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Economic Development and U.S. State Film Incentives

By Isaiah A. Litvak, Ph.D. and Marilyn M. Litvak, M.A

THE RUSH TO ATTRACT FILM PRODUCTION

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economic development

AND U.S. STATE FILM INCENTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

Locational site rivalry among state governments, including those of even the smallest states, has intensified in recent years. The world of locational site incentives is a fast paced one. Public policy and government incentive tradeoffs are constantly in the making. Tens to hundreds of millions of dollars are expended by individual U.S. states on economic and industry development initiatives.

Most states are not in a position to either document the exact amount, or the effectiveness of incentives in question. Additionally, there has been a tendency for too many states to identify the same industries, so excessive competition has led to inadequate returns. What is widely observed is that states tend to imitate incentive programs perceived to be effective, especially if offered by competing neighboring states.

One of the key industries on the economic development agenda is the motion picture industry. The constant media coverage of the cost of a film production and its attendant box office receipts puts the industry front and center on an on-going basis. The average major Hollywood feature picture has a production budget of approximately $60 million, with about one third spent on location. Looking to gain a piece of the motion picture industry pie, U.S. states actively promote their regions as ideal sites for a film shoot.


Photo Credit: Yale University

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, plays the fictional Marshall College in "Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull" (2008).

INDUSTRY IMPORTANCE

The economic contribution of the motion picture and television industry to the U.S. domestic economy is significant. It is a mega-billion dollar industry. Figure 1 presents some basic information about the performance of the industry. According to the MPAA[1], in excess of 180,000 persons were directly employed as studio, independent production company, or core industry supplier staff. The industry defines the core suppliers as including film labs, special effects and digital studios, location services, prop and wardrobe houses, research services and film stock houses, video and duplicating services, stage rental facilities, etc. Another 231,000 were freelance workers, including actors, directors, writers and technical or craft specialists.

Most of the industry activity is concentrated in Los Angeles County, the location of Hollywood,

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This article examines and discusses the dynamics of the motion picture production industry in the context of interstate rivalry and the politics of incentives. Why U.S. states feel compelled to offer and compete in the arena of film incentives is a major theme of the article. The intensity of the competition is outlined and the efficacy of film tax incentives is questioned. The incentives frequently do not pay for themselves. The film incentive program recently instituted by the state of Connecticut is an excellent case in point. Of special interest is the issue of interstate rivalry and the difficulties in ensuring that the benefits accrue primarily to the originating state, with minimum leakage to its geographic neighbors.

FIGURE 1.

2005 U.S. Economic Impact

- 1.3 million plus American Jobs
- $73,000 average salary for direct employees
- $30.24 billion in wages to workers in America
- $30.20 billion in revenue to U.S. vendors and suppliers
- $60.4 billion in output to the U.S. economy
- $10 billion in income and sales taxes
- $9.5 billion in trade surplus

Source: MPAA, *The Economic Impact of the Motion Picture & Television Production Industry of the United States,* Encino, California, MPAA Strategic Planning & Research, January 7, 2007, p.5.

the world's pre-eminent film industry cluster. Indeed, when speaking of interstate rivalry, the first round of rivalry can be best described as one involving 49 states in quest of Hollywood runaway film productions.[2]

The Production System[3]

Today's U.S. feature film industry is one in which much of the pre-production, production, and post-production stages of film creation and production activity are collaboratively produced and managed by independent contractors. These contractors in many instances are established to produce a single film, after which they cease to exist. Film production companies that produce a number of films frequently employ only an administrative staff.

Film production costs range from less than $15 million to more than $200 million. About 192,900 people were employed in product and services in 2007, according to MPAA as reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. MPAA noted that on-location production creates jobs and tax revenues in cities and towns, contributing an estimated $200,000 a day in the localities in which filming takes place.

The role of the studios in the current film production system is no less important because they still retain the primary role of distributor and financier. Movies are typically made under contract between a major (studio) distributor, a production company, and a collection of freelance talent. The major distributor frequently funds a theatrical film from start to finish or accounts for a part of the financing in return for fees and a portion of the proceeds. Hollywood's major studios dominate the film industry, most of which operate as strategic business units (SBUs) within larger multinational media and entertainment conglomerates. Six major film distributors account for more than 70 percent of domestic box office revenues. They include: the Walt Disney Company, Viacom Inc., Sony Corporation, News Corporation's Fox Entertainment Group, Time Warner Inc., and NBC Universal.

