

The Effect of Early-Career Recognition on the Subsequent Success:
Evidence from the Academy Awards

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ABSTRACT

The Effect of Early-Career Recognition on the Subsequent Success: Evidence from the Academy Awards Arash Heshmati

The research in OB, sociology, management and even finance has recognized an important effect of prior recognition on achieving career success. However, there is little research on whether the early attainment of such a recognition can affect the degree of subsequent success. Furthermore, the few prior studies on early recognition to date have only inspected the consequences of early recognition in the field of science. The main purpose of this study is to fill this literature gap by broadening the scope of such investigation to the field of motion pictures and more specifically, the Academy awards. We developed four hypotheses addressing the effect of early recognition (i.e., nomination for Oscar award) on different success measures of performing artists, including future productivity, quality of the roles and the subsequent award nominations. Using a sample of 438 Academy awards nominees, we showed that, relative to those who received recognition later in their careers, actors and actresses who were nominated in the earlier stages of their careers were more successful later in terms of the number of movies they starred in, the importance or quality of their roles, and the subsequent awards and nominations they received. In addition, younger nominees were shown to have higher chances of receiving another Oscar nomination following their initial nomination. Thus, early recognition is positively related to future career success not only in science, but also in other fields. These findings have important practical implications to both individuals seeking to build a successful career and to other social actors (organizations, recruiters, agents, etc.), who should consider such findings for identifying and selecting competent candidates based on their prior records and make more accurate predictions about a person's potential for achieving future success.

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INTRODUCTION

Career success is defined as the individuals accomplishments and achievements during their professional life (e.g. Van der Heijden, de Lange, Demerouti, & Van der Heijde, 2009). High-profile jobs, top-tier salaries, job satisfaction, awards and prizes are examples of the above-mentioned accomplishments. People intrinsically seek such accomplishments to boost their self-esteem and get motivated to satisfy their need for self-actualization (Maslow, 1962). Career success also brings sense of joy, happiness, and fulfillment for the achievers. Not only career success is crucial for individuals, but also organizations are advantaged from recruiting employees who are potentially more successful (Ballout, 2009). In fact, the competitive nature of today's business world inevitably requires employees with features that help them succeed in diverse environments (Ballout, 2009). Therefore, organizations are also intended to scout about candidates who are likely to be more successful later. Such an interest encouraged many researchers to find out the factors that affect individuals' career success.

Given the importance of career success to individuals and organizations, the exploration of antecedents and outcomes of career success presents an important line of research in organizational behavior and management fields. The literature has already identified a number of factors that lead to career success. Ng et al. (2005) referred to organizational sponsorship, socio-demographic characteristics, and stable individual differences as the antecedents of career success. In another study, Judge et al. (1995) suggested that demographic and motivational factors, as well as educational, personal and professional experiences predict individuals' career success.

The effect of the suggested factors can change when they occur together. For example, age as one of the most significant socio-demographic predictors has been shown to have a positive correlation with career success (e.g. Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz Jr, 1995; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005). However, Lee (2019) indicated that in the presence of prior career recognition, age can negatively correlate with career success. Using the publishing records of 4102 researchers in the field of information science, he demonstrated that scientists who gain higher academic and social status within the first four years of starting their careers are more successful later (Lee, 2019). His results proved that scientists who were more productive in terms of the number of publications and experienced a higher centrality in their colleagues networks in the early years of their professional careers, had an increased research performance and research impact in the future (Lee, 2019). This observation suggests that status and possibly other types of social evaluations play an important role in career success. Such evaluations, especially the ones that transpire through socially visible practices and rituals, such as awards, nominations, and licences, not only reflect prior achievements of a person, but also set future expectations and thus can create an advantage to some actors relative to others (Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998; Ridgeway & Correll, 2006).

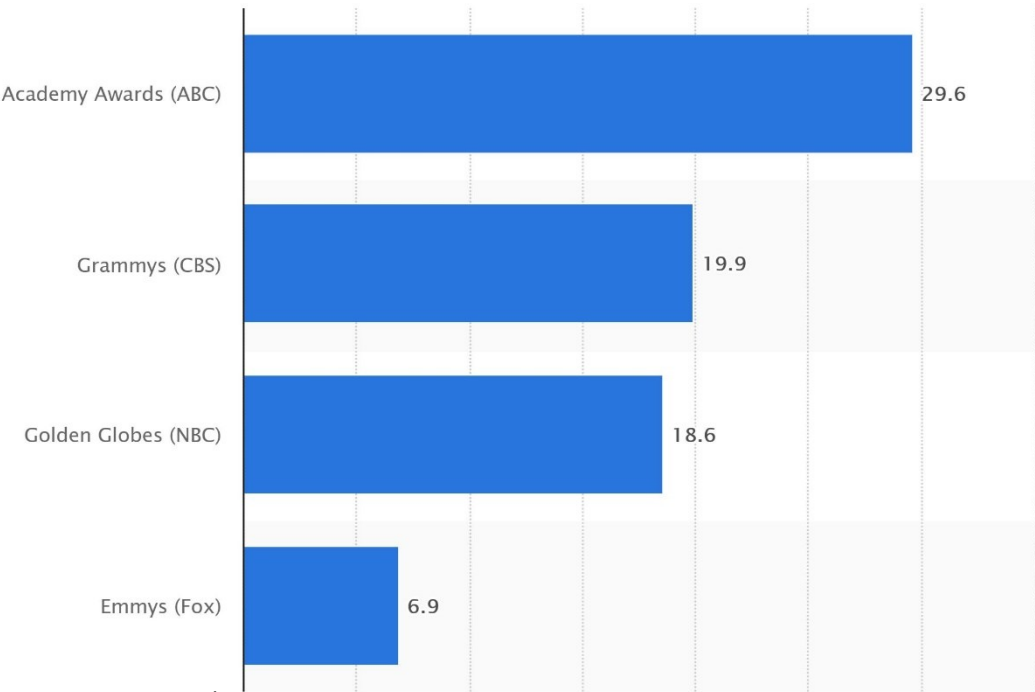
One of the recognized events reflecting an individual's accomplishments and conferring status are award nominations and winnings (Azoulay, Stuart, & Wang, 2014; Bowers & Prato, 2018; Jensen & Kim, 2015; Malmendier & Tate, 2009). Awards signal to outsiders the outstanding quality of a product (Ravago & Mapa, 2020). Such information is transmitted through publicity which consequently brings about recognition for the awardees. Azoulay et al. (2014) investigated this event in the field of science. Using a sample of 424 scientists who were appointed as Howard Hughes Medical Institute Investigator (HHMI), the authors demonstrated

that awardees' citation rates following the award increased significantly. To eliminate the effect of behavioral changes that usually happen after winning credible awards, the authors targeted the citation rate of articles that were published before winning the award (Azoulay et al., 2014). As a result, they could conclude that the difference in citation rates is attributed to the status shift that awardees experienced following their appointment (Azoulay et al., 2014). In addition, the sudden status shift improves the perceived quality of scientists' works after the award and brings about prestige and recognition (Azoulay et al., 2014). In addition to the increased perceived quality, entering higher status group enabled the scientists to benefit from exclusive resources that improved the actual quality of scientists' work (Azoulay et al., 2014; Merton & Merton, 1968). Due to such consequences, the authors concluded that prior awards and nominations impact the scientist's future success.

