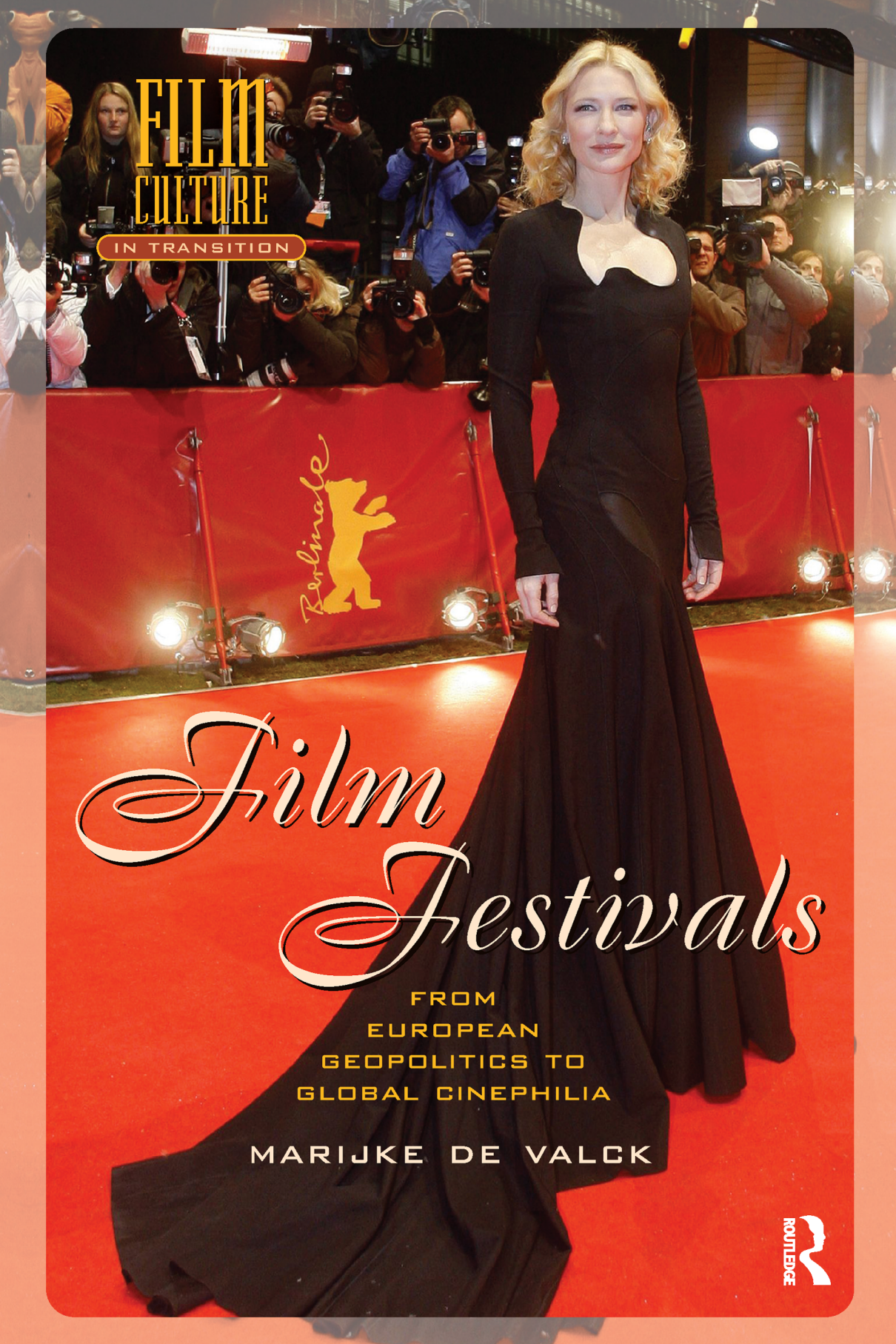
FILM CULTURE
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Film Festivals
FROM EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICS TO GLOBAL CINEPHILIA
MARIJKE DE VALCK
ROUTLEDGE

Film Festivals



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Film Festivals

From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia

Marijke de Valck

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Marijke de Valck
Amsterdam, November 2007



Visitors select their program at the International Film Festival Rotterdam
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"… Film festivals are annual highlights for many film lovers", p. 14

Introduction – Film Festivals as Sites of Passage

I was not raised in a cinephile environment, but I shared an interest in film and television with my sister from an early age. My parents keep a series of slides in the family collection that is a wonderfully accurate representation of the comfortable viewing pleasures of our suburban childhood. It shows my mother, my sister and I cuddled up on the couch in the living room. We were aged seven and nine respectively and completely immersed in The Sound of Music (USA: Robert Wise, 1965). Our cheeks are flushed with excitement, eyes wide open from a mix of fascination and fatigue. We must have repeated this ritual over forty times, knowing the lyrics by heart and having developed a habit of fast-forwarding through the parts we, at the time, considered boring. The love for cinema did not diminish, however, at the end of our childhoods. On the contrary, as adolescents we would often persuade our father on weekends to drive us to the out-of-the-way video store. We preferred to watch the tapes twice; within the family setting at night and, again, just the two of us the next morning, before returning them to the store. Our shared interest evolved from browsing the video –store's popular entertainment shelves to a passion for discovering "other cinemas," in the mid-1990s. We were the first among our family and circle of friends to visit art houses and the "better" cinemas. Gus van Sant's My Own Private Idaho (USA: 1991) and Jane Campion's The Piano (Australia/New Zealand/France: 1993) come to mind as particularly strong revelations during that period, which left us yearning for more. This craving for "other" films was satisfied, above all, when we began visiting the international film festival in our hometown of Rotterdam.

My first memory of the festival is the feeling of being pleasantly overwhelmed by the many unknown cinematic forms, the intelligent, unconventional stories, and the exotic cultures of which the films allowed us a glimpse. I remember watching my first Egyptian film at the festival. At the time, I experienced it as an absolutely incomprehensible story filled with ghosts, illogical superstition and characters with extravagant, unfamiliar acting styles. The incomprehension, however, went hand in hand with utter fascination for the discovery of an unknown universe. The festival proved that cinema was apparently unlimited in the ways it could be used to tell stories and convey emotions. I vividly remember the thrill of recognizing personal taste preferences when

attending the screening of Todd Haynes's SAFE (UK/USA: 1995) at the festival of 1996. The alienation of Carol White, a Los Angeles housewife, her faltering immune system and search for a safe environment resonated in my diminishing fascination for Hollywood dreams. It felt like these new preferences had been there all along, lingering in my subconscious and simply waiting for their first exposure. It transformed the film festival into a magical place, a Labyrinth in which I could wander endlessly, stumbling across one discovery after another.

My experience is one that is shared by many cinephiles worldwide. Film festivals are annual highlights for many film lovers. It is only later that I realized that festivals are also frequented by film professionals and government officials with business agendas and political purposes, and that the critical commitment of programmers and press is necessary for any festival event to prosper. Despite their obvious importance in these various areas, film festivals have seldom been the topic of academic research. Press coverage on film festivals is omnipresent, but it often fails to provide us with an encompassing cultural analysis of the phenomenon that transcends the individual festival editions, both historically and on a contemporary level. *Film Festivals* responds to this dearth. This book aims to offer a comprehensive introduction to the film festival phenomenon, which will include both a historical overview of the development film festivals and a cultural assessment of the workings of the present-day international film festival circuit.

European Roots

Europe is the cradle of the film festival phenomenon. It was the specific European geopolitical situation in the period preceding World War II and the immediate post-war era that brought together the necessary incentives to initiate their development, which would later expand to a global phenomenon. However, throughout the historical development of film festivals, the United States, particularly Hollywood, has been highly influential. This makes it impossible to consider film festivals without considering the dynamics between cinema in Europe and cinema in Hollywood.[1] European cinemas have often been viewed as being in opposition to Hollywood. Many are inclined to think of European cinemas as art or high culture and Hollywood as mass entertainment or popular culture; people often place the state-model (subsidized cinema) in Europe in direct opposition to the studio system (box-office cinema) in Hollywood; or contrast the fascination of European filmmakers with pain and effort with that of Hollywood's reliance on pleasure and thrills. Along a similar line, one could position the European auteur versus the Hollywood star, the European festival

hit versus the Hollywood blockbuster, and European film discoveries versus Hollywood marketing strategies. Ultimately, the international film festival circuit has a quintessentially European connotation while the Academy Awards (Oscar night) represent the ultimate manifestation of Hollywood.