Local entrepreneurs, filmmaking service providers and governments, alone or in partnership (alliances), have invested substantial sums of money in states that are among the more tax incentive attractive. Under such circumstances, movie producers set up their film production tents in the location of choice, and once having completed the shoot in question fold up their tents and continue on to the next phase of their film production activity, wherever deemed most cost beneficial and professionally satisfactory

THE POLITICS OF INCENTIVES

A growing number of U.S. states are trying to buy film production market share by offering substantial financial incentives. Incentive inducement, if competitively packaged, may generate some, perhaps even a considerable, increase in film production shoots. Even if the increase in film production is significant, experience has shown that it is rarely sustained. "There is yet to be a community in the U.S. that has successfully transitioned from using lower costs as an inducement to establishing a mature visual media infrastructure that will be attractive on an ongoing basis."[4]

Politics plays an important role in advancing the case for incentives in the motion picture production industry,

Photo Credit: Yale University

An example of a creative runaway. The "Life Before Her Eyes" (2007) story takes place in Connecticut.

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Political pressures for the continuance or enactment of incentives is a common phenomenon in every legislative session. The business community as a whole supports incentives; however, legislators need to be mindful that industry targeting is complex and seldom achieves the desired results.

Photo Credit: Tom Kramer

On the set of "Misconceptions" (2008) in Dunedin, Pinellas County, Florida. Dunedin doubled as small-town Georgia.

of that there can be little doubt. What is less certain is that the incentives generate significant benefits for the localities, given that many of the recipient targets are usually temporary organizations; i.e., project-based enterprises, providing temporary employment with the production company typically being disbanded once the film is released.

If the project-based enterprise is not Los Angeles County-or New York City-situated, then more than likely many of the high priced creative and skilled members will be short-term imports to the film production locations in question. This is not to deny that certain economic benefits will accrue to certain local film production service providers, creative and skilled workers, in addition to the many below-the-line workers involved in film production activities. However, these economic benefits typically fall short from the type of benefits realized when attracting plants, warehouses, and regional office operations that have not been set up with a future dissolution pre-determined – usually, in a time frame of less than a year.

Political pressures for the continuance or enactment of incentives is a common phenomenon in every legislative session. The business community as a whole supports incentives; however, legislators need to be mindful that industry targeting is complex and seldom achieves the desired results. While film, television, and video (FTV) production can produce significant direct and indirect benefits for communities, policymakers "should realize that the potential for growth in this industry outside California and New York is limited . . . A careful assessment should be made before allocating scarce fiscal resources to lure the filmmaking business."[5]

THE PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development officials generally take the position that interstate incentive rivalry demands that their jurisdictions offer comparable incentives, lest their region elects to forego employment benefits associated with motion picture production activity. Policymakers and their economic development officials fear that by not offering competitive film incentives they may lose out when it comes to attracting film production to their jurisdictions and the resulting benefits thereof. However, certain politicians and policymakers question the efficacy of film production incentives.

Economists generally fall on the side of skeptics when it comes to judging the effect of state incentives on economic growth and firm location decisions; i.e., they contend that tax incentives as such are poor economics in that they rarely achieve the intended goals. This view however is not widely shared by the lobbying chorus of highly aggressive incentive supporters, which typically include the local film industry; economic development officials; film commissioners; select politicians; industry accountants and lawyers; and film producers, in general.

The government of Florida contends its film production incentive program realized an economic impact of at least six dollars for every one dollar invested (rebates after the production has completed spending in Florida).[6] However, according to the governor's office, Florida's 2007 cost-benefit performance is being threatened by many U.S. states which are increasing the relative attractiveness of their production incentives. The governor's office cites the following examples:

ILLINOIS' Senate approved legislation to reinstate the 20 percent incentive, which expired at the end of 2007.

NEW YORK passed a major increase in its production credit, raising it to 30 percent (from 10 percent) to help recapture production from neighboring states.

MICHIGAN is now offering a 40 percent rebate on production spending to filmmakers, as well as tax credits for companies that invest in new studios.

LOUISIANA offers 25 percent – 35 percent transferable income and investment tax credit programs with unlimited funding. Many Florida companies and professionals are actually moving to Louisiana.