Such observations had initiated a relatively novel research stream dedicated to predictors of career success; however, it remains unclear whether these findings can be generalized to other, non-academic settings and whether early career success invariably leads to better performance in subsequent years. Since prior researchers have only identified the effects of early excellence in the field of science (Ho Fai Chan, Frey, Gallus, & Torgler, 2014; Lee, 2019), we have no evidence that similar relations exist in other fields. The present study seeks to fill this gap by examining whether such an effect is observed outside the academic settings, notably in the movie industry. More specifically, we seek to investigate how early recognition influences movie stars' career outcomes. Therefore, the primary research question of this study is “*What is the effect of recognition received early in actors' and actresses' careers on their subsequent career success?*”

We targeted the movie industry due to its high level of publicity compared to the other areas, such as science or engineering. The prominent award ceremonies such as the Academy awards and the Golden Globe are watched by millions every year (See Figure 1). Therefore, the career effect of such awards and the recognition they bring about are expected to be more pronounced compared to awards in other fields.

Figure 1. Leading Award Shows in the United States in 2019, By Television Viewers (in millions)



Source: Statista

In order to explore our main research question, we gathered data on a number of actors and actresses who have an Oscar nomination in their records. The Oscar, or the Academy award, is considered as the most prestigious award in the film industry. The award ceremony is watched by over 20 million people each year. The awards are handed out by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS) to appreciate outstanding artistic performances of actors and actresses, as well as of related artistic activities, such as directing, screenplay, sounds, and

cinematography. The awardees are selected by more than 7000 AMPAS voting members and are declared in a highly publicized ceremony every year.

We chose to focus on Oscar nominations, rather than winnings, based on researchers' prior findings about the event's consequences. (Nelson, Donihue, Waldman, & Wheaton, 2001; Deuchert, Adjamah, & Pauly, 2005). They discovered that the positive effect of box office revenues after the event was the same for the winners and nominees. As stated by Deuchert et al (2005, p.4), "a large part of the extra rent created by Oscars is generated by the nomination, while the award itself contributes relatively little to this extra revenue."

Using the Internet Movie Database (IMDb), we compiled a sample of 438 actors and actresses who were nominated for the Academy awards from 1965 to 2005. Since we were looking for effects of initial recognition, we only considered the first nomination for each of the actor and actresses in our sample. To measure how early in actor's career the nomination occurs, we considered the age at which actors received their first Oscar nomination. Consequently, we regressed multiple success measures on the age of starting career, the age of first nomination, and stars' prior experience to find out if those movie stars who got recognized at younger ages appeared to be more successful later on.

Our study contributes to the management literature in several ways. First, it extends the prior findings about the positive career outcomes of early career recognition to a different setting. Prior studies have detected such pattern in the field of science (Ho Fai Chan, Mixon, & Torgler, 2018; Lee, 2019). This study broadens the scope of such findings to the motion pictures industry. We discovered that the positive career impact of recognition is more pronounced for actors and actresses who received such recognition earlier in their careers. In other words, we found that age at which the actors achieve career recognition influences the degree of later

success. Our findings suggest that not only actors who experienced their first nomination at a younger age appeared in more films, but also the roles they played were significantly more important following their nomination. Such actors and actresses are also more likely to receive future nominations for distinguished awards, which lead to accumulated recognition and status. This is a novel finding in the film industry.

Second, this study contributes to the current literature on the ageism in Hollywood. Prior studies observed that female stars experience a more severe decline in their careers due to the reduced physical attraction (De Pater, Judge, & Scott, 2014; Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, 2003; Deusch, Zalenski, & Clark, 1986) However, this study found no significant difference in the objective success measures between actors and actresses who received early career recognition, which may be justifiable as early success stems from their talent rather than their physical attractiveness.

Finally, our study lends support to the current literature on social status. We found that status-conferring effect of awards varies depending on when in person's career the recognition occurs. Thus, career stage at which the status conferring event occurs constitutes an important factor affecting subsequent career success. Our findings also lend support to the idea of sponsored status mobility which "involves controlled selection in which the elite or their agents choose recruits early and carefully induct them into elite" (Turner, 1960, p.1). Such pattern is prevalent in the American motion pictures industry as award committees' decisions are affected by the nominees' prior recognition. As a result, this influential factor should be considered for predicting and analyzing the outcomes of such contests.

THEORY AND RELATED LITERATURE

It has been observed that career success has different types. Based on their origin, Heslin (2005) has identified *subjective* and *objective* career success. On the one hand, subjective success is intrinsic and includes person's reactions to his or her career experiences (Heslin, 2005). The greater the individuals' perceived career attainments, the more they experience subjective career success (Judge et al., 1995). On the other hand, objective success is based on others' judgment of one's career achievements (Judge et al., 1995). According to Hughes, objective success is "directly observable, measurable and verifiable by impartial third parties" (Heslin, 2005, p.2). Due to its extrinsic origin, objective success can be measured by tangible reference points such as awards and other prizes (Ginsburgh, 2003; Kuijpers, Schyns, & Scheerens, 2006; e.g. Ng et al., 2005; Van der Heijden et al., 2009). Most of the prior studies on career success have utilized such reference points to determine the level of individuals' career accomplishments as they are easily observed and measured (Ginsburgh, 2003; Kuijpers et al., 2006; e.g. Ng et al., 2005; Van der Heijden et al., 2009). For the same reason, this study has utilized such objective metrics to measure individuals' level of career success.

Awards, Recognition, and Status Mobility

Awards are extrinsic rewards, and they are handed out by individuals or organizations to recognize the merits of outstanding performances. As nominees are determined by a jury or group of experts in a specific industry, who are considered as reliable sources for quality endorsement, awards are considered as signals of quality (Ho Fai Chan, Frey, Gallus, & Torgler, 2014).

