels (high, medium, low) of local government funding levels to the film festival organizations, based on the following criteria:

- High: One of the following
    - 50% or more of the budget funded from the local government
    - Local government listed as "main sponsor"
    - Film festival office housed in local government facilities
- Medium: 20%-49% of budget from local government
- Low: less than 20% of budget from local government

	Insufficient data	Low	Medium	High
None: F7 Kobe H3 Higashine H5 Kitashinano	E1 Hida Folktales G4 Nagaoka G6 Mie H2 Shintoku H7 Isama H8 Fukaya	E3 Yufuin F5 Tama F9 Shimonoseki G1 Aomori G2 Jumonji G7 Okayama H9	C1 Kawasaki D1 Hakodate D2 Takasaki D3 Shimane F2 Mito F3 Akiruno F6 Takarazuka G3 Niigata	A1 Skip City A2 Hiroshima A3 Fukuoka B1 Yamagata E2 Hida Doc F1 Sendai F4 Chofu F8 Shinkaichi

		Nakatsugawa H11 Yufuin Documentary	H10 Furuyu	G5 Gifu H1 Ashibetsu H4 Sukagawa H6 Tateshina H12 Yufuin Kids

5.4 Case Study Data Analysis - Explanation Building

5.4.1 Research Question #1: Mission Statements

I then take the patterns identified in the empirical data, and look for patterns in the ways that the organizations engage with the local system. Explanation building of cultural impact resulted in identifying the following sub-categories (see 7.2). The film festivals that have "strong impact" have the greatest potential of contributing to internally driven local development, whereas "weak impact" organizations will tend to emphasize global film culture and could potentially reinforce fragmented local development. First, I discuss "strong impact" film festival organizations, which are summarized in the table and discussed in detail below.

1. Strong: Contribute to locality's core identity	A3 Fukuoka (link with Asia) D1 Hakodate (Hakodate-Aomori region) E1 Hida Folktales (old tales, history) E2 Hida Takayama (traditional culture) F2 Akiruno (nature, landscape) F4 Chofu (film history; home to many film production companies) F6 Takarazuka (Toho studio history) F7 Kobe NPO (disaster recovery) F8 Shinkaichi Kobe (local history) H2 Shintoku (environmental issues) H5 Kitashinano (Hokusai history) H6 Tateshina (Ozu history) H10 Furuyu (hot springs)
2. Strong: Contribute to locality's general cultural development	C1 Kawasaki

3. Strong: Contribute to locality's film culture development	F5 Tama G1 Aomori H1 Ashibetsu H7 Isama

Table: Patterns of potential "strong impact" on local development

Strong impact on local cultural development:

1. Contribute to locality's core identity

These mission statements align the film festival organization with the locality's core identity. These organizations have the greatest potential for contributing to local cultural development, as the film festival's own core activities are closely tied with sustaining a fundamental aspect of the local system. The locality's core identity is widely shared by local residents and non-locals alike, and is reinforced by other cultural activities and institutions, as well as the local government's vision statement and policies. There are various sources for the locality's core identity:

- Geography
  - Hakodate (D1) is a major harbor that links Hokkaido with Aomori Prefecture across the Tsugaru Channel.
  - Fukuoka's (A3) location in the south of Japan makes it a natural gateway to Korea, China and Asia as a whole.
- Cultural history
  - Hida (E1, E2) is strongly associated with old tales and traditional culture
  - Shikaichi (F8) in Kobe was formerly an entertainment district
  - Kitashinano (H5) was frequented by the ukiyo-e artist Hokusai
  - Tateshina (H6) was frequented by the film director Yasujiro Ozu
  - Takarazuka (F6) was the home to a major Toho film production studio
- Natural landscape/tourism

- ➢ Akiruno (F2) is a destination for hiking in the Tokyo region

- ➢ Furuyu (H10) has many hot springs and is a tourist destination

- Public policy issues

  - ➢ Kobe (F7) identifies itself closely with disaster recovery, in the aftermath of its major earthquake

  - ➢ Shintoku (H2) is in a rural area and identifies itself with environmental and sustainability issues

- Economic development

  - ➢ Chofu (F4) was historically home to many major film studios, and continues to have many local film production companies

2. Contribute to locality's general cultural development

Another pattern for strong impact on local cultural development is contributing to the locality's general cultural development, in the case of Kawasaki (C1). In this case, Kawasaki City has established cultural development as being a core aspect of its local development policy, for economic development, as well as social and cultural development. The film festival organization closely aligns itself with the local government's cultural policies, through working closely with local film-related institutions and creating a strong network of local volunteers to support the film festival. This pattern requires a local government that is strongly oriented towards cultural development, and hence is less frequent than other patterns.

3. Contribute to locality's film culture development

Another possibility is for the film festival organization to contribute to the locality's film culture, and in turn to impact local cultural development in general. This pattern occurs in cases where the film festival organization targets the development of local film-related assets, such as film production companies, filmmakers, film

audiences, or film locations. Unlike the above pattern, the locality does not have a larger context for overall cultural development. Thus, the intended impact is more narrowly focused on film culture. This pattern requires a film festival organization that is strongly committed to the locality, and not solely to film culture.

Below, I discuss patterns for potential "weak impact" on local development.

1. Weak: Make national/ international-scale impact on film culture	A1 Skip City A2 Hiroshima B1 Yamagata E3 Yufuin F2 Mito
2. Weak: Introduce film culture to locality	D2 Takasaki D3 Shimane F1 Sendai G2 Jumonji G3 Niigata G4 Nagaoka G5 Gifu G7 Okayama H4 Sukagawa H12 Yufuin kids

Table: Patterns of potential "weak impact" on local development

Weak impact on local cultural development:
1. Make national/international-scale impact on film culture

In this pattern, the film festival organization prioritizes impact on the film festival network, or film culture in general. Thus, impact on local cultural development is given less priority. The result tends to be film festivals that have higher status within film circles, i.e. the film festival organizations are respected for discovering new films, launching the careers of new film talent, and drawing film fans from outside the locality. However, the themes and content of the film festival will tend to ignore the locality's identity. The impact on local development occurs narrowly through film

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culture, for example: 1) Tourism, when outsiders visit for the festival events, 2) City sales, when outsiders become repeat visitors to the locality, 3) City image, when outsiders associate the locality with a positive aspect of film culture.

In each case, the film festival narrowly focuses on impacting a specific aspect of film culture. The film festival organization tends to be dominated by volunteers or professionals who are passionate about a specific genre of film.

- Skip City (A1): International magnet for digital filmmaking
- Hiroshima (A2): International magnet for high-quality animation
- Yamagata (B1): International/Asian magnet for documentary filmmaking
- Yufuin (E3): National magnet for Japanese filmmakers
- Mito (F2): Regional magnet for new short films/commercials

2. Introduce film culture to locality

This pattern has the weakest potential impact on local cultural development, as it focuses on importing film culture to the locality. This pattern follows a kind of "enlightenment" model of offering new film culture to local residents, thereby raising their cultural sophistication and improving local quality of life. These organizations tend to be dominated by passionate film fans, who want to introduce their own passion to others in the locality.

Strong impact
Locality's core identity
Locality's general cultural development
Locality's film culture development

Weak impact
National/international-scale film culture
Introduce film locally

Figure: Extent to which film festival organization mission statement prioritizes local identity impact

5.4.2   Research Question #2: Mission Statements and Local Government Funding

What is the relationship between local government funding and mission statement emphasis on local identity development?

As the table below shows, there is no strong relationship between the two factors. Follow up research questions:

Do the film festival organizations with "weak" vs. "strong" emphasis on local identity development contribute to local identity development in different ways? In other words, do these film festival organizations engage differently in reification/participation learning processes to generate new meaning for the locality, which is shared through the creation of boundary objects and through brokering?

	Mission statements		
Local government	Not specified	Weak	Strong

funding			
None	H3 Higashine		F7 Kobe H5 Kitashinano
Insufficient data	G6 Mie H8 Fukaya	G4 Nagaoka	E1 Hida Folktales H2 Shintoku
Low	F9 Shimonoseki H9 Nakatsugawa H11 Yufuin Doc	E3 Yufuin G2 Jumonji G7 Okayama	F2 Tama G1 Aomori
Medium		D2 Takasaki D3 Shimane F2 Mito G3 Niigata	C1 Kawasaki D1 Hakodate F2 Akiruno F6 Takarazuka H10 Furuyu
High		A1 Skip City A2 Hiroshima B1 Yamagata F1 Sendai F5 Gifu H4 Sukagawa H12 Yufuin Kids	A3 Fukuoka E2 Hida Doc F4 Chofu F8 Shinkaichi H1 Ashibetsu H6 Tateshina H7 Isama

To answer this question, I focus on film festival organizations that receive medium or high levels of local government funding, as follows:

	Weak emphasis on local identity	Strong emphasis on local identity
Medium local government funding	D2 Takasaki D3 Shimane F2 Mito G3 Niigata	C1 Kawasaki D1 Hakodate F2 Akiruno F6 Takarazuka H10 Furuyu
High	A1 Skip City	A3 Fukuoka

local government funding	A2 Hiroshima	E2 Hida Doc
	B1 Yamagata	F4 Chofu
	F1 Sendai	F8 Shinkaichi
	F5 Gifu	H1 Ashibetsu
	H4 Sukagawa	H6 Tateshina
	H12 Yufuin Kids	H7 Isama

Figure: Relationship between local government funding and emphasis on local identity

5.5 Data Interpretation: Linking the Empirical Results with Research Questions and Hypotheses

5.5.1 Research Question #1: Hypothesis Not Supported

I asked the question, "to what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development as part of their

mission/goals?" Based on network society theory, I hypothesized that "there will be a strong tendency for film festival organizations to prioritize the film festival network agenda, resulting in "fragmented" local development."

The data does not support the hypothesis. The evaluation of the 39 case studies based on "cultural valuation" criteria shows that yes, there are cases where film festival organizations prioritize cultural outcomes that are focused on the locality.

The evidence shows that:

1) There are film festival organizations of various scales in localities of various sizes that prioritize local cultural development.

2) Film festival organizations prioritize local development through focusing on the locality's core identity, general cultural development, and film culture development.

3) In the cases where film festival organizations do not prioritize local development, they focus on impacting film culture (internationally, nationally), or introducing film culture to the locality.

5.5.2 Research Question #2: Hypothesis Not Supported

I asked, "What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development?" Based on systems theory, I hypothesized that "there will be a strong correlation between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development."

However, case study evidence does not support the hypothesis, which predicted that film festival organizations that receive local government funding will prioritize local development. I found evidence of film festival organizations that receive high levels of local government support, but do not prioritize local development.

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Chapter 6　　　　Case Studies: Identifying and Assessing Film Festival Organization
Strategies for "Integrated" Local Development

6.1　Research Design Overview

6.1.1　Film Festival Organizations and Local Development Learning Processes

What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what are the obstacles to "integrated" local development? To answer this question, I create a matrix that represents local development processes from three perspectives:

- Global networks: Views local development in terms of networks

- Local networks: Views local development in terms of territorial proximity and locality

- Intersection between global and local networks: This is where locally based actors are connected with global networks.

The matrix describes 3 types of development processes, each which will generate different types of meaning through different kinds of "participation" and "reification."

Global networks	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Local networks

Table: Matrix describing 3 types of development processes; in the middle box, global networks are interacting with local networks.

Based on social learning theory, these 3 local development modes engage in learning processes through reification and participation. I analyze the learning processes in 10 film festival organizations.

Hypothesis: Effective strategies will focus on workshops and competitions, which create increased opportunities for engaging with local and global networks, and will face the obstacles of overcoming boundaries with local groups, and making the film festival content relevant to local networks.

6.1.2 Social Learning Theory and Research Design

This thesis argues that globally networked film festival organizations contribute to local learning processes (and hence local development) through reification and participation that generates meaning related to the locality. Film festival organizations are anchored primarily to global networks, and are thus oriented toward generating film-related meaning. From the perspective of the locality, the result is fragmented local development. In order to contribute to local meaning, and hence internally driven local development, film festival organizations must engage with local communities of practice. To do this, film festival organizations must cross boundaries, both in terms of participation (acting as brokers) and reification (creating boundary objects). I use the 3-part matrix to assess film festival organizations in terms of acting as brokers and creating boundary objects.

	Global networks	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Local networks
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network	Boundary object shared with locality	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network	Brokering between film-related and local networks	Brokering among local networks only

Table: Matrix to assess boundary crossing and brokering processes

The case studies results will make it possible to assess more clearly the specific contributions to local cultural development, and the processes through which local development occurs. If film festival organizations are able to contribute to local learning processes, then the results support the conclusion that globally networked cultural organizations can contribute to integrated local development.

6.1.3 Criteria for Selecting Case Studies

Ten film festival organizations are selected based on the following criteria:

(1) Five film festival organizations each from "strong" and "weak" potential impact on local cultural development

(2) Within each category, only one film festival organization from each category in the film festival typology;

(3) Selection of film festival organizations with different types of local cultural development impact patterns.

10 case studies:

Strong local cultural development impact	Weak local cultural development impact
A Fukuoka Pattern: Contribute to locality's core identity	A Skip City Pattern: national/international-scale impact on film culture
C Kawasaki Pattern: Contribute to locality's general cultural development	B YIDFF Pattern: national/international-scale impact on film culture
F Akiruno Pattern: Contribute to locality's core identity	D Takasaki Pattern: Introduce film culture to locality
F Tama	E Yufuin

Pattern: Contribute to locality's film culture development	Pattern: national/international-scale impact on film culture
H Isama Pattern: Contribute to locality's film culture development	H Sukagawa Pattern: Introduce film culture to locality

Table: Film festival organizations selected for case studies

6.1.4 Methodology for Analyzing Case Studies

For these case studies, I use text data about each film festival organization, and code the data. The methodology is identical to the first phase of case studies, with the difference being the data coding. This phase focuses on processes, and aims to identify processes that create boundary objects or facilitate brokering. At the same time, I verify the outputs identified in Chapter 5. Each case study is analyzed using the following steps.

Step 1: Film festival organization scale and locality scale

The film festival organization typology identifies the scale of the organization and locality. Here, I describe the specific role and position of the film festival organization as a node/hub within the larger film festival network. In addition, I describe the scale of the locality, and discuss how it relates to the organization's scale.

Relationship with research questions: Clarifies context for understanding impacts on local cultural development

Data sources: Publications about the film festival organization and locality

Step 2: Relationship between film festival organizations and local government

As argued above, film festival organizations generally are not profitable, and require outside funding sources to cover operating expenses. Here, I describe the role of local government in providing funding.

Relationship with research questions: Analyze specific aspect of film

festival's relationship with locality.

Data sources: Local government and film festival records about funding; interviews with local government and film festival organization representatives.

Step 3: Participation/Reification matrix

(1) Identify function to analyze

Film festival organizations include multiple functions. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to analyze all functions for each case study. Thus, for each film festival organization, I select one function to analyze.

I identify the film festival organization's major functions, and rate the functions in terms of their contributions to the film festival organization's core mission (strong, weak). I select the function which most closely relates to the film festival organization's core mission.

(2) Analyze function using matrix

reification

participation

Global networks Global<<>> Local   Local networks
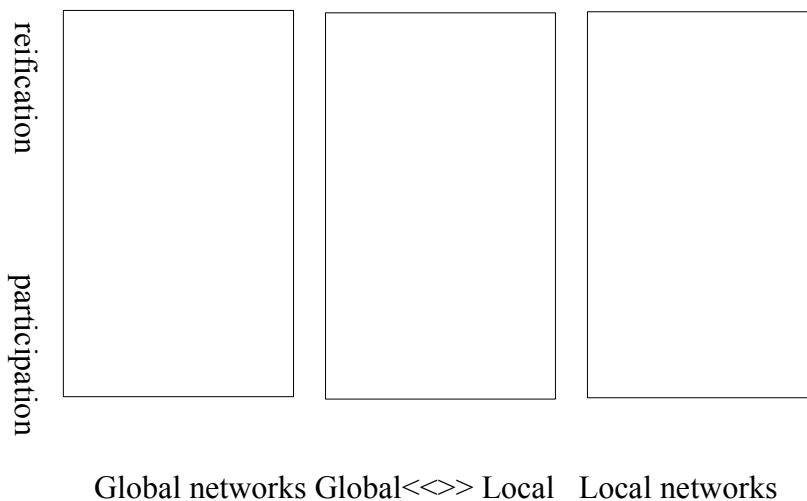
Each film festival function is assessed according to the above matrix, as follows:

–   The selected function is broken into a series of discrete steps. If the activity represents a shift in the body of actors, or the mode (reification vs. participation) of action, then it is deemed to be a discrete step.

–   Each step is a data point, which is plotted according to whether it is primarily engaging local networks, global networks, or both; and, whether it is primarily characterized by participation or reification.

–   The data points are connected with an arrow, which represent their sequential order.

The ideal learning process will fulfill the criteria of engaging local and global networks in both participation and reification. Thus, the ideal learning process will look like the following diagram. The highlighted areas show how the learning processes engage both global and global/local networks trough reification and participation.
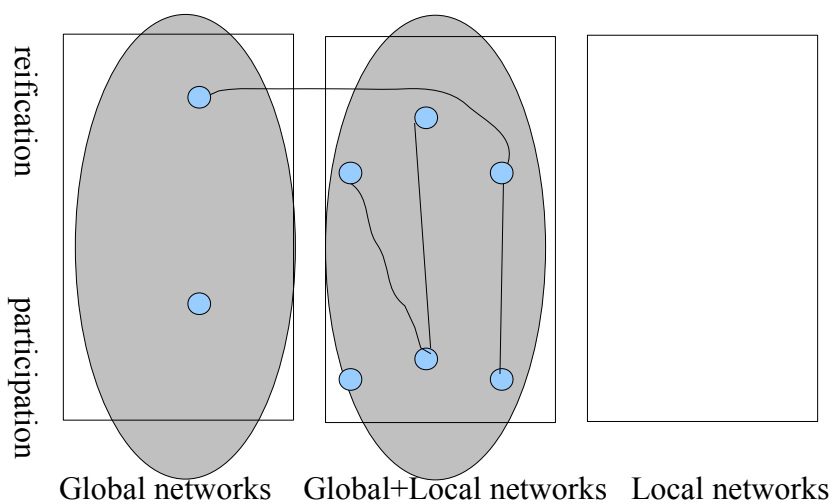
Figure: Diagram that shows the sequence of events in a specific film festival function; each dot represents an event, which is plotted according to its

learning process type ("reification" vs. "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks or an interaction of "global" and "local" networks)

6.2   Research Question #3: Case Study Empirical Evidence – Group 1

6.2.1 Focus on Asia – Fukuoka International Film Festival (Fukuoka City)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

Focus on Asia began as an offshoot from the Asian-Pacific Exposition held in 1989 to celebrate the centennial of Fukuoka City (population 1,450,000 people), and serves the city's strategy of positioning itself as Japan's gateway to Asia. The film festival officially launched in 1991, and is held annually as part of 50-plus events that make up "Asian Month" each September.

The festival establishes its credibility within the international film festival network through using the "director system," which is unique in Japan but common in Europe. The festival's reputation rests on the shoulders of the festival director, a position that was held by renowned Tokyo-based critic Sato Tadao and was transferred to Fukuoka-based Yasuhiro Hariki in 2007. The festival's status comes from introducing new Asian films to Japan, and inviting the directors to attend the festival. Thus, considerable budget is required for research (including travel to major international film festivals in Asia), subtitling films in Japanese, and covering travel expenses for filmmakers. The festival also strives to institutionalize itself through purchasing a new print for each film screened, and archiving the prints in the public library.

The emphasis on creating a "canon" can be seen in the festival catalog, which features photos and descriptions of each film, and does not include transitory information such as the screening schedule. The expenses for the 1996 festival reflect the investment in discovering and presenting new content, with about 50% of the budget going toward selecting films, preparing the films for screenings, and bringing guests to

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the film festival. There is a steep cost to creating an "international" festival, as English language subtitles are about twice the cost of Japanese subtitles.

However, the festival struggles to remain relevant to the public. First, the festival struggles to balance "cultural interest" with "cinema interest." While the festival uses the director system, it has traditionally emphasized cultural understanding over cinema culture. For example, if there are two films from a given country and one stands out in terms of cinema, while the other excels at conveying life in that country, then the festival would select the second one.[14] There is definitely awareness of using local tax dollars, so the three criteria for selecting films are: accessible and entertaining for all ages, high quality cinema, and reflecting the situation in Asian countries. The genesis is not for the sake of cinema, but through film to get to known Asia and to have exchange with Asia. In that sense, the festival is different from festivals like Cannes and Venice. While presenting Asian films filled a distinct need when the festival began in the early 1990s, Asian films have now become much more easily available, and the film festival has been focusing on how to present groundbreaking content.[15]

Film selection	8,000,000 yen
Film preparation (prints, subtitling in English and Japanese)	47,000,000
Guests	20,000,000
Festival	27,000,000
PR, publications	27,000,000
Personnel	11,000,000
Office management	5,000,000

Table: Focus on Asia expenses for 1996
Source: Ace Japan. 1997. *Chiiki no eigasai - eigajyoei o kangaeru* (Local film festivals - thinking about film screenings). Tokyo, Japan Foundation, p. 20.

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[14] Ace Japan. 1997. *Chiiki no eigasai - eigajyoei o kangaeru* (Local film festivals - thinking about film screenings). Tokyo, Japan Foundation, p. 26
[15] Nihon Keizai Shinbun, September 2, 2006, p. 40.

Focus on Asia is predated by the Fukuoka Asia Film Festival, which got its start in 1987 and is entirely run by volunteers without public sector support. Significantly, the Fukuoka Asia Film Festival is also able to present programming that is highly relevant to the film festival network. This is accomplished with a minimal budget, and the passion of the festival organizers shows through in ways not found in the big-budget Focus on Asia festival.

Step 2: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

Focus on Asia is organized from the Culture and Sports Department in the Fukuoka City Hall, and prints are stored in the Fukuoka City Public Library. The local government positions the film festival strategically as part of the city's aim to be a gateway between Japan and Asia, in keeping with the increased leverage of cities to act strategically and create network links that transcend national boundaries. The film festival is directly funded with substantial, although decreasing, budget allocation.

In 1996 the total budget was 145 million yen, with 100 million yen coming from Fukuoka City, 30 million yen from businesses (raised by the organizing committee head from local financial institutions), and 15 million yen from ticket sales. As of 2006, the total budget dropped to 107.9 million yen, with Fukuoka City covering 72 million yen. Thus, while the budget was cut by about 20%, the city's share remained stable at about 67% of the total. In addition, Fukuoka City covers the salaries of an office director (kacho) and two staff people, who are dedicated year-round to the film festival operations.[16]

Fukuoka City is aiming to approach culture comprehensively with the

[16] Kitazawa, Yoshinori, Focus on Asia Festival Office staff. Telephone interview. October 12, 2006 for 2007 figures; 1996 figures from Ace Japan. 1997. *Chiiki no eigasai - eigajyoei o kangaeru* (Local film festivals - thinking about film screenings). Tokyo, Japan Foundation, p. 20, 44.

announcement of its vision for city vitalization through the arts and culture.[17] The report points out that Fukuoka's cultural projects regarding Asia have been divided among various divisions (International Relations, Economic Promotion, Culture, etc.), and advocates that Fukuoka aim for "creative cities" development and plan cultural development comprehensively with the city's overall development (Fukuoka City 2006, p. viii, ix). The 10-year plan advocates unifying Focus on Asia and other Asia-related events under a common banner such as "Asia Creative Wave," and create an Asia Art Network Center to establish Fukuoka as a destination for those interested in doing an Asia Art Tour.

Step 3: Participation/Reification Duality

Following is a breakdown of the primary film festival functions, which are rated according to their relevance to the festival's core mission (high, medium, low).

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
New Asian Films program: 12 films, with Japanese and English subtitles, and directors invited to festival	High
Special program 2, Asian with Diaspora: 4 films	High
History of the Common Japanese People: 3 films, including film on local folk singer Koume Akasaki	High
Film archive	High
Movie hall (Cine-la) in Fukuoka City Public Library – mainly screens films from the film festival's archives	High

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[17] Fukuoka City. March 2006. *Fukuokashi bunka geijutsu ni yoru toshi sozo bijon ni muketa teigen: kurietibu Fukuoka 10 nen keikaku.*

Kodak Vision Award: Selected by film festival audience	High
Film class (Cinema de Asia) with festival director and 3 guests in Fukuoka City Public Library Movie Hall	Medium
Keita Egami design work	Medium
Films supported by Fukuoka Film Commission: 2 films	Medium
Sister city – Busan Asian Short Film Festival films: 6 films	Medium
Film on singer from Fukuoka	Low

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission

Source: Asia Focus on Asia – Fukuoka International Film Festival #17 (2007) Programme Booklet

Photo: Focus on Asia film festival catalogs for 1991 and 2007

I focus on the New Asian Films program to analyze the participation/reification duality and learning process.

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Focus on Asia festival office establishes the New Asian Films program, based on Fukuoka's goal of acting as a gateway between Asia and Japan

PRODUCTION
b) Participation/Global networks
Film festival director and festival representatives visit film festivals throughout Asia to identify works to present in New Asian Films program

c) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Focus on Asia festival director and organizing committee identify films for the program; films are selected to emphasize cultural exchange, and to enforce Fukuoka's identity as gateway to Asia

d) Reification/Global networks

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Film festival organization commissions English and Japanese subtitles for all films

PRESENTATION:
e) Reification/ Global networks<<<>>Local networks
Screens films at festival

f) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film directors are invited to the festival, and interact with the audience at question/answer sessions after film screenings

CONTINUATION:
g) Reification/Global networks
Program is published in catalog and online, in English and Japanese

h) Reification/ Global networks<<<>>Local networks
Films are stored in the public library film archives, and made available for screenings locally and elsewhere.
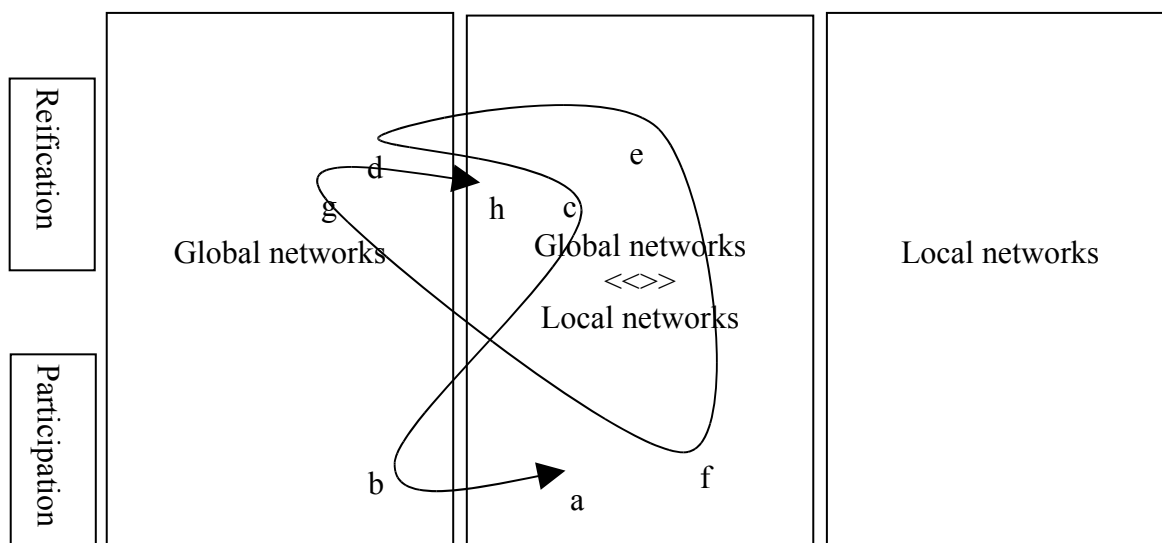
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the New Asian Film program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

The New Asian Films program enables the film festival organization to act as broker

and boundary object as follows:

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (d) (g)	Boundary object shared with locality (c) (e) (h)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (None)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (b)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (f)	Brokering among local networks only (None)

Table: New Asian Films program as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Film festival organization creates New Asian Film program
Translation	Fukuoka's identity as "gateway to Asia" is interpreted in terms of cinema
Legitimacy	Film festival organization is headed by respected expert in Asian cinema; in addition, the organization has legitimacy through financial support from Fukuoka City
Linking practices	Film festival organization coordinates the program goals with Fukuoka City's overall cultural and economic goals

Table: New Asian Films program, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(c) Programming that emphasizes Fukuoka's identity as gateway to Asia
Modularity	New Asian Film program is a consistently the core of the film festival, and is maintained each year (other programs are often one-off events)
Abstraction	Films in the program described in easy-to-understand terms, such as "films by new directors," or "films by masters."

Accommodation	Highlighting films from a specific country (such as films from Turkey in 2008 program)
Standardization	Films are described in standard film festival style: director, year made, country, length, format.