If these oppositions have any value it is not as description of the (combination of) national film industries in actual geographical locations, but as popular conceptions of different sets of professional film values. They, however, fail to do justice to the complexity of all of the actual forces at work. When one considers, for example, the history of the Cannes Film Festival, the fact remains that the initiative was a combined French, British *and* American effort. They joined forces against the fascist dominance of the film festival in Venice. Moreover, the festival used its transatlantic connections, somewhat opportunistically, to put itself on the map as the most important cinema event of the year. Cannes has been eloquently described as "Hollywood's licentious French mistress." [2] What this characterization alludes to, is an effective translation of the Hollywood celebrity system by film festivals. Hollywood stars, glamour, scandals and an enchanting location were the main ingredients in the success of Cannes in the 1950s and Hollywood's presence continued to influence Cannes in the years to follow. The example proves that cinema in Europe is, in fact, intertwined with Hollywood and part of a larger complexity of influences. For a broader understanding of European cinemas it has become necessary to develop approaches that can grasp the interplay of forces at work in the contemporary international, dynamic environment of cinema. Thomas Elsaesser suggested the presence of another binary Europe-Hollywood scheme that is "no longer based on the art versus commerce opposition, but structured around the terms we now associate with globalization: space/place, mobility/ubiquity, mapping/tracking etc., but where the pairs do not line up on a positive/negative scale, and instead represent different modalities, aggregate states of varying intensities."[3]

These are precisely the modalities that can be put to work in the network approach that *Film Festivals* proposes. In this study, film festivals will be presented as the nodal points in a "successful"[4] cinema network that originated in Europe. This cinema network operates both with and against the hegemony of Hollywood. While it is important to emphasize the European roots of the international film festival circuit, it is, at the same time, vital to characterize the network as open to the participation of Hollywood and other entities. *Film Festivals* thus can only be understood by moving away from traditional European film theory; dominant labels such as "art" and "auteur" should, for example, not be regarded as intrinsic qualities of European cinema and film culture, but, instead, treated as part of the strategic discourse of the international film festival circuit.[5]

Studying film festivals demands a mobile line of inquiry. One should be able to move from systems of state support to production deals and audience reception, from global patterns of circulation to Hollywood interference and local initiatives. The point where all these forces come together is the international film festival event. At the festivals the issues of nationality or political relations are negotiated, economic sustainability or profitability is realized, and new practices of cinephilia are initiated. Film festivals, in other words, play a role in numerous areas. They accommodate culture and commerce, experimentation and entertainment, geopolitical interests and global funding. In order to analyze the network of film festivals, it is necessary to investigate all of these different levels on which the festival events operate. In this book, four broad areas are distinguished: geopolitics, business, and culture, which is subdivided into media/press on the one hand and audiences/cinephiles on the other. Consequently, the four case studies that are presented in the following chapters each revolve around a different area on which the network of film festivals operates while simultaneously addressing the modalities that are shared between them. Each chapter focuses on a different interest group and specific film festival. Theoretically, the case studies are not completely separate. Each area and interest group brings along with it a specific theoretical emphasis, but themes will also reappear throughout the entire work and, thereby, relate to the different case studies on a conceptual level. The first case study on the subject of geopolitics will offer the opportunity to zoom in on the festival organization. In the second case study, which concentrates on business, the film professionals will be the focus of attention. The third case study deals with culture and takes a closer look at the involvement of the media. The fourth case study also deals with culture but focuses on the experiences of the festival public and festival programming.

Film Festivals and Cultural Theory

Despite the omnipresence of film festivals, there has been very little published on film festivals that is based on a systematic, academic study.[6] The most common type of festival publication recounts the history of one selected film festival. These publications are often realized in cooperation with the festival organization – for example, on the occasion of an anniversary – or are dedicated to influential festival directors and/or tend to focus on the glamour, scandals and stars (e.g., Bart 1997; Beauchamp and Béhar 1992; Billard 1997; Corless and Darke 2007; Ethis 2001; Heijs and Westra 1996; Jacobson 1990, 2000; Roddolo 2003; Schröder 2000; Smith 1999). A second type of publication, less common, addresses a specific (often historical) question, related to, for instance, festivals

and national identity (Czach 2004; Hofstede 2000a and 200b; Bono 1991; Fehrenbach 1995); festivals and Hollywood (Jungen 2005, Stringer 2003a and 2003b); or festivals and cinephilia (De Valck 2005; Kim 1998). Like the comprehensive histories, these studies tend to concentrate on one festival. Little work, on the other hand, has been done on the universality of the festival experience or the international film festival circuit as a series of related events. This research specifically builds on the few works that do try to make a more universal argument regarding international film festivals: Nichols (1994a and 1994b) investigates the effect of the film festival experience on the perception and interpretation of new cinemas; Dayan (2000) and Turan (2002) distinguish between the experiences of different groups of participants (e.g., directors, sales agents; audiences; journalists) and different festival agendas (business, geopolitics and aesthetics) respectively; Stringer (2001) analyses the international film festival circuit as part of the global space economy; Harbord (2002) also uses the spatialization of network discourses to approach the festival phenomenon; and Elsaesser (2005) draws attention to various festival consistencies, such as their potential to add value and set agendas.

By conducting four case studies as part of a larger analysis of the international film festival circuit, this research takes the first step towards understanding the festival circuit as a network. More specifically, the research introduces the socio-economic tradition of studying the economic effectiveness and marketing value of trade fairs (e.g., Holtfrerich 1999; Bello 1992; Kerin and Cron 1986; and Shust 1981) or the effects of cultural events on tourism, regional development and cultural communities to the discipline of media studies (e.g., Arnold 2000; Landry 1996, 2000; and Nurse 2002). The aim is to elevate the ubiquitous and important phenomenon of film festivals above the realms of journalism and popular history, to add a new (type of) study to the media studies research agenda and to inspire other scholars to pursue specific research questions that will support, modify or contradict the preliminary schemata proposed in this book.

Moreover, by introducing new conceptual parameters to the study of film festivals, the research will hopefully give a new impulse to the discipline of media studies. In addition to building on the aforementioned publications on film festivals by media theorists, the research can be seen as running parallel to emerging traditions in sociology and contemporary anthropology. Nick Couldry, for example, has conducted groundbreaking empirical research on questions of media power, media space, the mediation of social life and the complexities of everyday taste and reflexivity (2003 and 2004, Couldry and McCarthey 2004). Various anthropologists have responded to the transformations of modern societies by suggesting new concepts and methods to study the fragmented social networks, in which people are ever more mobile. As Nigel Rapport out-

lines: "A growing body of literature emphasizes the global mobility of contemporary life: its synchronicity (Tambiah), compression (Paine), massification (Riesman), creolization (Hannerz), deterriorialization (Appadurai), inter-referencing (Clifford), hybridization (Bhabha). Here is a world no longer divided into a mosaic of cultural-territorial segments but conjoined by a complex flow of people, goods, money and information, including even the most isolated areas in a cosmopolitan framework of interaction."[7] Marc Augé has already indicated that these kinds of changes in our contemporary worlds (what he refers to as the "acceleration of history" and the "shrinking planet") not only affect anthropology, the study of historical place, but also history, and the investigation of anthropological time.[8] In this book, I will utilize insights derived from various theories on social interaction to rethink media history and theory. I will do so *not* by adjusting the canonical study of "author" and "national cinema" to the demands of contemporary transnational film practice, for example, by studying diasporic filmmakers or accented cinema (Naficy 2001), but by taking an unexplored angle: by investigating the film festival event, where complex configurations of spatial and temporal dimensions are essential to the channeling of the various flows in contemporary cinema cultures.

More specifically, this research on film festivals moves away from the literary tradition, semiotics, structuralism and psychoanalysis and explores the usefulness of various network and system theories for the investigation of cinema in the era of globalization. It can be understood in light of the "spatial turn" in the Humanities (see e.g., Rennen and Verstraete 2005). The research concentrates on the spatial and temporal dimensions of a specific environment in which films circulate. It uses spatio-temporal parameters to extend cultural analysis to critical assessment that includes political and economic agendas. In the case studies, I will show how the international film festival circuit combines the local and the global, the city and the nation, and the space of the media with the place of the event in a network configuration that is complex and self-sustainable by offering various film cultures (products and people alike) a variety of ways of plugging in.

In this study, I will also refer to cultural theory of "attention," "spectacle" and "experience." Jonathan Crary has persuasively shown how "ideas about perception and attention were transformed in the late nineteenth century alongside the emergence of new technological forms of spectacle, display, projection, attraction, and recording."[9] One of the consequences of these shifts, according to Crary, is that attention acquired a central position in modern subjectivity. Whereas, perception was previously considered an unproblematic, immediate and a-temporal human capacity for sensing the self-presence of the world, this notion was contested by the late nineteenth-century discourse that realized such self-presence was impossible due to physical and psychological restrictions. As

Walter Benjamin argued in his seminal essay on the work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction, the transformations of this period led to a new type of value; exhibition value was added to cult value.[10] Photography and film, in particular, relied on this new exhibition value. In other words, their importance lay not in being, but in being perceived, to attract attention and solicit emotional and cognitive responses from the spectators. Crary and Benjamin's work provide the necessary conceptual backdrop in this study for linking the exhibition context of the cinema of attractions to the phenomenon of film festivals. I will argue that "spectacle" is important in holding both the audience's and media's attention. From the perspective of perception, the growth of film festivals can be explained by referring to the increasing importance of "experiences" in contemporary culture (see Pine and Gilmore 1999). It is not simply the artwork itself, but more specifically its spectacular exhibition that has become a commodified product in the cultural economy. Festival visitors not only decide to devote their attention to watching a particular film, they also choose to experience that film as part of the festival screening process. This insight can be used to explain why certain films attract full houses (and audience interest) at festivals while theatres remain unfilled (and box office revenues disappointing) when the same films are released in the art house circuit. Most importantly, the focus on "attention," "spectacle" and "experience"' offers ways of framing institutional decisions and cinephile practices without being caught in high-low culture dichotomies. Firstly, however, it is necessary to take a closer look at historical developments.