Distinguished awards such as Fields Medal, Nobel Prize, and the Academy awards are sources of recognition. As Frey and Neckermann (2009) stated, awards are “societal symbols of recognition”. They are given out with the purpose of fulfilling peoples’ desire for being “publicly recognized and honored by others in front of or by one’s reference group”(Frey & Neckermann, 2009, p.1). Therefore, awards generate social recognition which entail upward social status mobility. Status is defined as “socially constructed, intersubjectively agreed-upon and accepted ordering or ranking of individuals, groups, organizations, or activities in a social system.” (Washington & Zajac, 2005:283). Upward status mobility is interpreted as moving from lower ranks to higher-ranked positions which is entangled with more prestige and social esteem(Jensen & Kim, 2015). Award winners and nominees usually enter the group of elite laureates with higher social status (Jensen & Kim, 2015). Such positive status shift enables them to advantage from resources that are accessible only for members of elite groups and underlies further success (Azoulay et al., 2014; Merton & Merton, 1968). Not only an award improves recipient’s social recognition and status, but also it underlies career recognition and subsequent upward mobility in individuals’ professional status. As Ng and his colleagues (2005) pointed out, career recognition is usually associated with upward status mobility in the organizational hierarchies(Ng et al., 2005).

Turner (1960) has proposed two status mobility perspectives – *contest-mobility* and *sponsored-mobility*. Contest-mobility theory suggests that individuals compete with each other in a fair environment. Regardless of their previous recognition, the most competent ones succeed and experience upward status mobility (Turner, 1960). In contrast, sponsored-mobility perspective relies on a “controlled selection process”(Turner, 1960). The sponsored-mobility perspective states that merits for gaining social status are measured by decision of established

elites instead of fair competitions (Turner, 1960). The ultimate goal in this perspective is to “to make the best use of the talents in society by sorting persons into their proper niches”(Turner, 1960, p.4). As opposed to the contest-mobility perspective, sponsored mobility suggests that prior career recognition impacts the outcomes of contests. In particular, prior career recognition benefits individuals through subsequent attention and sponsorships, especially when performance is judged by a group of elites. Prior literature has witnessed such pattern for awards and nominations. According to Kelwick (2002), nomination for prominent awards leads to higher publicity for the movies “which would have remained unnoticed otherwise”. Pardoe and Simonton (2008) discovered that previous nominations and being in a “heavily-nominated” movie raise the likelihood of the Academy awards nominations, especially in main categories, such as best leading actor and best leading actress awards.

Another study, by Chan and colleagues (2018) looked into this phenomenon in the field of science. The authors indicated how early excellence leads to subsequent success in the field of economics. According to their findings, economists who received John Bates Clark Medal (JBCM) early in their career, have a higher chance of winning other prestigious awards in economics, such as the Nobel Prize (Ho F Chan, Mixon, & Torgler, 2018). Such success can be justified in the framework of sponsored-mobility perspective. Early recipients of distinguished awards such as JBCM are privileged since the award introduces them as “role models” with high social values and prestige (Chan et al., 2018; Frey & Gallus, 2014; Frey & Neckermann, 2009). The enhanced social and professional status underlies future accomplishments. According to Merton (1968), individuals with higher status are advantaged by extensive access to resources and publicity, which paves their way to achieve further success. As one laureate put it: “The world is peculiar in this matter of how it gives credit. It tends to give credit to [already] famous

people” (Merton, 1968, p. 57). Hence, we can claim that the upward status mobility, which is originated from prior career recognition accounts for economists’ subsequent success.

The current study intends to examine whether the above-mentioned pattern is observable for the Academy Awards. As the most well-known movie award, many researchers have inspected the career effects of nomination for the Academy Awards. Most of them have found that Academy awards nominations and winnings are associated with success (e.g., Pardoe & Simonton, 2008; Ginsburgh, 2003; Kelwick, 2002; Prag and Casavant, 1994). While some of the related studies have scrutinized the movie-level consequences, such as box office revenue and ex-post changes in movie ratings (e.g. Brewer, Kelley, & Jozefowicz, 2009; Deuchert, Adjamah, & Pauly, 2005), there are also some other studies that focused on the individual level consequences of Oscars. For example, Jensen and Kim (2015) contrasted personal and professional outcomes of Oscar nomination. Nominees experienced negative personal consequences as their divorce rates increased after the award (Jensen & Kim, 2015). On the contrary, nominees were shown to have higher screen times in the movies they played after the event, which the authors interpreted as a positive professional consequence (Jensen & Kim, 2015). Pardoe and Simonton (2008) also demonstrated that nominations for Oscar awards entail further success. Relying on a discrete choice model, they proved that movie stars with previous Oscar nomination records, have higher chances of winning Oscars or other distinguished awards, such as Golden Globe or Screen Actors Guild Award later.(Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). Extending these findings, this study intends to further investigate if the timing of such recognition can affect the level of future success. To be more precise, we are keen to find out if receiving an Oscar nomination earlier leads to more success in terms of the number of ex-post films, quality of ex-post roles, and the number and probability of subsequent nominations.

Age and Career Success

One of the crucial determinant that many researchers have pointed to in their proposed sets of predicting variables is socio-demographics (e.g. Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005; Pfeffer, 1983). Socio-demographics is comprised of the social and demographic characteristics of people such as social status, gender, and age. Pfeffer (1983) states that socio-demographic factors influence behavioral patterns and the subsequent objective outcomes. Some other studies demonstrated that socio-demographic factors account for the variance in individuals' career outcomes more than other predictors (Gattiker & Larwood, 1988; Gould & Penley, 1984). One of the key socio-demographic factors that has received a specific attention is age (e.g. Ginsburgh, 2003; Kuijpers et al., 2006; Ng et al., 2005; Van der Heijden et al., 2009). Most studies demonstrated that age is positively related to the objective career success. (e.g. Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005). Since older employees usually benefit from accumulated experience and higher status, they are more likely to experience objective success (Cox & Nkomo, 1991). However, in the movie industry, contrasting effects have been observed. Prior literature has discovered the negative effect of actors and actresses' age on their success in Hollywood (e.g. De Pater et al., 2014; Gilberg & Hines, 2000; Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). De Pater et al. (2014) measured the objective success of actors and actresses using their earnings. According to their findings, average earnings of actresses peak by the age of thirty-four and decrease significantly after. For the male movie stars, ageism is not as influential as for their female counter parts. Actors' average earnings increases until the age of fifty-one and remains fairly stable thereafter (De Pater et al., 2014). This curvilinear relationship can be explained in light of physical attractiveness impact on males' and females' professional lives (De Pater et al.,

2014; Hosoda, Stone-Romero, & Coats, 2003). The effect of ageism is not equal for male and female stars. Deusch et al (1986) found that although the perceived attractiveness declines for both men and women as they age, evaluation of femininity for women is much more dependent on age than the evaluation of masculinity for men. Thus, although ageism considerably affects careers of both actors and actresses, it is expected to influence female stars' careers more than male stars'.