Table: New Asian Films program, boundary object analysis for (c)

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(f) Film festival organization invites directors for interaction with local audiences
Translation	Film festival organization acts as interface between Asian directors and audiences (introducing guests, moderating discussion, translation)
Legitimacy	Authority of film festival organization conveys to the audience that the film directors are worthy of their attention
Linking practices	Film festival organization creates "café-style talk show" style event (as part of 2008 program), which links the interaction with other kinds of everyday social activities

Table: New Asian Films program, boundary object analysis for (f)

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6.2.2 Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival (Kawasaki City, Kanagawa Prefecture)

Step 1: Film festival organization scale and locality scale

Shin-yurigaoka is a newly developed district in Kawasaki City (population 1,400,000 people) located 20 minutes from Tokyo's Shinjuku Station by the Odakyu line's express train service. The Shinyuri film festival began in 1995 as part of Kawasaki City's Arts City Plan.[18] Initially the film festival was primarily organized by filmmakers associated with the Japan Academy of Moving Images. Initially established in 1975 in Yokohama by the legendary filmmaker Shohei Imamura, the school was relocated in 1986 to Kawasaki's Shinyuri district with financial assistance from Kawasaki City, Odakyu Electric Railway, and film companies. The film festival retains its strong ties with the school through programs featuring graduation films and a student workshop run by instructors from the school; however, the organizing committee is now primarily made up of volunteers, and has an identity distinct from the school.[19]

The film festival prides itself on being completely organized by volunteers, and as of 2004 the festival had registered a total of 1,000 volunteers to date.[20] Shinyuri does not have ambitions to impact global film culture. The films are selected by the organizing committee, and the festival does not hold a competition or other processes

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[18] *Geijutsu no machi kouzou*

[19] Sources: Japan Academy of Moving Images website, accessed November 9, 2009 (http://www.eiga.ac.jp/index.html)
      Official Website, accessed November 4, 2009
      Shinyuri Spot Nabi website, accessed November 9, 2009
      (http://www.honchoshinryojo.com/)

[20] Agency for Cultural Affairs, "Chiiki kara eiga ryoku, eiga kara bunka ryoku" (Cinema power from communities, cultural power from cinema," Report from the Kyoto Film Festival/Agency for Cultural Affairs Symposium, September 22-23, 2004, p. 46

that aim to discover and launch new content. The festival publications are in Japanese only, and the festival website presents only one page of general information in English. I categorize the film festival organization's scale as "national" because of the size of its annual budget (about 13 million yen), and the fact that it is well-know among film festivals in Japan. The festival draws roughly 4,200 people (total ticket sales), which places it midway between large-scale international festivals like Focus on Asia and Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (15,000 to 20,000 tickets sold) and local film festivals with 1,000 or less tickets sold.[21]

The film festival organization presents a distinct personality to the general public through its "cinema uma" ("film horse") character. The film festival reinforces the image of Kawasaki as film production center through featuring local film school works, and junior workshop. The workshop productions act as a "calling card" for the festival and Kawasaki City through traveling to other festivals and events. Overall, film festival program is focused on themes that will enable audiences to enjoy cinema, rather than "discovering" new cinema and launching it onto film festival circuit. The festival also emphasizes opportunities for the general public to participate. The organizing committee holds open calls for membership each spring, and non-film businesses can participate in the festival through Cinema Fair project.

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[21] Nonokawa, Chieko, Shinyuri Film Festival Organizing Committee Head. Interview at Roppong Hills, Tokyo on October 27, 2005.

Photo: Flyer asking for audience input on favorite films and music; flyer for childcare services during film festival; editions of "Cinema Donburi," informal newsletter published by the film festival

Step 2: Relationship between film festival organizations and local government

The local government prominently positions film festival in local economic and cultural development. Kanagawa Prefecture positions the film festival organization under the goal of establishing Kawasaki City as a creative center that unifies culture, industry and community development. The film industry is identified as a key industry, and citizen-based cultural activities are specified as a key aspect of community development. The Shinyuri area is identified as a site for cultural industries and strengthening ties among cultural institutions, including the film industry. Specific plans for cultural industries include the the Arts City Plan, through which the film festival was established in 1995, as well as the creation of an arts center to further links among cultural institutions and stage cultural events. The arts center was conceived in 1992,

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but was shelved due to the city's fiscal difficulties. When the project was restarted in October 2003, it was downscaled from 18,000 square meters to 800 square meters, and reduced to a meeting room and gallery. The film festival organization lobbied for the creation of a mini-theater through surveying other mini-theaters in Japan, and succeeded in having the size increased to 1,200 square meters and budget increased from 2 oku to 5 oku yen.[22] The Kawasaki City Art Center opened in October 2006, and has since served as a venue for screenings and events during the film festival.

Step 3: Participation/Reification duality

Next, the film festival's primary functions are rated according to their relevance to the festival's core mission.

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Summertime screening at local school	High
Film festival program Imamura Shohei memorial screening with Japan Academy of Moving Images head as guest	High
Film festival program Shinyuri hatsu wakaki seino (Young talent from Shinyuri): 1 film (graduation film from Japan Academy of Moving Images)	High
Junior Filmmaking Workshop	High
Cinema Uma Fair Project – local shops participate in promoting the film festival, and festival attendees learn about the shops	Medium
Barrier Free screening and production – production of subtitles for the hearing	Medium

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[22] Ace Japan. 2005. *Community Cinema Exhibitor's Network Meeting 2005 in Kanazawa*. Report on the meeting, held November 11-12, 2005 at the Kanazawa City Culture Hall, p. 9-10.

impaired	

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission, Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival
Source: Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival 13th Film Festival Official Pamphlet

The festival began the junior filmmaking workshop in 2000 to cultivate within young people the joy of filmmaking and viewing films, as part of the festival's long-term community development and audience development strategy. There is an open call for junior high school students in Kawasaki City, and the registration fee is 5,000 yen. It begins with writing the screenplay, and the students all take on roles including director, camera, lighting, sound and acting. In 2004 the festival did a special workshop creating a film by all pervious workshop participants, from junior high school through university students. The members included two individuals with Downs syndrome, and the workshop participants found a way for them to be involved. All of the works to date were screened at the Kawasaki City Citizen's Museum theater, along with a symposium and a filmmaking workshop.[23]

CONCEPTION:
(a) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival organization works with staff from the Japan Academy of Moving Images to create workshop content

PRODUCTION:
(b) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival organization presents workshop as official event, and publicizes the workshop to local junior high schools

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[23] Agency for Cultural Affairs. 2004. "Chiiki kara eiga ryoku, eiga kara bunka ryoku" (Cinema power from communities, cultural power from cinema," Report from the Kyoto Film Festival/Agency for Cultural Affairs Symposium, September 22-23, 2004, p. 46.
Kawasaki Shiyuri Film Festival. 2006. 12th Film Festival Official Pamphlet, p. 26-27.

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(c) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Workshop instructors teach basic filmmaking techniques over 3 months (scriptwriting, location scouting, rehearsals, shoot, editing, sound edit, screening). Workshop staff uses their expertise to teach new skills and organize filmmaking practice for participants.

PRESENTATION:
(d) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Completed film is screened at the film festival

(e) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Workshop members are at the festival screening

CONTINUATION:
(f) Reification/Global networks
Film is made available for screenings at other events, and is entered into competitions[24]

Reification

Participation

Global networks

Global networks
<<>>
Local networks

Local networks

f

d   b

e   c   a
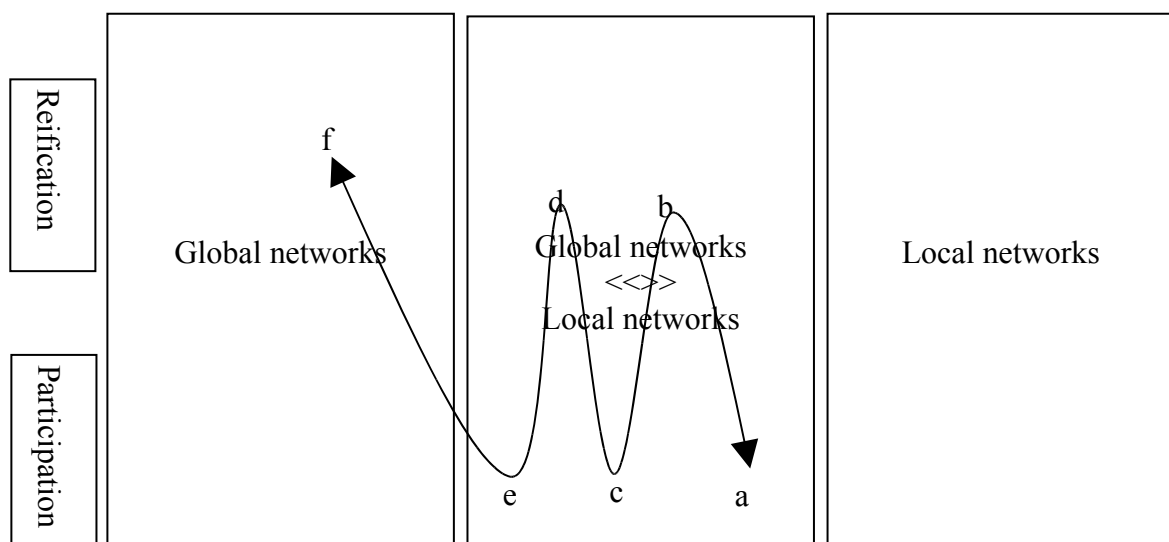
Figure: Sequence of events for the Kawasaki film festival's Junior Workshop program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks

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[24] For example, the 2005 workshop project's film *Mizuiro no shizuku* (Aqua Drops) won an award at the 2006 Tokyo Video Festival (Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival, 2006. 12th Film Festival Official Pamphlet, p. 28); and the workshop project *Dynamite Drug* was screened in 2004 at Kawasaki City's annual Kawasaki Children's Gathering (Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival, *Cinema Donburi*, March 2004, Vol. 4)

that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (f)	Boundary object shared with locality (b) (d)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (None)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (c) (e)	Brokering among local networks only (none)

Table: Junior Workshop as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Film festival organization creates Junior Workshop
Translation	Creating workshop that will appeal to junior high school students
Legitimacy	Involvement of respected filmmakers as instructors
Linking practices	Film festival organization links with local junior high schools

Table: Junior Workshop, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(b) Junior workshop publicized to junior high schools
Modularity	Film is included as a program that fits into students' summertime schedules
Abstraction	Workshop experience is presented in an easy to understand format
Accommodation	Workshop promises to create a film that is fun for students
Standardization	Workshop format is easy to understand

Table: Junior Workshop program, boundary object analysis for (b)

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(c) Junior workshop staff teach filmmaking techniques to participants
Translation	Technical processes are made accessible
Legitimacy	Involvement of respected filmmakers as instructors
Linking practices	Film festival organization links with local junior high schools

Table: Junior Workshop, brokering process analysis for (c)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(d) Junior workshop completed film is shown at the film festival
Modularity	Film is included as a unit within the overall film festival program
Abstraction	Film production presented in easy-to-understand terms
Accommodation	The film is supervised by professionals, and so is expected to be interesting for film fans
Standardization	Film is geared to be entertaining for audiences, and the presentation of the film includes question & answer session (like other film programs)

Table: Junior Workshop program, boundary object analysis for (d)

The above tables and figure show that the junior filmmaking workshop contributes to learning processes that bridge the local film community of practice with local schools, as well as non-local film communities of practice. The learning processes happen in two stages:

Creating the workshop

First, the film festival organization works with teachers from the Japan Academy of Moving Images to conceive of a workshop that will be meaningful and appealing to junior high school students. This corresponds with "translation," as filmmaking must be framed for people who are outside the film community of practice.

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The workshop is then "standardized" into a summertime workshop, so that it can be publicized to students through flyers, public notices and local junior high schools. Finally, the workshop is able to create new "links" with students through receiving workshop applications and selecting participants.

The workshop instructors use their expertise to introduce a new set of filmmaking practices to the workshop participants, which corresponds with the "legitimacy" form of brokering. The finished film acts as a boundary object through being "modulated" as a programming block within the film festival program, and then through "accommodation" as it is made available for programming in events beyond the Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival.

Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival positions itself as a festival run by citizens, and places local cultural development at the center of its goals. The junior filmmaking workshop is one of the key strategies for linking the local professional film community with the general public. The film festival has professional film instructors from the local film school teach filmmaking skills to junior high school students, who work together as a team to create a film from scratch. The junior high school students see the production through from concept development, script writing, casting, location scouting, rehearsals, filming and post-production. The result is new opportunities for participation that involve the non-film community and film professionals. The film festival organization then uses the film festival as the platform for presenting the film to the general public and film community, and making the film available to other festivals and organizations for screenings. Thus, the film festival organization enables the creation of new symbolic value, and the reification of the participatory experiences of producing the film. The result is new learning processes that involve the non-film general public with the local film community of practice, and launch the resulting symbolic value to the "global networks" film community.

6.2.3   Akiruno Film Festival (Akiruno City, Tokyo)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

Akiruno City (population 82,000 people), part of the larger Tokyo Metropolitan Government, is located about 40 kilometers west of Tokyo's center and is known for hiking in its mountains and along its rivers. The film festival was initiated in 1985 by the town hall's tourism division as the Itsukaichi Film Festival, taking the name of the town before it was merged. The impetus behind the festival was a marathon held in nearby Ome City, as an effort to create a cultural event to bolster tourism. The goals remained largely unchanged since the festival's beginning, namely to provide opportunities to view films, given the closure of local movie theaters, and act as a draw for tourists. Each festival shows a variety of films, rather than focusing on a single film. Attendance has consistently been around 6,000 people, ranging from 5,000 to 8,000 people.[25]

The film festival is organized by about twenty organizing committee members. The festival organizing committee does not emphasize creating links with other film festivals, other than for the purpose of borrowing films. The festival began a film contest in 1987 for the third festival, offering a grand prize of 300,000 yen for 8mm and 16mm films by professionals and amateurs alike. The festival generally received about 80 entries, but was cancelled in 2002 in response to the rise of video. To limit entries, the organizing committee decided to specify that videos must be related to Akiruno, with the stipulation that all submissions would be screened. There is no longer any prize money or award, but two film professionals attend the screening as commentators. The event, called "Movie Market," consistently draws about 10 video

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[25] Kobayashi, Jin. Akiruno Film Festival Organizing Committee Representative, Telephone interview, January 15, 2010.

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entries each year.

Photo: Akiruno Film Festival catalog for 1998 and 2008

Step 2: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

      During the festival's first year, the festival was organized from within the town hall, with funding from the Tourism Association, a third-sector organization. From the second year, the town began giving a subsidy to covre the film festival's deficit.[26] Akiruno City gives 3,500,000 yen to the film festival organization through the Commerce and Tourism Division, which accounts for about 40% to 50% of the total budget. The film festival organization's head office functions were handled by the Commerce and Tourism Division until 2006, when the film festival organization relocated to the private residence of an organizing committee member to attain greater independence. However, the local government remains to main contact place for the

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[26] Ibid.

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film festival organization, and the local government continues to provide subsidies for the film festival as an activity that contributes to tourism. The festival's operations are handled entirely by volunteers.[27]

Step 3: Participation/Reification Duality

Following is an overview of the primary film festival functions.

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Film festival main programming	High
Movie Market ("eizo ichi") event – non-juried screening of films related to Akiruno	High
Selection committee – open call for up to 50 members	High
Ticket stub service from local shops (23 participating shops)	Medium
Benefits for businesses supporting the film festival	Medium
Poster designed by local designer	Medium

Table: Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission, Akiruno Film Festival
Source: Akiruno Film Festival 2008 (#24) Official Catalog

The signature event for the Akiruno Film Festival is the "Movie Market," which is an open call for videos that are about Akiruno or are created by someone with ties to Akiruno. In principle, all videos submitted by the deadline are screened at the event. Two representatives from the film industry attend the event and act as critics, and give feedback after each screening. The filmmakers are generally present at the event, and also have the opportunity to make comments after the screening. The commentators each select 1 film, and the audience selects 1 work, and these 3 works are presented at the following year's film festival as part of the main program. All screened works are

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[27] Watanabe, Joji. Akiruno City Hall, Commerce and Tourism Division, Telephone interview, November 4, 2008.

archived at the local public library, and are available to be lent out. Rather than aiming to present "high quality" films, the event serves as a kind of master class for local amateur videomakers, and an opportunity for Akiruno residents to see films about their town.[28]

CONCEPTION

a) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Organizing committee plans the Movie Market ("eizo ichi") event; open to general public, non-juried; content or filmmaker must be connected to Akiruno

PRODUCTION
b) Reification/Local networks<<>>Local networks
Organizing committee publicizes Movie Market and invites the general public to submit their work

PRESENTATION
c) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
All submitted works are screened at the Movie Market event

d) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Two film industry representatives critique the films at the Movie Market event

CONTINUATION
e) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Industry representatives and audience select three films to be presented in main program of next year's film festival

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[28] Site Visit to film festival venue, "Eizo Ichi" (Movie Market) event, July 19, 2008; Official Website, accessed April 4, 2008 and October 14, 2008; Kobayashi, Jin. Akiruno Film Festival Organizing Committee Representative, Telephone interview, January 15, 2010.
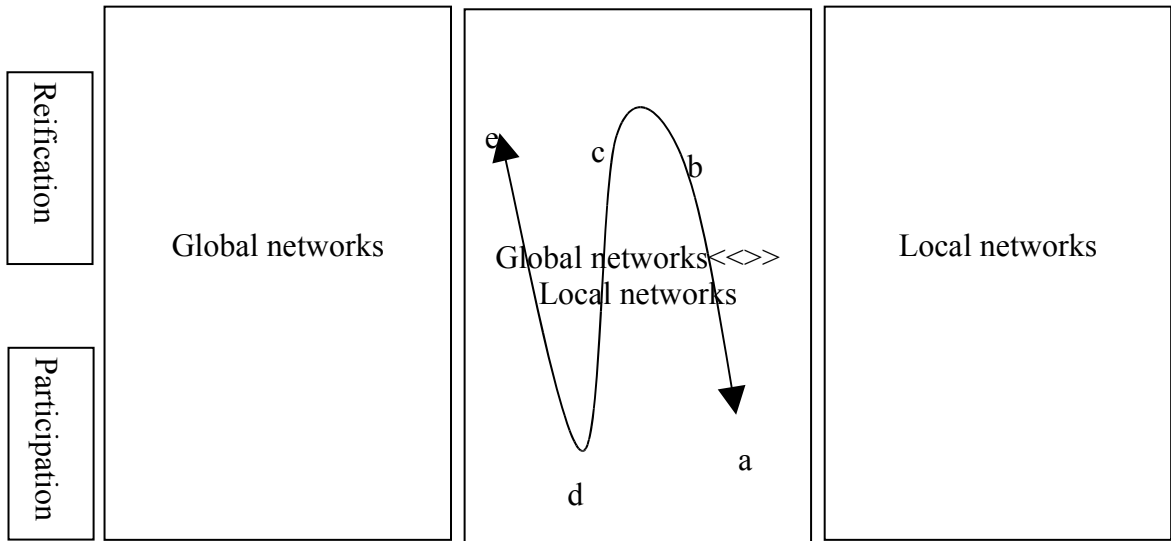
Figure: Akiruno Film Festival, diagram of learning processes for the Movie Market: the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Global networks	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Local networks
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (None)	Boundary object shared with locality (b) (c) (e)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (None)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (None)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (d)	Brokering among local networks only (None)

Table: Movie Market as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Film festival organization creates the Movie Market event

Translation	Creating an "open screen" event that anyone can participate in
Legitimacy	Involvement of professional filmmakers as commentators at the screening event
Linking practices	Requiring that the video content or videomaker content be connected to Akiruno

Table: Movie Market, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(b) Movie Market publicized to general public
Modularity	Publicized alongside other cultural events for general public
Abstraction	Submission process is easy to understand
Accommodation	Submission of any content, as long as filmmaker or content is connected with Akiruno
Standardization	Common video formats are accepted

Table: Movie Market program, boundary object analysis for (b)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(c) all Movie Market submissions screened at film festival event
Modularity	Movies are included as a unit within the overall film festival program
Abstraction	Film commentators critique works from professional perspective
Accommodation	Films are of interest to local residents (films are about Akiruno, or are made by local residents)
Standardization	Films are presented in standard film festival format

Table: Movie Market program, boundary object analysis for (c)

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(d) Professional filmmakers critique works at Film Market event
Translation	Professional filmmakers target their

	comments to encourage amateurs
Legitimacy	Involvement of professional filmmakers as commentators
Linking practices	Event creates a bridge between professionals and amateurs

Table: Movie Market, brokering process analysis for (d)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(e) Three films selected for inclusion in following year's film festival
Modularity	Movies are included as a unit within the overall film festival program
Abstraction	Film commentators critique works from professional perspective
Accommodation	Films are of interest to local residents (films are about Akiruno, or are made by local residents)
Standardization	Films are presented in standard film festival format

Table: Movie Market program, boundary object analysis for (e)

Akiruno Film Festival is an example of utilizing "global networks" to impact "local networks." This impact is achieved through tapping into film's "participation" (production) and "reification" (screening) aspects, and incorporating the theme of "Akiruno" as a theme for the works screened. The "Film Market" does not aspire to impact "global networks" film culture. To the contrary, impact is focused on filmmakers connected to Akiruno. Film experts are brought in to critique the screened works. The goal is to encourage these amateur filmmakers to continue to improve their skills.

6.2.4   Tama Cinema Forum (Tama City, Tokyo)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

      Tama City (population 148,000 people) is a residential suburb with business and retail functions in western Tokyo that was aggressively developed from the 1970s onwards, and has struggled to establish a distinct identity. The festival clearly states its mission as linking community development with contributing to Japan's cinema culture through creating a network of fans, and specifies four goals:

- Social interaction between filmmakers and audience through the film festival

- Creating a network of film fans

- Human development

- Increase places where Japanese films are presented

      The mission statement clearly links these goals with "machizukuri," or community development, by aiming to be a place where everyone can get together through the medium of film, and have new "encounters" and "shared experiences" that transcend regional and generational differences.[29] In contrast with Kawasaki Shinyuri Film Festival, Tama Cinema Forum holds a competition and aims to identify new filmmaking talent. The festival has taken steps to link the talent discovery process with community development through opening the final jury process to the general public. The festival also takes a very open and collaborative approach to programming, with the organizing committee activity recruiting members from the general public and selecting the screening content without a festival director. The festival attracts a substantial audience, with attendance at just over 22,000 tickets sold for 2005. However, there is not a clear sense that Tama Cinema Forum is a "must see" film festival for film industry professionals. The festival aims to impact the film community, but tends to emphasize

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[29] Official Website, accessed April 11, 2008.

mass appeal and caters towards a general audience.

Step 2: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

Tama Cinema Forum has a very clear festival goal, concept statement, and keywords. The festival was founded to commemorate city's founding. Tama City's contributions to the film festival are not through the cultural division, but rather as a "subsidy for community development projects proposed by citizens." The festival's organizing committee submits an application each year to the subsidy program, and has consistently been selected. However, it is an unstable source of revenues.

Tama City subsidy	2,500,000 yen
Agency for Cultural Affairs	3,300,000
Sponsors from corporations	1,000,000
Tama City Cultural Foundation	800,000
Individual donations	500,000
Organizing Committee	900,000
Ticket sales	8,000,000

Table: Revenue sources for Tama Cinema Forum, 2006
Source: Iguchi, Mitsugu. Organizing Committee Office Supervisor at Nagayama Public Hall, Email correspondence, October 18, 2006.

Step 3: Participation/Reification Duality

The festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Tama New Wave aru shiten – social films (5 films)	High
Tama New Wave aru shiten – entertainment	High
Tama New Wave aru shiten – documentary	High
Tama New Wave Competition	High
Tama Cinema-tai – volunteer staff who get pamphlet and closing party admission	High

Corporate sponsorship program	Medium

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission, Tama Cinema Forum
Source: Official Website, accessed April 11, 2008

Tama New Wave Competition is open to works from 30 to 100 minutes in length that have not been released theatrically, and there is a 1,000 yen entry fee. The film festival organizing committee publicizes the competition from April to July, and for the 8th festival a total of 84 entries were received. The organizing committee makes a first and second selection of 5 nominated works in August and September, which are made public in October. There is an open call for 50 people from the general public to serve as jurors for the competition, the only condition being that they commit to attend the screenings of all 5 films on the festival screening date. There is no admission fee to the screening, and all 50 participants receive a complementary festival catalog. The screening also features "talk battles" between each filmmaker and a film industry representative. The award winners are selected by the general public jurors and film industry representatives. The awards are 300,000 yen for the Grand Prize, 100,000 yen for the Special Award, as well as awards for best male and female actors.

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Organizing committee plans competition

PRODUCTION
b) Reification/Global networks
The organizing committee publicizes the competition to filmmakers

c) Participation/Global networks
First and second selection by festival organizing committee

PRESENTATION
d) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Nominated works are announced to the public, and general public are invited to serve as

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jurors at the film festival screening

e) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
50 people from the general public watch the screening at the festival

f) Participation/Global networks
Filmmakers participate in "talk battles" with film industry representative

g) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
General public and guest juror select awards

CONTINUATION
h) Reification/Global networks
Awards are made public
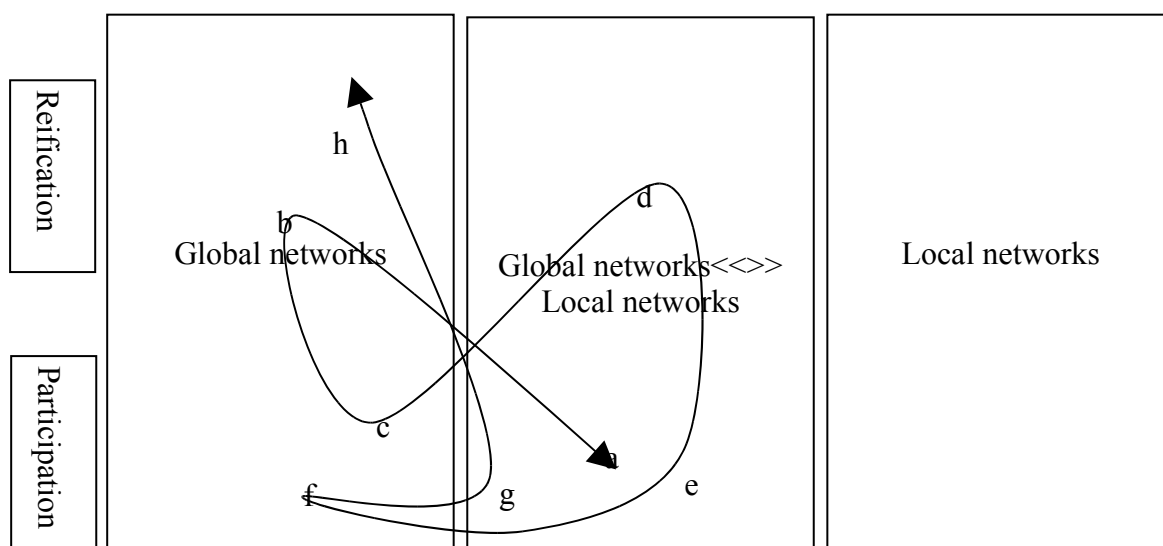
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the Tama New Wave Competition; Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the New Asian Film program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves

("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (b) (h)	Boundary object shared with locality (d)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (None)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (c) (f)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (g)	Brokering among local networks only (None)

Table: Tama New Wave Competition as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Film festival organization plans the New Wave Competition
Translation	Creating an event that promotes new culture, which the public can participate in
Legitimacy	Professional filmmakers also involved in judging competition
Linking practices	Appeals to audience members as "critics"

Table: Tama New Wave Competition, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(d) General public invited to serve on competition jury
Modularity	New Wave Competition presented as a unit of the film festival
Abstraction	Competition presented as an accessible event, which the general public can jury
Accommodation	Films are presented as being interesting and entertaining
Standardization	Competition conforms to standard festival format

Table: Tama New Wave Competition, boundary object analysis for (d)

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(g) General public and guest jurors select prize winners
Translation	Criteria for film selection is conveyed to jurors, who come from the general public
Legitimacy	Involvement of professionals as jury members
Linking practices	Event engages audience members as "active" film viewers

Table: Tama New Wave Competition, brokering process analysis for (g)

The Tama New Wave Competition takes place in two stages: first, the contest targets filmmakers, and second, the jury process includes the general public in the final selection for the winners. This is achieved through making an open call for jury members, offering them an incentive for participating in the jury (free access to the screenings and free festival catalog), and doing the final selection of the winners during the film festival screening. This process stands in contrast to typical awards, which are selected in advance by a jury of specialists. Sometimes the jury includes non-film specialists (people from the general public). However, the generally selection process happens behind closed doors. The Tama New Wave Competition opens the selection process itself to the public eye, and thus creates a new opportunity for incorporating the film community and general public in processes of participation and reification. The result is the creating of new local learning processes, which in turn contribute to local cultural development.