Three Historical Phases

If one wants to explain the contemporary "success" of film festivals it is imperative that we include a historical perspective. History will helps us to understand why film festivals succeeded in developing into a successful network whereas the cinematic avant-garde, which originated during roughly the same period and was subjected to the same field of antagonistic forces, failed to do so. Looking at the historical development of film festivals, one can discern key moments of transformation and, accordingly, divide the development into three main phases. The first phase runs from the establishment of the first reoccurring film festival in Venice in 1932 until 1968, when upheavals began to disrupt the festivals in Cannes and Venice, or, more precisely, the early 1970s, when these upheavals were followed by a reorganization of the initial festival format (which comprised film festivals as showcases of national cinemas). The second phase is characterized by independently organized festivals that operate both as protectors of the cinematic art and as facilitators of the film industries. This phase ends

in the course of the 1980s when the global spread of film festivals and the creation of the international film festival circuit ushers in a third period, during which the festival phenomenon is sweepingly professionalized and institutionalized. In the first case study on Berlin, these phases will be discussed in more detail. Throughout the chapters that follow, the three-tiered transformation of the film festival phenomenon will then serve as a guide to the elaboration of the historical position of film festivals in the larger (cultural, socio-economic and political) context and to deepen the knowledge of specific cases and periods. The themes that reoccur in this historical elaboration and deepening are politics, the condition of European film industries, the European film industries vis-à-vis Hollywood, New Hollywood, the avant-garde, video, digitization, and urban histories (in particular city marketing and tourism).

In this introduction to the historical component of the case studies, I will first clarify my historiographical position, particularly in relation to the New Film Historicism. Then I will address the question of why the (European) pre-war film avant-garde failed while film festivals succeeded and survived as a transnational film network. I will investigate the position that film festivals occupy between Hollywood and the avant-garde before World War II and, in the final section, discuss the influence of the post-war avant-garde, especially with regard to the emergence of a new type of programming, partly based on the avant-garde ideology, at (specialized) film festivals.

Film Festivals as New Object of Historical Research

Given the lack of a tradition of academic research on the topic of film festivals, it is not surprising that the small number of works that have been published date without exception from the 1990s and after. That film festivals have been the blind spot of film historical research for such a long time highlights the classical preoccupation of film historians with filmic texts. Until the 1980s, film history was conducted as a collection of facts, as a teleological account of new technological inventions and daring entrepreneurs, and as the creation of a canon of great masters and masterpieces. The New Film Historicism and its leading film historians (among whom Richard Allen, Douglas Gomery, Thomas Elsaesser, Tom Gunning, Noël Burch, Kristin Thompson, Janet Staiger, and Charles Musser) introduced theory to the historical practice.[11] Moreover, they shifted the attention away from the filmic texts and their relation to the novel and theatre plays, to the intertext and context of the films. Whereas in the 1970s film festivals were unlikely objects of historical research for traditional film studies because of the reliance on intrinsic filmic (textual) evidence, this incompatibility

was alleviated in the 1980s by the growing interest in socio-economic, political, and cultural factors that were raised within the New Film History. It is interesting to note, however, that film festivals remained understudied until the late 1990s. Much of the early New Historical research concentrated on early cinema and aimed to frame its deviating film form, while also including the specific circumstances of early film viewing, production, and distribution practices. If early cinema was the preferred research object, perhaps because the chronologically clear-cut corpus of early films made the transition between traditional film historians (focusing on films) and the new generation who extended that interest to intertext and context an easy one, then the new research areas that were opened up simultaneously provided perspectives that would become relevant to the study of film festivals at a later stage. As Elsaesser argued: "It [the emergence of new research areas] showed, for instance, that the study of the exhibition context could be the key to answering questions about production, as well as the development of film form… The result was a revision of what counts as evidence in film history."[12] This insight was supported with studies based on film viewings at fairs and carnivals as well as chronicles on early stationary cinemas. The early recognition of the importance of exhibition sites, oddly enough, did not lead directly to the investigation of that other major deviating exhibition site, film festivals, along the lines of the New Film History. Instead, much of the early work on film festivals ignored developments in film history and showed traditional tendencies, such as the emphasis on great achievements and discoveries. Two cases in point are publications that followed in the wake of the fiftieth anniversary of the Cannes Film Festival, *D'Or et de Palmes: Le Festival de Cannes* (Billard 1997) and *Cannes, Cris et Chuchotements* (Pascal 1997).

This persistent reliance on the tradition of great masters and masterpieces is all the more surprising because the temporary structure of film festivals, in fact, resembles the pre-distribution area of the early cinema (see also case study two). Like the exhibition context of the cinema of attractions, film festivals are temporary events of short duration, where films are shown in an atmosphere of heightened expectation and festivity. The creation of the international film festival circuit has further strengthened its resemblance to the early cinema context as many films now travel from festival to festival in anticipation of (or preparation for) access to distribution in permanent cinemas. If the study of the exhibition context of early cinema could generate knowledge on film aesthetics as well as the larger context of the cinema, would it then not be likely that equally revealing insights on historical issues such as the "auteur" and "art cinema" could be found through the study of the most prominent alternative exhibition context for film: the international film festival?

Taking film festivals as a new object for historical research is not without its difficulties. Film festivals are transient events of which the intensity and activity

is only partly represented in festival catalogues, newspaper reports, and media coverage. Like the research focused on early cinema, the study of film festivals requires a careful reconsideration of what counts as historical evidence. There are various ways to go about this. Let me briefly touch upon three of these. Wolfgang Jacobson's excellent and detailed history of the International Film Festival Berlin is a model for the conducting of historical research for the purpose of festival chronicles (Jacobson 2000). He draws from a variety of historical documents, correspondence, letters, festival publications, and speeches which are kept in the festival archive in Berlin and supplements the evidence found here with material found in the Federal Archive in Berlin.[13] In addition, filmmakers and festival directors were invited to contribute to the project and entrust their memories to paper. While Jacobson uses the historical sources directly – many original documents are photocopied into the book – to compose the festival's annals per year, Kieron Corless and Chris Darke (2007) blend their comparably rich historic material into a narrative account that celebrates the sixtieth anniversary of Cannes. The prerequisite for such "thick"[14] historical description is an extensive, well-kept, and accessible festival archive that may be complemented by information derived from oral history. When such an "ideal" archive is missing, alternative solutions need to be found. The example of the *Forum des Jungen Films*, which lost precious sections of its archives in a fire, shows that this can have refreshing results. Nicolaus Schröder edited a historical account (2000) in which interviews are alternated with historical newspaper and catalogue clippings, and a selection of contributions by filmmakers. The result is a multi-vocal reflection on the importance of the festival for independent cinema.

The process of data collection for this book included the study of historical documents and secondary literature as well as the collection of contemporary material, because I was interested in history as well as analyses of the contemporary situation. For contemporary research, this implied employing an ethnomethodology of participant observation at film festivals, interviews, and more text-based media analyses.[15] Information on the film festival histories has been gathered from festival publications (both in print and online), festival catalogues, archives, and secondary sources (both academic and non-academic) in which relevant historical documents from archives and interviews with key participants had already been chronicled. If to this we add the overload of festival reports that are available from newspapers, television shows, radio programs, websites and specialized film and entertainment magazines on each festival event separately, it becomes clear that not every piece of documentation and commentary is included in historical research. At the end of this introduction I will return to the process of selection and discuss it in the light of my use of Actor-Network Theory. To continue with the historical framing of film festivals

I will now turn to the second major constitutive influence (next to Hollywood): the film avant-garde.