Declining physical attractiveness influence actors and actresses career accomplishments. According to the implicit personality theory (Schneider, 1973), peoples' physical characteristics and initial traits form a general impression about their other unknown traits. Based on this theory, attractive individuals are privileged to the unattractive ones when it comes to the external judgments. As the objective career outcomes, such as revenues or performance evaluations depends on others' assessments about one's career achievements, individuals' physical attraction directly influences their objective career success (Hosoda et al., 2003). Award winnings and nominations are examples of such objective career outcomes. As winners and nominees are selected depending on juries' decisions, physical attractiveness can create a halo effect on the referees' perception on the candidates' artistic merits. In line with the above-mentioned argument, Gilberg and Hines (2000) have shown that age has a negative correlation with leading role awards nominations and this relationship is moderated by candidates' gender. According to their findings, the average age of male and female Oscar nominees was 46.8 and 39.4 years respectively. Since the p-value of the F-test between two groups was significant, they claimed that female nominees are significantly younger than their male counter parts (Gilberg & Hines, 2000).

Early Success as Signal of Talent

Career success at a younger age can also be attributed to exceptional talent and skills. This argument stems from Falato et al's (2015) article about CEOs' compensation. Using a sample of around 4000 S&P 1500 firms' CEOs, they showed how young CEOs experienced a significant pay premium due to their high level of talent and skills. Since CEO has the most impact and the highest level of responsibility in the organization (Falato, Li, & Milbourn, 2015), becoming a CEO early on is interpreted as a sudden upward mobility. The authors referred to this factor as "Fast Track Career", which was derived from the age at which they became CEO for the first time. Falato and his colleagues utilized this scale to overcome the measurement hurdle of quantifying CEO's talent. According to their argument, those candidates who could ascend the firm's hierarchy faster and get their first CEO position at younger ages are considered to be more talented and skilled individuals (Falato et al., 2015). Young CEOs often encounter more challenges as they are less experienced. Overcoming such challenges requires significant talent and skills (Falato et al., 2015). Thus, individuals who experienced their first CEO position at younger ages are believed to be highly talented and skilled. (Falato et al., 2015). Falato and his colleagues also indicated that such outstanding talent and skills lead to better performance and bring about higher compensations for young CEOs.(Falato et al., 2015). This framework is applicable to the ongoing study. As illustrated before, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences follows the sponsored-mobility perspective for selecting Oscar nominees and winners. As a result, individuals with previous recognition are more likely to be nominated again. In such an environment, getting nominated for the first time, especially at younger a age, is challenging and requires an exceptional talent. In other words, only young actors and actresses who are

arguably highly-talented can clear the nomination hurdle early in their career and surpass contestants with records of prior nominations to receive their first nomination. Thus, we can propose that actors and actresses who receive their first Oscar nomination at younger ages are more successful later as the early nomination indicates their potential talent and skills which underlie future success.

Therefore, the main conjecture of this study can be formulated as follows:

Movie stars who are nominated at younger age are more successful later, as early nomination signals their talent and youngsters are physically more attractive.

Success Measures and Hypotheses

To increase the robustness of our analysis, we utilized a comprehensive set of measures for movie stars' objective success. The following measures were used for our purpose of study.

1- Productivity

Productivity is one of the objective success measures which has been utilized in the prior literature (e.g. Borjas & Doran, 2015; Ho Fai Chan et al., 2014). Chan et al. (2014) used this measure to investigate the subsequent success level of John Bates Clark Medal (JBCM) laureates. Using a five-year investigation window, they found that the winners of JBCM were more productive in terms of the number of articles they published following their appointment. For the movie actors and actresses, we believe that such productivity can be measured through the number of the movies they starred in following their first Oscar nomination. Since younger actors and actresses are expected to be more successful subsequent to the event, we claim that younger nominees of Oscars will appear in more movies within three years after their initial nomination.

Hypothesis 1: Movie stars who received their first Oscar nomination earlier are more successful in terms of the number of movies they appear in within 3 years after their nomination.

2- Quality of the role

The quality of the roles that movie stars played after the award is another measure of their objective career success. Actors in leading roles receive substantially more screen time and attention. Such actors are usually listed in the first positions in the movie cast list. A number of prior studies have utilized the actor's place on the cast list to determine the importance of the actor's roles (e.g. Lincoln & Allen, 2004; Zhu, Goldberg, Van Gael, & Andrzejewski, 2007). Therefore, we considered actors and actresses position in the cast list as the indicator of the quality and importance of their roles. Since we believe that that early Oscar nomination leads to more success, then we can expect that actors that receive Oscar nominations early on will have a higher position in the cast list. Therefore,

Hypothesis 2: Movie stars who received their first Oscar nomination earlier are more successful in terms of the quality of the roles they played within 3 years after their nomination.

3- Subsequent Nominations

The number of subsequent nominations for other major awards is another way to measure the success after the award. Using a sample of Noble prize winners, Zuckermann (1977) indicated that laureates of distinguished awards experienced accumulated success following the award as they received candidacy for other awards and prizes in their fields. He provided two main reasons for such observation. Firstly, he claimed that other awards, which are not as prestigious

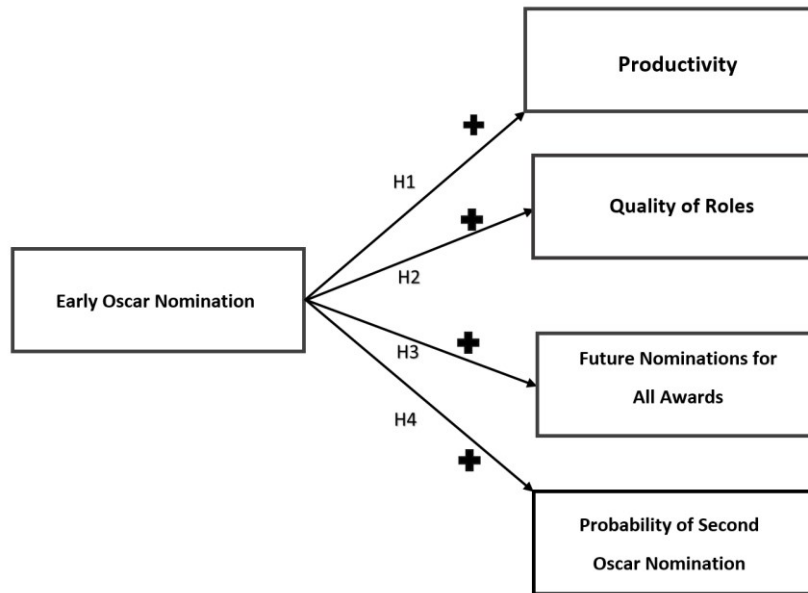
as Nobel, gain extra credit and additional prestige for nominating a Nobel laureate (Zuckerman, 1977). In addition, as Nobel laureates are considered as high-status elite individuals in their fields, the selection committee of other awards tend to lower the likelihood of mistake in their decision and the risk of criticism by nominating them for those awards (Zuckerman, 1977). We believe that similar effect is also observable for the Academy awards. As the most prestigious award in the motion pictures industry, we expect that prior nomination for Oscars will increase the number of nominations for all awards subsequently.