6.2.5   Isama Studio Film Festival (Nakanojo Town, Gunma Prefecture)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

Nakanojo Town (population 17,500 people) in Gunma Prefecture, about 150 km from Tokyo, is known for agriculture and hot springs. Its population reflects Japan's aging society, and total population has declined from 19,500 in 1990. The town made a name for itself as a location for film shoots with the filming of Nemuru otoko (Sleeping Man), which Gunma Prefecture commissioned to commemorate the prefecture's population reaching 2 million people. The cast and crew for the film shoot stayed at the former Junior High School No. 4, and the building also served as an editing facility. The town turned the school into the Isama Studio Park to commemorate the film shoot, and the facilities were later used as the location for the film Tsuki to kyabetsu (Moon and Cabbage), starring the popular musician Masayoshi Yamazaki. The film's director, Tetsuo Shinohara, proposed starting a film festival using Isama Studio Park as the base.

The first festival aimed to enable local residents to rethink their relationship with their hometown through movies; but, most of the festival attendees were fans of the movie Tsuki to kyabetsu, and local residents showed little interest. Shinohara then suggested a contest to discover young filmmakers, and the idea was implemented as a scriptwriting contest in the 3rd festival. The winners receive budget to film their scripts in Nakanojo Town, and the finished films are screened at the next year's film festival.[30] Isama Studio Park opened a film library in April 2007, which shows film festival winners and films shot in the area. The film festival organization also holds year-round

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[30] Prizes are 1 million yen for the feature-length film script winner, and 300,000 yen for the short film script winner. In 2007 there were 151 entries to the feature-length script category, and 171 entries to the short-film script category. Official Website, accessed October 29, 2008.

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screening events in Nakanojo Town.[31]

        The festival has made a name for itself within the film world. Satoru Sugita (winner of the 3rd short-film script contest) went on to win 9 awards at film festivals outside Japan for Kai no mimi (Shell's Ear), and Yamaoka Shinsuke (winner of the 5th short-film script contest) has co-written TV dramas for Nippon TV. The festival website gives updates on the achievements of past winners.[32] The film festival also makes itself relevant to the film world through screening works that have won awards at other film festivals in Japan, and works produced at film schools. In addition, the festival brings in directors and cast for talk sessions, and sells copies of the award-winning scripts. Isama Studio Park is used for film and photo shoots throughout the year.[33] The festival attracts about 650 people over 2 days.[34]

Step 3: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

        Nakanojo Town covers 3.5 million of the 4.5 million yen total budget.[35] The film festival's origins can be traced back to a workshop on community development[36] which was started by Nakanojo Town in the late 1980s. The group tried unsuccessfully to attract attention through creating a tower of konyaku (potato-based food). When Nemuru otoko was shot in town, the group approached the town hall about utilizing the

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[31] Official Website, accessed October 29, 2008.

[32] Gunma Prefecture Official Website, "Satori Toshiyuki san ni kiku"
        (Interview of Satori Toshiyuki), *Gunma kenbunroku* Issue 237,
        accessed February 8, 2008.
        www.pref.gunma.jp/kenbun/bessatu/237/237.htm

[33] Film shoots at Isama Studio Park have increased steadily. In 2006 there were 31 projects that used the facility, and from 1995 to 2006 a total of 113 projects used the facility. Official Website, accessed October 29, 2008.

[34] *Nihon keizai shinbun*. "Eigasai keizoku 3tu no kagi" (Three secrets to continuing film festivals). June 24, 2006, Tochigi edition, p. 33.

[35] Ibid.

[36] The workshop was called "Furusato juku"

film shoot toward local development, which lead to preserving the former junior high school building as the Isama Studio Park. The town made the park available to the film festival, which was organized by members of the community development workshop and other volunteers. The film festival organizers make clear that the festival can be held only with support from the town hall, and that ticket sales do not cover the operation costs (renting films, transportation for cast and crew to attend the festival, etc). The film festival's scale is kept modest and doesn't aim for flashy red carpets etc. Rather, the festival has everyone gather together in the unheated Isama Studio Park facility, seated on folding chairs. The festival stresses providing things on their own, and the staff make the wooden tickets by hand, and the local "hometown market" is brought in to sell homemade food to the festival audience.

Step 3: Participation/Reification Duality

The film festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Screening of previous year's scriptwriting contest (short and feature length films), with film crew and cast	High
Awards ceremony for scriptwriting contest	High
Tsuki to kyabetsu screening	High
Film shoot during the year for scripts that won prizes	High
Party with free curry rice during film festival	Medium
Cabbage hunting event	Medium
Tent with local food sales during film festival	Medium
Year-round screenings of films in Nakanojo Town	Medium

Table: Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission, Akiruno Film Festival
Source: Official Website, accessed October 29, 2008.

For the scriptwriting contest, all entries must be able to be filmed in Nakanojo Town. In the spring, the film festival organizing committee issues a call for script entries. The film festival staff do a first selection of scripts based on whether the films can be shot in Nakanojo Town, and a jury of film professionals makes the final selection of winners. The jury's comments are summarized and made public at the awards ceremony, not only for the winners, but also for the other finalists. The winners are not made public until the film festival event, and many of the finalists attend the ceremony.

CONCEPTION

a) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival organization sets the conditions for the scriptwriting contest

PRODUCTION
b) Reification/Global networks/Global networks
Film festival organization issues call for script entries, targeting aspiring filmmakers; filmmakers must write scripts that can be filmed in the locality

c) Participation/Global networksGlobal networks
Film festival staff does first selection of entries, followed by final selection by professional jury

PRESENTATION
d) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Winners are announced at the film festival event

e) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Winners are present at film festival event, along with previous year's winners

CONTINUATION
f) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Filmmakers do casting, location hunting, rehearsals and shooting in Nakanojo Town

g) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Finished films are screened at film festival

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h) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Finished films are archived at Isama Studio Park and are available for viewing by the general public

i) Reification/Global networks
Completed films are publicized to the world
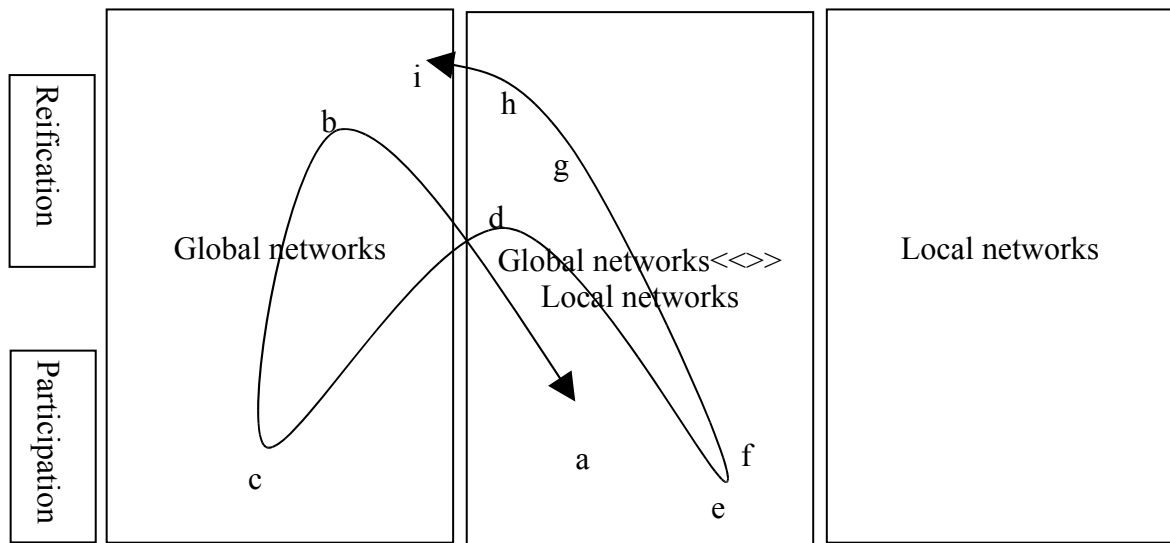
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the Isama Studio scriptwriting contest; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (i)	Boundary object shared with locality (b) (d) (g) (h)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (None)

Participation	No brokering outside film festival network	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) © (e) (f)	Brokering among local networks only (None)

Table: Isama Studio scriptwriting contest as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Film festival organization plans the scriptwriting Competition
Translation	Creating a process that creates new films, discovers new talent, and incorporates the locality
Legitimacy	Professional filmmakers involved in judging scripts; budget provide to winning scripts to make film in locality
Linking practices	Connects scripting and filmmaking processes, and also connects these processes with the locality

Table: Isama Studio scriptwriting competition, brokering process analysis for (a)

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(f) Filmmakers do casting, location scouting and filming locally
Translation	Script is realized locally, and production process is communicated to the local public for maximum involvement
Legitimacy	Involvement of professional filmmakers; budget for filming
Linking practices	Filmmaking process is linked with locality through participation in casting, locations, and production crew

Table: Isama Studio scriptwriting competition, brokering process analysis for (f)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(g) Finished films are screened at the film festival
Modularity	Films presented as a unit of the film festival program
Abstraction	Scriptwriting contest and films are presented in an easy to understand format

| Accommodation | Films are shot locally, making them accessible to the local audience |
| Standardization | Films are narrative (not experimental) and entertaining |

Table: Isama Studio scriptwriting contest, boundary object analysis for (g)

Instead of having a competition for completed film, Isama Studio Film Festival holds its competition for scripts. The prize money is committed to use in turning the script into a completed film. The film festival creates an innovative link between prize money and production, and makes itself directly involved in not only discovering new talent, but also enabling them to create new films. The impacts thus far are focused on the film community. Isama Studio Film Festival's innovation in terms of local cultural development is to require that the scripts be filmable locally, and then require that the winning scripts be shot in Nakanojo-machi. This makes the content of the films relevant to the locality in terms of symbolic cultural value; in terms of learning processes, the completed films are a form of reification. In addition, the actual filming process necessarily involves local residents who are outside of the film community of practice. These residents participate through providing locations, acting in the film, and providing services to the film crew. In terms of learning processes, the film productions create new opportunities for participation that bridge film and non-film communities of practice. Thus, the film festival is able to create new learning processes that involve both film and non-film communities of practice, in both the local "local networks" and non-local "global networks." The result is new contributions to local cultural development.

6.3 Research Question #3: Case Study Empirical Evidence – Group 2

6.3.1 Skip City International D-cinema Festival (Kawaguchi City, Saitama Prefecture)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

Kawaguchi City (population 501,000 people) is 10 kilometers from central Tokyo and is known as an industrial city with high-density residential development. The festival was established in 2004, and draws about 15,000 people. The festival positions digital cinema as being the "third revolution" in film history. By championing digital cinema, the festival aims to discover "talent comparable to that of Akira Kurosawa, Steven Spielberg and George Lucas," and putting SKIP CITY in Kawaguchi City on the map as a "new international cultural network center" and fuel economic growth in the city and prefecture.[37] The festival establishes its creditability within the film festival circuit through inviting high-profile industry professionals to serve on the festival jury, generally comprised of 3 foreign and 2 Japanese filmmakers. The prize money (15 million yen for the feature film) and the high-profile jury has succeeded in attracting a large number of entries, with 599 entries from 38 countries in 2004 and 993 entries from 75 countries in 2008.[38] The festival also features an opening film geared to attract attention within the film industry, and symposiums focusing on business and aesthetic aspects of digital cinema. There is a fair held outdoors with local food stalls and cultural performers, which is geared toward the general public.

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[37] Skip City International D-cinema Festival. 2004. Official Catalog, p. 6-7.
[38] Skip City International D-cinema Festival. 2004. Official Catalog, p. 6.
　　　Skip City International D-cinema Festival. 2008. Official Catalog, p. 4.

Photo: Skip City International D-cinema Film Festival catalogs for 2004, 2008 and 2009; and festival badge

Step 2: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

The film festival annual budget is 100 million yen, with a substantial portion coming from Saitama Prefecture and Kawaguchi City, the festival's main sponsors. In both cases, the film festival is handled through economic development divisions: Kawaguchi City's Industrial Policy Room, and Saitama Prefecture's New Industry Development Division. In addition, the festival receives funds from the Auto Race Public Funds, and gathers contributions from the Association of Citizens Supporting the Film Festival organized by local Kawaguchi City residents. Sony Group contributes 15 million yen as the grand prize for the feature length film competition, and the Association of Citizens Supporting the Film Festival contributes 2 million yen toward the prize for the short film competition.[39]

Skip City is part of the prefecture's policy to promote small and medium-size enterprises in Saitama Prefecture, and cluster next-generation industries centered around

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[39] Usui, Hiroko, Skip City International D-cinema Festival Office, Public Relations Manager. Email correspondence. October 20, 2006.

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film related industries. The project aims to give comprehensive support to creative technical development for companies, and promote international competitiveness of industries within the prefecture. In addition, Skip City aims to become an international center for film related industries. The project aims to make use of private-sector business and technical capabilities, along with support from NHK and Saitama Prefecture and promote co-productions with selected private sector companies. The project is operated by Skip City Inc. Section A was opened in 2003.[40]

Step 3: Participation/Reification Duality

The primary film festival organization functions are as follows:

Film festival organization function	Relevance to film festival organization core mission
Citizens' Circle to Support SKIP City International D-Cinema Festival – co-presents awards for short length competition, Kawaguchi Citizens Award Best Picture, and Honorable Mention	High
Content Market and Business Matching	High
From Japan – Sai-no-kuni Visual Plaza workshop, which is Saitama Pref high schools and Sony's annual Sony Movie Works filmmaking workshop	Medium
Special screening by previous winner and incubation office tenant	Medium
Premiere screening of film shot at SKIP City facility	Medium
Visual Museum - Exhibition of works by local schools specializing in media	Medium
Filmmaking for Kids workshops	Medium
International food stalls, performances and events outside during festival	Medium
Waseda Art Week Digital cinema by	Medium

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[40] Skip City official website, accessed February 11, 2008.

Kawaguchi Art School of Waseda and Waseda Art Stand	
Workshop for Kawaguchi City elementary school children	Medium
Countdown screenings – promotional screenings at other cinemas in Saitama Prefecture	Medium

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission
Source: 2008 Official Catalog

Citizens' Circle to Support SKIP City International D-Cinema Festival – co-presents awards for short length competition – for Kawaguchi Citizens Award Best Picture and Honorable Mention

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
Film festival organization decides to hold the International Competition, and establishes guidelines for entry, etc.

PRODUCTION
b) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
Citizens' Circle raises money for Short Length Competition prize from local businesses

c) Reification/Global networks
Film festival organization publicizes competition to international filmmakers

d) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Citizens' Circle and film industry professionals select works for the short film competition

PRESENTATION
e) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival organization screens selected works at the film festival

f) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Citizens' Circle and film industry professionals select winner

CONTINUATION
g) Reification/Global networks
Citizens' Circle award prize money and publicizes winner
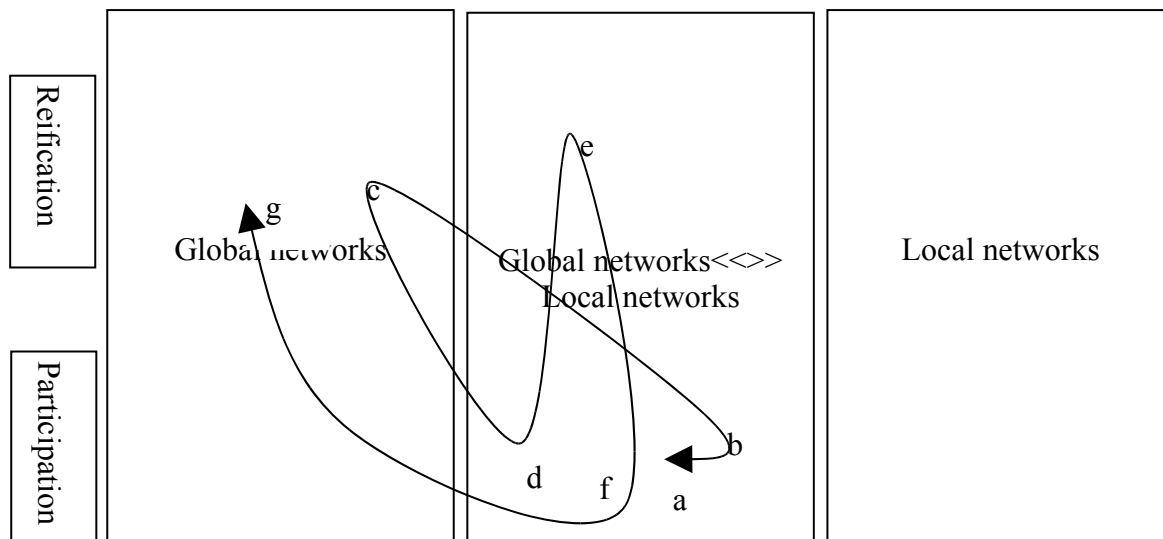
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the SKIP City Cinema Circle; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (c) (g)	Boundary object shared with locality (e)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (None)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (none)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (b) (d) (f)	Brokering among local networks only (None)

Table: Skip City Cinema Circle as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(d) Selection of works
Translation	Cinema circle committee members work with professionals, focused on a common set of criteria
Legitimacy	Professional filmmakers involved in judging scripts; budget for prize money
Linking practices	Connects the Cinema circle committee members with professional filmmakers

Table: Skip City Cinema Circle, brokering process analysis for (d)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(e) Selected films are screened at the film festival
Modularity	Films presented as a unit of the film festival program
Abstraction	Films are presented in an easy to understand format
Accommodation	Films are geared toward a wide variety of tastes
Standardization	Films are presented in standard film festival format

Table: Skip City Cinema Circle, boundary object analysis for (e)

Skip City represents a strong connection between the local film community and the global film festival circuit. The Citizens' Circle forms a locus for anchoring the festival in Kawaguchi City. This anchoring occurs through Citizens' Circle directly raising funds from local businesses, and using these funds as the prize for the short film competition. Because the Citizens' Circle played they main role in raising the funds, they also have a sense of ownership over the short film competition, and play a role in selecting the winning film. The involvement of Citizens' Circle contrasts with the feature-film competition, where the award comes from the Sony Group and the winner is picked exclusively by the festival jury. The festival jury members are selected for

their status in the film world, and are not directly tied with Kawaguchi City. The Citizens' Circle links the film festival's core function of discovering new filmmaking talent with the local community.

6.3.2   Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (Yamagata City, Yamagata Prefecture)

Step 1: Film Festival Organization Scale and Locality Scale

Each festival shows on average 150 films and sells a total of roughly 20,000 tickets over 7 days.[41] In the 1996 Ikiki Yakudo Yamagata Plan (Yamagata City Sogokeikaku), YIDFF is situated within Chapter 6 "Machiga, sekaiga chikadukimasu", under the second section of "yuko na kizuna ga koryu no wa wo hirogemasu" and first point of "kokusai koryu no sokushin", YIDFF is listed along three other topics/issues. "YIDFF was stared in 1989 (event to celebrate the city's centennial) and has been held every other year since in order to transmit information from Yamagata to the world, and as an event to be passed to the next generation. Submissions have increased each time, and the festival is highly acclaimed within Japan and abroad. In the future, there are expectations that the content will be more substantial, the organization of the film library making use of the stock to date, and establishing a visual culture base in documentary film." This plan was amended with the 2001 Yamagata New Comprehensive Plan (sogo keikaku). Alongside 4 other festivals/events, YIDFF is designated as a project to create an environment for active exchange (koryu kankyo), specifically to generate interaction and excitement.

Step 2: Relationship between Film Festival Organizations and Local Government

In April 2006 the YIDFF organizing committee became independent from Yamagata City. The city guaranteed that it would continue supporting the festival at the

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[41] Agency for Cultural Affairs. *3rd Zenkoku eigasai conbenshon: eigasai no ima.* (National film festival convention: film festivals now). October 24, 2006, p. 5.

same amount of 150 million yen for the 2007 festival (the 10th anniversary), but not beyond. (Nihon Keizai Shinbun, September 2, 2006, p. 40).

2004 (preparation year)

Revenue source	Total (in yen)
Yamagata City	57,500,000
Carry over	4,990,000
Film rental	800,000
Publication sales	200,000
Other	30,000
Total	63,520,000 yen

2005 (film festival year)

Revenue source	Total (in yen)
Yamagata City	100,000,000
Sponsors	16,420,000
Advertising revenue	5,000,000
Ticket sales	8,000,000
Carry over	2,100,000
Film rental	800,000
Publication sales	1,200,000
Other	80,000
Total	133,620,000 yen

Table: Revenue sources for the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival in 2004/2005.[42]

In 2007 the film festival organization formed an NPO, rented its own offices, and formally separated from Yamagata City. In the process, the film festival organization lost the volunteer staff assistance from Yamagata City employees during the film festival, as well as year-round support for budgeting and other administrative

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[42] Agency for Cultural Affairs. *3rd Zenkoku eigasai conbenshon: eigasai no ima.* (National film festival convention: film festivals now). October 24, 2006, p. 6.

operations. Yamagata City guaranteed its continued support for the film festival organization for the 2007 festival, and continued high-level support for the 2009 festival. The result has been increased autonomy for the film festival organization. However, if Yamagata City were to significantly cut its subsidy, the film festival organization will be forced to find another sponsor – an unlikely scenario – or scale down its mission and functions.

Step 3: Participation/Reification duality

The film festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
International Competition	High
New Asian Currents – competition for new Asian documentaries	High
YIDFF Network Special Screenings	High
Komian – after hours gathering place during film festival, run by volunteers	High
Daily Bulletin, published each day during the film festival, run by volunteers	High
Citizen's Prize, audience award that is managed by volunteers	High
Soundscapes recorded in Yamagata Prefecture – special audio program during the festival	Medium
Films about Yamagata – special screening program during the festival	Medium
Symposium on "The Future of Local Film Festivals – Possible Markets" presented by Tohoku Bureau of Economy, Trade and Industry	Medium
Friday Theater, organized throughout the year by volunteers	Medium

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission
Source: 2009 Official Catalog

International Competition

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
Film festival organization decides to hold the International Competition, and establishes guidelines for entry, etc.

PRODUCTION
b) Reification/Global networks
Film festival organization publicizes the competition to documentary filmmakers worldwide, and publishes entry information on the festival website

c) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
The film festival organization solicits 2 people from the general public to participate in the selection committee. Selection committee screens entries and holds multiple discussions to select final lineup for the competition

PRESENTATION
d) Reification/ Local networks<<>>Global networks
Film festival organization screens the selected films at the festival, and publishes official information on the films in the official festival catalog and website.

e) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
Film festival organization brings directors of the selected films to attend the festival; filmmakers interact with other people in film community, participate in panel discussions, and question and answer sessions

f) Participation/Local networks<<>>Global networks
Jury watches all competition films and deliberates to select the final winners

CONTINUATION
g) Reification/Global networks
Winners are announced

h) Reification/ Local networks<<>>Global networks
Works are archived in Yamagata public facility and made available for rental to general public
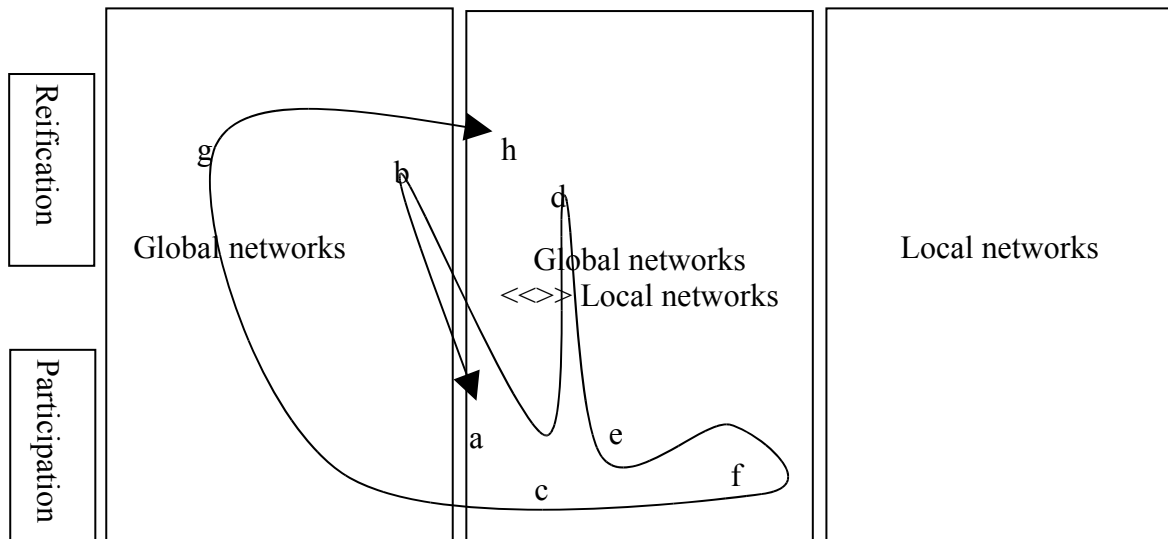
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the Yamagata International Competition program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (b) (g)	Boundary object shared with locality (d) (h)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (none)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (none)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (c) (e) (f)	Brokering among local networks only (none)

Table: YIDFF International Competition as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Decision to hold competition
Translation	Negotiation with non-film stakeholders for budget
Legitimacy	Professional filmmakers as jury members; announcement of prize money; local government involvement
Linking practices	Connect film festival organization with local government (major festival sponsor)

Table: YIDFF International Competition, brokering process analysis for (a)

The International Competition is the larger of YIDFF's two main competitions (the other being New Asian Currents, which is focused on Asian documentary films). With Yamagata City being the major contributor to the festival's budget, there has always been awareness of the relationship between the film festival and the local public. However, the film festival organization and local government office have long been in conflict over how to define this "general public." From the local government's perspective, the term "public" or "citizens" specifies people who are not necessarily fans of film or interested in documentaries. However, the film festival organization resists pressure to popularize itself for the general public, and maintains that the festival's significance stems from its ability to be relevant to documentary filmmakers. Thus, the critical audience must remain film-related communities of practice. The festival organization has made a strong effort to cultivate "local networks" film-related communities of practice, such as Yamagata-based filmmakers, screening groups, and documentary film students. However, the local government has tended to view these groups of people as being a too narrow slice of the "public." The inability to resolve this definition of the festival's core audience was a major factor in the festival organization leaving city hall and forming its own NPO. The result has been a sacrifice in stability, as the city no longer has a clear obligation to continue high level funding for

the film festival. However, in exchange, the festival has gained a measure of freedom to define its primary audience.

Overall, the theoretical framework proposed in this thesis argues that learning processes occur through engaging with specific communities of practice. Thus, this thesis argument suggests that the local government's approach of aiming to make the film festival accessible to the "general public" will be have limited impact on learning processes, and hence limited impact on local cultural development. Rather, the film festival organization's emphasis on developing local film-related communities of practice will have stronger impact on learning processes. In order to expand the scope of impact, it would be most effective for the film festival organization to target specific communities of practice that are not directly related to film. In this way, the film festival organization could contribute to non-film impact. The approach of including two citizens in the selection processes for the international competition is not likely to have a lasting impact on learning processes, at it also fails to engage with communities of practice.

6.3.3 Takasaki Film Festival (Takasaki City, Gunma Prefecture)

Step 1: Film festival organization scale and locality scale

Takasaki City, 100 kilometers from Tokyo in Gunma Prefecture. The film festival organization is strongly associated with Mogi Masao, who had been involved in independent screenings from 10 years prior to the festival's start in 1987; the festival began because they wanted to be able to show more than 6 or 10 films per year; instead, they wanted to bring together all the films they wanted to see once a year, so they started with 19 films in a week's period. The festival is now almost 2 weeks long, and shows around 70 films, and sells festival about 21,500 tickets.[43]

Photo: Flyer recruiting members for Cinemateque Takasaki

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[43] *Nihon keizai shinbun*. "Eigasai keizoku 3tu no kagi" (Three secrets to continuing film festivals). June 24, 2006, Tochigi edition, p. 33.

Photo: Takasaki Film Festival catalogs for 2002, 2005 and 2008.

Step 2: Relationship between film festival organizations and local government

The total budget is about 33 to 35 million yen, with about 10 to 12 million yen covered from government subsidies.[44] Takasaki City Cultural Division has funded the festival from its start at varying levels, ranging from 5 million yen to 8 million yen in recent years (see table). Support from Gunma Prefecture comes from the Board of Education's Cultural Division, and amounted to 4 million yen in 2005 and 2006.[45] In both cases, the organizing committee submits an application. In the case of Takasaki City, the film festival organization is treated as an organizing that receives on-going support. Each year, the film festival submits its requested support amount, which is reviewed by Takasaki City's finance department and finalized by the city council.