Film Festivals and the Pre-war Avant-garde

After some years of experimentation with the film festival format, the "first film festival" was established in Venice in 1932. The event stood out from its predecessors because it was (indeed) the first festival to be organized annually (and until 1934, biannually). Other elements that would become characteristic of the festival phenomenon of the early period were also already in place in Venice; besides the allocation of fixed annual calendar dates, the festival was presented as an *international* and *glamorous* event attended by an *elite* audience of film professionals and the *beau monde*. The year 1932 marks the beginning of a phenomenon that would develop into the successful network of international film festivals. The year also delineates the end of the transition period from silent to sound film.[16] Sound-on-disc technologies had been surpassed by the superior synchronicity of sound-on-film and theatres could now be equipped with a standard sound installation. The period between the successful commercial introduction of sound film on 6 October 1927 with Warner's screening of The Jazz Singer (USA: Alan Crosland 1927) and the conversion to sound (completed in 1932) can be characterized as a period of crisis. The crisis was ubiquitous due to both the aesthetic dilemmas posed by the addition of a separate sensual mode of perception and the high costs that were involved in wiring production facilities and theatres, but it was felt particularly dramatically in Europe, where the introduction of the spoken word and its consequent extolment as the main storytelling device introduced the problem of language. Whereas the earlier intertitles could easily be translated into different language versions, complete soundtracks proved more difficult to adapt. Multilinguals (films recorded in various language versions) soon gave way to the practices of dubbing and subtitling.

The crisis that resulted from the arrival of sound to cinema has often been used to explain the downfall of the European avant-garde.[17] In the 1920s, the European film avant-garde flourished as an international network of creative individuals that challenged the aesthetics of the cinematic medium while engaging in subversive political discourse and activism (roughly corresponding with the Communist agenda).[18] The problem of language in European film production, distribution and exhibition – resulting from the introduction of sound – was intensified by lingering nationalistic feelings that were the remnants of World War I and a precursor of World War II. Nationalism threatened the

adroitness of the avant-garde's cosmopolitan networks. Due to the utopian nature of its political underpinning that did not allow for anything but a rejection of the petty national concerns of the reigning powers, the avant-garde was unable to respond adequately to the crisis.

The Venetian film festival archetype, on the other hand, did provide an answer that would survive the crisis. The film festival combined the "international" with the "national" by inviting nations to participate in an international showcase where they could present a selection of their own finest films of that year. The festival was created as a new space where language was not an obstacle, but was instead considered an unproblematic "given" in the cultural competition between film-producing nations. In the context of the showcase for national cinemas, film sound actually contributed to cultural distinction at the festivals. By working explicitly with the nationalistic sentiments that divided European nations at the time and simultaneously addressing the necessary international dimension of the film industry, the international film festival instantly became an important factor.

A second characteristic that upheld the festival phenomenon against antagonistic forces was its relation to Hollywood, defined by its double bind. On the one hand, Hollywood was embraced. The MPPDA (Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America), Hollywood's trade organization, was accepted as America's national representative among the various national film funds of the other participating countries, although its main objective was the protection of (national) economic interests rather than national film promotion. Moreover, Hollywood stars were invited to the events and the glamour, scandals, and paparazzi that ensued in their wake became an integral part of the festival formula. On the other hand, Hollywood was subtly opposed. The film festival worked with a logic that fundamentally differed from that of the economically-dominated Hollywood agenda. Films were not treated as mass-produced commodities, but as national accomplishments; as conveyors of cultural identity; as art and as unique artistic creations. Although the avant-garde had a clear subversive ideology that agitated against the commercial film system and Hollywood's hegemony and for a new utopian order with matching alternative aesthetics, the film festivals were not limited to showing just one side of the issue. They cooperated with Hollywood's commercial film system, while simultaneously refocusing its merits on the more ideologically-colored goal of cultural enlightenment. Like the avant-garde, film festivals adopted a normative approach; they operated from an intellectual belief that certain artistic creations not only have economic, but also cultural, political or social values and that they, therefore, ought to be supported irrespective of economic gain.

The success of the international film festival might be best explained in terms of this peculiar position, sandwiched between the diametrically-opposed an-

tagonists of Hollywood and the avant-garde. The festival had one foot planted in the model of avant-garde artisanship, while the other steps forward to the beat of market forces within the cultural economy. Another factor that explains the avant-garde's failure as opposed to the film festival's success can be found in the differences in temporal orientation. For the European film avant-garde, the realization of ideological ideals has been mainly projected into the future. As Malte Hagener argues: "By anticipating a future order, by presenting a utopian promise the avant-garde also robs itself of its own place in that future society because the avant-garde has to exceed all limits of the present society in order to make the future come true."[19] The inability of the pre-war European film avant-garde to respond to the crisis of the time is closely related to its dogmatic rejection of the present and utopian orientation towards the future. The international film festival, on the other hand, balances between an acute awareness of the present and a preoccupation with the past. Like Hollywood, which is most clearly focused on the demands of that present in order to sustain its lucrative position in the film world, the international film festivals have been able to adapt themselves to transformations, (such as globalization and the technological developments of, for example, film sound, video, and digitization).

Yet, one can also conclude that, at festivals, a nostalgic longing remains. Especially European film festivals hark back to a time before Hollywood's hegemony, back when the arts were supported by enlightened elites. This nostalgia is reflected in the selections of old European spas and beach resorts as the locations of the first festivals (such as Venice's Lido, Cannes, Karlovy Vary – see case study three for a discussion on the festival as a memory site) and would result in a reworking of the tradition of artisanal craftsmanship to fit twentieth-century demands: the genius director also known as the creative author. In the next section, I will discuss the transformations that took place in the relation between film festivals and the cinematic avant-garde in the post-war period.

Film Festivals and the Post-war Avant-garde

The national and transnational networks of the pre-Second World War cinema avant-garde contributed to the emergence of the phenomenon of film festivals. The film clubs and societies that had been founded by avant-garde intellectuals and artists in Paris, London, Berlin, Amsterdam and other European cities offered non-commercial exhibition opportunities for all kinds of "artistic" films from roughly 1919 onwards. The screenings were organized in order to nurture an intellectual vanguard and more or less directly interfere in the film industry

business by promoting alternative products and places of exhibition. Likewise, an intellectual discourse countered various trade press articles in specialist magazines such as Switzerland's *Close-up*, the UK's *Film Art*, America's *Experimental Film,* the Netherlands' *Filmliga*, Germany's *Film und Volk,* and France's *Le Film* and *Le Journal de ciné-club*. The pre-Second World War film avant-garde also gathered at specialized festivals and conferences. These events were either "closed," such as the famous gatherings of independent filmmakers in La Sarraz (1929) and Lausanne (1930), or "open" like the "Film und Photo" Exhibition in Stuttgart in 1929.[20] If the energizing spirit of the 1920s and early 1930s European film avant-garde helped to give rise to film festivals, the relationship was turned around after World War II. Film *festivals* instead of ciné-clubs and film societies flourished. Meanwhile, avant-garde films, experimental movies, and political cinema would re-emerge at these events as "specialized" and "thematic" programming, particularly from the late 1960s onwards.

After the Second World War, New York replaced Paris as the capital of the avant-garde.[21] The American art scene witnessed the rise of Abstract Expressionism in painting as well as new waves of experimental filmmaking in the early 1940s. As A.L. Rees explains: "Many currents ran together to produce this extraordinary period. They comprise the wartime presence of modernist writers and artists from Europe, a new self-confidence, a need to emerge from Europe's shadow (once European modernism had been absorbed into the bloodstream), an economic boom, the availability of equipment and cameras, a generation of artists prepared by the public funding and commissioning of the Roosevelt years, and of course the model (or counter-model) of American Hollywood cinema as the leading home-grown industrial and cultural industry."[22] The American underground film movement of the 1950s and booming 1960s challenged Hollywood's hegemony and commercialization process by foregrounding social, non-interventionist documentaries and spontaneous, "rough" films, such as John Cassavetes's Shadows (USA: 1957). Like the members of the pre- Second World War film societies, the individuals in the underground film movement engaged in a range of activities to support the circulation of avant-garde films. Amos Vogel founded "Cinema 16" (which screened films from 1947 to 1963), Maya Deren led the "creative film" circle, and John Mekas founded the magazine *Film Culture* (later to be devoted to experimental film) in 1955 and the Mekas's Film Makers' Cooperative (Co-op), a distribution outlet and archive for avant-garde films.[23]

The Co-op was founded in reaction to Vogel's refusal to screen Stan Brakhage's Anticipation of the Night (USA: 1961) at Cinema 16. The dispute centered on the issue of selection and would bring forth two opposing, but equally influential institutions: the Co-op, where filmmakers were free to deposit their works, on the one hand, and, on the other, the New York Film Festi-

val – founded in 1963 by Vogel and Richard Roud – whose main task would revolve around selection and programming. In the 1970s, the Co-op's efforts to create an alternative circuit for avant-garde film were complemented by screenings by the Anthology Film Archive (with its key figures of Mekas, P. Adams Sitney, Stan Brakhage, and Peter Kubelka), the Millennium Film Workshop and Film Forum as well as the acceptance of the avant-garde in various museums such as the Whitney and MoMA, which began collecting and exhibiting films in 1935.[24] Moreover, the political climate of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations and the film festival upheavals in Europe (see case study one) led to a new phase in which more attention would be paid to the political engagement and formal experimentation of avant-garde cinema within the context of the international film festival circuit.