NEW MEXICO offers refundable tax credits and no-interest loans with no ceiling to its funding. The state has also made capital investments into infrastructure directly related to the film and entertainment industry, luring studios like SONY Pictures Imageworks to permanently relocate in New Mexico. The New Mexico Film Office says Hollywood was responsible for $475.5 million in economic impact in 2007.[7]

Economic development officials and film commissioners tend to ascribe increases in location shoots and expenditures to the introduction and/or expansion of government incentive programs. Indeed, the "apparent" success of a state's tax credit program has resulted in state legislators making the tax credits permanent. One might surmise that the governors and legislators of the winning states were able to gain political benefits from credit-claiming even if questions of economic efficacy might suggest otherwise. Furthermore, there appears to be no end to the need to "convince" film companies to keep filming in a given state. The incentive package is seldom viewed as a one-time proposition.

INTERSTATE RIVALRY

Numerous state governments have adopted pseudo "industry sector strategies" with respect to specific industries. Business is not totally innocent either when it comes to trying to influence government to pick "winners." The FTV industry is typically at the forefront of lobbying for an increase in film incentives, aided by a chorus of economic development officials, film commissioners, and interested and vote sensitive elected and aspiring politicians. Elected state politicians, especially those whose party is in power, frequently lobby for special incentives to induce film companies to shoot in their districts.

Many state jurisdictions position themselves as ideal locations for movie production. Their promotional literature often includes data on comparative incentive programs, costs and taxes – of course, highlighting their state's competitive edge as a cost-saving location for film production activity.

This aggressive incentive competition frequently leads to bidding wars, waged by economic development bureaucrats and film commissioners. Their weapons include production incentives that can take the form of tax credit incentives, outright subsidies, and provision of infrastructure and land free of charge.

One of the more troubling competition issues involves the aggressive attempts by some state governments to entice film companies either to move their production shoots from one state to another or to expand geographically and diversify their film shoots to include another state. This type of competition can damage not only interstate government relations, but also relations between the state government and the local business community, particularly if existing companies (and business rivals) view the incentives and subsidies offered to new entrants as constituting competitive advantages not available to them.

Photo Credit: Ron Gustafson

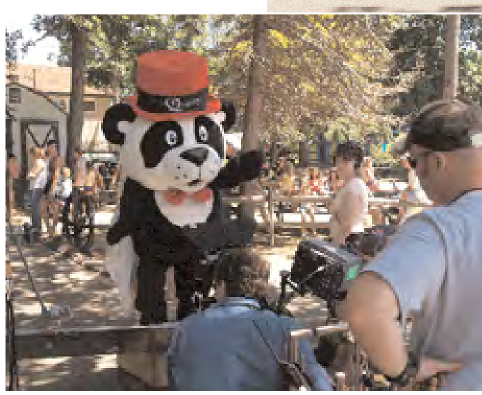

Photo Credit: Ron Gustafson

Small independent film "Once More with Feeling" (2009) takes advantage of Connecticut tax credits by filming in Connecticut. These scenes were shot at Quassy Amusement Park, Meriden.

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Film Tax Incentives

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Policymakers prefer the transferable tax credit incentive because the film company, in this instance, receives credit against its state tax obligation. Since many film companies owe little state taxes, they have the option of reselling their credit to other taxpayers, frequently wealthy individuals or companies.

A key political reason for favoring the transferable tax credit incentive is that it is less likely to be seen as "corporate welfare." However, the transaction costs associated with the sale of the transferable tax credit may influence the state to increase its benefits in order to match the tax rebate offered by competing states. Brokers and lawyers are among the key beneficiaries when negotiating the sale of transferable tax credits.

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Tradeable film tax credit programs have helped spawn an industry of film tax professionals, whose interests are closely aligned with the film industry, including state film commissioners. This was made crystal clear in a May 12, 2008, email sent by Tax Credits, LLC., a firm which has handled approximately 900 transactions totaling in excess of $300 million in film tax incentives.

The subject line of the email was "Urgent . . . Help Save the NJ Film Office." The crux of the email is that the New Jersey Picture and TV Commission was faced with the potential loss of state funding and thus the survival of the NJ film industry was in jeopardy. Tax Credits, LLC was encouraging all interested individuals to engage in a letter and telephone campaign aimed at persuading NJ Governor Jon S. Corzine not to eliminate the film commission from the state budget.