1996	5 million yen

[44] *Nihon keizai shinbun*. "Eigasai keizoku 3tu no kagi" (Three secrets to continuing film festivals). June 24, 2006, Tochigi edition, p. 33.
[45] Mita Sachihiro, Gunma Prefecture, Board of Education, Cultural Division, Culture Promotion Group. Email correspondence, October 23, 2006.

1996 to 2003	8 million yen
2004	7.6 million yen
2005	7.22 million yen
2006	7 million yen

Table: Recent funding to the Takasaki Film Festival from the Takasaki City Cultural Division[46]

Step 3: Participation/Reification duality

The film festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Screenings of new Japanese films	High
Programs that present other Japanese films	High
Awards given to new films	High
Operation of mini-theater in Takasaki	High

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission
Source: 22nd (2008) Takasaki Film Festival Catalog

Screening of New Japanese Films program

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival organization decides to screen new Japanese films and award prizes

PRODUCTION
b) Participation/Global networks
Film festival organization members identify films

PRESENTATION
c) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks

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[46] Ogawa, ?. Takasaki City Cultural Division. Email correspondence. October 18, 2006

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Film festival organization brings representative filmmakers to the film festival for question and answer sessions, panel discussions, etc.

d) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Film festival screens films and selects winning works

CONTINUATION
e) Reification/Global networks
Film festival publishes catalog, and publicizes film selection and winning works
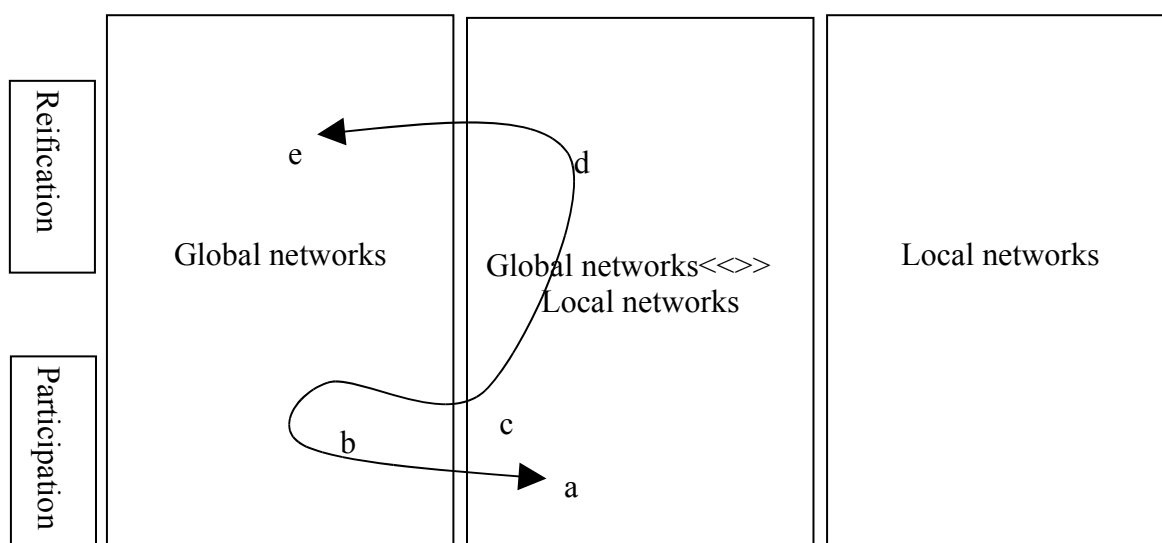
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the Takasaki New Japanese program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (b) (e)	Boundary object shared with locality (d)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival

			network (none)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (none)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (c)	Brokering among local networks only (none)

Table: Takasaki screening of new Japanese films, as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Decision to present screening program
Translation	Negotiation with non-film stakeholders for budget
Legitimacy	Festival's reputation as selecting new cinema
Linking practices	Connect film festival organization with local government and other local sponsors

Table: Takasaki screening of new Japanese films,, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(d) Screens selected works
Modularity	Films presented in category
Abstraction	"New Japanese cinema" an easy to understand category
Accommodation	--
Standardization	Standard categories for awards

Table: Takasaki screening of new Japanese films, boundary object analysis for (d)

The learning process is centered in the local residents who are film enthusiasts. The vitalization of film culture in Takasaki is the primary goal of the new Japanese cinema program, and the legitimacy of the film festival is established through its credibility with the larger film community. In terms of the screening program, there is little evidence of connections to Takasaki local identity, or non-film communities of practice. The creation of the mini-theater, not analyzed here, is evidence of long-term commitment to having film culture contribute to Takasaki's local cultural development.

However, the film festival program itself is strongly centered in film-related communities of practice.

6.3.4 Yufuin Cinema Festival (Yufu City, Oita Prefecture)

Step 1: Film festival organization scale and locality scale

The film festival was started in 1976 and bills itself as Japan's oldest film festival. Yufu City (population 35,000 people) was created in 2005 from the mergers of Yufuin Town with two other towns. The Yufuin Cinema Festival is strongly associated with the former Yufuin Town, which is recognized as a success story in hot springs tourism development that preserves the surrounding natural environment and is lead by local businesses and residents. The Yufuin Cinema Festival, started in 1976, is one of several Yufuin-based cultural festivals that have achieved national recognition. The impetus behind the festival was to screen films in Yufuin Town, which lacked a movie theater, and was created by film fans based in nearby Oita City and local residents. The festival is known for drawing luminaries from the Japanese film industry, and providing a relaxed environment where fans and filmmakers can watch films together and socialize.

The film festival has an offshoot in the Yufuin Bunka Kiroku Eigasai (Yufuin Culture Documental Film Festival, started in 1997) that attracts documentary filmmakers from around Japan, and the small-scale Yufuin Kids' Film Festival organized by one of the local public facilities and aimed at local residents. Yufuin Cinema Festival is distinctly national scale, and makes no efforts to reach international audiences or to directly impact film culture beyond Japan. For example, the film festival publications are in Japanese only, and the festival does not invite overseas guests or provide translation or subtitling.

2 3 3

Photos: Yufuin Cinema Festival program brochures 2004, 2005, 2007, and 2008.

Step 2: Relationship between film festival organizations and local government

The film festival organization's policy is to be independent from government support, in order to have complete freedom to program the festival without interference. The total annual budget is roughly 11 million yen. The local government generally provides about 450,000 yen, and an additional 2 million yen is provided by the Agency for Cultural Affairs. The remaining costs are covered by ticket sales (about 25% of the total budget) and advertising sales (about 30% of the total budget).[47]

Kentaro Nakatani, the legendary owner of the Kamenoi Besso hot springs in

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[47] Yokota, Shigemi, Yufuin Cinema Festival Organizing representative. Telephone interview, October 20, 2006.

Yufuin and primary force behind Yufuin's community-based tourism industry and cultural events including the Yufuin Cinema Festival, described the Yufuin Town Hall as a source of encouragement and support for local development, even if they weren't a source for subsidies or funding. Nakatani deeply regrets the demise of the town hall and council with the 2005 merger, but recognizes that citizens like himself had failed to truly engage with their local government and representatives, and hopes to reclaim that kind of locally based public forum through cultural activities like the film festival.[48]

Step 3: Participation/Reification duality

The film festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	Relevance to film festival's core mission
Pre-event screening at JR Yufuin Station plaza	High
Screening program	High
Party by organizing committee volunteers from 10pm each night of the festival	High
Publications	High

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission
Source: Official Website, accessed April 4, 2008.

Screening program

CONCEPTION

a) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks

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[48] Nakatani, Kentaro, "Soko ga, koko ni naru hi" (The day when there becomes here), *Filmnetwork,* No. 43, March 31, 2007 (published by Ace Japan).

Organizing committee decides to hold screening program

PRODUCTION
b) Participation/Global networks
Organizing committee decides line-up and gets permission to screen films

PRESENTATION
c) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Guests do talk sessions, and interact with film festival guests at informal gatherings

d) Reification/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Films are screened at festival

CONTINUATION
e) Reification/Global networks
Festival lineup is published online

Reification / Participation	Global networks	Global networks<<>> Local networks	Local networks

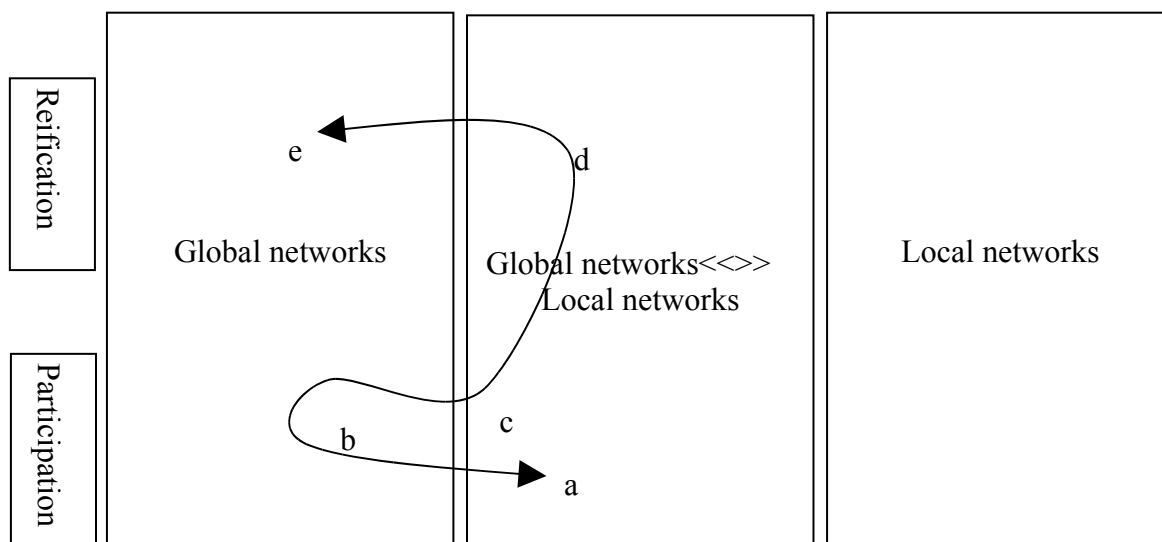Figure: Diagram of learning processes for the Yufuin screening program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>>	Spaces of places

		Local networks	
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (e)	Boundary object shared with locality (d)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (none)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network (b)	Brokering between film-related and local networks (a) (c)	Brokering among local networks only (none)

Table: Yufuin screening program, as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Decision to present screening program
Translation	--
Legitimacy	Festival's reputation as selecting new cinema
Linking practices	Connect film festival organization with local government and other local sponsors

Table: Yufuin screening program, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(c) Screens selected works
Modularity	Films presented in category
Abstraction	"New Japanese cinema" an easy to understand category
Accommodation	Screening is open to general public
Standardization	Standard format for film festival screening

Table: Yufuin screening program, boundary object analysis for (c)

Kentaro Nakatani describes his own experiences in returning to Yufuin Town at the age of 28 and trying unsuccessfully to get prominent locals to support his ideas for local development. In the end, he found more traction with people from Oital

2 3 7

Prefecture at large, and nationwide, and attributes Yufuin's cultural achievements to "networking with outsiders," rather than local networking. He uses his own hot springs facility as a site for film screenings, and holds screenings during major public holidays, and the cinema club organized by his staff members screens films for local residents. Through creating an environment that enables comprehensive relaxation and refreshment, including music, books, children's play areas, massages, hiking, etc., Yufuin becomes a gathering place for people from around the country.[49] Nakatani "reified" the encounters with filmmakers through tape recording conversations and publishing the interviews as booklets, including the publications Monsoon, Kaze no keikaku (Plans of the wind), and Hana mizu ki (Flowers, water, trees; a community planning magazine published from 1970). Significantly, Nakatani talks about the difficulty of penetrating into local society. Despite the fact that his family owned the Kamenoi inn, and that he returned to Yufuin from Tokyo at the age of 28 and spent some 4 decades making significant contributions to local cultural events and the tourism industry, he comments that "I've lived in this town from about 40 years, but I wasn't really able to enter within Yufuin."[50] Nakatani gives this as the reason why he wasn't able to stop the town's merger.

The festival's key concept is creating a "place where Japanese film fans and Japanese filmmakers can meet" (festival website). The film screening program selection and presentation embodies this motto. The selection committee is based primarily in Oita City, and there is not evidence that non-film communities of practice are involved in the core film festival activities, namely film selection and screening. The key connection with Yufu City is the links between the film festival as a "different" destination for both fans and filmmakers that enables relaxed interactions not possible

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[49] Nakatani, Kentaro, "Soko ga, koko ni naru hi" (The day when there becomes here), *Filmnetwork,* No. 43, March 31, 2007 (published by Ace Japan)
[50] Ibid, p. A-8.

elsewhere. The film festival's emphasis on this kind of interaction is directly connected with Yufu's identity as a well known tourist destination that is at once immensely popular (with 3 million visitors annually) and also has a sense of being "exclusive" (the reputations of several expensive local inns). Thus, the film festival is able to draw both fans and filmmakers with the expectation of interactions that otherwise would not be possible.

6.3.5   Sukagawa International Short Film Festival (Sukagawa City, Fukushima Prefecture)

Step 1: Film festival organization scale and locality scale

        Sukagawa City (population 80,000 people) is located in central Fukushima Prefecture, and expanded in 2005 with the merger of a neighboring town and village. The film festival was established in 1989 in anticipation of the 1993 opening of the Fukushima Airport, with direct flights to Korea and China. The film festival concept was generated from a meeting of esteemed people who were from Sukagawa, whose numbers included cameraman Tomio Kaneyama. The late Kaneyama's personal network of filmmakers in Tokyo continue to serve as the selection committee. The film festival is held over 2 days in May, and shows 20 to 30 short films from Japan and other countries, and since the 4th festival has invited at least one guest from abroad. Attendance varies from 1,500 to 2,600 tickets sold.[51]

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[51] Sukagawa International Short Film Festival Organizing Committee, "Dantai no enkaku" (overview of the organization), March 2006.

Photo: Catalogs of Sukagawa International Short Film Festival from 1993, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2006.

Step 2: Relationship between film festival organizations and local government

The impetus behind the film festival's start came from the mayor, whose convened esteemed individuals from Sukagawa to brainstorm ideas for events to build up to the 1993 opening of the Sukagawa Airport. Cameraman Tomio Kaneyama suggested bringing documentary films, which are not easily accessible, to create the world's "smallest film festival." The first festival was run entirely by the local government, but the limitations to this approach were immediately apparent, and from the second festival a citizen-based organizing committee was established to organize the film festival. The film festival is managed by the volunteer-based organizing committee; however, the Board of Education's Continuing Education Division handles all of the office work, and each year handles a bilingual part-time staffer to work exclusively on the film festival. Mitsuya Tsukame of the Continuing Education Division commented that "we have handled the film festival's operations since the start, but have never really clarified the position or role of the film festival from the perspective of our own division…While the festival is officially run by the citizen-based organizing committee,

in really it is mainly run by the local government. This issue needs to be clarified in the future."[52] About half of the festival's budget comes from the local government (see table). At a site visit to the local government office, it was found that the city employees and one part-time employee were handling the major logistical work of executing the film festival, including the design of the flyer and publications, and negotiating to get permission to screen films.[53]

The organizing committee's primarily functions are publicity and raising sponsorship contributions from local businesses. Raising money from local businesses is becoming increasingly difficult, according to Ikuko Fukaya, organizing committee vice-chair. While the committee is not responsible for identifying films for the festival, there are rewarding aspects to their work. For example, Fukaya has been in charge of acting as local guide for the honorary guest at the film festival, who comes from overseas. Fukaya described the satisfaction she got from befriending filmmakers from other countries, and seeing Sukagawa through their eyes.[54]

The film selection is handled almost exclusively by a group of about Tokyo-based 15 film industry professionals who had associations with the late Tomio Kaneyama, including his son and professional associates. Likewise, the committee members are also closely bound to each other professionally. These industry professionals work on a volunteer basis and meet several times a year to compile film recommendations for the festival, and also attend the film festival. They are primarily

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[52] Tsukame, Mitsuya, Sukagawa City Hall, Board of Education, Continuing Education Division, Division Adjunct, Email correspondence, June 1, 2005.
[53] Site visit to Sukagawa City Hall, Board of Education, Continuing Education Division, August 21, 2006.
[54] Fukaya, Ikuko, Sukagawa International Short Film Festival Organizing Committee Vice-chair, Telephone interview, September 15, 2006.

bound to the festival through their close association with Tomio Kaneyama.[55]

Revenue sources	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
Sukagawa City subsidy	3,000,000 yen	3,000,000	4,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000	3,000,000
Agency for Cultural Affairs, Film Festival Support Project subsidy	600,000	838,000	1,224,000	1,100,000	800,000	1,180,000
Sponsors	1,160,000	1,330,000	1,140,000	1,200,000	1,220,000	
Ticket sales	477,100	589,900	507,150	643,335	546,345	557,800
Membership dues	592,960	238,000	134,000	161,000	155,000	560,582
Misc, holdover from previous year	55,401	5,010	231,524	128,702	163,299	768 020
TOTAL	5,880,471 yen	6,000,910	7,258,085	6,233,037	5,883,644	6,136,847

EXPENDITURES	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
Personnel			112,435	130,389	119,102	46,984
Loan repayment, etc.	783,897	1,219,626	1,059,554	651,117	436,837	774,723
Travel (film festival guests, hotel, etc.)	1,184,018	633,663	1,187,212	1,204,871	1,381,085	1,233,011
Honorariums (film festival guests)	411,308	470,600	740,038	738,000	606,800	689,700
Expendables (meetings, food, printing of catalog, posters, etc.)	2,256,563	2,038,914	2,441,836	2,148,996	2,134,459	2,296,643
Outside vendors (homepage, ad design, etc.)	809,311	832,084	948,990	1,078,308	765,563	907,533
Tokyo film selection committee	300,630	300,000				

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[55] Yamamoto, Katsumi, Sukagawa International Short Film Festival Committee, Tokyo Committee member. Interview in Shibuya, August 31, 2006.

Other	45,000	55,830	768,020	192,521	319,113	188,253
TOTAL	6,028,089	5,955,509	7,258,085	6,144,202	5,763,959	6,136,847

Table: Revenue sources for the Sukagawa International Short Film Festival. Source: Yamanobe Tomoo, Sukagawa International Short Film Festival Committee Chair. "Sukagawa International Sukagawa International Short Film Festival Budgets" for 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2005.

Step 3: Participation/Reification duality

The film festival organization's primary functions are as follows:

Film festival function	**Relevance to film festival's core mission**
Screening program of international short films	High
Talk session with filmmaker guest invited from overseas	High

Table: Assessment of film festival organization functions based on relevance to film festival's core mission
Source: 17th (2005) Official Program

Film festival screenings of international short films

CONCEPTION
a) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
Sukagawa City-based organizing committee decides to screen international short films

PRODUCTION
b) Participation/Global networks
Tokyo selection committee meets to select films recommended to the film festival, and Sukagawa organizing committee gets permis   to screen films

PRESENTATION
c) Participation/ Global networks<<>>Local networks
One foreign filmmaker is invited to Sukagawa for the festival

d) Reification/Global networks<<>>Local networks

2 4 4

Organizing committee screens the program for the general public

CONTINUATION
e) Reification/Global networks
Screening lineup published online and in catalog

Reification

Participation

e   d

Global networks   Global networks<<>>   Local networks
                    Local networks

b   c

                    a
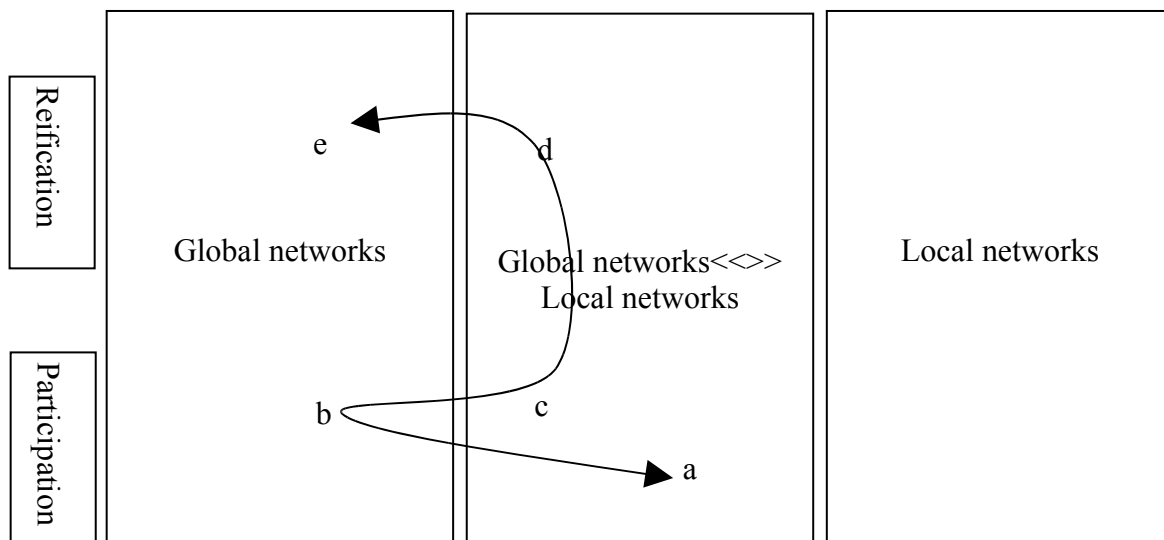
Figure: Diagram of learning processes for Sukagawa international short film screening program; the arrow represents the sequence of events, starting from "a"; each event is positioned according to its learning process type ("reification" or "participation") and the networks that it involves ("global" networks, or an interaction between "global and local" networks)

	Spaces of flows	Global networks <<>> Local networks	Spaces of places
Reification	Boundary object stays within film festival network (e)	Boundary object shared with locality (d)	Boundary object shared with locality, but not relevant to film festival network (none)
Participation	No brokering outside film festival network	Brokering between film-related and local networks	Brokering among local networks only (none)

	(b)	(a) (c)	

Table: Sukagawa screening program, as boundary object and broker

Participation: Aspects of brokering processes	(a) Decision to present screening program
Translation	Sukagawa's goals of internationalizing linked with film festival content; linked with established filmmaker who is from locality
Legitimacy	Involvement of local government; film professionals involved in selection process
Linking practices	Connect film festival organization with local government and other local sponsors

Table: Sukagawa screening program, brokering process analysis for (a)

Reification: Aspects of boundary objects	(d) Screens selected works
Modularity	Films presented in category
Abstraction	"Short films" is easy to understand category
Accommodation	Links with Sukagawa's internationalization goals
Standardization	Standard film festival format for screening

Table: Sukagawa screening program, boundary object analysis for (d)

The main organizing committee in Sukagawa is not involved in programming decisions, and in effect acts as a conduit for content selected by the Tokyo selection committee and delivers the screening program to the general local public. The program content is made relevant to Sukagawa in terms of introducing new kinds of international cultural, and raising awareness of Sukagawa's connections to Asia via its international airport. However, the program content does not directly relate to Sukagawa in terms of themes or filmmakers. The film festival got its start from an idea proposed by the late Tomio Kameyama, a Sukagawa native who made a name for himself as a documentary

cameraman. Kaneyama remains the only local filmmaker to directly contribute content to the film festival.

6.4   Research Question #3: Assessment of Film Festival Organizations according to Learning Process Template

6.4.1   Pattern Matching – Identifying Film Festival Organizations That Are Oriented toward "Integrated" Local Development

Based on the analysis of film festival organization functions, I identify five strategies that are oriented toward "integrated" local development.

- (1) Global films, screened locally (Takasaki, Yufuin, Sukagawa)
    - Identify films
    - Screen the films locally
    - Present the film screening line-up on official website
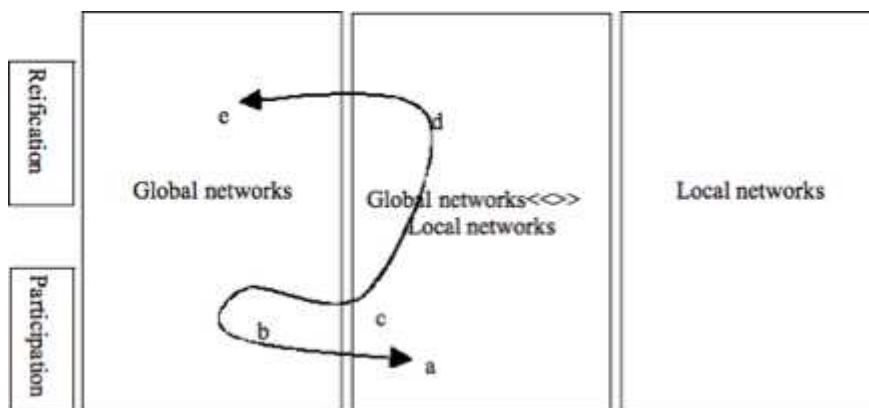
- (2) Global filmmakers, local participation (Tama, Yamagata, Skip City)
    - (top) Tama: Film contest with local jurors
    - (middle) Yamagata: Film contest with local selection committee

members

– (bottom) Skip City: Film contest with locals on fundraising committee for prize money
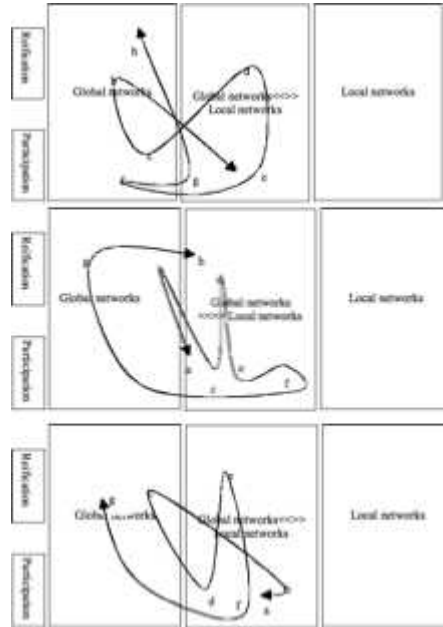
– (3) Global filmmakers, local theme (Fukuoka)

– Global films selected based on local theme
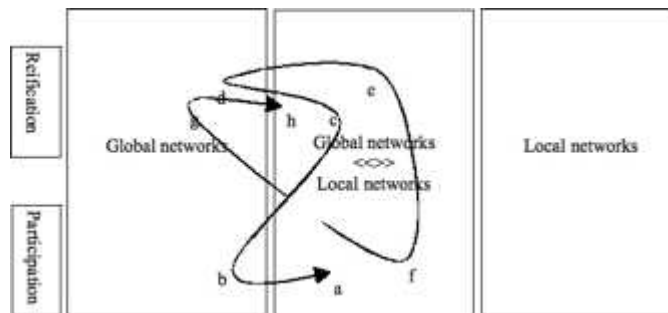
– (4) Local filmmakers, local theme (Akiruno, Kawasaki)

– (top) Akiruno: Screens local filmmakers films about local

environment

- (bottom) Kawasaki: Screens films from local student workshops about local topics

Reification / Participation

Global networks | Global networks<<>> Local networks | Local networks

Global networks | Global networks <<>> Local networks | Local networks
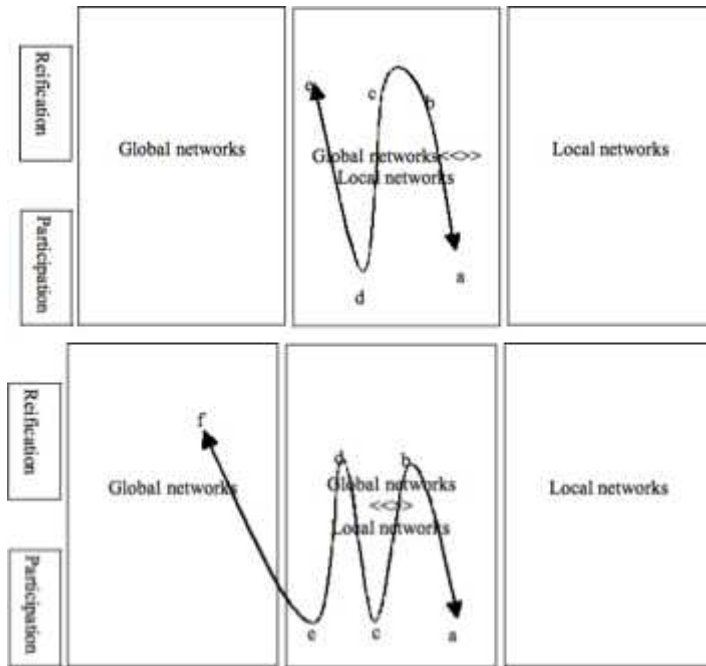
(5) Global filmmakers, local theme & local participation (Isama)

- Scriptwriting contest with local theme, and film shot locally with local participation, and screened locally

Global networks | Global networks<<>> Local networks | Local networks

2 4 9
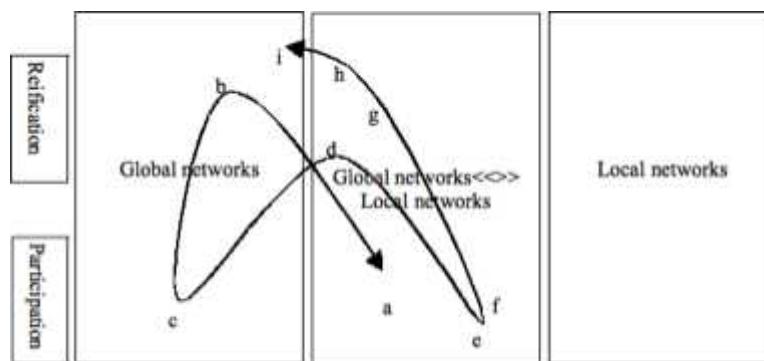
6.4.2 Explanation Building – Strategies for Local Identity Development

What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development?