Hypothesis 3: Movie stars who received their first Oscar nomination earlier are more successful in terms of the number of nominations for awards within 10 years after their nomination.

Moreover, prior studies have demonstrated that previous nominations increase the probability of subsequent nominations and winnings. Regarding the movie industry, Pardoe and Simonton (2008) indicated that previous Oscar nominations increase the chances of other nomination for the high-status awards(Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). Relying on their approach, our last hypothesis suggest that younger Oscar nominees are more successful in terms of the probability of another Oscar nomination in a ten-year period after their initial nomination.

Hypothesis 4: Movie stars who received their first Oscar nomination earlier are more successful in terms the probability of second nomination for Oscar within 10 years after their first nomination.

Figure 2. Theoretical Model



METHOD

Sample

Our sample consists of 438 actors and actresses of the Academy awards nominees from 1965 to 2005. There were 222 male and 216 female stars in our sample. The mean and standard deviation of age for first-time male nominees were 41.63 and 12.54, respectively. For their female counterparts, the mean age was 35.5 and the standard deviation was 13.17. Among the 438 first-time nominees, 83 individuals won the award, while the other 355 did not receive the award in their first nomination.

Procedure

We collected our data from the Internet Movie Database (IMDb). Each actor or actress has a page on IMDb that includes their personal information such as full name, date of birth and place of birth. In addition to that, individuals' pages display a list of all movies and TV series that they played in throughout their careers. Each page also includes a link to a complete list of all awards and nominations that stars have received. We utilized artists' IMDb page information for the purpose of our study.

As we intended to inspect the outcomes of career recognition, we only considered the first nomination for the Academy awards. Therefore, for actors and actresses who received multiple nominations in our targeted period (1965-2005), we only included their first Oscar nomination. The reason for considering both nomination and winning instead of only winning the award lies behind Deuchert and her colleagues' explanation for the "Oscar effect" (Deuchert et al, 2005). They investigated the financial influence of Oscars not only on the award winners, but also on the Oscars' nominees. According to their findings, the box office effect is mostly attributed to being nominated for Oscars rather than for winning them. Deuchert et al (2005) justified this observation by arguing that people consider both nomination and winning as signals of quality. Moreover, people usually watch films that received Oscar nominations as often as films that won the award. Therefore, nominees and winners receive somewhat similar publicity.

Independent Variables

Age: Age has been reported as one of the most important socio-demographic factors which predicts individuals' career outcomes. Regarding the movie industry, prior literature indicated that movie star's age is negatively correlated with objective career outcomes (De Pater

et al., 2014; Gilberg & Hines, 2000; Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). To investigate the effect of age on career success, we defined the following independent variables.

- ***Starting Age:*** We defined this measure to investigate if early entry to the industry, regardless of recognition, can significantly affect the level of individuals' future success. This variable was named "Age_Start". It was calculated by subtracting a movie star's birth year from the year when (s)he played in the very first movie of his/her career.
- ***Nomination Age:*** This variable measures how early the movie star achieves recognition by Oscar award or nomination. It was named "Age_Nom" and was derived by subtracting the actors and actresses' birth year from the year at which they were nominated for the first time

Experience: Experience is expected to have a positive impact on the subsequent success of Oscar nominees. Prior research has pointed at accumulated experience as one of the objective career success determinants (e.g. Kuijpers, Schyns, & Scheerens, 2006; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005). We expect career performance to increase over time as individuals accumulate industry-specific experience and extend their networks. To measure movie stars' experience prior to nomination, we counted the number of movies they appeared in before getting nominated for the first time. This variable is labeled as "Experience".

Dependent Variables

As mentioned previously, we identified multiple measures of actors and actresses' success subsequent to their first nomination for the Academy awards. We relied on productivity, quality of roles, and subsequent nominations as measures reflecting actors' and actresses' career success.

Productivity: One of the indicators of success is the degree to which early nominations influence number of engagements in projects. Since nomination signals quality, we expect that nominees will receive greater interest from producers and therefore will appear in more movies after the event. Hence, we derived the actors' productivity by counting the number of movies they played in a three-year period after the nomination. We believe that the effect of nomination is fades out in the long term (Han & Pollock, 2020), thus we decided to investigate such effect within three years following the nomination. The variable was labeled as "Productivity"

Quality of Role: Another measure we utilized for individuals' success is the quality or the importance of actors' role following their nomination. De Pater et al (2014) named this measure as "star presence", which is derived from inverting the actors' and actresses' position in the cast list. In this study, we utilized the same concept in a three year period following the first nomination. The variable was labeled as "Role_Quality".

$$Role\ Quality = \frac{1}{Average(\ln(position))}$$

We first derived the logarithm of positions for roles that each of the first-time nominees played within three years. Then, we calculated the average of those logarithms for each actor and actress and inversed them to get their relative ratio for quality of the roles they played. Since we expected the career effects of nomination to fade away in long term, we chose a three-year period following the nomination for purpose of the second hypothesis analyses.

Subsequent Nominations: As another success indicator, we inspected how early nominations affect individuals' future nominations in terms of the number and the probability of other nominations within ten years. . As award ceremonies are often held annually, we extended our investigation window to ten years.

I. Number of subsequent nominations

Since not all awards have similar importance and publicity, we decided to first assign weights to each of them. To do so, we first sorted out all awards by the total number of times they were handed out since they have been established. Then, we defined “Award Frequency” by calculating the logarithm of those numbers for each award. As we expected, well-established awards such as the Golden Globe, Primetime Emmy Awards and the Academy Awards had greater weights due to their higher frequency. To eliminate the honorary and occasional awards, we only counted awards that were handed out at least one hundred times since they were established.

$$\textit{Award Frequency} = \textit{Ln} (\textit{Number of all awards handed out})$$

Subsequently, we summed up all the “Award Frequency” numbers for each individual in our sample to come up with their “Total Weighted Nominations”. Such scale reflects actors and actresses weighted nominations for all awards within ten years following their first Oscar nomination. The variable was named “Total_Nom” in our regression models.

$$(\textit{Total Weighted Nominations}) _i = \sum_{\textit{all awards}} \textit{Award Frequency} _i$$

i = each individual in our sample

II. Probability of subsequent nominations

To examine the probability of other nominations, we defined a dummy variable “Second_Nom” and coded it 1 if an actor or actress had been nominated for another

Academy awards within ten years following the first nomination. As Oscars are given out annually, we utilized an extended ten-year window for this variable.