Between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, cinema had become entangled in critical political projects. It supported the anti-colonial struggles and revolutions in so-called Third World countries, anti-communist attempts at liberalization in Central and Eastern Europe, and left-wing movements in the West and in Japan. "Radical politics entered daily life. As was often said, the 'personal' had become 'political,'" as David Bordwell noted in summarizing the changes.[25] Film festivals were effective means within the political struggle to make underrepresented cinemas visible and Third World filmmakers heard. In Northern Africa, the biannual Carthage Film Festival (Tunisia) was established in as early as 1966. The Pan African Film and Television Festival, FESPACO, in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) followed in 1969. In addition, from the late 1960s onwards, Third World filmmakers and their critical political cinema would slowly find representation in the West and receive their first critical praise at the established European festivals. Consider, for example, Ousmane Sembene, a Senegalese novelist and communist who learnt filmmaking in Moscow and received the Jean Vigo award for La Noire de… (FR/SN: 1966) at the Cannes Film Festival in 1967.[26] Meanwhile, at the same time, filmmakers and (new) film festivals in the West were drawn to left-wing political agendas with an intense sense of conviction and dedication.

Let me briefly focus on Jean-Luc Godard and the Pesaro Film Festival as emblematic the figure and event for the developments of political cinema in the West. Godard's "political period" began in the years running up to the May 1968 riots in Paris. His intention was not merely to make "political films" but "to make films politically."[27] The contours of his political agenda were already visible before 1968, for example in his criticism of capitalism and Western civilization in Masculin-Feminin (FR/SE: 1966), 2 oú 3 Choses Que Je Sais d'Elle (FR: 1967), La Chinoise (FR: 1967) and Weekend (IT/FR: 1967). Godard's left-wing ideas culminated in activist interventions in the Spring of 1968, when as a leading figure of the "Nouvelle Vague" movement, he heralded the protests

against the dismissal of Cinémathèque director Henri Langlois and the subsequent disruption of the Cannes Film Festival. Godard, among others, demanded the reformation of the festival that, in his opinion, had become a straw man for the commercial film industry. He and others traveled to the festival to show their solidarity with workers who were on strike and their support for the premature shutting down of the festival (see chapter one). After the Cannes upheaval, Godard broke with the less politically-committed Nouvelle Vague filmmakers and entered a period of what Robert Low described as "overtly political and revolutionary cinema, intensely radical and rebellious in structure and intention, motivated by Maoist thought, anti-consumerism and anti-Vietnam."[28] In this period from 1969 to 1974, Godard collaborated with Jean-Pierre Gorin, and they called themselves the Dziga Vertov Group, in an obvious allusion to avant-garde tradition.

The shutting down of the Cannes Film Festival in 1968 also influenced the position of the Pesaro Film Festival. Since its inception in 1965, the Pesaro Film Festival had been the major platform for "both feature and documentary films of an experimental and invariably political nature" and "an alternative to the 'First-world,' established cinema of Hollywood and Western Europe."[29] The festival showed "uncompromising solidarity with class struggles all over the world"[30] and introduced the revolutionary New Latin American Cinema to Europe. Besides, it developed a radically new festival format with ample opportunity for discussion, lengthy publications and a productive combination of cinephile, political-activist and academic input in both. Roland Barthes, Umberto Eco, Milos Forman, Christian Metz, and Pier Paolo Pasolini were among the contributors to the famous Pesaro debates. Thanks to its alternative structure the festival was able to respond swiftly to the Cannes crisis, which had an effect on festivals worldwide; Pesaro immediately dedicated the 1969 festival to "Cinema and Politics." As Don Ranvaud argued, the festival's model of cultural intervention was highly influential in "the manner with which other festivals in Italy (with Venice above all others) have gradually incorporated what perhaps may be termed a 'Pesaro factor' in their programs."[31] Pesaro led the way toward a new type of programming. Festival directors and programmers began selecting films on a thematic instead of national basis beginning in the late 1960s onwards. Festival editions and sections became mechanisms for intervention, institutionalized ways of placing issues on the international cultural agenda and, with the worldwide dissemination of the festival phenomenon, signboards for competing festival images. With "specialized" and "thematic" programming, festivals could participate in world politics and cinema culture (for instance, by contributing to debates on New Latin American cinema and facilitating the canonization of experimental Feminist cinema). In this way, after World

War II, part of the traditional avant-garde project was absorbed into the film festival network.

If the success of the international film festivals, both before and after World War II, can be explained by referring to the complex negotiation of antagonistic forces, then the question that needs to be addressed next is how film festivals can be conceptualized in this force field of contradictions. A major shift in conceptual theory is necessary because the old notions of "auteur" and "nation" seem insufficient in construing the transformations. Frameworks based on either personality or ideology remain encapsulated within the classic sociological distinction between human agency and structure, while film festivals, on the other hand, seem to thrive thanks to a variety of relations. Therefore, I will now turn to network and system theories which can describe the hybrid connections. This will allow the necessary inclusion of both Hollywood and the avant-garde as antagonistic and constitutive influences on the development of the international film festival circuit.

Network Theory

Network and system theories have become popular since the 1990s. The development of globalization in general and the boom in information and communication technologies in particular have stimulated the interest in the investigation of societies, subjects and objects and their global interrelationship. The widespread use of the Internet and the success of movies like The Matrix (USA: Wakowski brothers, 1999) in the 1990s have, moreover, familiarized the general public with the network metaphor. The danger, as Bruno Latour argues, is that "[n]ow that the World Wide Web exists, everyone believes they understand what a network is. While twenty years ago there was still some freshness in the term as a critical tool against notions as diverse as institution, society, nation-state and, more generally, any flat surface, it has lost any cutting edge and is now the pet notion of all those who want to modernize modernization. 'Down with rigid institutions,' they say, 'long live flexible networks.'"[32] Latour's lamentation on the alleged inflation of the increasingly popular notion of the network should not, of course, keep anyone from exploring the rich theoretical insights that were developed under its wing. In the post-structuralist paradigm, various critical perspectives on the modern worldview were formulated; instead of relying on transcendental (hierarchical) structures and clear (dichotomous) distinctions, attention was re-directed towards the immanence of ramifications and the hybridity of relations; instead of fixating on human agency and logocentricism, the presence of non-human models and post-rational flows of

exchange was explored; instead of describing the stability and unity of things, theorists began to analyze processes of transformation and translation. Aside from the current popular connotation with the Word Wide Web, the notion of the network is also representative for these post-structuralist paradigm shifts and will be applied as such in this book.

From the various network and system theories that I allude to, the work of Bruno Latour has been the most influential on my thinking on circuits, networks, and systems.[33] His rejection of any conceptual distinction between human and non-human actors has helped me to understand and relate the various entities that are present at film festivals such as film professionals, the cinemas, stars and cinephiles as well as trade magazines and newspapers. Following Latour, I understand the festival network to be dependent on a variety and varied set of relations between such entities. This perspective is very productive when one is – as I was – interested in the successful transformations of film festivals and their survival as a network (compared to the dispersal of the pre-war network of the European film avant-garde). It works well because it allows for a non-hierarchical study of the various agendas that are pursued, acted out, and undermined by film festival events. I will now elaborate upon how Latourian thinking and Actor-Network Theory (ANT) can be useful for media scholars. I shall also introduce other theorists where ANT falls short in understanding film festivals and coin the notion of "sites of passage."

The turn to network theory takes its cue from the perceived inadequacies of the notions of "nation" and "auteur" in describing (European) cinema. These notions have spurred studies on "national cinema" that have concentrated on the cinematic texts produced in a territory and "auteur-cinema" in which the text is analyzed as that which is created by an artist with a unique vision. Of course 'nationality' is an important aspect of film festivals, as is the celebration of directors. However, it becomes increasingly difficult to talk about national cinemas without, at the same time, addressing the transnational interconnections that plant theses cinemas firmly within the globalized (multi-)media environment. The network approach in this book thus indicates a spatial move away from geopolitics and "the nation," towards the global economy and "the city." It also reveals an ideological shift away from agendas that dichotomize artistic categorizations – subjecting them to hierarchical value judgments – and toward concerns about the interconnections between the multiplicity of technologies, institutions and markets in the contemporary global media culture (while paying attention to difference and practices of translation). This perspective results in the reframing of new waves and the author within their economic-cultural context rather than deploying them as tropes for the cultural analysis of films as singular creations as expressive of national/artistic essences.

The most important question, however, is whether network theory can explain successes and failures in the cinema? Why, for example, did the cinematic avant-garde fail to become a system, both before and after World Word II? And why did film festivals succeed? If we apply system theorist Niklas Luhmann, then a closer historical investigation of the channels and codes will point to a central role for festival awards in their success story. Prizes are a highly effective protocol to include and exclude people and artifacts from the system that has been lacking in the avant-garde; they contribute to the preservation of the system (what Luhmann calls "autopoeisis"). If we follow Manuel Castells's concern with the technological revolution, then our attention shifts from the information – which is merely raw material in the Castellian network society – to an infrastructural, spatial analysis of the global economy. The global economy is seen as an abstract system, which is also always linked to concrete places (what Castells calls "space of place").