Based on the pattern matching in the previous section, I identify the ideal scenario as being "Global filmmakers, local theme & local participation," as this involves local identity and local networks through participation and reification, and engages both local and global networks.

Based on social learning theory, participation that bridges local and global networks involves the "brokering processes." Furthermore, according to the theory, the key brokering processes are: translation, linking practices, and establishing legitimacy.

Reification that bridges local and global networks involves "boundary crossing" processes. The key boundary crossing processes are: modularity, abstraction, accommodation, and standardization.

I identify 35 specific brokering and boundary crossing strategies:

1. CONCEPTION (3 strategies)
   − Translation:
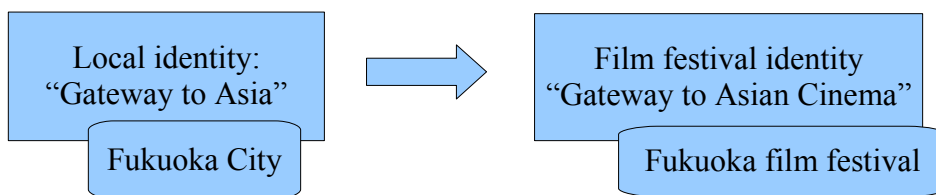
   − Link policy needs with film festival practices:
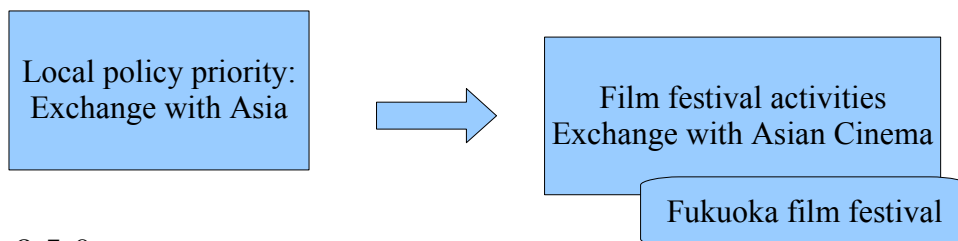
- Translation - Conceiving of competition that general public can help jury (Tama)
- Linking practices - Collaborating with local film school for planning of filmmaking workshop for junior high school students (Kawasaki)
- Linking practices - Involvement of local businesses and volunteers in planning the program (Skip City)

2. PRODUCTION (14 strategies)

Participation:

- Translation
  - Film professionals from local film school teach film production to local junior high school students in filmmaking workshop (Shinyuri Kawasaki)
- Legitimacy
  - Film professionals lead filmmaking workshop for junior high school students (Shinyuri Kawasaki)
- Linking practices
  - Targeting junior high school students for filmmaking workshop (Shinyuri Kawasaki)
  - Targeting the general public (as opposed to professional filmmakers) for screening program lineup (Akiruno)
  - Requiring that prize-winning scripts can be filmed locally (Isama Studio)
  - Involving citizen's group (Skip City) or general public representatives (Yamagata) in selection process

Reification:

- Modularity
  - Fit the filmmaking workshop into summer vacation schedule of junior high school students (Shinyuri Kawasaki)
  - Publicize the Movie Market alongside other local cultural events that target the general public (Akiruno)
- Abstraction
  - Make filmmaking workshop content easy to understand for junior high school

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students (Shinyuri Kawasaki) and the general public (Akiruno)
- Accommodation
    - ➢ Selection criteria incorporate locality's identity (Fukuoka, Akiruno)
    - ➢ Incorporate themes interesting to junior high school into filmmaking workshop (Shinyuri Kawasaki)
- Standardization
    - ➢ Specify easy to understand format for new content that is being produced for the film festival (Shinyuri Kawasaki, Akiruno)
    - ➢ Accept common, consumer-level video formats as submissions for screening event (Akiruno)
    - ➢ Use of common format for competition, i.e. screening films for a jury, and then the jury selects the winners (Tama, Yamagata)

3. PRESENTATION (11 strategies)

Participation:

- Translation
    - ➢ Criteria for selecting winning films is conveyed to the non-professional jurors (Tama)
- Legitimacy
    - ➢ Professional filmmakers critique amateur works at screening (Akiruno)
    - ➢ Professional jurors involved in picking contest winners (Tama)
- Linking practices
    - ➢ Filmmakers invited to festival to interact with audiences via question/answer sessions, etc. (all 10 case studies)
    - ➢ Inviting professionals to critique selected films by amateur filmmakers, as live event during festival (Akiruno)
    - ➢ Representatives from the general public involved as jurors in picking competition winners (Tama)

Reification:

- Modularity
    - ➢ Incorporate content as a block within film festival program (all 10 case studies)
- Abstraction
    - ➢ Awards given to winning films, within input from general public (Tama)
- Accommodation
    - ➢ Films filmed/produced locally are screened at festival (Isama, Akiruno)

2 5 2

- Standardization
  - ➢ Presentation of films in standard film festival format, in public space (all 10 case studie1s)
  - ➢ Films are entertaining and easily accessible, as opposed to experimental films (Isama Studio, Shinyuri Kawasaki)

4. CONTINUATION (7 strategies)

Participation:

- Translation
  - ➢ Scripts selected in the competition are filmed locally, and production process is communicated to the local public so they can be involved (Isama Studio)
- Legitimacy
  - ➢ Involvement of professional filmmakers in filming of script selected in film festival competition; allocation of budget for the film shoot (Isama Studio)
- Linking practices
  - ➢ Filmmaking process is linked with locality through participation in casting, locations, and production crew (Isama Studio)

Reification:

- Modularity
  - ➢ Incorporate content into future film festivals (Akiruno, Isama Studio, Shinyuri Kawasaki)
- Abstraction
  - ➢ Awards made public (Tama)
- Accommodation
  - ➢ Films are archived in local facility, and are made accessible to the general public (Fukuoka, Isama Studio, Yamagata)
- Standardization
  - ➢ Information on film program is published in catalog or online (all 10 case studies)

6.4.3 Explanation Building – Obstacles that Prevent Local Identity Development

What obstacles prevent film festival organizations that receive local government funding from contributing to integrated local development? The theoretical framework indicates two dimensions of explanation for this behavior: structural, and

social learning.

Obstacle #1: Difficulty in translating film themes for local relevance

Network society theory predicts that organizations that are tied to global networks will operate according to the agenda of the global network. Film festival organizations are tied to global networks, and face pressure to create value for that global network. This value is defined primarily in cultural terms, and examples include discovering new films and filmmakers (competitions), shedding new light on existing films (invitational programs), and creating opportunities for filmmakers to meet each other and audience members (discussion and question/answer events). Creating new value for the global film festival circuit requires tremendous resources, including knowledge about what other film festivals are doing, finding a niche to fill, and networking with other people in the film world. This focus is the "natural" inclination for any globally oriented film festival.

Thus, the agenda of contributing to local identity development is an "extra" aspect. When a film festival organization is obligated to focus on local identity because of local government funding, the initial response will be that the locality can be proud of its contribution to global film culture, as was observed in the Yamagata film festival case study. However, a gap will remain between local people who care about film, and those who are indifferent to film. Film festival organizations by default will not contribute to boundary creation for localities.

The most direct way to bridge this gap is to incorporate the local identity into the film festival's identity. It is important to do this incorporation at the conception of the film festival. However, it can also be added as a dimension when the film festival goes through an evolution, as was the case with the Isama Studio Film Festival; or, as additional programming, in the case of the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival.

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	Global filmmakers	Local filmmakers	Local participation	Local themes
Takasaki Yufuin Sukagawa	O			
Tama Yamagata Skip City	O		O	
Fukuoka	O			O
Akiruno Kawasaki		O		O
Isama	O		O	O

Obstacle #1: Difficult to translate film themes for local relevance

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Obstacle #2: Limited opportunities to link practices with local networks
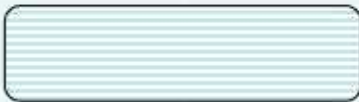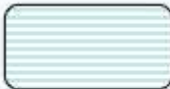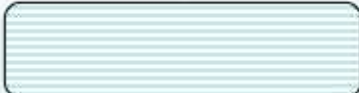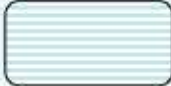
Second, there are barriers within the social learning process which prevent local government and film festival organizations from sharing the same agenda. Social learning theory points to the barriers between different communities of practice, or learning communities. The local government and film festival organization can be understood as two distinct communities of practice, each with their own agendas and modes of communication. Social learning theory points to "linking practices" as a key strategy for brokering relationships between different communities of practices.

In other words, a key question is whether the film festival organization orientate part of its programming or activities so that it provides a service or solves a problem for

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another organization.

In fact, there are few examples from the case studies of film festival organizations linking practices in a way that solves problems for other local organizations. The only clear example comes from the Kawasaki Shinyuri film festival, in which the Junior Workshop offers educational opportunities to local junior high school students.

In the other examples, the film festival organization engages individual members of the general public, rather than engaging with local organizations. For example, Tama film festival invites the public to view the finalist films and participate in selecting the winner. Yamagata invites two members of the public to participate in the intense process of selecting the international competition lineup. Akiruno invites local filmmakers to submit their films, and Isama involves the general public in producing films selected by the festival. However, in all of these examples, the engagement is with individuals, and not with "communities of practice." Thus, it can be expected that the impact is limited.

	Global filmmakers	Local filmmakers	Local participation	Local themes
Takasaki Yufuin Sukagawa	O	▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓	▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓	
Tama Yamagata Skip City	O	▓▓▓▓	O	
Fukuoka	O	▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓	▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓▓	O
Akiruno Kawasaki		O	▓▓▓▓	O
Isama	O	▓▓▓▓	O	O

Obstacle #2:
Limited opportunities to link practices with local networks

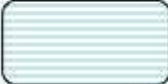Obstacle #3: Legitimacy of film festival is weakly connected with local networks or local participation.

One of the key challenges identified by social learning theory is establishing legitimacy within a community of practice. In order to act as a broker between the film festival organization and local networks, the actor must be able to establish litimacy within multiple communities of practice. In the case when local government is the main sponsor, one of the key questions is whether key members of the film festival organization can an individual be viewed as "legitimate" by both the film festival organization and the local government.

The most straightforward means for establishing "dual" legitimacy in both the global and local realms is to involve a local filmmaker with national or international status. This approach is used to by several film festival organizations to celebrate a

renowned filmmaker's local ties. For example, the Tateshina Ozu film festival celebrates the legendary director Yasuhiro Ozu's part-time residence in Tateshina, where he wrote numerous important scripts. The Sukagawa film festival was established in part to commemorate the deceased documentary filmmaker Tomio Kanemaru, who was from Sukagawa. In these cases, the film festival draw upon the filmmaker's personal networks and body of work for programming and events. The Tateshina film festival features Ozu's films, has preserved the building where he wrote his scripts, and features lectures and special events involving people with special knowledge about Ozu's work. The Sukagawa film festival draws upon Kanemaru's personal network of Tokyo-based filmmakers, who play a key role in selecting the films screened at the festival. However, there are distinct limitations to grounding the film festival's identity in that of a deceased filmmaker, primarily because there still needs to be other individuals who can act as ambassadors to link the festival with other organizations.

The obvious solution would seem to be linking the film festival to a living filmmaker of global status. However, filmmakers are not immortal, and the festival must recreate its identity if it loses the filmmaker's leadership. In the case of the Yamagata International Film Festival, the renowned documentary filmmaker Shinsuke Ogawa played the role of charismatic leader with local and global legitimacy. Ogawa was both highly respected by documentary filmmakers around the world, while also being recognized as having "legitimacy" by the local government. He had a kind of celebrity status, which the local government was able to trust. However, after his death, the film festival organization was left without a charismatic leader. The film festival organization's experts were film professionals primarily based in Tokyo, and did not have "legitimacy" in the eyes of the local government. At the same time, the local government hired film professionals to work within city hall in Tokyo; however, they were contract, specialized employees who were outside the city hall's usual employment system. Thus, they tended to be marginalized by city hall.

	Global filmmakers	Local filmmakers	Local participation	Local themes
Takasaki Yufuin Sukagawa	O			
Tama Yamagata Skip City	O		O	
Fukuoka	O			O
Akiruno Kawasaki		O		O
Isama	O		O	O

Obstacle #3: Legitimacy of film festival is
weakly connected to local networks or local identity

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6.5   Research Question #4: In-depth Case Study – Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival

6.5.1   Overview of Data Sources

This section uses data of the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, where I did extensive fieldwork from 2003 to 2005, to raise questions about and test aspects of the proposed local development model. I use diverse data sources to analyze aspects of the theoretical model.

Aspect of the theoretical model	*Data sources*
1) Evaluation of film festival organization's local development goals using mission statements	- In-depth interviews of film festival organization staff members and site visit to office and film festival in 2005 - Film festival budget documents - Film festival publications
2) Evidence of impact	- Main Survey (2005); Online Survey (2005)
3) Learning processes	- On-line survey (2005) - Participant observation from 2003 to 2005

Table: Aspects of local development model explored through Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival in-depth case study, and data sources

I discuss the Main Survey and Online Survey in detail below. Both surveys focus on evidence of impact. In particular, the Main Survey was done at the film festival itself, and focuses on how the attendees evaluate the festival's impact on Yamagata City. Thus, it focuses on the relationship between Yamagata City and the film festival organization. The questions for the Main Survey were developed in close conjunction

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with the film festival staff, and also local government officials. Thus, it consists of questions on:

a) spending in Yamagata City, to gage potential economic impact;

b) perceptions of how the film festival impacts the City, from the perspective of local residents;

c) perceptions of how the film festival impacts film culture in general; and d) awareness of the film festival's activities.

In contrast, the Online Survey deliberately aims to capture responses of individuals who are interested in the film festival, but do not necessarily attend the festival in person – in other words, the "global networks." The questions were developed with input from the film festival's Tokyo Office, which tends to be concerned with impact on film culture over local development. The questions focus on:

1) perceptions of how the film festival impacts film culture in general, and specific filmmakers in particular

Main Survey

- Survey methodology:

The Main Survey was conducted at the screening venues for the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival from October 7 through October 13, 2005. Copies of the questionnaire were made available to festival attendees at the main screening venues (Forum, Muse, and the Yamagata Central Public Hall).[56] Questionnaires were placed on the ticket counters at each venue, alongside a box for collecting the questionnaires. In addition, the questionnaires were handed directly to

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[56] However, the questionnaire was not handed out at Muse and the Yamagata Central Public Hall on October 9 and October 11, because the film festival conducted its own survey during those dates.

attendees. The survey consisted of 1 page of questions, with the Japanese and English versions on each side.

There were 360 valid survey responses. Of these, 28% identified themselves as being Yamagata City residents, 69% people from other parts of Japan, and 4% from overseas. This breakdown matches the festival's estimates of attendance, with about 60% to 70% attending from outside of Yamagata City. The English and Japanese versions of the survey are included below.

Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF) 2005 Survey

This survey focuses on what Yamagata City expects to gain through sponsoring the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, and how the film festival contributes to Yamagata and visual culture on a global level. The survey results will be used in creating a new vision for the 10th YIDFF, to be held in 2007. Selected survey responses will also appear in Daily News, issued by the film festival. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Please check ☑ the appropriate box:

Gender : ⬜Male ⬜Female
Age : ⬜under 20 ⬜20 to 29 ⬜30 to 39 ⬜40 to 49 ⬜50 to 59 ⬜over 60
Residence : ⬜Yamagata City ⬜Japan (other than Yamagata City) ⬜Overseas
Occupation : ⬜film related ⬜company employee ⬜self-employed ⬜part time ⬜student ⬜other
YIDFF attendance: This year's festival is my _____time to attend YIDFF.

1. How much do you plan to spend in Yamagata City during the festival?
⬜under 3,000 yen ⬜3,000-10,000 yen ⬜10,000–30,000 yen
⬜30,000 – 50,000 yen ⬜ over 50,000 yen

What types of expenses? *(Please check as many as apply.)*
⬜film tickets ⬜transportation ⬜hotel ⬜food/drinks ⬜souvenirs ⬜other

2. Are you aware that YIDFF also sponsors the following activities?

	A) Yes, I'm aware	(B) I'm somewhat aware	(B) I didn't know
Screenings and events throughout the year	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C
Operation of the Film Library at Big Wing in Yamagata	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C
"Tomo no kai" membership group	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C

3. (Yamagata City residents only) What do you think about YIDFF?

(A) Strongly agree	(B) Somewhat agree	(C) Disagree	(D) Strongly disagree
As a Yamagata resident, I am proud of the festival	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
YIDFF contributes to the city's visual culture	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
Yamagata is more lively than usual during the festival	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
The festival fosters exchanges with people	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
The local government should continue supporting YIDFF	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
I want to introduce other people to the film festival	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D

4. (Non-Yamagata City residents only) What do you think about YIDFF?

(A) Strongly agree	(B) Somewhat agree	(C) Disagree	(D) Strongly disagree
YIDFF improves my impression of Yamagata City	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
I'd like to visit the Yamagata outside the festival	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D
I made new discoveries regarding documentaries	⬜A	⬜B	⬜C	⬜D

We greatly appreciate your feedback on the festival. If you have additional comments, please write them here.

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山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭（YIDFF）2005　アンケート

このアンケートは、山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭（YIDFF）を主催する山形市が映画祭に何を期待しているか、映画祭が山形市と世界の映像文化にどのように貢献しているか、を調査するものです。調査の結果は、2007 年に行われる第 10 回 YIDFF に向けた新しいビジョン作りに活かされます。映画祭が発行するデイリー・ニュースにも利用させていただく場合もあります。皆様のご協力をお願いいたします。

あてはまる選択肢に ☑（チェック）をつけてください。

性別:　　　　　　□男　□女
年齢:　　　　　　□20 才以下　□20-29 才　□30-39 才　□40-49 才　□50-59 才　□60 才以上
お住まい:　　　　□山形市　□山形市外（日本）　□海外
ご職業:　　　　　□映像関係者　□会社員　□自営業　□アルバイト　□学生　□主婦　□その他
映画祭にご参加の回数:　　今年の映画祭で　　　　　回目

1. 映画祭期間中の支出予定額は？
□3 千円以下　□3 千円～1 万円未満　□1 万円～3 万円未満　□3 万円～5 万円未満　□5 万円以上

　　支出項目は？（いくつでも）
□映画チケット代　□交通費　□宿泊代　□飲食代　□お土産代　□その他

2. 山形映画祭について以下のことをご存知ですか？

	（A.よく知っている　B.聞いたことがある　C.知らなかった）		
映画祭以外に上映会や他のイベントを行っていること	□A	□B	□C
ビッグウィングでフィルムライブラリーを運営していること	□A	□B	□C
友の会というメンバーグループがあること	□A	□B	□C

3. （山形市在住の方のみ）山形映画祭に対して、どのようにお感じですか？

	（A.とても同意する　B.ほぼ同意する　C.あまり同意しない　D.全く同意しない）			
山形市民として、映画祭を誇りに思っている	□A	□B	□C	□D
山形市の独自で多様性のある映像環境に貢献している	□A	□B	□C	□D
映画祭期間中、山形市が普段より活気がある	□A	□B	□C	□D
人との出会いがあり、交流が生まれている	□A	□B	□C	□D
山形市の行政は山形映画祭を支援し続けるべきである	□A	□B	□C	□D
映画祭の面白さを他の人に伝えたい	□A	□B	□C	□D

4. （山形市外から来られた方のみ）YIDFF に対して、どのようにお感じですか？

	（A.とても同意する　B.ほぼ同意する　C.あまり同意しない　D.全く同意しない）			
山形市のイメージをよくしている	□A	□B	□C	□D
映画祭期間中以外にも山形市を訪ねようと思う	□A	□B	□C	□D
ドキュメンタリーについて新しい可能性を発見できている	□A	□B	□C	□D

その他お気づきの点、ご意見などございましたら、ご記入ください。

Document: Main Survey during the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival 2005 in English and Japanese

Online Survey

- Survey Methodology -

The online survey conducted over a two-month period after the 2005 film festival, from November 15 to December 31. The survey was accessed at a dedicated website (www.yidffsurvey.com), with the option to view the English or Japanese versions. The survey was publicized through the following methods:

1) Letter included in *Documentary Box* (journal published in English and Japanese by the film festival organization)
2) Notice placed on the YIDFF official website
3) Email to membership of YIDFF news (email newsletter)

This survey aimed to capture the perception of the film festival from the "global networks" perspective, and to gather responses from people who are engaged with the film festival's network but did not necessarily attend the festival. There were 228 respondents, with 10% from Yamagata City, 60% from other parts of Japan, and 30% from overseas. These respondents tend to be involved in the film industry – just under 40% identified themselves as doing film-related work, and just under 20% study film, and just under 30% are documentary filmmakers. In contrast, of the film festival attendee respondents, only 11% identified themselves as being involved in the film industry.

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│ 1. トップページ/   │
│     Home        │
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┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
│2J.アンケート │ │2E. Intro │
│について    │ │          │
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│4J. 結果   │ │4E. Results│
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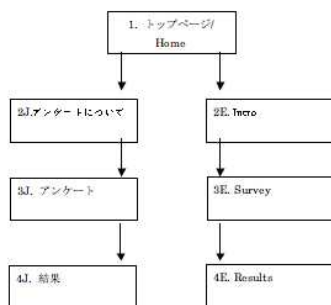
1.トップページ/Home

Welcome to the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF) survey.
For English click here.

山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭(YIDFF)のアンケートへようこそ。
日本語は、ここをクリックしてください。

2J．アンケートについて　日本語

山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭(YIDFF)のアンケートについて

このたび、山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭（以下 YIDFF）を向上させる目的で、2005 年 12 月 31 日までアンケート調査を行っております。

このアンケートは、映画祭が山形市と世界の映像文化にどのように貢献しているかを調査するものです。調査の結果は、2007 年に行われる第 10 回 YIDFF に向けた新しいビジョン作りに活かされます。

国内外から YIDFF に接してきた方々の意見を、できるかぎり広く集めることを目指しています。映画祭に行ったことがあるか否かに関わらず、YIDFF に関心をお持ちでしたら、是非今回のアンケートにご参加ください。

ご協力を宜しくお願いします。

アンケート担当
ヤマモト　アン　東京大学大学院工学系研究科都市工学専攻
yidffsurvey@yahoo.co.jp

アンケートはこちらです。
トップページへ戻る。

2E. Intro

About the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF) survey

The survey is being conducted from this website through December 31, 2005, and aims to contribute to the improvement of the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF below).

The main focus of the survey is YIDFF's contributions to local and worldwide film culture, and the results will be used to help forge a new vision for the 10th YIDFF in 2007.

This survey aims to reflect the opinions of people within Japan and abroad who have come into contact with YIDFF. I urge you to participate in the survey if you are interested in YIDFF, even if you have not attended the film festival itself.

Thank you very much for you cooperation.

Survey coordinator:

Ann Yamamoto
The University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Engineering,
Department of Urban Engineering
Contact: yidffsurvey@yahoo.co.jp

3J. アンケート 日本語

1) お住まいはどちらですか?

メニュー：山形市、日本（山形市以外）、海外

2) 性別

メニュー：女、男

3) 年齢

メニュー：20才以下、20-29才、30-39才、40-49才、50-59才、60才以上

4) ご職業

メニュー：会社員、自営業、主婦、アルバイト、学生、その他

5) ドキュメンタリーにどのように関わっていますか？（いくつでも）

映像関係の仕事をしている。
映像などの勉強をしている。
自分でドキュメンタリー作品を製作する。
ドキュメンタリーや映画が趣味となっている。

6) 山形国際ドキュメンタリー映画祭（以下YIDFF）は様々な活動を行っています。ご自分に当てはまる項目を選んでください。（いくつでも）

YIDFFに行ったことがある。
YIDFFに自分の作品を出品したことがある。
YIDFFのウェブ・サイトにアクセスしたことがある。
YIDFFニュース（YIDFFのメルマガ）に登録している。
「ドキュメンタリーボックス」（YIDFFが発行する専門雑誌）を読んだことがある。

7) YIDFFに対して、どのようにお感じですか？

先鋭の作品を紹介している
各地の映像文化の発達に寄与する

山形市のイメージをよくしている
YIDFFの面白さを他の人に伝えたい

メニュー：とても同意する、ほぼ同意する、あまり同意しない、全く同意しない

8) 映画祭の活動が自分の国や地域の映像文化の発達に寄与した事例があれば、ここに記入してください

200文字まで書き込み

以下の質問は「ドキュメンタリーボックス」の読者を対象にしています：

9)「ドキュメンタリーボックス」をどの形で読まれましたか？

メニュー：紙雑誌、YIDFFウェブ・サイト上、両方

10)「ドキュメンタリーボックス」の内容は、自分にとってどれほど参考になっていますか？

日本のドキュメンタリー作家インタビュー・シリーズ
DocBox Books（書評）
他の記事

メニュー：とても参考になっている、参考になっている、あまり参考になっていない、全く参考になっていない

11)「ドキュメンタリーボックス」についての自由なご感想・ご意見をここに記入してください。

書き込み(200文字まで)

ご協力ありがとうございました。

確認画面
アンケートについて
トップページに戻る

3E. Survey

1) Where do you reside?

メニュー：Yamagata City, Japan (other than Yamagata City), Overseas

3) Gender

メニュー：Male, Female

5) Age

メニュー：under 20 years old, 20-29 years old, 30-39 years old, 40-49 years old, 50-59 years old, over 60 years old

6) Occupation

メニュー：Full-time employee, Self-employed, homemaker, part-time work, student, other

4) How are you involved with documentary films/videos?
(Please select as many as apply.)

I do film/video-related work.
I am studying film/video.
I make films/videos.
Documentaries are one of my hobbies.

5) Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival (YIDFF below) undertakes various types of activities. Please select the statements that apply to you. (Select as many as apply.)

I have been to the film festival.
I have submitted my own documentary to YIDFF.
I have visited the YIDFF website.
I am registered for YIDFF News (the YIDFF email magazine)
I have read Documentary Box (journal published by YIDFF)

7) What do you think about YIDFF?

YIDFF introduces cutting-edge documentaries.
YIDFF contributes to the development of film culture in many different places.
YIDFF improves my impression of Yamagata City.
I want to introduce other people to YIDFF.

メニュー：Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree

8) Have YIDFF's activities contributed to the development of film culture in your own country or locality? If so, please tell us about it here.

The remaining questions are for those who have read Documentary Box (journal

published by YIDFF).

9) In what format have you read Documentary Box?
メニュー：Journal publication, YIDFF website, both

10) How useful is the content of Documentary Box to you?
Documentarists of Japan (series of interviews with Japanese documentary filmmakers)
DocBox Books (book reviews)
Other articles

メニュー：Very useful, Useful, Not very useful, Not useful at all

11) Please let us know your opinions and thoughts about Documentary Box here.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Send

Intro
Home

Document: Content for the online survey (document dated November 16, 2005)

6.5.2 Film Festival Organization Mission Statement

This thesis uses the film festival organization's mission statement as the initial basis to evaluate commitment to local development goals. However, the Yamagata in-depth case study shows that the "officially" stated goals are not necessarily the "real goals." Indeed, "Goals are real to the extent that people are actively devoting time and effort to working toward them," and can lack clarity because of internal conflicts within the staff or among stakeholders, or between the audience and organizers. Furthermore, goals can become outdated when conditions change (Weiss 1998, p. 56).

In this section, I analyze how the festival's mission evolved over the years. I break the film festival's history into three phases (honeymoon period, friction between

film festival organization and local government, and organizational independence from local government). Each phase is characterized by different relations between the film festival organization's staff and the local government, and the film festival's goals, as shown in the table below.