Control Variables

Gender: Prior literature has pointed out the gender effect on actors' and actresses' success. Most studies have proved a moderating role of gender, meaning that the negative consequence of ageism is more observable for female movie stars compared to their male counterparts (Gilberg & Hines, 2000). Therefore, we controlled for gender to eliminate such a biased effect. We defined a dummy variable for gender (Female =1) and labeled it as "Gender_Code".

Series Appearance: Actors and actresses may get recognition as they appear in TV shows and TV series. To eliminate this effect from our sample, we controlled for the individuals' presence in TV series prior to their first nomination. We coded our dummy variable, "Series_Before", 1 if the nominees had prior appearance in TV series. Moreover, for investigating the subsequent success of nominees in terms of their productivity, we had to check if nominees played in series roles instead of movies. Therefore, we defined another dummy variable, "Series_After" and coded it 1 if those nominees played in TV series within three years of their first nomination.

Foreign Experience: Since we targeted American movie industry for choosing our sample, we had to control for whether individuals played in non-American movies. Similar to our explanation for prior series appearance, actors and actresses may get renowned outside America and then enter Hollywood. As a result, we coded the dummy variable, "Foreign_Before", 1 if movie stars played in a non-American movie before their first Oscar

nomination. We also defined “Foreign_After”, and coded it 1 if the first-time nominees appeared in a foreign movie within three years after their nomination.

Data Analysis

The study used a hierarchical two-step multiple regression for testing the hypotheses about future productivity, role quality, and number of nominations for actors and actresses with a prior Oscar nomination. In the first step, we only included the three main effect independent variables, “Age_Nom”, “Age_Start”, and “Experience”. In the second step, five control variables, “Gender_Code”, “Series_Before”, “Series_After”, “Foreign_Before”, and “Foreign_After” were also added to our models.

Regarding our fourth hypothesis, the probability of second nomination within ten years after the initial Oscar nomination was investigated by conducting a binary logistic regression with the dummy variable “Second_Nom” as dependent variable.

RESULTS

Starting with our first hypothesis, nomination at younger ages leads to more productivity, our dependent variable, “Productivity” had a mean value of 3.63 and the standard deviation of 2.51. The regression model was significant at five percent confidence level (p -value < 0.05) and had an R-squared value of 0.048, meaning that 4.8% of variance in subsequent productivity of movie stars can be explained by our independent variables. As indicated in Table 1, among our control variables, “Series_After” had a significant negative correlation with subsequent productivity ($\beta = -40.885$, p -value < 0.05), as engagement with TV series takes time and detracts actors from playing in movies. Since we only counted the number of movies after nomination as

the measure of productivity, it is obvious that those who appeared in TV series had less chances to play in movies and thus they were expected to have lower productivity.

Table 1. Result of Linear Regression Models for Hypothesis 1

Dependent Variable: Productivity	(1)	(2)
Age_Start	.030*	.031*
Age_Nom	-.048**	-.042**
Experience	.120**	.097**
Constant	3.539**	3.671**
Gender Code		-.430*
Series_Before		.829**
Series_After		-1.033**
Foreign_Before		-.579
Foreign_After		-.900**
R-squared	.030	.048

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.1 level (2-tailed).

In respect to our independent variables, prior experience significantly relates to the subsequent productivity of movie stars ($\beta = 2.368$, $p\text{-value} < 0.05$), which is consistent with our expectation that more experienced actors and actresses are more successful after their first nomination. In addition, although age at which movie stars started their career, “Age_Start”, does not significantly affect their future productivity, “Age_Nom”, or age at which they get nominated for the first time, has a negative impact on the number of movies they played in within three years after their first nomination ($\beta = -2.240$, $p\text{-value} < 0.05$). In other words, older

nominees are less likely to appear in movies compared to their younger counterparts in a three-year period following the event. Therefore, our hypothesis 1 was supported.

To test our second hypothesis that receiving the first Oscar nomination at younger ages positively impacts the quality of subsequent roles, our dependent variable, “Role_Quality” had a mean value of 1.09 and standard deviation of 0.51. Our model for this hypothesis was significant at five percent confidence level (p-value < 0.05) and had an R-squared value of 0.047, meaning that 4.7% of variance in the quality of the roles that movie stars appear in after their first Oscar nomination can be explained by our independent variables

Table 2. Result of Linear Regression Models for Hypothesis 2

Dependent Variable:		
Role Quality		
	(1)	(2)
Age_Start	-.003	-.006
Age_Nom	-.017**	-.017**
Experience	-.001	-.006
Constant	2.849**	3.132**
Gender Code		-.309**
Series_Before		.073
Series_After		-.090
Foreign_Before		.093
Foreign_After		-.224
R-squared	.028	.047

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.1 level (2-tailed).

Our results in Table 2 show that age at which movie stars get nominated for the first time in their career significantly affects the quality of roles they play after the event ($\beta = -0.017$, p -value < 0.05). The negative coefficient confirms that younger nominees receive more important roles within three years after nomination. Therefore, our second hypothesis was supported. On the flip side, “Age_Start” and “Experience” had no significant relationship with the subsequent roles’ qualities. Among the control variables, “Gender” had a significant impact ($\beta = -0.309$, p -value < 0.05). Such an effect can be attributed to the common order in the movies’ cast list where male roles usually come first and are followed by female roles.

Regarding our third hypothesis that early Oscar nomination results in more future nominations for all awards, the dependent variable “Total_Nom” had the mean value of $M = 112.06$ and the standard deviation of $SD = 131.28$. The model was significant at five percent confidence level (p -value < 0.05) and has an R-squared value of 0.073, which means that 7.3% of the variance in the number of all future nominations for actors and actresses can be explained by our independent variables. Our results in Table 4 confirm that the nominee’s age has a significant negative correlation with the subsequent nominations in ten years ($\beta = -2.240$, p -value < 0.05). Therefore, we can state that nomination at younger ages leads to more future nominations, which supported our third hypothesis.

Table 3. Result of Linear Regression Models for Hypothesis 3

Dependent Variable:		
Total_Nom	(1)	(2)
Age_Start	.165	.545
Age_Nom	-2.240**	-2.036**
Experience	2.368**	2.539**
Constant	170.922**	152.350 **
Gender Code		14.947
Series_Before		6.135
Series_After		-40.885**
Foreign_Before		.6.496
Foreign_After		12.726
R-squared	.048	.073

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
 * Correlation is significant at the 0.1 level (2-tailed).