D.R. Saas, a policy analyst at the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, offers a number of critical observations regarding the efficacy of tax credits as film and television production incentives. First, tax credits are more likely to generate employment opportunities where film and television production activities are insignificant. Second, tax credit incentives may result in substantial foregone tax revenue. Third, film production usually contributes minor additional economic activity in other industries. Fourth, film tax credits frequently do not "pay for themselves." And finally, fifth, it is more difficult to arrive at a firm conclusion of film incentive costs-benefits when they involve states with a big film production industry cluster such as Los Angeles County and New York City.[8]

Assessing the fiscal impact of film tax credits and the number of jobs they are responsible for creating is a complex one. To ignore alternative policy options, especially those involving the impact on other industries, is regrettably not uncommon. There is also the problem of determining whether the film production would have materialized without the benefit of the tax credit or for that matter if the financial incentive was greater than necessary to attract the film production project.

Keeping up with Connecticut

Interstate competition, in particular, has become an increasing concern for neighboring states. A case in point involves Connecticut, its New England neighbors (Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Vermont) and New York. New Hampshire offers no specific film tax credits because it contends that the state's tax policy and business friendly environment are reasons enough to entice film production activity. Tax windfalls are not uncommon when state governments use tax incentives to attract business investment.

Connecticut has become a Hollywood production favorite following the passage of expanded digital media and motion pictures tax credits July 2007. The legislation places greater focus on helping to develop local crew base, support services, vendors and facilities. According to the Connecticut Commission on Culture and Tourism, "The payoff is double-sided. Studio and independent feature film production interest is at a record high, and it is thought to generate economic activity equivalent to three times the production company's expenditures. In a climate where tax incentives and rebates have become an essential part of filmmaking, the expanded tax credit legislation serves to strengthen Connecticut's position as one of the top five U.S. destinations in which to budget a film."

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Connecticut offers qualified production expense credit of up to 30 percent, including wages. This amounts to $3 million of tax relief on a $10 million film budget; a sum of money that could conceivably exceed the taxes generated by the film production undertaking. From being a location for the occasional film shoot, Connecticut has transformed itself to one that is a significant site for the production of feature films, television shows, and commercials (see Figure 2).

In an ironic twist, one of the more recent Hollywood runaways that was landed by Connecticut is "What Just

Happened?" (2008). The movie centers on a few short weeks in the life of a fading Hollywood producer played by Robert De Niro. Though the director, Barry Levinson, is a resident of Connecticut, the primary reasons cited for choosing Connecticut were the substantial below and above the line tax benefits.

Tax windfalls are especially large in states where unused tax credit can be sold as in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. For that matter, there is no guarantee that the funds generated from the sale of tax credits will be used in Connecticut. Film production companies could use the funds to finance the production of films in other states. Indeed,

> Revenue losses are exacerbated by the tendency of these tax credits, like almost all tax credits, to subsidize activity not originally targeted and to provide more incentive than needed to the desired response. And, when film tax credits do hit their mark and induce more local film production, the resulting stimulus to overall economic activity appears to be rather modest.[9]

Connecticut's apparent success has not gone unnoticed. The need to match Connecticut's film incentives loomed large and on April 23, 2008, New York state passed legislation upping its existing tax credit from 10 percent to 30 percent for qualified film and television production, thus, effectively tripling its rebate program. Added to the mix is the 5 percent tax credit offered by the "Made in New York City" program, bringing the total tax credit to 35 percent. New York's goal was to regain its competitive edge over its neighboring states including Connecticut, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. The strategy appears to be showing a great deal of success. In mid-May 2008, the television series "Ugly Betty" announced its move to the Big Apple because of the absence of film production incentives in California.

Having revised its film tax credit incentive program, New York now faces yet another challenge, i.e., dissuading New York based film companies from relocating their offices and/or studios to Connecticut.

Blue Sky Studios Inc.

On March 20, 2008, Governor M. Jodi Rell of Connecticut announced an $8 million loan to Blue Sky Studios to help transfer its operations from White Plains, New York, to Greenwich, Connecticut. This move includes a state-of-the-art animation facility, involving the relocation of 300 full-time employees from New York to Connecticut. The terms of the loan call for 3 percent interest over 10 years, with principal and interest payments deferred for the first five years. Six million

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FIGURE 2.