Phase	Relationship between film festival organization and local government	Status of film festival organization's mission statement
Honeymoon period	Unity	Clearly stated
Friction between film festival organization and local government	Conflicting goals	"Officially" stated goals are out of date
Organizational independence from local government	Conflicting goals, and separate organizations	Clearly stated

Table: Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival mission statement changes over time

Honeymoon period

The festival's early years can be characterized as a honeymoon period between the film festival organizers and city hall. All parties were united by a common purpose: to do something spectacular, significant, and long lasting in commemoration of Yamagata City's centennial, in 1989. Shinsuke Ogawa, a legendary documentary filmmaker based in nearby Magino, provided a clear sense of mission for the film festival: to create a place where filmmakers from throughout Asia could meet, which would give birth to new films. Ogawa's concept was on the cutting edge, in terms of both geo-politics and filmmaking. Many Asian countries were still under repressive political regimes, and filmmakers struggled against censorship and threats of violence to create documentaries. Ogawa had identified a true need, and indeed after the first film festival, Yamagata had begun to establish itself as the world's preeminent source for socially and politically progressive documentaries from Asia.

From its inception, the film festival was organized by several parties working

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together: the Organizing Committee, the festival staff based in the Yamagata city hall, and the film selection staff based in the festival's Tokyo office. In addition, Ogawa inspired local film enthusiasts to mobilized about 200 volunteers to support the film festival. All of the parties were united by a common purpose, namely to launch a festival that 1) reflected the region's special characteristics, 2) stood out among existing film festival, and 3) would continue into the future.[57] Ogawa passed away shortly after the first film festival, but his spirit continued to guide the festival.

Another factor behind the "honeymoon period" was the city's finances. In 1989, the city obtained close to 60% of its revenues from city taxes, and another 13% from other local sources. The revenue share from city taxes declined during the 1990s, and by 2000 made up just 45% of revenues. In contrast, dependence on tax transfers from the central government (*chiho kofuzei*) increased from 7% of revenues in 1989 to 16% in 2000. The changes in the city's finances changed the city's attitude toward the festival, as will be seen in the following section.

Initially, the festival staff was based in Yamagata City's International Relations Section, with city officials managing the festival and the budget. Full-time staff dedicated to the festival were first hired in 1995. The Tokyo office handled communications with filmmakers, translations, subtitling, and editing publications, and enabled the festival to become more than a "citizen-run" film festival.

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[57] Tanaka, Satoshi. 2008. "The Untold Story of the Birth of the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival" in *Special 10th Edition Retrospective – 20 Years of Miracles*, Yamagata City, YIDFF Organizing Committee.
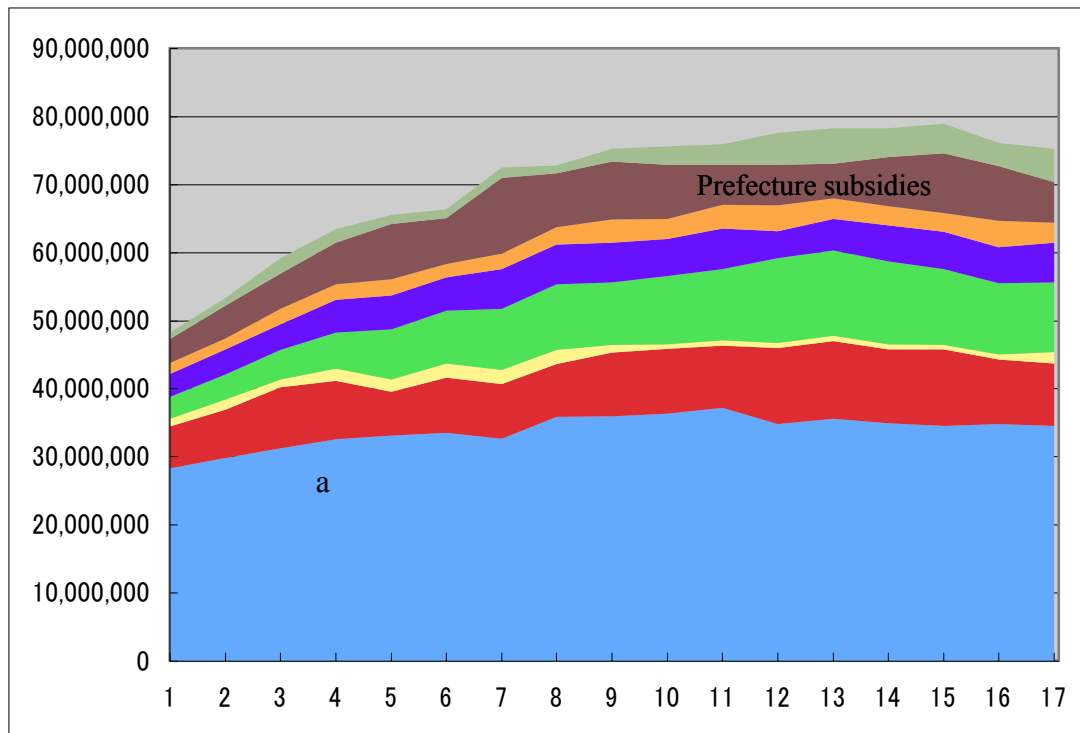
Graph: Yamagata City revenue sources 1989 to 2005; Source: Yamagata City

Friction between film festival organization and local government

The festival was transferred to the Cultural Promotion Section, which was newly created for the Citizen's Cultural Festival (*Kokumin bunka sai*). This event is held each year in a different prefecture and, funded by the central government's Agency for Cultural Affairs, is a major windfall for the host prefecture. Yamagata Prefecture was the designated prefecture for 2003, and the film festival was transferred to the new section so that it would fit into the Citizen's Cultural Festival event.[58] Another impact of the transfer to the new section was pressure to make the festival better known among

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[58] March 8, 2005, interview with Shuichi Masuya, Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival Organizing Committee member, at Masuya Store in Yamagata City.

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local residents.[59]

The local government was pushing the festival's staff to appeal to the "general public" in Yamagata, and not just film fans, and proposed "co-existence" as the most important keyword for the festival's strategy and evaluation criteria. There were several reasons for the city's changing priorities regarding the festival.

First, Yamagata City was under increasing pressure to trim spending. The festival was started during the bubble years (in 1989) and obtained generous funding as part of the city's centennial celebrations; however, the reasons for continuing the festival had become less clear, and funding the festival was a challenge for the city. As discussed in the previous section, the share of city tax revenues fell steadily during the 1990s. In 2005, there was a Yamagata City council member who was an outspoken critic of the film festival, who visited the Cultural Promotion Division and questioned the head about the festival's cost.[60] The city's subsidy for the film festival declined significantly from 2001.

Second, the local government administrative staff changed every few years. However, the festival was executed by specialists and volunteers, who tend to work on the festival for long stretches of time, and would have disagreements with newly appointed local government staff.

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[59] Miyazawa, Hikaru. 2008. "Synapses Linking People, Things, and Places – The Past Ten Years of the Film Festival Office" in *Special 10th Edition Retrospective – 20 Years of Miracles, Yamagata City*, YIDFF Organizing Committee
[60] May 18, 2005 interview with Fujiko Asano, Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival program staff member, at Yamagata City Office.
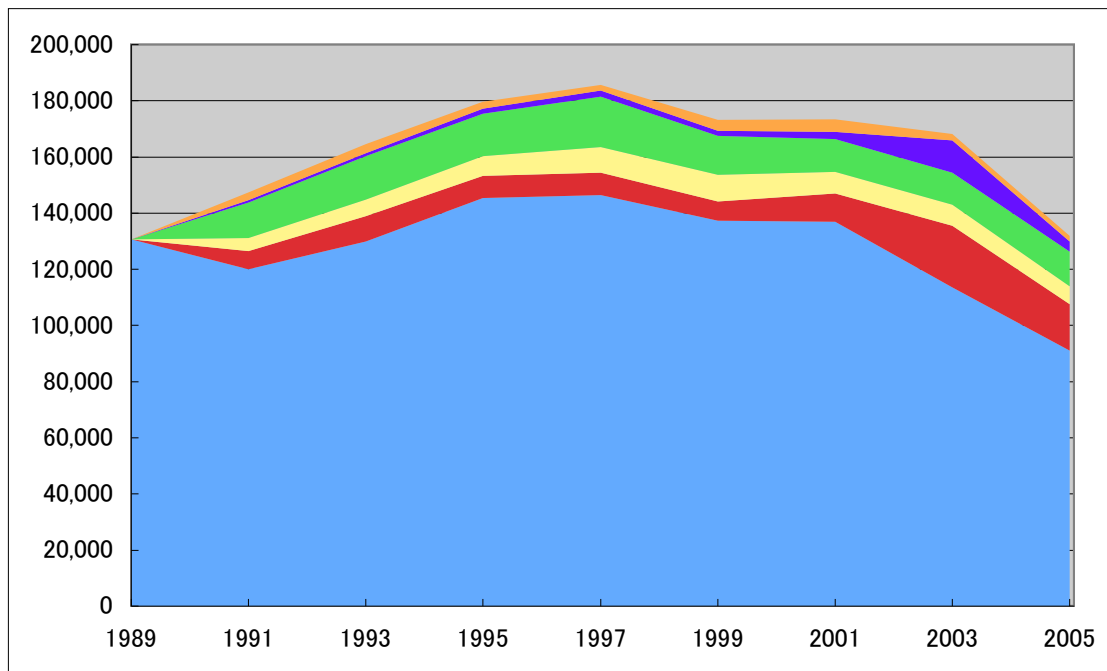
Graph: Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival revenue sources, 1989 to 2005; Source: Yamagata City

The festival staff did not view "general public" as a valid target for the festival. They felt that it was too general, and too "dangerous" as criteria for evaluating the festival. A prominent member of the organizing committee rejected the local government's claim that the festival was too difficult for Yamagata residents, saying that "people are much smarter than the city hall bureaucrats think."[61] One of the festival staff suggested that the festival has a "silent audience" of supporters in Yamagata City, who want to festival to continue but do not necessarily attend. Rather than trying to appeal to the "general public," the festival staff was more interested in expanding the membership base, which as of 2005 was at 200 members (of the association "Tomo no kai").[62]

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[61] March 8, 2005, interview with Shuichi Masuya, Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival Organizing Committee member, at Masuya Store in Yamagata City.
[62] May 18, 2005 interview with Fujiko Asano, Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival program staff member, at Yamagata City Office.

Both festival staff and the local government recognized the need for a more clearly articulated vision/mission statement, which could form the basis for evaluating the festival.[63] Through two discussion sessions with representatives of the festival staff and local government, the following were identified as the festival's mission:

Yamagata City residents	Other audiences (Japan, world)
General public - Hold a film festival that residents can take pride in - Contribute to a diverse and unique film culture - Create film assets and use them effectively - Make the city more lively during the festival	Film audiences in general - Present cutting edge films to the world - Contribute to developing film culture around the world - Find new possibilities for documentary film
Festival attendees - Create a place for encountering outstanding films - Convey the appeal of documentary films - Offer new opportunities for social interaction	Festival attendees - same - same - same - Create fans of Yamagata City, and increase tourism
Targeted audiences - Develop and introduce local up-and-coming filmmakers - Cultivate local designers and other creators - Contribute to the vitality of local shopping districts - Contribute to media literacy for local	Targeted audiences - Develop and cultivate filmmakers from Asia and around the world - Discover emerging filmmakers around the world - Create opportunities for filmmakers and audiences to interact

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[63] Interview session at Yamagata City Hall on May 18, 2005 with Hiraku Miyazawa, Fujiko Asano (Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival staff members), and Fuse (Yamagata City Cultural Promotion Section).

students	

Table: Goals for Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, based on discussions with local government and film festival organization representatives

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Photo: Audio and videotape recordings of discussions with Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival staff

Organizational independence from local government

Yamagata City commissioned a third-party organization to evaluate its programs, and the result was a recommendation that the film festival be run as a private initiative. The festival would gain independence, but lose the city's support for balancing the budget, discounts for renting public facilities, and about 30 staff people during the film festival dispatched from city hall. The festival became an NPO in April 2007, and is currently run by a Board with trustees and Official Members (voting rights) and Supporting Members (no voting rights). As of 2009, there were 138 Official Members (38 as Corporate Members) and around 80 Supporting Members (18 as Corporate Members).

There is evidence that the film festival has made more effort to connect its activities directly with Yamagata City. During film festival in 2009, the festival offered fix-priced tours of Yamagata from Japan Rail and from the film festival (rental of taxis for fixed price to visit sites). In addition, the festival organized a tour of Furuyashiki Village, the site of a seminal documentary made in 1982 by Shinsuke Ogawa, whose work was the main impetus behind starting the film festival.

At the same time, the festival has continued to attract submissions from filmmakers, indicating that it is maintaining its legitimacy within the film festival network. In 2009, the festival received 1141 submissions from 110 regions/countries to the International.

6.5.3 Survey Analysis

The case studies in this thesis argument are based on selecting a single aspect of the film festival, and analyzing the way that it engages with "local" versus "supralocal" networks. Another approach to gathering data on local development impact is to survey audience members. This analysis based on the Main Survey, and uses cross tabulation to test several hypotheses. Cross tabulation analyzes two variables at the same time, and can be used with nominal (categorical) data and ordinal (ranking) data.

For each of the cross tabulations, responses with missing data for the selected variables were excluded from the analysis (pairwise deletion). This approach is appropriate because 1) the total percentage of missing data is low, and the missing data is relatively randomly distributed among cases and variables. Thus, I determined that pairwise deletion does not introduce bias into the analysis. Each null hypothesis is tested with Pearson's Chi-test at 0.05 level of significance.

Selection of variables

This cross tabulation analysis uses the following variables from the survey:

1. Audience characteristics	1a Residence 1b Occupation 1c Number of festivals attended
2. Awareness of YIDFF activities	2a Year-round events 2b Film Library 2c Tomo no kai membership group
3. Perception of YIDFF (for Yamagata City residents)	3a Local pride impact 3b Visual culture impact 3c City's liveliness impact 3d Socialization impact 3e Government support 3f Want to tell others about the festival
4. Perception of YIDFF (for non-Yamagata City residents)	4a Improves impression of city 4b Want to visit Yamagata City again 4c Discoveries about documentaries

Table: Variables from Main Survey used for cross tabulation analysis

Hypothesis testing of the theoretical model

The thesis asks whether film festival organizations can harness "global networks" impacts toward local development. First, using the survey data, I group the respondents according to 2 main categories, mainly Yamagata City residents and Japan/Overseas residents.

Cross tabulation makes it possible to identify sub-groups within the categories of "Yamagata City" residents and "Japan/Overseas" residents. Thus, I identify sub-groups, and associate these sub-groups with the continuum between "global networks" and "local networks." As illustrated in the figure below, "film professionals/students" are more strongly associated with "global networks," and "1st time attendance" is more strongly associated with "local networks."

Figure: Cross tabulation subcategories associated with global and local networks

The key question is the extent to which the film festival organization is able to harness both local and global toward developing the local system (i.e. Yamagata City). Thus, I construct hypotheses about the subgroups and their perception of the impact of the film festival.

1) Hypothesis: Yamagata City residents will be more aware of film festival organization's activities (year-round events, film library, and tomonokai membership organization)

Residence = independent variable

Awareness = dependent variable

Global networks ←————————————————————→ *Local networks*

```
(  Japan/Overseas residents  )        (  Yamagata City residents  )
                                                    |
                                                    ↓
```

Hypothesis: More aware of YIDFF activities
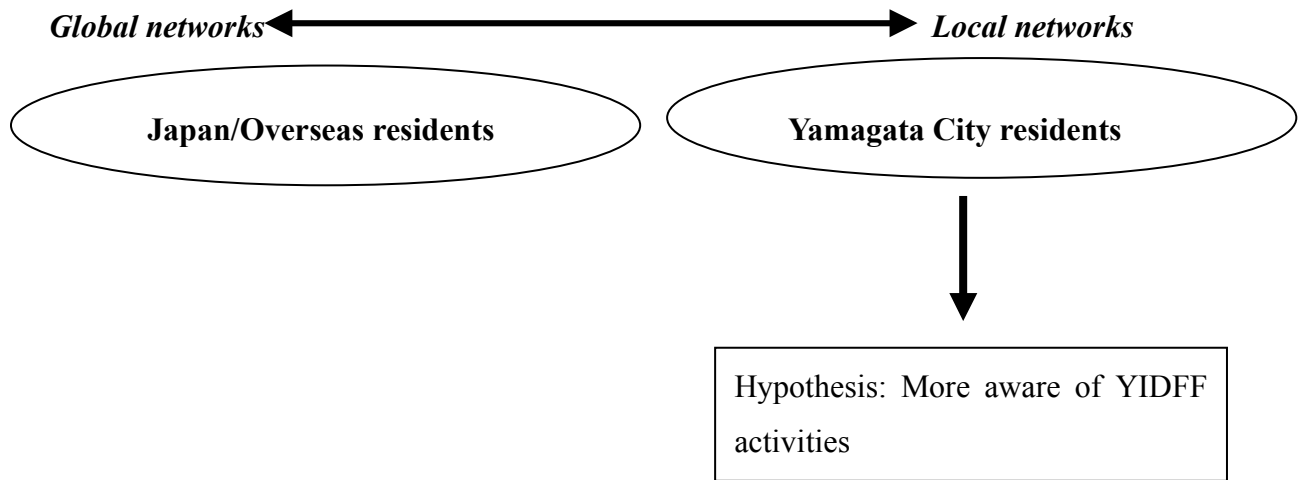
● Year-round activities

Chi-square test shows that there is no relationship between residence and awareness of year-round activities (Chi-square value 5.01, degrees of freedom 4).

● Film library

The null hypothesis can be rejected (Chi-square value 25.17, degrees of freedom 4).

Awareness of YIDFF Library

	A-Aware	B-Somewhat aware	C-Didn't know
1-Yamagata City	54%	23%	23%
2-Japan	28%	20%	51%
3-Overseas	33%	17%	50%

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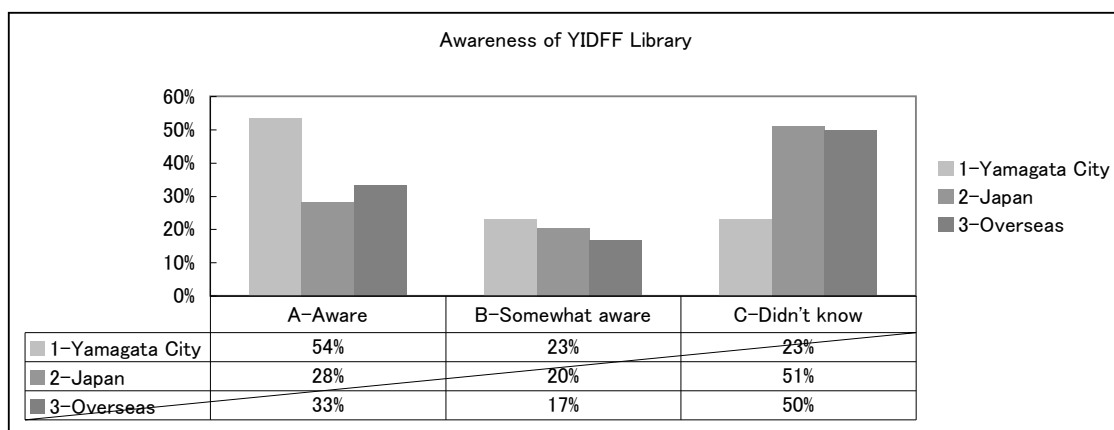
- Tomonokai membership organization

The null hypothesis can be rejected (Chi-square value 15, 45, degrees of freedom 4).

Awareness of Tomonokai (YIDFF membership organization)

	A-Aware	B-Somewhat aware	C-Didn't know
1-Yamagata City	35%	17%	48%
2-Japan	17%	17%	67%
3-Overseas	17%	8%	75%
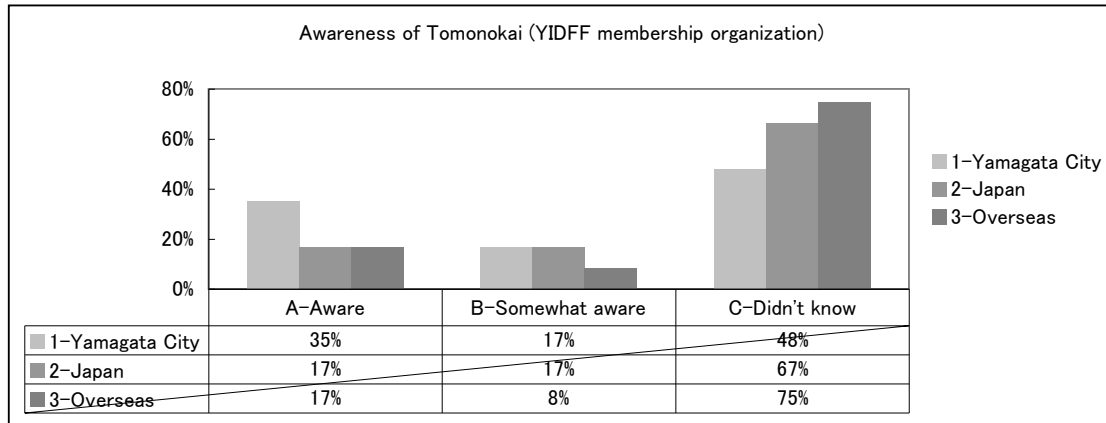
2) Hypothesis: Those with higher awareness of the Film Library and Tomonokai membership organization will more strongly rate impact

The purpose of this hypothesis is to test the importance of communicating the festival's message and program to public. I hypothesize that if audience members understand that the film festival is part of a larger project with many facets, then they will more strongly rate impact on local pride/city image.

- for local pride (local residents)
  Cannot reject null hypothesis (Chi square value 5.76, degrees of freedom 6)

- for city image (outside residents)
  Cannot reject null hypothesis (Chi square value 7.68, degree of freedom 6)

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3) Hypothesis: Film related people and students will have a stronger tendency to make new discoveries about documentaries, compared with other people

Cannot reject null hypothesis (Chi square value 6.20, degree of freedom 3)

4) Hypothesis: Film related people will not want to visit Yamagata outside the festival

Cannot reject null hypothesis (Chi square value 3.45, degree of freedom 3)

5) Hypothesis: Yamagata City residents who attend for the first time will give low rating to "film festival fosters exchanges with people."

Cannot reject null hypothesis (Chi square value 4.46, degree of freedom 3)

#	Independent variable	Dependent variable	Null hypothesis	Chi-square test result
1	Residence	Awareness - Year-round events - Film library - Tomonokai	Yamagata City residents will not be more aware of film festival activities	Awareness - Year-round events: cannot reject null - *Film library: reject null* - *Tomonokai: reject null hypothesis*
2	Awareness (Film library + Tomonokai)	Impact perception - Local pride (Yamagata city residents) - City image (others)	Those with higher awareness of film library & Tomonokai will not more strongly rate impact	Impact perception - Local pride – cannot reject - City image – Cannot reject
3	Work (Film related people + students)	Impact perception - New discoveries about documentaries	Film related people & students will not make new discoveries about	Cannot reject

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			documentaries, compared with other people	
4	Work (Film related people)	Impact perception - Visit Yamagata again	Film related people will want to visit Yamagata outside festival	Cannot reject
5	Attendance (Yamagata City residents, first time)	Impact perception - Exchange with people	Yamagata residents who attend for the first time will not perceive impact on socialization	Cannot reject

Table: Summary of cross-tabulation hypothesis testing and results

The cross tabulation results do not support the hypotheses tested, except for hypothesis #1. There are 2 possible reasons for the results:

a) Survey methodology inadequate:

To test the hypothesis, I used the chi-square test. However, this test is not appropriate for surveys where the expected value of any given data square is less than 5 responses. For this survey, there were less than 5 responses for data squares. It would be more appropriate to use Fisher's exact test, which computes exact probability. However, Fisher's exact test can only be used for 2x2 tables, whereas this data set has 3x3 and 3x4 tables. Thus, the survey could be restructured so that either 1) there are more than 5 expected responses for each data square; or 2) the data is comprised of 2x2 tables.

b) Hypothesis is invalid:

It is also possible that the hypotheses are invalid, and that there is no strong relationship between the characteristics of the respondents and their perception of the film festival organization's impact. This conclusion calls into question the argument that film festival organizations are able to harness "global networks" and "local networks"

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toward local development.

Following is an analysis of the written responses in the surveys, regarding perceived impact of the film festival organization.

Festival as source of local pride, but not enough people know about it locally

Yamagata City residents attending the festival noted that the festival mainly attracts people from outside of the city, pointing out that "Yamagata residents hardly attend, and this makes the festival's significance to Yamagata questionable. There needs to be more efforts to let locals know about the festival" (female, 30s), and "few people in Yamagata know about the festival" (female, 50s). Even if local residents know about the festival and identify it as a source of pride, it tends to be regarded as an event for an inner circle of people – for "people in the know" (female, 30s).

Film festival improves city's image, but doesn't boost year-round tourism

As one attendee commented, "if it wasn't for this festival, I would never have known about Yamagata City" (female, 30s). Respondents commented that the film festival is a "center for documentary film" (male, 20s, student), and that "for me going to the movies means going to Yamagata – I get excited every time I hear the word Yamagata (female, 30s). A first-time attendee from Tokyo commented that "as a fan of documentary films, I always had wanted to attend the festival, and at last my dream has come true" (male, 30s). A comment by a Yamagata resident testifies to the global reach of the festival via the global networks: "A friend of mine was an exchange student in Italy, and when she told people she was from Yamagata, everyone got excited about the film festival (female, 30s).

However, only 33% strongly agreed that they would visit the city for reasons other than the film festival. This result is evidence that while the festival might change

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the way outsiders think about the city, such changes in perception do not necessarily translate into year-round tourism. Rather, the positive image is confined to the festival, and most visitors did not discover a compelling reason to revisit the city.

Film festival as cultural engine in regional city

There is recognition that the festival reverses the typical vector from big city to regional city, as a festival attendee from outside Yamagata commented that "it is significant that this festival is planned and realized in Yamagata, a regional city" (male, 50s). Just over 70% of festival attendees from outside Yamagata City strongly agreed with the statement that they discovered new possibilities for documentary film through the festival. For the online survey, the results were similar: just under 70% of respondents strongly agreed that the film festival introduces cutting-edge films.

The online survey asked respondents for specific examples of how the Yamagata film festival contributes to film culture in other localities. The primary response was that films selected by Yamagata are screened elsewhere in Japan, at independent screenings and other film festivals and cultural facilities, and serves as a model for other film festivals (Sendai, Nagaoka, Okayama, Kanazawa; Helsinki, Nyon, Mumbai). Thus, the festival enables audiences around Japan to come into contact with new films. In addition, the festival's website lists programs and films presented at the festival in English and Japanese, which is a valuable resource for people living overseas. The festival also has a catalog of films that they rent out from their film library for non-commercial screenings.

Respondents also specified that the film festival provides a benchmark or goal for documentary filmmakers, who challenge themselves to create better films in order to get them screened at Yamagata. The festival serves as a kind of "convention" for filmmakers, where they present their most exciting work. One respondent, who identified themselves as being a young filmmaker, wrote that "I screened my film at

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Yamagata and experienced documentary film coming to life within the audience members. This has really motivated me to create more works." Another person identified as festival coordinator at the London Film School wrote about recommending students to submit their films to Yamagata, and being very impressed with the festival.

In particular, Yamagata is recognized overseas for its focus on Asian documentaries, and as a pioneer in discovering and presenting new Asian documentary filmmakers. The competition at Yamagata for new Asian documentaries contributes to cultural exchange in Asia. The festival has screened many works in from Chinese filmmakers, and a respondent from China wrote that "the awards that they received are big stimulus to young filmmakers." A respondent from India similarly commented that "filmmakers in India look forward to participating in YIDFF, since it offers the wonderful experience of interacting with other filmmakers and audiences, promoting interest, and a platform for different possibilities like collaboration, markets, etc." From Indonesia, a respondent wrote that "many Indonesian documentary film/video makers know and discuss and want to participate in YIDFF," and another respondent wrote that "many of my students in Taiwan and America are inspired by Yamagata…to make documentary films, to improve their own films…"

Others pointed to the festival's ability to mobilize volunteers from throughout Japan and to provide a focal point for people who love cinema.

One respondent wrote about feeling proud about Yamagata's film festival as a Japanese person, given the contributions of the film festival to film culture overseas. In the context of other film festivals, a respondent wrote that "we consider Yamagata one of the most prestigious festivals after Sundance, Berlin and Rotterdam."

However, from the perspective of network society theory, this situation is not necessarily surprising, as the flows of network society work according to a logic that is different from simply assuming that big cities will dominate.