Prior experience also relates to the total nominations significantly ($\beta = 2.368$, p-value < 0.05); however, starting age does not impact the future nominations. Regarding the control variables, “Series_After” negatively affects subsequent nominations ($\beta = -40.885$, p-value < 0.05). As movie awards are not given to Television performances, we expected that those who played in TV series are less likely to receive nominations for film awards.

For the fourth and last hypothesis that younger nominees have higher chances for second Oscar nomination following the initial nomination, our binary dependent variable, “Second_Nom”, had the mean value of 0.28 with the standard deviation of 0.45. The model had an R-squared of 0.046 (p-value < 0.05), which means that 4.6 percent of variance in the probability of second Oscar nomination is explained by our independent variables.

Table 4. Result of Linear Regression Models for Hypothesis 4

Dependent Variable:		
Second_Nom	(1)	(2)
Age_Start	.032	.040
Age_Nom	-0.037**	-.033**
Experience	0.006	.004
Constant	-.450	-.797
Gender Code		.160
Series_Before		.310
Series_After		-.899**
Foreign_Before		-.146
Foreign_After		.256
R-squared	.019	.046

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.1 level (2-tailed).

The results of our binary logistic regression in Table 4 indicated that age at which individuals get nominated for the first time has a negative significant relationship with the probability of second nomination ($\beta = -0.33$, p -value < 0.05). In particular, $\beta = -0.33$ coefficient indicates that the probability of second nomination for the Academy awards decreases for about three percent ($\text{Exp } \beta = 0.967$) as movie stars grow one year older. Such findings support hypothesis 4. Regarding our control variables, similar to the results for hypothesis 3, “Series_After” had a significant negative correlation with probability of second nomination ($\beta = -0.899$, p -value < 0.05).

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to investigate the outcomes of early career success in light of prior recognition. Although prior studies had shed light on the effect of actors and actresses age (e.g. De Pater et al., 2014; Gilberg & Hines, 2000) and stars' prior nominations (Pardoe & Simonton, 2008) on the objective career outcomes separately, there has been little to no research about how stars' career success is affected in the presence of both factors. This study filled this literature gap by looking into both factors simultaneously in a specific industry. We proposed four hypotheses, each addressing a different objective success measure as the dependent variable.

Hypothesis 1 investigated the effect of early recognition on the productivity of movie stars. We expected that younger nominees are more active in terms of the number of subsequent projects. Our results showed that the nominee's age at the time of nomination influences their future productivity, which is consistent with observations by Lee (2019) for young scientists who gained early career recognition. However, age at which they began their career did not have a significant effect. Therefore, actors' and actresses' success is mostly dependent on how early they achieved recognition, rather than how early they started their career. Our results also validated our expectation that more experienced actors and actresses are more productive. Since we interpreted the count of movies before the nomination as the indicator of experience and the number of movies played within 3 years after the nomination as the indicator of success, we expected to observe a significant correlation between these two variables in our results.

Hypothesis 2 predicted a negative relationship between nominees' age and the importance or quality of roles they play after the event. Results of our multiple linear regression confirmed our prediction that early nomination paved the way for actors and actresses to play in

more important roles subsequently. Similar to the results hypothesis 1, no significant relationship was observed between the nominees' starting age and the quality of their roles within three years. Contrary to what we found for the subsequent productivity of actors and actresses, their roles' relative importance was not correlated with the experience they had. As leading roles are often given to the well-known stars, it is likely that role quality is dependent on the stars' reputation and status rather than their productivity before the event. Moreover, this finding may be justified as distinguished actors who play leading roles should dedicate much more time to a project due to the importance of their roles. Thus, they may have less time to appear in multiple films.

Hypothesis 3 proposed that nomination at younger age increases the number of future nominations for all awards. By all awards, we meant any movie award except for awards that occurred in specific occasions and honorary awards. According to our linear regression results, while the age of nomination significantly impacted the number of all subsequent nominations, age of the career start appeared to have no important effect on future nominations. This finding is similar to our results for previous hypotheses, which confirms that individual's career outcomes should be investigated with regard to their prior recognition. Moreover, the number of movies each actor or actress played before the event had a significant positive effect on the number of future nominations. This finding is consistent with the idea that the number of nominations for different awards is expected to increase when actors and actresses appear in more movies in a period before those awards are given out.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that Oscar nomination in younger ages raises the chances of getting another Oscar nomination within ten years. While hypothesis 3 investigated the number of all nominations in the same time frame, hypothesis 4 only targeted future nominations for the Academy awards. Our results showed that the age of actors and actresses at the time of

nomination has a significant impact on the probability of subsequent nominations. To be more precise, younger nominees had higher chances for another Oscar nomination in a ten-year period after their first nomination. However, contrary to our findings for hypothesis 3, nominees' experience prior to their first nomination did not influence the odds of being nominated again for the Academy awards. This finding may suggest that the amount of movies played before the nomination can only relate to the actors nomination for other awards, which are less reputable. According to the literature, the Academy award, is the most prestigious film award and the "strongest indicator" of the artistic quality of movies and performances (Ginsburgh, 2003; Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). Therefore, Oscar nomination is not influenced by the number of the nominees' previous roles, but rather is influenced by the artistic merit of such roles.

Talking about the gender effect, we found no significant difference between male and female stars in terms of productivity, quality of the roles and nominations after the initial Oscar nomination. Several studies had found that female artists are more vulnerable to ageism in Hollywood (e.g. (Gilberg & Hines, 2000)). However, we did not observe any significant difference between actors' and actresses' success measures. As prior literature had proved that female stars experience a more significant decline in their physical attractiveness (Deusch et al. 1986), the observed indifference in the career success measures between actors and actresses can be attributed to their talent rather than their physical attractiveness

Contrary to our expectation, playing in movies outside Hollywood had no significant relationship with actors' and actresses' success. We expected that playing in foreign films will impact success measures negatively as actors have limited availability to appear in American movies, from which the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences chooses the nominees. Besides, TV series appearance before nomination was only influential for the future productivity.

Thus, having a background in TV series does not significantly influence actors' and actresses' future success in the film industry in terms of the importance of the movie roles they play and the subsequent nominations for film awards

CONTRIBUTIONS

This study contributes to the current literature in several ways. Researchers had previously looked into the substantial effects of early career excellence on the performance of scientists (Chan et al., 2018; Lee, 2019). This study contributed to the prior literature as it revealed that similar pattern is observed in another social context, the motion pictures industry.

Besides, although prior studies had looked into the positive consequences of awards in terms of productivity (Chan et al, 2014) and future nominations (Pardoe & Simonton, 2008), there was little to no research on how such consequences can vary depending on the career stage at which people achieve recognition. This study filled this gap by discovering that Oscar nomination at young age has a significant positive effect on individuals' careers relative to the recognition that comes later in the career.

