



Is Hollywood a Risky Business? A Political Economic Analysis of Risk and Creativity

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to explain why Hollywood's dominant firms are narrowing the scope of creativity in the contemporary period (1980–2015). The largest distributors have sought to prevent the art of filmmaking and its related social relations from becoming *financial risks* in the pursuit of profit. Major filmed entertainment, my term for the six largest distributors, must discount expected future earnings to present prices with the forward-looking logic of capitalisation; and uncertainty about where creativity in cinema is going can produce financial uncertainty about the future earning potential of new film projects. Conversely, a *degree of confidence* in the expected future earnings of Hollywood cinema can increase when the art of filmmaking and broader social world of mass culture are ordered by capitalist power (Nitzan, J. and Bichler, S., 2009. *Capital as power: a study of order and disorder*. New York: Routledge). For the period of 1980–2015, major filmed entertainment lowered its risk relative to the period before, 1960–79. This historical process of risk reduction is the effect of major filmed entertainment making the wide-release strategy (a.k.a. saturation booking) more predictable through an aggressive implementation of the blockbuster style and the high concept standard.

ARTICLE HISTORY

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KEYWORDS

Risk; creativity; Hollywood;
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capitalisation

In 2001, a PBS Frontline documentary analysed the behaviour of the contemporary Hollywood film business by interviewing studio executives, film journalists, producers and actors. Titled 'The Monster That Ate Hollywood', the documentary wanted to answer questions such as:

How do today's Hollywood pictures get made? Why do they get made? Who makes the decisions? And why are so many big-budget Hollywood movies so disappointing? Have risk-averse conglomerates squelched Hollywood's creativity?

Many of the interviews carried tones of pessimism. In fact, even the Hollywood 'insiders' acknowledged that contemporary Hollywood tended to produce simple, repetitive or unoriginal films. For example, a studio executive complained how the clichéd Hollywood-ending was being forced onto stories, regardless of whether it made any narrative sense (PBS Frontline 2001).

The PBS documentary also sought to frame Hollywood's creative output within the bigger context of global media. For example, interviewees spoke of how a wave of media conglomeration transformed Hollywood in the 1980s and 1990s. Filmmaking deals were no longer made casually, at parties or over lunch. Instead, the financial probabilities of film projects were now calculated in boardrooms of people who never began their careers as filmmakers or producers. Moreover, many of these financial calculations valued Hollywood films for their strategic positions in a conglomerated system

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