Respondents were asked to give their opinions about YIDFF using the following scale:

A. Strongly agree, B. Somewhat agree, C. Disagree, D. Strongly disagree

a) As a Yamagata resident, I am proud of the film festival
b) YIDFF contributes to the city's visual culture
c) Yamagata is more lively than usual during the festival
d) The festival fosters exchanges among people
e) The local government should continue supporting YIDFF
f) I want to introduce other people to the film festival

Figure: Summary of results from survey of film festival attendees at YIDFF 2005

0%   10%   20%   30%
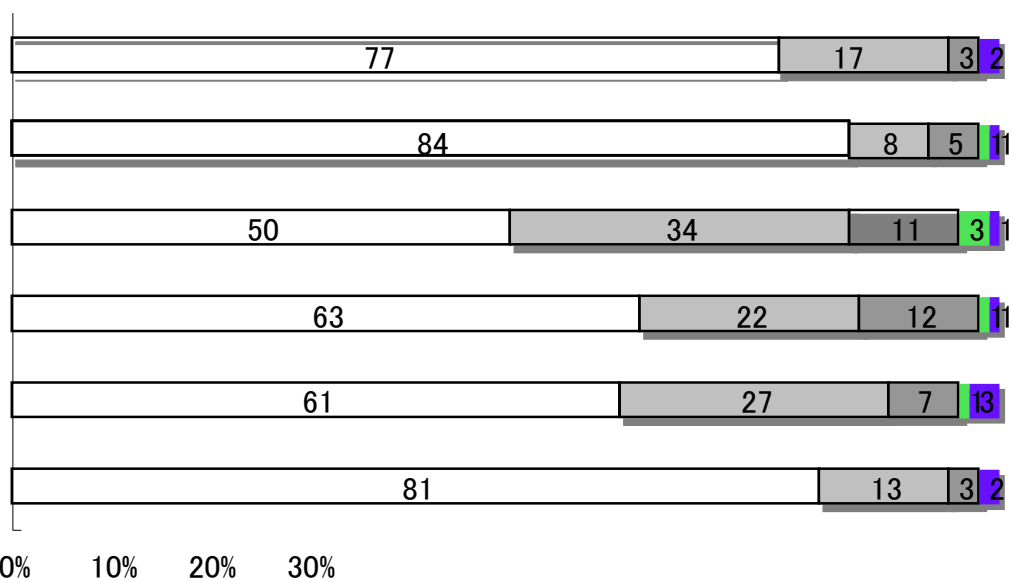
6.6   Research Question #4: In-depth Case Study – Isama Studio Film Festival, Nakanojo Town, Gunma Prefecture

6.6.1   Significance of Isama Studio Film Festival for Understanding Local Identity Development

The Isama Studio Film Festival stands out among festivals with "strong" intended impact on local identity as a "critical case" for the following reasons:

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1) Structure:

The film festival engages with several points of the filmmaking process (screenplay selection, film production, screenings, archiving), which increases the opportunities to contribute to local identity

2) Selection criteria:

The film festival includes local identity as one of the selection criteria (specifically, scripts must be filmable in Nakanojo Town to be eligible for the contest)

Within the case studies, I evaluate this film festival organization as having strong potential for impacting local identity development. Based on social learning theory, one of the key elements for impacting local identity is engagement with local organizations (i.e. "communities of practice"). Thus, I gathered data via email correspondence and telephone interviews about the extent to which the film festival organization engages with other local organizations. I focused on the following film festival activity:

f) Participation/Global networks<<>>Local networks
Filmmakers do casting, location hunting, rehearsals and shooting in Nakanojo Town

In the previous section, I analyzed the ways in which the film festival organization uses the brokering practices of translation, legitimacy, and linking practices to engage with the locality. Here, I present additional data on the "linking practices," to assess the extent to which the film festival organization connects with the locality through the film production process.

Participation: Aspects of brokering	(e) Filmmakers do casting, location

processes	scouting and filming locally
Translation	Script is realized locally, and production process is communicated to the local public for maximum involvement
Legitimacy	Involvement of professional filmmakers; budget for filming
Linking practices	Filmmaking process is linked with locality through participation in casting, locations, and production crew

Table: Isama Studio scriptwriting competition, brokering process analysis for (f)

6.6.2 Empirical Evidence about Learning Processes

The two screenwriters who win the screenwriting contest receive production funds from the film festival, and are required to shot their films primarily in Nakanojo Town. Thus, the filmmakers must find film locations, actors for minor parts and extra parts, and other support (such as food, transportation, props, etc.) within the town. The filmmakers typically do not have professional film production experience, and are not from the area. Thus, they need extensive support to be able to execute the film production. The film festival organization provides this support, which includes serving as a de facto film commission and connecting the filmmakers with local resources.

The key question in terms of participation is: To what extent does the film festival organization link this film production practice with local organizations? According to Karasawa Toshiyuki, who is an employee at Nakanojo Town Hall and is the liaison with the film festival organizing committee, the 40 organizing committee members find local resources through using their own personal networks. Thus, in this specific incidence, I was not able to find evidence that the film festival organizing committee has linked practices with local organizations.

6.6.3 Assessment of Impact on Local Development

There is no clear evidence that the film festival organization committee

engages in linking practices for with local organizations in order to procure local resources for producing the award-winning scripts. Karasawa's observation regarding the Isama Studio Film Festival is that the film festival aims to create new, "objective" views of the town through the eyes of the filmmakers, and to share these new perspectives with local residents through film screenings. Previous to the film festival, the town was only represented in media through travel documentaries. However, in his assessment, the film festival has had limited impact on local identity development. He estimates that there are roughly 30% of the local population who are interested in the film festival, but the remaining 70% of the local population are indifferent. This indifference remains even if local civic leaders are involved in the organizing committee.

In his assessment, there are several reasons for this lack of impact.

1) The specialized nature of film production

Even if local residents become involved in the film production by contributing resources, they are not able to participate in the creative processes that are at the core of film production.

2) Place/time specific nature of film screenings

The films offer new views of the local town; however, the films themselves are only available for screening at the film festival, and at the film festival's archival facilities. Film is inherently limited in that it is experienced by viewing on screens.

Chapter 7   Discussion of Research Results and Recommendations

7.1   Research Question #1: Film Festival Organization Potential for "Integrated" Local Development

7.1.1   Reassessing Film Festival Organizations and Network Society Theory

In Chapters 7 and 8, I discuss the research results, and based on the discussions, I make recommendations for local governments and film festival organizations. The goal of the recommendations is to enable local governments and film festival organizations to utilize film festivals to contribute to "integrated" local development. In addition, I also propose an agenda for future research, which utilizes the conceptual framework in this thesis and proposes alternative methodologies for assessing film festival organization impact on local identity development.

Research question: To what extent do globally networked film festival organizations prioritize "integrated" local identity development?

Hypothesis: There will be a strong tendency for film festival organizations to prioritize the film festival network agenda.

I expected that film festival organizations would prioritize "fragmented" local development, but the results do not support my hypothesis. Based on text analysis of 39 film festival organization mission statements, I found that 18 of the mission statements specified local identity impact as part of the organization's central purpose. In response to the research results, I pose two follow-up questions.

Follow-up question #1:

Why don't the case study film festival organizations prioritize "fragmented" local development, as predicted according to network society theory?

Network society theory argues that film festival organizations will be oriented toward creating new value for the global film festival network. Thus, it can be expected that film festival organizations will not prioritize local identity as part of their mission statement. However, there are numerous film festival organizations that in fact do emphasize local identity development as part of their mission statement. I can suggest several reasons for this research result.

Explanation #1: Film festival organizations that receive substantial funding from local government organizations will be oriented toward local development. Thus, these film festivals will be characterized by local government sponsorship. The relationship between local government funding and film festival mission statements is examined in the second research question, and will be discussed in section 7.3.

Explanation #2: Local identity can be used strategically by film festival organizations to create their own distinct "niche" on the global film festival circuit. In fact, film festival organizations are under constant pressure to differentiate themselves, and to offer value that is unique and cannot be replicated by other film festivals. Local identity can be used to create an "edge," to make the film festival unique on the global network. In this scenario, the film festival organization will be able to prioritize "integrated" local development while also contributing to the global film festival network. This proposed explanation leads to the second follow-up question, which focuses on these festivals that prioritize "integrated" local development.

Follow-up question #2:

What are the characteristics of the film festival organizations that prioritize "integrated" local development?

The most successful scenario is for a film festival organization to secure funding from local government organizations, and at the same time harness local identity, and use it as a tool for creating new value on the global film festival network. Such a scenario is virtuous and self-reinforcing, as the film festival organization brings value both to the locality and the global film festival circuit.

In the next two sections, I will discuss one case that prioritizes "fragmented" local development, and two cases that prioritize "integrated" local development. Based on discusses of these cases, in section 7.2 I will make recommendations for local governments and film festival organizations on strategies to harness film festival organizations to achieve local identity development.

7.1.2 "Fragmented" Local Development Case – Sundance Film Festival

Sundance film festival (Park City, Utah, USA) is synonymous with film festivals in the U.S, and with the global film festival circuit (Matsumoto 1994, p. 246). The film festival was started in 1978 in Salt Lake City as the U.S. Film Festival, Utah, and then was renamed the United States Film & Video Festival. Initially it was a minor regional festival, and it did not become a global hub until after it moved to Park City, a popular ski resort in Utah, and was rescheduled to the wintertime. This move took place based on Hollywood producer Sydney Pollack's suggestion that the film festival could benefit from Park City's status as a popular skiing destination for film studio executives in Hollywood (Anderson 2000). In addition, in 1985 the Sundance Institute, an NPO founded in Utah by filmmaker Robert Redford to nurture independent filmmaking, got involved in producing the film festival. Thus, the film festival was able to gain traction

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with influential film professionals due to the locality's status as a ski destination, and in that regard, local identity played a key role in the festival's growth. The growth has been remarkable, with applications to the US dramatic competition (16 spots) increasing from 250 films in 1995 to 849 films in 2000, and 2,070 films in 2012. [64] Of the 46,731 total attendees to the festival in 2012, an estimated 27% were entertainment industry professionals.[65]

The above film submission and ticket sales figures are evidence that the film festival makes a significant contribution to the global film festival network. In addition, the film festival has a significant economic impact, which is calculated annually for the state of Utah (as opposed to Park City). In 2012, the economic impact study, conducted by the University of Utah, estimated that the nonresident visitor spending during the 2012 festival resulted in $69.7 million in gross state product and $36 million in earnings for Utah workers.[66]

However, what about its contribution to local cultural development? In recent years, there have been more efforts to harness the film festival toward local development. These efforts can be classified into 3 categories:

- Special services offered to local residents by the Sundance Institute

The festival makes 5% of the total seats available to the local community through special festival passes (such as the Locals-Only Festival Pass with discounted prices, early access to buying tickets) for Utah residents. Sundance Institute also gives free screenings through the Best of Fest program in Park City and other local cities immediately after the festival, and offers free monthly screenings of award-winning

[64]Anderson 2000; Sundance Film Festival, "2013 Sundance Film Festival Announces Films in U.S. And World Competitions, NEXT" Press release, November 28, 2013.
[65]University of Utah/Bureau of Economic and Business Research, "The Economic Impact of the 2012 Sundance Film Festival," March 2012.
[66]Ibid.

films at the Park City Library. The festival began the Filmmakers in the Classroom program in 2000, which screens films directly to students and brings the filmmakers to schools to talk with students.

- Collaborations between the Sundance Institute and local film organizations

Sundance Institute collaborates with the local Park City Film Series for the monthly Documentary Film Series. The Park City Film Series supports local filmmakers through New Reel, a contest focused on local filmmakers. Local Filmmaker Showcase; Park City High School. The institute also collaborates with the Park City Performing Arts Foundation to bring documentary filmmakers into classrooms to talk about filmmaking. In 2009, 16 filmmakers visited over 1,000 students over 4 days during the film festival.

- Collaboration between the Sundance Institute and local government and NPOs

Utah State has begun to use the film festival as a tool for drawing new businesses to the state, through the Sundance Business Connection. This networking event was initiated in 2008, and uses the film festival as an incentive for luring high-profile leaders in business, government and politics to Utah and share information about opportunities in Utah. The film festival has also partnered with the local Mountain Trails Foundation to promote walking during the festival, although with limited success.[67]

These efforts by the Sundance Film Festival show that even festivals which are oriented toward "fragmented" local development face pressure to invest in local development. Film festival organizations like the Sundance Institute are generally non-for-profit organizations, and thus, there is an expectation that the organizations will make contributions toward the public good. It is not sufficient to only contribute to developing global film culture. Rather, film festival organizations are expected to give

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[67]Sundance Institute Website, "Community Programs," http://www.sundance.org/support-us/community-programs/, accessed July 17, 2013.

back to their local communities. If local communities are focused and well organized, it is possible to utilize the film festival organization to strengthen local identity development.

7.1.3 "Integrated" Local Development Cases – Shinkaichi (Kobe) and Ozu (Tateshina)

Sundance is an example of a festival that is primarily oriented toward the global film network, but that has been making efforts to impact local development as a side activity. There are also examples of film festival organizations that strongly tie the film festival with local identity, and strategically use local identity as a key ingredient for generating new value for film culture.

In the case of the Shinkaichi festival in Kobe, the film festival uses the neighborhood's historical identity as a red-light district to create the festival's theme, namely "Love and Eros." During its heyday, the Shinkaichi main street had 24 movie and live performance theaters, and was known as the "Asakusa" of western Japan, referring to Tokyo's former entertainment district. The three-day festival is primarily for women. In addition to the main screening, which is connected to the theme of love and sexuality, the festival includes events featuring actresses who give advice on how to be more "womanly," fashion shows, and booths that provide make-up tips. The festival is organized by the the Shinkaichi Machizukuri NPO, which receives about half of its budget from Kobe City as part of its funding for cultural exchange projects.[68] The festival is able to connect the local identity with film culture, and to generate new value in both arenas.

The Tateshina film festival celebrates the area's connection with Yasujiro Ozu, who is recognized as one of Japan's great film directors. Ozu first visited a mountain

[68]Nishijima, Yoki. Shinkaichi Film Festival Organizing Committee representative, Telephone interview, November 4, 2008.
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villa in Tateshina with his scripwriter Kogo Noda after completing his seminal film *Tokyo Story* in 1954. Both Ozu and Noda were attracted to the natural beauty of the high plains in Tateshina, and they returned to Tateshina regularly to write many of Ozu's films until his death in 1963. The film festival was started in 1998 in order to connect people to both Tateshina and Ozu, and includes screenings of his films, and discussions with scholars and film industry representatives. In 2002 the film festival began a short film festival to connect the legacy of Ozu and Tateshina with emerging filmmakers. The festival is sponsored by Chino City, and the local government's tourism division houses the film festival office. The local government provides about half of the budget, with other funding also coming from the local Tourism Association.[69]

Both of these film festival organizations receive local government funding, and thus can be seen as examples of festivals that emphasize local identity in response to government funding. However, at the same time, these festivals also use local identity to create a distinctive theme for the festival, which enables the festival to distinguish itself from other film festivals. These two examples show how local identity can be used to anchor the film festival's themes, which benefits both the film festival organization and the locality. Local identity is not necessarily a burden for a film festival. To the contrary, local identity can give focus to a film festival, and can give it a unique edge that differentiates it from other film festivals. This symbiotic relationship between local identity and film culture can be seen in the two cases discussed above, in which Shinkaichi's history as an entertainment district underpins its theme of "Love and Eros," and Tateshina's historical links with director Yasujiro Ozu give the festival credibility as Japan's major film festival giving tribute to Ozu's legacy.

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[69]Aruna, Chino City Hall, Industry and Tourism Division, Film Festival Office, Telephone interview, October 12, 2006.

7.2 Recommendations for Film Festival Organizations and Local Government Regarding Local Identity

7.2.1 Film Festival Organization Recommendation: Incorporate Local Identity into Mission Statement

Based on the above discussion, in section 7.2.1, 7.2.2, and 7.3.3 I make 3 recommendations for local governments and film festival organizations.

Recommendation: In order for film festival organizations to contribute to local identity development, the film festival itself should translate local identity in terms of film culture, and utilize local identity as part of its own mission statement.

In the case study analysis of the mission statements, I found 13 film festival organizations that directly link their mission statement with the locality's core identity. In three of these cases, including the Ozu example discussed above, the locality has strong historical roots with the film industry (the other two cases are Chofu, which is in Tokyo's outskirts and is home to many film production companies; and Takarazuka, which was home to a major Toho film production studio in the past.) In the absence of a direct link with film production, other film festivals have linked an element of the locality's identity with a specific genre of film, or a specific way of experiencing film. In these cases as well, the film festivals are able to impact both local identity and film culture. In fact, local identity provides the key ingredient for creating a unique contribution to global film culture. Several of the creative mixtures between local identity and film culture achieved by the film festivals are shown in the figure below.

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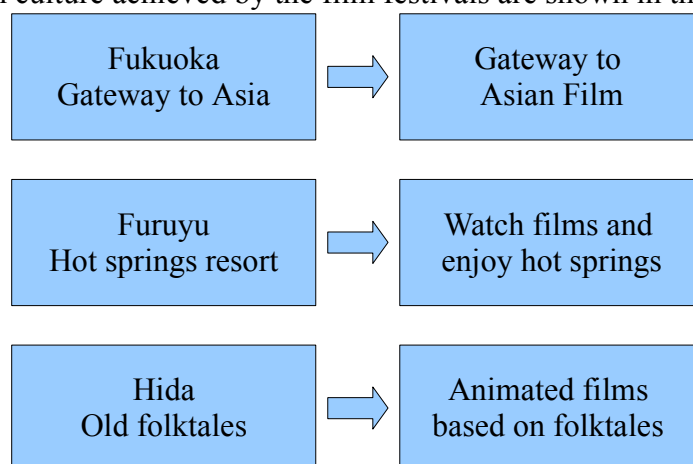| Fukuoka Gateway to Asia | → | Gateway to Asian Film |
| Furuyu Hot springs resort | → | Watch films and enjoy hot springs |
| Hida Old folktales | → | Animated films based on folktales |

Figure: Relationship between local identity and film festival identity

7.2.2   Film Festival Organization Recommendation: Incorporate Local Identity into Key Practices

Recommendation: In cases where localities do not have a distinct cultural or historical identity that can be readily linked with film culture, the film festival concept needs to be "transplanted" into the locality, and cultivated in such a way that it helps to strengthen the locality as a whole. In such cases, an effective strategy is to incorporate local identity into the central activities, or practices, of the film festival.

Yufuin Cinema Festival and Isama Studio Cinema Festival provide a contrast in approaches to bringing film culture into a locality through film festival activities. Both film festivals are located in small towns with a local tourism industry based around hot springs. Yufuin draws some 3 million tourists annually, and has a set of flourishing cultural events, including the film festival. In contract, Isama Studio Cinema Film Festival's Nakanojo Town is just one of many hot springs options in Gumna Prefecture, and has not established itself as a tourist attraction at the national level. Yufuin has achieved undisputed success in community-based tourism development over the past four decades; however, the engine for its cultural development has been grounded in networking with non-local residents. In the case of the film festival, the key organizers are based in Oita City, the prefecture's capital, and the film festival is primarily known for drawing film festival fans and filmmakers from throughout Japan, particularly Tokyo. Thus, Yufuin serves as an "alternative" gathering place for

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outsiders. Local residents, lead by hot srpings owner Nakatani Kentaro, focus local development efforts on creating a distinctive environment that will continue to draw people from outside Yufuin.

Yufuin's film festival was created by former Tokyo residents as one of many arts activities aimed at drawing tourists. In contrast, the roots of Nakanjo Town's film festival occurred through a film shoot that took place locally. The town happened to be chosen as the shooting location for *Nemuru Otoko*, which Gumna prefecture funded to celebrate the population's growth to 2 million people. The film shoot led to another film, *Tsuki to Kyabetsu,* which gained a popular following. The local government was then able to work with local film fans to convert an unused junior high school into a facility with film shoot memorabilia and also to encourage new shoots, and used the new connections with the film industry to develop the Isama Studio Film Festival into a respected festival for discovering new filmmaking talent. Thus, the locality had no obvious historical link with film culture, but was able to capitalize on new opportunities. The development of local film culture, in turn, has sparked a larger movement for creative arts in general through the local Biennale art festival.

Isama Studio Film Festival incorporates local identity into the core engine of the film festival, namely the script competition. This is achieved through requiring all scripts to be filmable in the town. The film festival then brings the filmmaking process to the town by funding the prizewinning scripts to be shot locally, and completes the cycle by screening the completed films at the follow year's festival. In such cases, another strategy is for the locality to make a focused decision to cultivate local film culture, and to link the results with global film culture through a contest or workshops that discover new film talent. In all cases, it is critical for the local government to work closely with local citizens and organizations to comprehensively develop local identity.

The differences between the Yufuin and Nakanojo film festivals reflect the following:

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–   Core film film festival organizers are located in Nakanojo Town, and these organizers are instrumental in jurying the scripts for the contests and supporting film shoots. While the film festival organization draws outside participants, the core organizers are local. In contrast, for the Yufuin Cinema Festival, the core organizers are based in Oita City.

–   Yufuin's local identity is grounded in community-based tourism, and the Yufuin Cinema Film Festival is part of a larger vision to create a total environment for refreshment and relaxation. In contrast, Nakanojo Town's involvement with film began with serving as a location for prominent films. The experience with the film shoot gave the town some basic infrastructure to use as the basis for developing its identity as a location for filming – namely, the unused school building which was converted for film shoots, and then turned into the Isama Studio Park.

7.2.3   Local Government Recommendation: Focus on Dynamic Aspect of Local Identity

Recommendation: It is critical for the locality to invest in the creation of local identity through on-going discussions with the general public and local businesses, and articulate the identity as part of the local vision.

There are numerous cases in which film festivals are launched by local governments in order to commemorate a specific aspect of the local identity, or to mark a turning point in the locality. In particular, film festivals are often seen as a tool for commemorating the city's "international" status. Examples discussed in this thesis include commemorating the centennial of a city's founding (Yamagata), the opening of a new international airport (Sukagawa), and hosting a major international convention (Shimane). This use of film festivals to celebrate a major milestone makes sense, given the global nature of film culture. For example, Sukagawa City started its film festival in
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part to celebrate the opening of its international airport, with service to cities in China.

When the decision is made to continue the film festival, a new challenge comes into play: how to engage the film festival with local identity for the long-term? Based on the case studies, I recommend that local governments focus on a dynamic aspect of local identity that is central to the locality's future growth. In the case of Yamagata and Sukagawa, both cities made the decision to expend the film festival beyond the single commemorative event. And, both cities made the decision to focus the film festival's core identity on a local filmmaker. This strategy is useful for establishing the legitimacy of the film festival organization in a way that bridges both local and global networks (see section on "legitimacy" below). However, establishing legitimacy is not sufficient, and limits potential impact on local identity development. Additional steps are necessary to make the film festival relevant to local residents who are not already film fans. It is critical to link the film festival themes more broadly with dynamic aspects of local identity.

7.3 Research Question #2: Reassessing Community-wide Support for Film Festival Organizations

7.3.1 Discussion of Local Support for Film Festival Organizations

Research Question: What is the relationship between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development?

Hypothesis: There will be a strong correlation between local government funding and prioritization of "integrated" local identity development.

I expected that film festival organizations which receive substantial local

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government funding will prioritize "integrated" local development. However, there are many cases that do not support the hypothesis, as shown in the research results in section 5.4.2. Of the 23 film festival organizations, there were 7 film festivals organizations that received a high level of local government funding but gave weak prioritization of "integrated" local identity development. In response to this research result, I ask one follow-up question.

Follow-up question:
Is strong local government funding a prerequisite for "integrated" local development?

In other words, is local government funding the only method for a locality to support local film festivals? In the two sections below, I duscuss two film festivals in the United States in which local government gives little funding, but nonetheless, the film festivals prioritize "integrated" local development. The reason for this orientation is the strong mutual commitment between the local community and the film festival organization. The film festivals are able to leverage this local support in order to create unique contributions to global film culture, resulting in a win-win situation for both the locality and the film festival.

7.3.2 Film Festival Organization and Grassroots Support – San Francisco

The oldest film festival in the Americas, the San Francisco International Film Festival is a major presence on the global film festival circuit, and also is engaged with local networks. The organization has an annual budget of around $3 million. Public funding accounts for less than 4% of the overall operating budget. California State does not give any support; the National Endowment of the Arts gave a grant of $25,000. At most the city will give discounts on using city facilities amounting to $15,000 to $20,000 in value, and will give assistance through closing street for a special event or

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keeping a museum open all night for an event.[70]

Thus, the film festival must constantly work at fundraising, and generally has revenues of $350,000 coming from corporate sponsorship, $200,000 from membership dues, $750,000 from ticket sales, $1,000,000 from major donors, and $500,000 from its fundraising gala event. In contrast, film festivals in Europe and other places with strong public funding do not need to focus resources on raising money from corporations and individuals. However, film festival director Graham Leggat characterized the US system in positive terms, saying that "it can be exciting, because it makes the film festival accountable, and the festival must respond to commercial pressure." Corporations often provide sponsorship funds through their community relations budget, or through their advertising budget. In exchange, the film festival displays the sponsors names in the sponsor reel. Leggat characterizes the film festival as being "messianic" in trying to be an inspiration through film and reaching out to as many audiences as possible.

The film festival director Leggat stated that interaction with the San Francisco mayor is important for boosting culture and arts in general, and that the mayor attends the opening ceremony. The film festival is a member of a lobbying group of major arts organizations in San Francisco, which makes sure that their interests are communicated to city politicians. The festival also helps the city develop public policy, as Leggat is a member of the mayor's Digital Media Advisory Council. Leggat characterizes the film festival and local government as working together for the same goals, saying that "we are naturally aligned with the city…the festival is a huge benefit to the mayor, because it puts on events that demonstrates the richness of work and audiences." The festival serves as a showcase for San Francisco and contributes to branding the city. Thus, the city does not provide funding for the budget, but rather provides intangible support, and is engaged in a give-and-take relationship with the festival.

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[70]Leggat, Graham. San Francisco Film Society Executive Director. Interview on July 28, 2006 at the San Francisco Film Society Office.

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San Francisco has a rich local film culture, with around 45 film festivals in the city. The film festivals generally focus on specific audiences, such as silent films, horror films, environment films, or films related to ethnic identity (Asian American, etc.) The San Francisco International Film Festival is significant as the locality's largest and most comprehensive festival, and it interacts with other festivals for cross-promotion and co-presenting programs. Overall, the festival is successful in impacting the global film festival circuit, and also contributing to the locality through connecting with the city's overall goals.

7.3.3 Film Festival Organization and Grassroots Support – Heartland (Indiana, USA)

The Heartland Film Festival has a much smaller impact on the global film festival network. However, it has found its own niche within the film festival circuit; furthermore, that niche is directly linked with local identity, and the film festival organization is strongly engaged with local cultural and social networks.

The Heartland Film Festival was established in 1991 as a small event, and has grown into a 10-day festival that awards $100,000 in prizes to filmmakers. The core concept is aligned with Indianapolis' identity as a large city in a conservative state in the Midwest region of the US. The conservative image is interpreted in a positive way for the film festival's key mission, which is to "recognize and honor filmmakers whose work explores the human journey by artistically expressing hope and respect for the positive values of life." The festival targets independent filmmakers, and does not aim for a "niche" aspect of filmmaking – it accepts entries from narrative films, documentaries and does not aim to push the boundaries of cinema as an artistic form, but rather focuses on movies as a form of popular entertainment and aims to identify and present films based on a specific theme.[71]

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[71]Heartland Film Festival, 2005. *Annual Report*.

However, even if the film festival is not pushing the boundaries of film as an art form, the film festival does aim to have credibility within the film industry. This emphasis on the film industry's perspective can be seen in the festival's press kit, which includes a page on "What is being said about Heartland Film Festival," and features quotes praising the film festival from major directors, actors and producers (for example, director Steve Spielberg and actors Richard Dreyfuss and Ellen Burstyn; Richard Cook, Chariman of Walt Disney Studios; Branko Lustig, producer of "Schindler's List," etc.). The festival supports the commercial film industry through its Truly Moving Picture Award, which was initiated in 2000. This award is geared toward films that already have a theatrical release, as opposed to independent films. Studios and producers submit films to the festival, and the festival selects a winner and encourages its audiences to attend the film during its opening week at the box office to support films that are in line with the festival's values. As of 2006, the festival has given the Truly Moving Picture Award to 43 films.

The festival received about 70% of its revenues from donations, grants, memberships and fundraisers, and only 8% from the film festival and other events. Significantly, the festival consistently devoted 6% to 7% of its budget to development and fundraising. In 2005, the festival received a $3.7 million capacity-building grant from the Lilly Endowment, which is based locally in Indianapolis. The festival is also strategic about getting sponsorship money from corporations, and offers 4 tiers of sponsorship ranging from $5,000 to $25,000. The festival specifies the benefits to sponsors, through featuring the company's logo on the festival website, publications, and venue signs, in the program guide, and perks like movie tickets, seats at special events, and opportunities to socialize with award-winning filmmakers.[72]

The festival is closely tied with other local cultural organizations and

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[72]Crowell, Grace Cloud. Heartland Film Festival Director of Advancement. Interview on August 3, 2006 at the Heartland Film Festival office in Indianapolis, Indiana, USA.

businesses. Car racing is a major cultural activity and tourism draw for Indianapolis, which hosts the Indianapolis 500, a major racing event. The festival cross-promotes with a local car racing company, and in 2005 arranged to incorporate an awards presentation into the Indianapolis 500 event. The festival also holds screenings year-round.