In addition, prior literature had found that actors' and actresses' career outcomes are negatively affected as they grow old (e.g. De Pater et al., 2014; Gilberg & Hines, 2000; Pardoe & Simonton, 2008), which is attributed to their decreased physical attractiveness (De Pater et al., 2014; Hosoda et al., 2003). While such an argument can explain our findings about the unfavorable outcome of ageism, it competes with another explanation that accounts for such a pattern as the effect of actors' or actresses' talent. The talent explanation appears more plausible since in other fields (e.g., science or business), where physical attractiveness is normally not a

relevant factor, the same pattern persists. Thus, Falato et al.'s (2015) observed that early success (i.e., becoming a CEO at a younger age) is achieved by highly-talented individuals. Similarly, we argued that actors' and actresses' nomination at younger age signals their extraordinary talent. Highly talented actors and actresses ascend the professional status hierarchy in Hollywood faster, which makes the Academy's selection committee to choose them over their experienced counterparts as the award nominees.

This study also contributes to the current literature on the status mobility. The Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences presumably follows the sponsored-mobility perspective rather than contest-mobility (Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). As Pardoe and Simonton stated, "Oscars may be as reflective of achievement over a lifetime as much as achievement for a particular film". We added to this insight by discovering that not only movie stars with prior recognition are more likely to get future nominations, but also those who get such recognition in the earlier stages of their careers are more successful than those who get recognition later in their careers. As a result, they tend to experience greater shifts in their professional and social statuses.

Moreover, contrary to the common belief about the positive impact of accumulated experience on the career outcomes (e.g. Kuijpers, Schyns, & Scheerens, 2006; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005), we found no significant relationship between actors' and actresses' prior experience and their subsequent success in terms of the quality of the future roles and probability of receiving another Oscar nomination. Also, our results showed that actors who started their careers earlier did not experience different career outcomes. Thus, unlike many other industries in which success is directly associated with accumulated experience (Cox & Nkomo, 1991), this factor is not significant for the motion pictures industry.

Finally, this study has practical implications that should be acknowledged by managers and other social actors. Recruiters can utilize our results to evaluate individuals' potential for success based on how early they get renowned in their careers. They can subsequently identify and select competent candidates. Our findings can also be helpful for producers and investment agents to predict the future success of individuals appropriately and have fruitful investments based on such predictions. Moreover, awards juries and other performance evaluators can take the findings of this study into their considerations to form reasonable expectations from actors and actresses capacity for success and make more realistic judgments accordingly.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has potential limitations that should be acknowledged and taken into consideration in future research. First of all, we chose a sample of Hollywood movie actors and actresses. However, due to the specific dynamics that are prevalent in this industry, our findings may not necessarily be generalizable to the other domains. For example, the effect of physical attractiveness on career success measures is expected to be more considerable for the entertainment industry as stars' attractiveness dramatically influences the movies' box office revenue (Henning-Thurau, Houston, & Walsh, 2006). Thus, individuals' career success dependency on their age may be more pronounced in the motion pictures industry than in other contexts. Future research can further explore whether such pattern is observed in other settings.

Secondly, we provided two possible explanations to justify how early career recognition leads to future success. As the positive impact of early recognition has been previously observed in the field of information science (Lee, 2019) and economics (Chan et al., 2018), in which

physical attractiveness of individuals has nothing to do with their career outcomes, we believe that significant difference in the objective success of younger nominees stems from their higher talent and skills levels. However, we did not examine the degree to which such success is attributed to one of the two factors: physical attractiveness and talent. In the future, researchers can investigate this matter thoroughly by defining a separate variable to measure actors' talent.

In addition, our sample includes all individuals who were nominated for the Academy awards, whether they won the award or not. We relied on Deuchert and his colleagues (2005) argument that nominees who win the award and those who do not, receive almost similar publicity and recognition because people take both nomination and winning as signals of quality. However, winning the award and nomination may have different consequences (Pardoe & Simonton, 2008). According to Pardoe and Simonton (2008), while previous Oscar nominations increase the odds of other nominations, winners experience a decline in the likelihood of getting nominated again. Future research can further investigate whether winning the academy award at younger ages experience different career outcomes compared to young nominees who could not take the award home.

Lastly, for testing actors' and actresses' success in terms of the number of subsequent nominations, we assigned weights to different awards based on the times each award was handed out. Although this technique to determining weight had an acceptable R-squared value, it might have created inconsistencies in the importance order of motion pictures awards. We encourage researchers to search for more effective ways to weight awards and further examine the robustness of the current study's findings.

CONCLUSION

Career success plays an important role in individuals' professional fulfillment and internal satisfaction. Also, organizations are benefited from successful employees. Therefore, our results can be useful for both individuals and organizations. This study brought light to the factors that determine success in the motion pictures industry. We utilized a sample of the Academy awards nominees to test four hypotheses that investigated early recognition outcomes in terms of the number of nominees' future films, the quality of their roles after nomination, and the number of their subsequent nominations. The results of this study revealed that individuals who gain recognition in the initial stages of their careers are more successful than those who achieve such recognition in later career stages. However, accumulated experience and the earliness of starting the career were proved to have no significant effect on stars' careers in Hollywood. Overall, this study suggests that career recognition is significantly more influential in one's career path if it occurs early in their career.

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Appendix I. Descriptive Statistics, Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	SD	Age_ Start	Age_ Award	Gender_ Code	Series_ Before	Series_ After	Foreign_ Before	Foreign_ After	Experience	Productivity	Role_ Quality	Total_ Nom	Second_ Nom
Age_Start	26.788	8.881	1											
Age_Nom	38.614	13.216	.640**	1										
Gender_Code	0.493	0.499	-.152**	-.231**	1									
Series_Before	0.808	0.394	.178**	.245**	-.123**	1								
Series_After	0.404	0.491	.265**	.226**	-.068	.212**	1							
Foreign_Before	0.199	0.399	.206**	.044	-.045	.097**	.080	1						
Foreign_After	0.137	0.344	.143**	-.028	-.008	.025	.132**	.700**	1					
Experience	9.756	11.07	-.127**	.431**	-.279**	.123*	-.029	-.230**	-.190**	1				
Productivity	3.63	2.512	-.138**	.046	-.166**	.104*	-.229**	-.262**	-.272**	.411**	1			
Role_Quality	1.092	0.593	-.179**	-.272**	-.077	-.041	-.119*	-.005	-.034	-.131**	-.280**	1		
Total_Nom	112.06	131.284	-.159**	-.132**	.046	-.036	-.190**	-.020	-.003	.101*	.286**	-.096	1	
Second_Nom	0.281	0.449	.140**	.110*	.037	.067	.148**	.012	.076	.086*	.179**	-.018	0.491**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the .05 level (two-tailed)

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.1 level (two-tailed)