Unlike the avant-garde film festivals, which have been very successful in sustaining their links with concrete places by means of combining cultural agendas with tourism and city marketing. The network theories point to the usefulness of what Gilles Deleuze called a "grass" model instead of a "tree" model for mapping the contemporary world of cinema and media. Globalization, digitization, and transnational networks have led to a multitude of heterogeneous systems that do not operate completely independent of the forces of territorialization. They nonetheless thrive to such an extent, by virtue of their instability and hybridity, so that these forces have to be included in conceptualizations. The various theorists offer alternatives for the Modernist opposition of agency and structure, but disagree on the extent to which the Postmodernist preoccupation with difference and fragmentation resists the academic labor of producing metaphysical theories. The use of the concept of the "black box" is emblematic of this. For Luhmann, the black box represents the self-sustainability of closed systems that are blind to the outside environment, apart from standardized input and output channels. This black box can be studied as a system. For Latour, the black box is the unproblematic representation of a scientific process, where input and output channels are invisible. This black box conceals its creation and it should be broken open so that the networks of controversies, competition, people at work, and decisions that led to the creation of the scientific fact can be studied. Thus, whereas Luhmann works towards one meta-theory that explains systems, Latour denounces such metaphysical language and starts with descriptions on the lowest level that amount to an "actor-network theory."

Film Festivals and Actor-Network Theory

Some of the early film festival research has already made it clear that film festivals are complex phenomena, operating in various areas and frequented by a variety of visitors, that are hard to describe using mono-disciplinary approaches. In his article "Looking for Sundance: The Social Construction of a Film Festival" Daniel Dayan, for example, starts out by investigating the 1997 Sundance Film Festival using an anthropological methodology and hypothesis regarding the festival audience, whose collective performance he seeks to define as norms that appear within behavioral sequences. However, halfway through the article the author has to admit to the inadequacy of his hypothesis and methodology. Dayan observed the simultaneous activity of different sets of participants at the festival – journalists, sales agents, distributors, filmmakers, and the audience – who were each acting out their own unique performances rather than a collective script which could be identified and unraveled as a continuity. Instead, Dayan realized that these groups were engaging in a defining process: "In a way, a film festival is mostly spent answering questions about self-definition, identity, and character. This definitional activity is on the minds of all involved: organizers, jury-members, candidates, audiences, buyers and storytellers of different sorts, those who write catalogs, those who write reviews, those who script buzz, and those who write wrap-up essays." [34] The festival, Dayan continues to argue, should be seen as an encounter between competing definitions, which, to his surprise, is dominated by printed material. Although he had expected to follow the lines of anthropological inquiry using observations and interviews, Dayan decided to include reading in his methodology when confronted with the complexity of Sundance's social construction. In other words, he combined different types of criticism to describe the hybrid film festival and, in this way, implicitly, applied the idea of the network to film festival research.

Latour has theoretically developed this idea of the network as a solution in order to connect modalities that are usually analyzed separately by modern theorists. In *We Have Never Been Modern* (original French version published in 1991, translated into English in 1993) he poses a challenging rhetorical question in response to what he calls the "critics' habitual categories… [of] nature, politics or discourse." He asks: "Is it our fault that the networks are *simultaneously real, like nature, narrated, like discourse, and collective, like society*?"[35] The publication, one of Latour's most theoretical, defines the framework of his theoretical thinking that had already informed his earlier ethnographic studies *The Pasteurization of France* (1984/1988 revised and English edition) and was further elaborated in *Aramis, or the Love of Technology* (1992/1996) and *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (1999). The quote on the simultaneity of different mod-

alities of networks – comprising at the same time nature, discourse and society – is formulated as the beginning of Latour's response to what he refers to as "the crisis of the critical stance," a crisis in academic theory.[36] According to Latour, academia is undergoing a crisis because it seems to be unable to connect various forms of criticism. In Cinema Studies, these separate critical reflections have, for instance, taken the form of textual analyses, such as the formalistic readings of a body of selected films (Discourse), or consisted of quantitative-empirical research using film industry statistics (Nature), or they have concentrated on representations of the power relations of race, gender, and ethnicity (Society), or, finally, tried to grasp the ontology of the cinematic image (Being). Latour acknowledges that these forms of criticism are powerful in and of themselves, but at the same time he criticizes them for being inadequate in the attempt to understand phenomena that depend on interrelations between various constituencies.

Dayan is not alone in his observation of the festival as a site where different groups of participants meet and compete. Another festival publication that distinguishes between coexisting festival modalities is Kenneth Turan's *Sundance to Sarajevo: Film Festivals and the World They Make*. Turan describes the international film festival circuit as clusters of festivals where, respectively, business agendas (Cannes, Sundance and ShoWest); geopolitical agendas (Havana, Sarajevo and Midnight Sun); or aesthetic agendas (Pordenone, Lone Pine and Telluride) dominate. The most interesting contribution to his informed but essentially popular festival guide is chapter four on the politics of festivals, in which he discusses the example of "the festival that failed," the Sarasota French Film Festival in Florida (1989-1995). Without abstracting from the local specificities or providing theorizations, the case study suggests a parallel with Latour's study of the failed public transportation project "Aramis"; about whom the professor in *Aramis, or the Love of Technology* remarks: "There's no point in deciding who finally killed Aramis. It was a collective assassination. An abandonment, rather."[37] Likewise, film festivals are fragile networks that will readily fall apart when the interconnections – the collective network – that secure the stability of the network are disrupted. After discussing several of the points of friction that disturbed the festival's equilibrium from its foundation onwards, Turan concludes in unintentional Latourian phrasing: "it was only a matter of time until the French pulled the plug on Sarasota, which, for a variety of reasons, they did in June 1996."[38]

The festival pieces by Dayan and Turan make it clear that film festival events are not unified, closed phenomena, but, in fact, open up to an assemblage of performances and agendas. When we take into consideration that these are constituted both in the implosive boiling pot of the festival event and in relation to year-round presences such as Hollywood, national film strategies, and municipal policies, it becomes clear why the idea of the network is so useful in the

study of the international film festival circuit. What this particular object of study incites – more than most other areas of Cinema Studies – is an approach that allows for a mobile line of inquiry between the various performances, agendas, and year-round presences. ANT allows the researcher to map these lines onto the cinema world and assert how they come together at nodal points; at international film festivals.

Applying Latour's idea of the network to film festivals has two main advantages: it assumes *relational interdependence* and includes both humans and non-human actors as objects of study. Relational interdependence implies that there is no hierarchical opposition between the actors and the network. Despite the misleading hyphen, ANT does not distinguish between actor and network, between agency and structure or between micro and macro level. Instead it focuses on processes as *circulating entities,* on movements and interactions between various entities that are produced within these relations. For film festivals, this idea of mobile agency is very instructive because it elevates the necessity of distinguishing between the "festival" as abstract super-structure and various types of visitors and events as carriers of change. By understanding film festivals as a Latourian network, I can do away with these oppositions and engage with a radically different view in which, for example, the sales representatives, film critics and filmmakers meeting at film festivals are not considered separate from the event, but whose congregations, performances, and products are understood *as necessary links that make up* the event. In a similar way it allows me to study Hollywood multimedia corporations and New Independents as actors that also belong to the festival network. Instead of positioning these companies as antagonistic entities that operate, as a whole, outside of the festival circuit, one can investigate their strategic exploitation of major film festivals (Cannes, Berlin, Toronto, etc.) as media events.[39]

Another important advantage of working with Latour and ANT is that the actors in one's study can be both human as well as non-human. Latour does not distinguish between subjects and objects, but describes the hybrid links between them (what he calls "practices of translation").[40] The rejection of human agency and the attention paid to non-human actors is highly relevant when studying the film festival network, because here it is not only the performances of the various festival visitors that matter. Non-human objects, such as press facilities and accreditation systems, are also objects worthy of study. An examination of these actors can generate insights into the vital flows within the actor-network configurations. By looking closely, for example, at the accreditation system for press and media representatives in Venice, I discover how different types of reporters are segregated spatially. Only the top credentials provide access to all of the areas and première screenings, which gives these journalists a competitive advantage over lower-accredited colleagues: they can initiate buzz,

get priority access and thus have more time to conduct interviews and write reports. It is particularly interesting to see who are granted high accreditation and what this implies for the nature of the process of value addition (see chapter three). Throughout this book special attention will devoted to the spatial and temporal organization of film festivals. I studied, for example, how festival locations, cinema theatres and shifts in the festival calendar affect a festival's image and position on the international festival circuit.