Recent Productions Attracted to Connecticut by Expanded Film Incentives

"Camp Hope" starring Dana Delany, directed by George VanBuskirk

"College Road Trip" starring Martin Lawrence and Raven, directed by Roger Kumble

"Company Retreat" starring Hart Bochner, directed by Campbell Scott

"Factory Girl" starring Sienna Miller and Guy Pearce, directed by George Hickenlooper

"For One More Day" starring Michael Imperioli, directed by Lloyd Kramer

"Friends with Benefits" starring Margaret Laney, directed by Gorman Bechard

"In Bloom" starring Uma Thurman and Evan Rachel Wood, directed by Vadim Perelman

"Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull" starring Harrison Ford, directed by Steven Spielberg

"Laws of Motion" starring Matthew Perry and Hiliary Swank, directed by Craig Lucus

"Made for Each Other" starring George Segal, directed by Daryl Goldberg

"Old Dogs" starring John Travolta and Robin Williams, directed by Walt Becker

"Pistol Whipped" starring Steven Seagal, directed by Roel Reiné

"Reservation Road" starring Joaquin Phoenix and Jennifer Connelly, directed by Terry George

"Revolutionary Road" starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet, directed by Sam Mendes

"Righteous Kill" starring Robert DeNiro and Al Pacino, directed by Jon Avnet

"The Accidental Husband" starring Uma Thurman, directed by Griffen Dunne

"The Bronx is Burning" starring John Turturro and Oliver Platt, directed by Jeremiah Chechik

"The Other Side of the Tracks" starring Chad Lindberg, directed by Alex Calvo

"The Sisterhood of the Traveling Pants 2" starring America Ferrera, directed by Sanaa Hamri

"The Six Wives of Henry Lefay " starring Tim Allen, directed by Howard Michael Gould

"What Just Happened?" starring Robert DeNiro and Bruce Willis, directed by Barry Levinson

Source: Connecticut Commission on Culture and Tourism of the eight million dollar loan will be forgiven if Blue Sky Studios complies with its job creation requirement by June 2012.

Governor Rell announced that the loan will produce "a lasting investment. Blue Sky is not simply shooting a scene or two in Connecticut; they have chosen to make a home in our state." The ownership of Blue Sky Studios is of particular interest. It is a wholly owned unit of Fox Filmed Entertainment, one of the world's largest producers and distributors of motion pictures – hardly a financially disadvantaged enterprise.

INTERSTATE LEAKAGE

The competing New England states and New York appear to be entangled in a complex web of incentives with no end in sight, but with potentially negative budgetary consequences for the states and their citizenry. Massachusetts, for example, in January 2006 created a 20 percent tax credit for payroll expenses, a 25 percent credit for production expenses, and a sales tax exemption. One year later, January 2007, the film incentive law was made more competitive by increasing the payroll tax credit to 25 percent, lowering the threshold to qualify from $250,000 in expenditures to $50,000, and by eliminating a $7 million limit for tax credits on any single movie.

Incentives, without question, boost film production activity. However, a report by the state's Department of Revenue indicated that the lost tax revenues could have a negative impact on the ability of the state to respond adequately in more critical areas of concern, such as health and education. The departmental report of March 2008 was the first time the state of Massachusetts attempted to quantify the costs and benefits of the tax breaks. In part, this attempt was precipitated by the chorus of supporters of film production incentives lobbying for tax credits aimed at encouraging movie companies to build studios in Massachusetts.[10]

The film incentive cost-benefit conundrum is also being heard and debated in Rhode Island. New curbs on the management of the state' s incentive program, enacted in 2005, are being proposed by the state's Division of Taxation. Specifically, it had to do with the "determination" of expenses under the incentive program; i.e., expenses would only be 'qualified' if they were performed, produced or rented by a Rhode Island resident or vendor.

Upon examining the New England film production incentive rivalry, it becomes evident that certain benefits leak to neighboring states. A key goal for state support is to generate local clusters of contractors, subcontractors, labor, and suppliers within close proximity. However, the geographic proximity of states inevitably leads to leakages of benefits relative to what the state is trying to achieve in a state specific context. While this issue can be attributed to the lack of implementation rules, the very nature of the film production industry makes the issue a particularly challenging one. Acknowledging the complexity of the industry is one thing, addressing it is another.