The festival has over 500 volunteers, which work in 22 volunteer committees, ranging from transportation to airport hospitality. The volunteers are recognized and encouraged through an annual "Thank You Luncheon," where individual volunteers are recognized through 3 awards for most hours volunteered, leadership, and enthusiasm. Likewise, the festival aggressively recruits members through "donor recognition circles" and Saturday morning screenings

The festival is aiming to spark a nation-wide movement of "truly moving pictures," and envisions that the festival's endorsement will be meaningful enough to audiences that film studios will use it as a marketing tool. The festival organization aims to develop a brand, in which the film festival's endorsement will send a message to audience members about the film's content. Thus, the festival envisions that studios will use the festival's endorsement to reach audiences who are in search of "truly moving films," and is aiming to create a traveling festival that can bring the Heartland Film Festival brand to other cities. The festival also aims to attract national-level sponsors, as opposed to local sponsors.

Significantly, the film festival frames its ambitions in terms of the "nation," as opposed to "global." The festival situates itself within a national context, as it is engaging with a cultural dialogue within the United States about the intersection between values and media. The Heartland Film Festival aligns itself with conservative perspectives, which view the portrayal of sex and violence in the media as having a corrupting influence on people's values. However, rather than taking an antagonistic stance toward Hollywood films, the festival aims to promote its own agenda by working

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collaboratively to link the media industry with conservative audiences.

7.4 Policy Recommendations and Agenda for Further Research

7.4.1 Local Government Policy Recommendation: Balance Funding Level with Local Government Expectations

Based on the above discussion, I make the following recommendation for local governments. It is important for local governments to clearly state expectations of film festival organizations, and at the same time, to balance funding levels with these expectations. For example, Yamagata City has positioned the Yamagata documentary film festival within its policies for achieving international exchange. The film festival is given the role of executing this policy goal. However, the budget commitment from the local government exceeds 1 billion yen during festival years, and is a major expenditure during a time of shrinking local government revenues. Local government officials demand that the film festival achieve more, yet at the same time, the stated policy expectations are both narrow and vague. The film festival has potential for contributing to local identity development and cultural development as a whole through interacting with local public schools and traditional cultural events. However, this kind of impact is not articulated within policy goals, and at the time of this thesis' field work, the local government did not create the institutional framework linking the festival organization with other actors within the local government.

The recommendations for local government in Chapter 7 are summarized as follows:

Recommendation	Needs improvement	Best practices
Establish clear and realistic expectations towards film festival organizations (7.4.1)	Yamagata (policy goals are vague)	Nakanojo Town Fukuoka City Kawasaki City

Balance policy goals with budget allocation (7.4.1)	Yamagata (policy goals are not balanced with budget allocation)	Yufuin Takasaki
Focus on dynamic aspect of local identity (7.2.3)	Sukagawa (festival does not clearly link its dynamic identity)	Shinkaichi (Kobe) Tateshina

Table: Summary of recommendations for local governments

7.4.2 Agenda for Further Research: Reassessing Local Government within Context of Community Support

In addition, based on the discussion in section 7.3, I propose the following agenda for further research. In the US, cultural events such as film festivals face the same challenges as film festivals in Japan, namely that ticket revenues are not sufficient for covering the expenses of creating a meaningful cultural event. However, in the US, local governments generally do not provide substantial financial support for cultural events, given the priority placed on minimizing the size of local government and reliance on the local tax base to fund public expenditures. As a result, cultural events rely heavily on corporate sponsorship, funding from foundations, individual sponsorship, and volunteers to secure the resources needed to realize the event and sustain the organization. As a result, the film festival organization must constantly work to "market" itself to potential sponsors, and to demonstrate the benefits of the event. As shown in the Heartland festival example above, the festival spends 6% to 7% of its budget each year on fundraising and development. This fundraising activity can be seen as audience outreach and development, as it involves using personal networks to reach new potential audiences through informal gatherings and special events.

In this thesis, I focused on local government support as the variable for assessing commitment from the local community. However, local government support

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does not take into consideration other sources of community support for film festival organizations. While Japan does not have strong systems for making donations and volunteering for arts organizations, there are existing systems for securing community support for cultural activities. These systems include pre-selling season passes for theatrical performances and creating annual membership programs for individuals and groups. Further research should broaden the view of "local" support to include this kind of citizen-based support for film festival organizations. In particular, in this thesis, I eliminated "volunteer-based" film festival organizations from the data set. In other words, I did not include organizations that receive no local government funding. Further research that focused on these "volunteer-based" film festival organizations could show a broader picture of the ways in which film festivals can engage with local networks and impact local identity development through avenues other than the local government.

8.1.1 Research Question #3: Discussion of Limits to Research Scope

In this chapter, I continue the discussion of research results from Chapter 7. Here, I focus on the results from research questions 3 and 4, and also holistically discuss the research limitations for this thesis, and propose an agenda for future research.

Research question: What reification/participation strategies are oriented toward "integrated" local development, and what obstacles prevent "integrated" local development?

Hypothesis: Such strategies will focus on workshops and competitions, which create increased opportunities for engaging with local and global networks, and will face the obstacles of overcoming boundaries with local groups, and making the film festival content relevant to local networks.

The evidence support the hypothesis. In particular, I make the following claims.

Claim #1: This thesis identifies 5 patterns (section 6.4.1) of engaging with local/global networks through reification/participation learning processes. These patterns support the evidence found in the film festival mission statement analysis.

Claim #2: This thesis identifies 35 specific learning process strategies (section 6.4.2) through which film festival organizations contribute to "integrated" local development through reification/participation learning processes. These strategies are broken down according to reification/participation, and types of film festival

organization activities (conception, production and continuation).

However, this research methodology only analyzed learning processes for one representative activity, which limits the scope of the research. I used this approach in order to be able to analyze multiple film festivals. Without limiting the research scope in this way, the data set of film festival activities would have been too complex to analyze. It is important to pose this follow-up questions for the research.

Follow-up question:

If I analyzed the film festival's year-round activities, would I find significantly different results in terms of impact on local identity? The following two sections examine the year-round activities of two film festivals.

8.1.2   Takasaki Film Festival and Year-round Activities

This research found that the Takasaki Film Festival did not engage significantly with local identity through the film festival's main function, namely its primary screening program. This assessment was confirmed through a site visit of the film festival, in which no evidence was found of the film festival organization interacting with local businesses (such as events outside of the main screening area) or facilitating local interaction with filmmakers (such as opportunities to socialize through parties or other gatherings, beyond the on-stage question and answer sessions).[73]

However, the Takasaki Film Festival has another major component, namely establishing and managing a cinematheque on one of the shopping streets in the downtown area. This cinema is called Cinemateque Takasaki, which opened in 2004 and is run by an NPO called the Takasaki Community Cinema. Mogi Masao, who established the Takasaki Film Festival, also lead the creation of Cinemateque Takasaki,

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[73]Site visit to the 19th Takasaki Film Festival, April 6, 2005.

in response to the closing of all downtown cinemas with the opening of suburban cinema complexes in the area. Downtown Takasaki had 4 movie theaters in the 1980s, but all had closed by 2003.

The film festival organization formed the NPO Takasaki Community Cinema and renovated the former bank building at a cost of 43 million yen, of which 35 million was covered by residents and businesses. The prefecture and city provided 5.6 million yen over 3 years for the cinema's contributions to local development.[74] The NPO was able to pay back the renovation costs in about 1 year, and from 2004 to 2006 screened about 140 works and sold about 30,000 tickets. Cinemateque Takasaki sells about 1,500 tickets per month, and offers discounts at local restaurants and parking as perks. The mini-theater also reaches out to the elderly and junior high school students and elementary school students to create a wide-ranging community through film viewing.[75] At its founding in 2004, the cinema had about 600 supporters, and by 2009 that figure grew to 1,100 people.[76]

This mini-theater engages with the community in ways not seen in during the film festival, and it is likely to demonstrate examples of linking practices with local businesses, and translating film themes in ways that are relevant to the local community. In addition, the cinema maximizes its ties with the film festival through being able to invite filmmakers for lectures and audience interaction events. This enables the festival to establish its legitimacy in terms of global film culture. A key challenge is to also

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[74] *Hokurikju chunichi shinbun.* "Gaichu jyoei chiiki de mosaku" (Community searches for a way to do screenings in town). June 11, 2006, p. 22.
[75] Agency for Cultural Affairs, "Chiiki kara eiga ryoku, eiga kara bunka ryoku" (Cinema power from communities, cultural power from cinema," Report from the Kyoto Film Festival/Agency for Cultural Affairs Symposium, September 22-23, 2004, p. 14.
[76] *Yomiuri shinbun.* 50 seki de dokujishoku (Independent flavor with 50 seats). July 21, 2006. Evening edition.

involve local actors in creating this legitimacy, which would be an important focus for further research.

8.1.3   Shimane Film Festival and Region-wide Activities

This thesis methodology is not able to capture the full scope of activities for the Shimane Film Festival, which operates both a filmmaking workshop and a traveling festival that holds screenings in multiple towns within the prefecture. The festival got its start in 1992 as an event held in conjunction with the Global Forum Culture and Arts Conference Shimane.[77] As of 2005, the festival received public funding of roughly 5 million yen from each of the following sources: Agency for Cultural Affairs, Shimane Culture Fund (subsidy from Shimane Prefecture), and funding from the local governments that participate in the film festival.[78]

The festival reached its broadest geographical reach in 2000, when it screened 72 films in 23 localities. The current research methodology would make it necessary to select the screenings that take place in a single locality, and is not able to capture the breadth of a festival that operates simultaneously in multiple localities.

In addition, since 2003 the film festival has also held the Shimane Cinema Juku, a 3-day workshop in which participants create a 5-minute video with 60 minutes of tape and 20,000 yen. In the workshop, participants form groups and create about 10 short works, and to date over 100 videos have been created. Furthermore, the workshop location rotates each year, and has been held in 10 locations within the prefecture to date. Each workshop draws roughly 100 participants, including children, retired people

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[77]Shimane Film Festival Organizing Committee. September 2002. Eiga ga ippai: Shimane eigasai 10 shunen kinenshi, Shimane no eiga to bunka (Shimane's Films and Culture)

[78]Yamamoto, Takeo. Shimane film Festival Organizing Committee representative. Email correspondence. October 6, 2006.

and students, as well as people with video production experience. The workshop also engages with the global film festival circuit through the involvement of filmmaker Yoshinari Nishikori, who is originally from Hirata City in Shimane, and currently resides within the prefecture.[79]

The current research framework is unable to capture the impact of a film festival like Shimane, in which there is a main screening program, as well as an adjunct workshop. The workshop is a possible source of learning practices that engage the local community through linking with local schools and community groups to publicize the workshop and secure shooting locations for the workshop participants, as well as translating the workshop themes in order to secure maximum cooperation from local organizations and residents.

The discussion of these two film festivals demonstrates that I would find significantly different results in terms of impact on local identity development through analyzing year-round festivals. However, an alternative methodology would be necessary in order to handle data gathering on multiple functions, events, and activities. One such possibility is to focus on a single film festival organization, as discussed in section 8.2.2.

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[79]Official website, accessed October 10, 2008.

8.2 Policy Recommendations and Agenda for Future Research
8.2.1 Learning Process-based Policy Recommendations

Based on the theoretical framework, I identified the ideal scenario for maximizing local identity impact as being "Global filmmakers engaging with local themes, through local participation," as discussed in section 6.4.2. In order to achieve this outcome, what are the best practices that local governments should focus on? In this section, I distill the findings about learning processes into policy recommendations for local governments. It is important to note that these strategies are for local governments that are aiming to achieve the maximum possible impact on local identity. It is also valid to limit expectations, as discussed in section 8.3. Furthermore, as discussed in 7.4.1, it is critical for local governments to clarify expectations of film festival organizations, and to balance funding levels with these expectations.

(1) Recommendation: Translate film festival themes in terms of local identity

"Translation" is is a critical technique for bridging the differences between different groups, and making the film festival relevant to other groups in the locality.

Translation can be achieved through identifying other groups or organizations within the locality to target, and translating the film festival's themes into content that is relevant to the target organization. This can happen through directly linking the screening content with issues that are central to the target organization. Or, another approach is to create programming that also fulfills the agenda of the target organization, such as offering media literacy or filmmaking workshops.

Best practice examples:
Kawasaki film festival's junior workshop
Akiruno's Eizo-ichi Market for local amateur filmmakers,

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(2) Recommendation: Create opportunities to "link practices" with other groups

"Linking practice" happens by identifying a shared agenda with another group, and then creating an activity (or "practice") that is jointly executed by both groups. This results in a "win-win" outcome for both groups, as each group's agenda is achieved, and the involvement of the new partner group generally makes new resources available. Such resources include expertise in specialized areas, as well as material resources such as expanded funding, facilities, and equipment. Linking practices also enables both groups to reach new audiences. The local government can play an important role in facilitating mutual exchange among local cultural organizations, businesses, and NPOs, through creating networks of local organizations.

Film festival organizations tend to offer opportunities for participation to individuals, such as individual volunteers participating in the selection of the international competition lineup for the Yamagata film festival. Another example is the Tama film festival, in which audience members act as jurors in selecting competition winners. An alternative approach is to offer opportunities to other local organizations. In order to link practices in this way, it is necessary to create effectively translate the film festival themes, as discussed above.

(3) Recommendation: Skillfully utilize global networks to establish legitimacy

"Legitimacy" refers to the quality of credibility. In order for a film festival organization to have "legitimacy," one of the key requirements is that the film festival be recognized by the global film festival circuit. The central question is how to establish legitimacy in the eyes of global networks, while at the same time not abandoning local networks. Legitimacy that utilizes local resources can contribute to "integrated" local identity development.

Examples of local resources that establish legitimacy are:

> Local film institution:
>> Shinyuri Film Festival (Kawasaki) – local film school
>>
>> Chofu – local film studios
>
> Historical ties with filmmaking:
>> Yamagata – documentary filmmaker Ogawa Shinsuke
>>
>> Tateshina – film director Ozu Yasujiro
>>
>> Takarazuka – historical film studio
>
> Residents who are passionate about film

It should be noted that in many cases, such local film groups place high priority on their independence and autonomy, and are loath to have their programming dictated by the agenda of the local government. Such examples include volunteer-run film festivals in Fukuoka, Okuyama, and Yokohama. In such cases, one possible strategy is to give limited local government support and give maximum freedom to the volunteer groups, as discussed in section 8.3

In the absence of the above two types of resources, the final strategy for establishing legitimacy is to bring in outside film experts. However, it should be noted that this strategy is expensive, and requires sufficient budget to cover travel costs and honorariums. In addition, this strategy is often paired with the other two strategies for establishing legitimacy.

For festivals with an international competition, the festival often uses a "director" system with a high-profile director who gives the festival legitimacy on the global film festival circuit. For example, for many years, the Fukuoka film festival was

led by Sato Tadao, a respected film critic. Their current film festival is headed by Hariki Yasuhiro, who was born in Fukuoka City. The Yamagata film festival does not have a high-profile director, but instead has an office in Tokyo staffed by documentary film experts. In addition, almost without exception, international film festivals with a competition use high-profile jury members to make the final selection of winning films. It is critical to utilize non-local legitimacy in order to strengthen local networks, and not to undermine local sources of legitimacy.

The key point is to pair global experts with a local component. Global experts need to be utilized so that their expertise sheds new light on the film festival's theme. It is critical for the film festival organization to create criteria based on the festival themes, which the global experts can use when they evaluate new content for the festival. This point connects back to the importance of clearly defining local themes for the film festival organization. The local government plays a key role in this dynamic process of clarifying themes for local identity development.

Best practice examples:

Akiruno
Global legitimacy: Two film professions critique films on stage after screenings
Local legitimacy: The films are all created by local filmmakers, who are able to improve their filmmaking skills through the critiques

Isama
Global legitimacy: Director Shinohara Testuo and other film professionals make recommendations for scriptwriting contest
Local legitimacy: The final decision for the winning script is made by a committee of local residents

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8.2.2 Agenda for Further Research: In-depth Focus on Single Film Festival Organization

Social learning theory has its roots in ethnography, which typically involves research methods like participant observation and long-term focus on a single case study. In this thesis, I conducted multiple case study research, using a consistent research design and theoretical framework. This multiple case study design made it possible to set up the 4 research questions and hypotheses, and compare results from different types of film festival organizations (based on organization and locality scale). Finally, I was able to identify learning process patterns, and make recommendations for local governments based on how to maximize learning processes for local identity development.

However, as discussed in section 8.1.1, in order to handle the data from multiple film festival organizations, I limited the type of data that I collected to one single "function" for each film festival. As shown in the discussions of the Takasaki and Shimane Film Festivals (sections 8.1.2 and 8.1.3), this approach failed to capture significant aspects of film festival organizations' activities. Thus, the agenda for further research is to do an in-depth case study of a single film festival organization, using the social learning theory conceptual framework proposed in this thesis.

There are two main research approaches that could be taken with a single case study. The first approach is to establish hypotheses based on the social learning theoretical framework and the research results from this thesis. The hypotheses should focus on the fine-grained interactions in translation, legitimacy and linking practices that drive the learning process. The second approach is to use the theoretical framework as a departure point, and to use the grounded research method to capture observations, and use text coding and other qualitative methods to identify patterns. These patterns

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can then be compared to the patterns predicted in social learning theory.

8.3 Research Question #4: Reassessing Expected Impacts on Local Development

8.3.1 Reassessment of Analytic Framework: Alternative Expectations for Film Festival Organizations

In this section, I discuss the results from the final research question, in which I examined the Isama Film Festival in Nakanojo Town, Gumna Prefecture and the Yamagata film festival for evidence of impact on local identity development.

Research question: Is there evidence of impact of film festival organizations on "integrated" local identity development?

Hypothesis: For film festival organizations that engage both local and global networks, using both participation and reification learning processes, it will be possible to find evidence of impact on "integrated" local identity development.

Follow-up question: Why was there no evidence for impact for the 2 cases studies that closely match the "ideal" pattern?

In this following sections, I discuss the possibility that the problem is with the assumptions made in the conceptual framework, and not with the film festivals. Below I will discuss alternative ways for the film festival organizations to impact localities.

8.3.2 Film Festival Organizations within Local Cultural Ecology (Isama)

Isama can be seen an example of a cultural event that contributes to a vibrant local cultural ecology. In addition to the film festival, Nakanojo Town is also home to a

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growing Biennale art festival. This art festival shares the same roots as the film festival, namely in the local filming of *Nemuru Otoko*. While the film festival itself has not created measurable impacts on local identity development, it can be argued that the film festival has a synergistic relationship with the Biennale.

During the filming of *Nemuru* Otoko in Nakanojo Town, the artist Hiramtasu Reiji was involved in set design for the film's director, Oguri Kohei. After the film production, Hiramatsu set up the Isama Art School in Nakanojo Town, and had his students from Tama Art University spend time creating works in the countryside environment. His students also became involved in the local community, and local residents did art projects at the local school as well. However, the number of Tama Art University students dropped from 17 people in 1998 to 6 participants in 2006, resulting in the closing of the school. However, those 6 students decided that in addition to exhibiting their work at a gallery in Ginza (Tokyo), it was important to also show their work in the context of its creation, namely Nakanojo Town. They then recruited other artists to create an exhibition of sufficient scale for the town, and got 3.2 million yen in support from the Town Hall for the event. The result was the first Biennale, which had 58 participating artists and 11 venues, and drew 48,000 visitors. The second Biennale in 2007 drew 166,000 visitors, and had 112 artists exhibiting at 29 local venues. The organizing committee has also been closely involved in opening and managing the local communication center called Tsumuji, which holds year-round art events and workshops, and sells local craft items (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, 2010).

According to Karasawa Toshiyuki, who is an employee at Nakanojo Town Hall and is the liaison with both the film festival organizing committee and the Biennale, the Biennale arts festival has been more effective than the film festival in developing direct ties with local organizations. For example, the venues are primarily owned by local businesses and residents, and include warehouses, farmhouses, and hot

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springs. In addition, local groups, such as the neighborhood women's association (*fujinkai*) often are involved in hospitality at the venues, and offer homemade food for sale. The proceeds from the sales are then used to fund other activities for the local organizations.

Thus, while the film festival organization on its own has not created measurable impacts on local identity development, it is part of growing ecology of artistic activity that involves both local networks and non-local professional artists. The case of Nakanojo Town makes it necessary to question one of the assumptions in the conceptual framework for this thesis, namely that film festival organizations should be analyzed on their own, and not as part of the larger context of activity in the locality.

8.3.3   Film Festivals and Local Identity from Outside Locality (Yamagata)

Another way of impacting local identity is to generate identity from outside of the locality. This section discusses the impact that the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival has on influencing perceptions of Yamagata City, in particular for international documentary film enthusiasts. This section focuses on the results from the Online Survey of subscribers to the film festival's journal *Documentary Box* and the festival's email newsletter, and was conducted from November 2005 through January 2006. The survey had 228 valid responses, with 59% from localities in Japan other than Yamagata City, and 31% from outside of Japan (see 6.5.1 for more details on the survey). Thus, these survey results are useful for assessing the film festival's impact outside of the locality.

In response to the question "Does the film festival improve your image of Yamagata City?", 56% responded that they strongly agree that it improves their image of the city, and 36% responded that they moderately agree. These results indicate that for documentary film enthusiasts, the film festival positively impacts their perception of the city.

In addition, the survey asked respondents for examples of how the film festival has impacted film culture in their own locality. The responses include:

"The Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival was for me in France the first great international documentary film festival to present Asian documentaries."

"Many Chinese filmmakers have gone to YIDFF and got a lot of energy and experience. The awards they receive are a big stimulus to the young filmmakers."

"Filmmakers in India look forward to participating in YIDFF, since it offers the wonderful experience of interacting with other filmmakers and audiences, promoting interest, and a platform for different possibilities like collaborations."

"Many Indonesian documentary film/video makers knew and discuss and want to participate in YIDFF."

"Many of my students in Taiwan and America are inspired by Yamagata to see good documentaries, to make documentary films, to improve their own films (documentary and fiction), and to imagine and create new visions for documentary."

"Many US filmmakers want to go to Yamagata. Some films made under the influence of YIDFF have been shown widely in the US and Europe."

The survey comments indicate that in Asia, Europe and North America, the Yamagata film festival stands as a symbol of excellence for documentary filmmakers. The next step is to then be able to publicize the film festival's global reputation to local residents and organizations, so that the locality feels pride in the film festival organization's achievements. As discussed in the case of the Sundance Film Festival (7.1.2), film festival organizations that achieve success on the global film festival circuit also face pressure to contribute to their locality. While network society theory predicts that global networks dominate development processes, in fact, it is critical for global film festival organizations to positively impact local identity development. This

pressure exists even for a case like the Sundance Film Festival, which receives minimal direct funding from the local government. The pressure is even more intense for a film festival like Yamagata, which receives substantial subsidies from the local government. The film festival's reputation outside the locality is a resource that can be utilized to foster local pride.

8.3.4   Assessment of Thesis Argument and Research Design, and Agenda for Further Research

In this thesis, I propose a form of local development that is based on holistic impact that can be shared by the entire locality. This perspective is based on the assumption that local government has the responsibility of using resources for the public good. Thus, I used systems theory for the conceptual framework, as this theory focuses on the local system as a whole. As a result of this assumption, this thesis aims to find evidence of impact on the "general public." I argue that local development occurs through engaging specific communities of practice, until the impact ultimately spills over to the "general public." Systems theory provides a compelling model for development that accrues to an entire local system, rather than development within isolated communities of practices or fragmented local networks.

However, the case studies did not show such evidence. Thus, the actual situation does not match the "ideal" of impacting the entire locality. In effect, the evidence supports the "gap" between local government goals (impacting "everyone") and film festival goals (impacting people who care about film) that I identified in the problem statement for this thesis.

I make recommendations to film festival organizations and local governments so that this "gap" can be narrowed. At the same time, it is important to consider alternative perspectives regarding the role of film festival organizations in local development. In this section, I discuss alternative perspectives regarding the role of film

festival organizations in local development.

It is possible that "development" only occurs within specific communities of practice, and does not spill over to the larger scale of "local system." Fischer addressed this question in his research on place-centered social networks (Fischer 1982). He gathered data on the degree of place-centered social networks, and found extensive networking among groups of people who he described as discrete "subcultures." Fisher's subcultures can be compared with communities of practice, and raise an important question: to what extent is "general" local impact just extending impact to more and more other specific communities of practice/lumps, versus creating some kind of "internally driven" locality? Furthermore, has internally driven locality ever been possible, or is it a romanticized notion inherited from late-19th century concern over the impacts of urbanization and modernization on community?

Indeed, social learning theory is not specifically geared toward explaining territory-based learning. Rather, the focus of social learning theory is on the creation of boundaries. In this thesis, I have imposed the agenda of "local development" on social learning theory. The boundaries I am looking for are 1) spatially defined, and 2) involve intertwined economic, cultural, social and political relations.

If we drop the requirement that local identity must impact "every person" in the locality, it becomes possible to examine other ways in which film festivals can impact local development. Looking at the history of film festival organizations in Japan gives clues for the ways in which they can be agents for "integrated" local development. Film festivals in Japan have their roots in non-commercial screenings starting in the 1950s that were linked to the labor movement, and during the 1960s and 1970s linked to student "cine clubs" connected via the "Cinemateque Japonese" to jointly import and distribute films. Athene Francaise Cultural Center (established 1970) was a primary center for this activity. From the 1980s, "mini theaters" increased; areas without "mini theaters" often have film festivals. Also, "shimin eigakan" are an important subset of

minitheaters, financed by donations/subscriptions of local residents (Sapporo, Theater Kino, NPO 1998; Nagoya Cinemateque, started as independent screening group 1971 and mini theater in 1982, and has lending library, shop, and supports indie filmmakers; Cinema 5 in Oita, opened 1989 taking over from failing commercial cinema; Osaka Cinema Nouveau).

Specifically, in Japan "community cinema" is a way of framing film screening activities as an aspect of community building, or local development. "Community cinema" refers to volunteer screening groups, film festival organizations, and mini-theaters, and the scope of local development activities can be divided into three areas:[80]

(1) Revitalizing downtown areas

➤ Mini-theaters in downtown areas that are dealing with loss of businesses and residents; Takasaki (Gunma Prefecture), Kanazawa (Ishikawa Prefecture), and Fukaya (Saitama Prefecture) have such theaters.

(2) Offering diverse selection of films in a locality; improving cultural diversity

➤ Film festivals and screening groups that hold screenings of films that would otherwise not be available

(3) Media literacy

Workshops and educational opportunities, particularly aimed at children and youth

In addition, it is possible to view local development as being driven by development within creative networks, which serve as pockets of creativity, and incubate new forms of development. For example, creative class theory focuses on the role of specific types of workers on local development (Florida 2002). Their impact is larger than their actual numbers in terms of the overall population. Furthermore,

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See Onoda 2005 for examples of community cinema and relationship with cities.

creative class theory emphasizes the role of local institutions in creating environments that are conducive to drawing creative workers, such as developing cultural amenities. Such amenities could include film festivals. In addition, creative class theory does not emphasize the need for creative workers to overcome their own network boundaries to participate in local networks.

Local development can potentially occur within an en ecology of cultural activity, as discussed in 8.3.2 in the case of the Isama film festival. Another example is the Fukuoka film festival, in which the festival occurs within the context of other major cultural events that focus on the city's role as gateway to Asia. In this framework, the sum is larger than the parts, and it is not realistic, or necessary, for a single cultural activity to have a measurable impact on local identity. According to this viewpoint, film festival organizations can function within a context of numerous cultural events, which have in total have an impact on local identity. Furthermore, the local government can have a specific purpose for each cultural organization, and expect the impacts to happen synergistically.

The impact on local development can also happen through a sequential chain of events, in which the film festival organization becomes the trigger for other cultural activities. According to this perspective, it is most important for local residents to continue to be engaged in local cultural activities, which continually evolve and can impact local development over time. Finally, local development can occur through the involvement of specific key players. The impact of cultural organizations can also be augmented by the involvement of key local players who are influential in the community.

These alternative frameworks become feasible if the requirement to impact the "entire locality" is dropped. It is important for both film festival organizations and local governments to recognize their mutual definitions of local development, as the expected outcomes will be radically different based on the underlying assumptions. As

discussed in Chapter 1, this thesis was triggered by a conflict observed at the Yamagata film festival office, in which the Yamagata local government official asserted that the film festival was only successful if it impacted the "general" public. From this perspective, impact on local residents who already were passionate about film is dismissed as being too narrow. Indeed, it is important for film festivals to have an "ecumenical" approach and strive to make their content relevant to as many people as possible, as argued by the director of the San Francisco International Film Festival. However, at the same time, it is even more important to recognize the basic assumptions about local development, and to recognize that even small-scale and volunteer-based film festival organizations can be valuable assets for a locality.

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