ANT, however, offers a less appropriate perspective when it comes to the point of where local festivals connect to the international film festival circuit. The festival circuit is not like a Latourian network when we consider that the combination of singular festival events can be more than a sum of its parts. Because ANT does not discriminate between scales (the micro and macro level), it becomes impossible to use its framework to account for a vital characteristic of the festival network: the phenomenon of value addition. By travelling the circuit, a film can accumulate value via the snowball effect. The more praise, prizes and buzz a film attracts, the more attention it is likely to receive at other festivals. I will complement Latour's tendency to level the micro versus macro distinctions with Manuel Castells's concepts of the "space of flows" and "space of place." I will return to the position of spatial and temporal schemata later in this introduction.

I would first like to address a second "problem" in the application of Latour's notion of the network to film festivals. This problem revolves around Latour's emphasis on the *instability* of actor networks. He portrays them as being in constant circulation, in which every movement may result in changes to the connected networks. Latour's idea of the network is thus essentially anti-systemic and resists conceptualizations; instead there is a focus on descriptions – just follow the links of the network, Latour seems to argue. I, however, see the international film festival circuit primarily as a *successful* network (or "stable network" as Latour would say), because it shows systemic tendencies and offers continuity. In order to conceptualize film festivals as a "system" I turn to Luhmann, whose system theory has the advantage of offering a concept for the self-preservation of a system (autopoeisis).[41]

Like Latour, Luhmann neither worked with hierarchical oppositions nor started with subjects, but, instead, used the idea of the network and examined the "unmarked spaces" outside of the labeled categories to develop his theory. Unlike Latour, however, he worked towards one all-encompassing theory. "Autopoeisis" was the term he used to refer to the ability of a system to secure its own survival. Systems, Luhmann argued, use a few in/output channels to feed upon and dispose of the environment but otherwise they remain closed off and inwardly concentrated on their own preservation. My hypothesis, however, is that the film festival network is successful and capable of self-preservation pre-

cisely because it knows how to *adapt to changing circumstances*. In this way, film festivals position themselves somewhere between Luhmann's and Latour's opposing conceptions of the black box: like Luhmann's black box, festivals are self-sustainable. However, they remain self-sustainable not because they form a Luhmannian autopoeitic system that is closed off to outside influences, but because they, in fact, operate as an open network in which Latourian controversies and irregularities can be translated.

It is the capacity of *translation* that secures the preservation of the network. Thus the historical question of why European film festivals were able to develop into a widespread and successful circuit, whereas the European film avant-garde failed to sustain its project, beckons a theoretical framework that also dares to go a step further than the descriptive level common to Latourian thinking. The question of what we can call preservation, self-sustainability, or survival is, ultimately, not descriptive ("how"), but analytic ("why"). Fortunately, ANT also offers "escape routes." One of the paths that may lead us back to the powerful analytical potential of concepts is the notion of "obligatory points of passage." In the next paragraph, I will use this notion to introduce the concept of "sites of passage" and explain what I regard as the central element in the historical self-sustainability of film festivals.

Sites of Passage

ANT theorists (such as Michel Callon, John Law, and Latour) use the notion of "obligatory points of passage" to refer to the most powerful actors in a network.[42] Obligatory points of passage are the nodes in the network that have made themselves indispensable to its practice. I argue that film festivals can be seen as obligatory points of passage, because they are events – actors – that have become so important to the production, distribution, and consumption of many films that, without them, an entire network of practices, places, people, etc. would fall apart. These actors are of vital importance and constitute obligatory stops for the flows in the network. Film festivals are particularly important for the survival of world cinema, art cinema, and independent cinema, but Hollywood premières also rely on the media-sensitive glamour and glitter of the festival atmosphere to launch their blockbusters. The leading film festivals – such as Cannes, Berlin, Venice, Toronto, and Sundance – are particular bustling nodes of activity where people, prestige, and power tend to concentrate. Within the concept of "sites of passage," I combine the ANT notion of "obligatory points of passage" to focus on the network configuration of the festival circuit with the "rites of passage" coined in 1909 by the Belgian anthropologist Arnold

van Gennep in order to clarify its most consistent and successful method of preservation: cultural legitimization.[43]

In order to move from the descriptive level – how can one understand film festivals as a network – to the analytic – why are film festivals capable of self-sustaining the network, why are they successful – it is necessary to complement an Actor-Network Theory approach with more conceptual perspectives. For this I briefly return to a key structuralist work in anthropological theory: *Rites of Passage*. In his seminal book, Van Gennep coined the term "rites of passage" to refer to a specific type of ritual that is formed by three stages (separation, transition, and reincorporation) and is used by societies to mark changes in the social structure. During a rite of passage an individual is subjected to a series of ritualistic and symbolic performances that represent his/her transition to another social position. Structuralist formulation in its original form had already willfully revealed the parallel with film festivals to the casual observer. Festivals display a variety of rituals (red carpet premières) and symbolic acts (awards ceremonies) that contribute to the cultural positioning of films and filmmakers in the film world.

The work of Van Gennep's followers, in particular Victor Turner, shows how Van Gennep's ideas on how social transitions create rituals can also be used for purposes beyond functional analysis. Turner was particularly interested in the transition phase, in which a person could exist in a liminal state located outside of society (what he called "communitas" or anti-structure).[44] By stressing the inter-structural phase of liminality in ritual, Turner moved beyond British and French structuralism and towards American cultural anthropology.[45] He was fascinated by liminal periods because they displayed a suspension of normal relationships, time, and societal structures and he applied his analysis of ritual as cultural performances of a procedural nature to tribal communities as well as complex Western societies. The idea of a necessary suspension by means of ritualistic performance to mark a transition is relevant to the study of the film festival network because it explains why festival *events* are indispensable in the creation of symbolic value; each festival is an extended cultural performance during which "other" rules of engagement count and the commercial market rules of the film world outside are suspended. It is my understanding that the survival of the phenomenon of film festivals and its development into a global and widespread festival circuit has been dependent on the creation of film festivals as a zone, a liminal state, where the cinematic products can bask in the attention they receive for their aesthetic achievements, cultural specificity, or social relevance.

If one also applies Pierre Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital, it becomes clear where the festival network offers opportunities for the translation of symbolic value into economic value (e.g., prestigious competition programs, premières,

and awards). The ritual designating that occurs at the end of the transition period is specified as a cultural recognition of artifacts and artists that acquire cultural value in the process. They may consequently rise to a higher level of cultural status in the festival network and improve their chances of distribution and exhibition in the circuits of art houses and commercial theatres. Once a film has been selected for a festival program, screened in a competition or perhaps even honored with an award, it becomes easier for that film and filmmaker to be sold to cinemas and ancillary markets, because of its increased cultural value (see case study three for more details). Although festivals are also trade fairs, tourist attractions, and city marketing – and it should be reiterated that the self-sustainability of the festival network has depended on a willingness to facilitate such "secondary" interests (whereas the European avant-garde persisted in a utopian ideology) – the primary success factor of the festival network is its ability to use these diverse forces to preserve a complex system that generates cultural value. By changing the parameters of evaluation from economic to cultural (aesthetic as well as political), the contours of a new type of cultural industry were created by film festivals as the obligatory points of passage for critical praise. Film festivals, in short, are sites of passage that function as the gateways to cultural legitimization.

The concept "*sites* of *passage*?" alludes to the spatial and temporal dimensions that are vital to the international film festival circuit. The festival nodes are firstly defined by their spatial qualities. As Julian Stringer has argued, the festivals compete with each other on the terms established by the global space economy.[46] Festivals are organized in cities that use these events to enhance their urban image as they compete with each other for attention and funding. The importance of "space" to film festivals is, however, not only an effect of globalization. It has been important from the beginning of the phenomenon that film festivals should be concentrated in specific sites and take place over a short period of time. The proximity of activities immerses visitors in the event and makes it easy for them to meet other and conduct interviews, promote their work, and negotiate deals. Cannes remains the world's leading festival precisely because everybody who is anybody in the film business will gather in the small area around the festival palace and the short strip of beach in front of it every single year in May (see chapter three). "*Sites*" refers to this centrality of location.

The rituals that accompany the cultural transitions at film festivals also have a strong spatial character. Because there is a hierarchy within the international film festival circuit and some film festivals have a higher status than others, the cultural value-adding process at film festivals is closely related to the relational status of festivals. Thus, although the red carpet ritual in Cannes may be similar to the ritual in Karlovy Vary (Czech Republic), the cultural transition that is symbolically represented in the performances is not. Because Cannes holds the

number one position in the international film festival circuit, the red carpet that is located at the site on the Riviera brings additional value to the ritual.