Employment in the motion picture production industry provides such an example. Motion picture production work is project-driven. Production work requires large numbers of workers who are employed for a finite period ranging from a few days to a few months. Some workers move from project to project and some rotate among a number of production shoots. Depending on the skill requirements of the work and interstate proximity of the projects, a worker may be employed on a number of projects while a resident in one state, but earning much of his/her income in another state. Indeed, in Connecticut's case, close proximity to New York and the availability of experienced crews and professional resources has been an added advantage to attracting film production shoots.

The competing New England states and New York appear to be entangled in a complex web of incentives with no end in sight, but with potentially negative budgetary consequences for the states and their citizenry.

SUMMARY OBSERVATIONS

Film production incentives are not without their share of political criticism. The critics argue that the role of government should not be one that dispenses corporate welfare to floating film companies drawn to the most financially attractive state platforms. This is hardly a long term strategy for economic development. Nonetheless, our interviews with film industry executives and state officials suggest that political dynamics which characterize interstate incentive competition for film production shoots are more than likely to intensify. This view parallels research undertaken on the topic of business location and tax incentives, in spite of the belief that the cumulative effects of such incentive benefits are open to question and frequently doubtful.

The literature on regional development and geographic locational competition is replete with examples of how state governments got it wrong by being too naive or too politically driven. Designing incentives for specific firms in specific circumstances puts public officials in the position of double-guessing the private sector about what can succeed and what cannot. Bureaucrats are the least capable people to pick winners and losers. Firm-specific incentives can invite charges of favoritism from the public and from firms that do not receive the incentives.[11]

Recent U.S. studies indicate that the cost per job resulting from tax breaks offered by competing states has been high. In charting where jurisdictions have got it wrong, local political factors tend to be a key driver of over-commitment. Of particular interest is how state politicians have been responsible for propagating the kind of strategic images that have trapped their state in behavior that turned out to be detrimental. Having persuaded the public to accept their vision of economic and social development goals, politicians and their bureaucrats can create an environment that becomes increasingly difficult to subsidize or diverge from. Such a situation typically produces political and psychological stress for both politicians and their senior policy advisors, and frequently results in costly mistakes in the form of irrational policymaking.

At first blush, it may appear that the MPAA is not actively involved in encouraging individual states to enact legislation in support of tax incentives for motion picture production. But this is certainly not the case. At the very time the US Senate voted to remove the movie-industry tax break from the US stimulus bill, MPAA Chairman and CEO Dan Glickman, in a Feb. 3, 2009, press release, applauded Michigan Governor Granholm for her state having implemented "one of the country's best film tax production program(s) in the U.S" and for having announced the planned development of a new $54 million motion picture and television production facility in Pontiac. These initiatives are aimed at attracting "scores" of motion picture productions and other projects to the region. According to Glickman, "a sustainable new industry is coming over the horizon to Michigan." The experience of other US states involved in attracting film productions suggests that such a perspective, if not somewhat farfetched, is somewhat questionable.

FOOTNOTES

1. The MPAA represents the American motion picture, home video, and television industries whose members include Buena Vista Pictures Distribution, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Studios, Inc., Paramount Pictures, Sony Pictures Entertainment Inc., Twentieth Century Fox Film Corp., NBC Universal, and Warner Bros. Entertainment Inc.
2. Runaway productions are categorized as creative and economic. Creative runaways are those productions that are shot on locations related to story/script requirements, whereas an economic runaway is defined as Hollywood-developed feature films, movies for television, TV shows, or series which are filmed in another state for economic reasons; i.e., to achieve lower production costs.
3. For a detailed examination see Litvak, I.A. and Litvak M.M., "U.S. Film Commissions & Hollywood," *Economic Development Journal*, Volume 6, Number 3, Summer 2007, pp. 5-13.
4. Texas Perspectives Inc., *Film & Visual Media in Austin*, 2004, p.16.
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6. Florida Governor's Office of Film & Entertainment, Legislative Update 4-17-08.
7. Ibid.
8. Saas, D.R., "Hollywood East? Film Tax Credits in New England," *New England Public Policy Center*, Policy Brief 06-3, Boston, Mass., October 2006.
9. Ibid., p.4.
10. Wallack, T., "Tax Breaks Draw Films, But Cost State," *The Boston Globe*, March 27, 2008. Accessed 3/31/2008 (http://www.boston.com/business/articles/2008/03/27/Tax_breaks_draw-films_but_lost-sta).
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