"Passage," in its turn, refers to the temporal dimension; the hierarchical task division between festivals allows filmmakers to "mature" within the network over a certain period of time. Since the global proliferation of film festivals in the 1980s and 1990s and the creation of the international film festival circuit, the phenomenon has become more and more institutionalized and therefore less open as a network. Despite the proliferation of festivals, the network/system, however, has not collapsed. The reason for this is that there is a strict task division between festivals: a small number of major festivals have leading positions as marketplace and media event and the remaining majority may perform a variety of tasks ranging from launching young talent (International Festival Mannheim-Heidelberg) to supporting identity groups such as women (Women's Film Festival in Seoul) or ethnic communities (Arab Film Festival Rotterdam). It is difficult for new festivals to gain a leading position, though some, such as the Pusan International Film Festival, have succeeded. This hierarchical task division, on the one hand, protects the cultural value of prizes and competition programs. It allows (some) filmmakers, on the other hand, to undergo a series of lower level of being discovered and encouraged before they reach their global inauguration by winning an award at one of the major festivals. Likewise, the international film festival circuit forms a chain of temporary exhibition venues along which films can travel and accumulate value that might support theatrical release or television broadcasts.

Understanding Festival Space

Although both spatial and temporal dimensions are indispensable to the theoretical understanding of the festival network, we need to pause for a moment to elaborate on the incorporation of the spatial dimensions into our theoretical framing. Because Latour's idea of the actor network purposefully disentangles micro/macro and local/global oppositions and, moreover, dissolves distinctions between the knowledge of things on the one hand, and human politics on the other, ANT can become a problematic instrument with regard to power relations and inequalities in the network (in particular when using Latour's earlier thinking). In the recent exhibition "Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy" (ZKM Center for Media and Art in Karlsruhe, 20 March - 7 August 2005), the curators Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel proposed the idea "that politics is all about *things*. It's not a sphere, a profession or a mere occupation; it essentially involves a concern for affairs that are brought to the attention of a

public."[47] In terms of this view, politics can be everything, from scientific research to supermarket sales and from anti-globalist critique to Sunday masses in church. It is the possibility for networks of propositions that prompts the curators to talk about "atmospheres of democracy" and "a parliament of things." The perspective reminds us that, for the study of film festivals, it is necessary to include both human and non-human actors.

The weaker side of Latour's philosophy regarding a parliament of things is that it remains fixated on the complexity of the network – "you begin to consider them [parliaments as complex technologies] with great respect because of their delicate set of fragile mediations"[48] – and fails to convert this observant admiration into a critical consideration of power relations between the various mediations. As Stringer has pointed out, it is important that we bear in mind that the international film festival circuit is no neutral assemblage of sites and events, but that it "suggests the existence of a socially produced space unto itself, a unique cultural arena that acts as a contact zone for the working-through of *unevenly differentiated power relationships* [my italics] – not so much a parliament of national film industries as a series of diverse, sometimes competing, sometimes cooperating, public spheres."[49]

Stringer wrote one of the first comprehensive articles on the topic of film festivals (2000) and is also the first film scholar to point out the importance of space in the study of how power is exercised at and between film festivals. In the aforementioned article, Stringer identifies film festival events as part of a global space economy. Since the global spread of festivals and the necessity to compete with each other on a global market for funding, cinema resources and media attention, festivals tend to foreground the (cultural) specificity of their location. In Stringer's words: "What many festivals actually now market and project are not just 'narrative images,' but a city's own 'festival image,' its own self-perceptions of the place it occupies within the global space economy, especially in relation to other cities and other festivals."[50] Janet Harbord followed Stringer's argument on festivals and global cities – a discourse that gained widespread recognition through the work of Saskia Sassen – with an additional allusion to Manuel Castells:

> The "network" of global commerce creates linkages between sites, creating centres and peripheries, eclipsing other spaces altogether. More than the hybrid mixing of goods and cultures, the festival as marketplace provides an exemplary instance of how culture, and cultural flows produce space as places of flow, in Castells's terms. One part of the argument … is then that the film festival is a particular manifestation of the way that space is produced as practice (as opposed to inert materiality). Festivals advertise cities, set them in competition, region against region, global city against global city. More than this, festivals are implicated in the structure, design and use of cities, are part of the fabric of city life and its annual calendar. Festivals set a beat to

> the rhythms of city living wherever they occur, in competition and connection with other festival events.[51]

Harbord's references to Sassen and Castells point to perspectives that can deepen our understanding of the power relations and spatial configurations in the film festival network that are difficult to discern with Latourian thinking alone. Sassen's work on world cities emphasizes the element of global competition that also exists between festivals, and can warn us, for instance, not to underestimate the power of municipal policymakers and city marketers in the foundation of festivals (Rotterdam, see chapter four); their relocation (Berlin, see case study one); and the regeneration of urban space (*Palais de Festival* as year-round conference center in Cannes, see case study two).

Castells, in his turn, offers concepts for understanding the flows between the local event of the festival and the global spaces of the festival network as practices of power. He acknowledges the existence of managerial elites that dominate strategic, nodal spaces for social exchange on the local level (such as festivals) and therefore also control the interests that are transferred to the global level (see chapter three). In the case studies presented in *Film Festivals*, the spatial and temporal dimensions are further explored to assert how power relations on various scales are constituted (e.g., the hierarchy of festivals in the international circuit; geopolitical agendas on the national level; and local practices of segregation). In the first case study on Berlin, I will specifically discuss how the global spread of the festival phenomenon has not diminished the power of the original – European – film festivals, but created more complex, mobile practices of cultural domination.

Case Studies

In the following chapters, I will present four case studies on the festivals in Berlin, Cannes, Venice, and Rotterdam. The first three have been selected for historic reasons.[52] They are the world's first accredited ('A') film festivals that, moreover, have retained their nodal position in the festival circuit over the years. The International Federation of Film Producers association, the FIAPF (founded in 1933) decided during the Berlin film festival of 1951 that the boom in national and regional film festivals had to be channeled to prevent festival (award) inflation. Cannes and Venice received immediate FIAPF accreditation. Berlin followed in 1956. Over the years, the FIAPF system of classification was expanded to include more festivals and different categories. Today, there are eight other film festivals recognized in the original category along with Berlin,

Cannes and Venice. The FIAPF has accredited the following festivals as "competitive feature film festivals:" Mar Del Plata (Argentina, 1954),[53] Shanghai (China, 1993), Moscow (Russia, 1959),[54] Karlovy Vary (Czech Republic, 1946), Locarno (Switzerland, 1946), San Sebastian (Spain, 1953), Tokyo (Japan, 1985) and Cairo (Egypt, 1976).[55] In addition, there are festivals accredited with the labels of "competitive specialized feature film festivals,"[56] "non-competitive feature film festivals"[57] and "documentary and short film festivals."[58] The festival in Rotterdam was added to the selection as a counterweight to the first three case studies of old and accredited festivals. Its investigation broadens the perspective on the international film festival circuit because it focuses on issues not relevant to the major "A" festival events, such as the tension between specialized programming and the need to attract a mass audience.

The first case study examines the historical development of film festivals, with a particular focus on the geopolitical interests that shaped the process. It identifies and analyses key moments in the development of film festivals. Theoretically, the study offers a conceptualization of the transformation of the film festival phenomenon. It reframes traditional (European) film theoretical notions such as "the nation" and "auteur" as discourse strategies that dominate in specific periods and may return in adjusted form in later stages of a festival's development. In addition, it explores how globalization theories (Hardt and Negri 2001; Virilio 1997; Sassen 1991, 1996) can clarify the modalities that define the international film festival circuit of today. More specifically, it shows the intersections between macro- and micro-politics and relates, for example, global geopolitical strategies to the local spatial practices of contemporary festival organizations. The case study concentrates on the Berlin International Film Festival, also known as the Berlinale, because its foundation and development have been intertwined with Cold War politics.

The second case study examines the festival as marketplace. It presents a model for the international film festival circuit as an "alternative" cinema network. The research explores how existing studies of Hollywood's hegemony (e. g., Dale 1997; Ulff-Møller 2001; Wasser 2001; Wyatt 1994) and the state of European film industries (e.g., Finney 1996; Jäckel 2004; Kreimeier 1999; Nowell-Smith; and Ricci 1998) can be reinterpreted to explain the rise and success of film festivals. The framework of this reinterpretation is based on the concept of the network, as elaborated in Latour's Actor-Network Theory. The study pays special attention to the interconnections between Hollywood and the film festival system. The case study focuses on the festival with the most influential market and highest economic impact: the Cannes Film Festival. I ask why Hollywood's presence is indispensable to the film festival in Cannes and how "glamour and glitter" affect the business in "*le Marché du Cinéma*."

The third case study examines the festival as media event. It offers an analysis of the value-adding process that is performed in the media discourse on film festival editions. It shifts the attention away from conventional distinctions of high and low culture to an assessment of the actual practices of selection and segregation that precede the production of reviews and reports. The case study is based on participatory observation at the Venice Film Festival (also known as *Mostra*) and an in-depth analysis of festival reports written during the 2003 edition in Europe's quality newspapers and a series of interviews with film critics and festival press staff. I use the concept of memory site (Nora 1989) to explain why the *Mostra* continues to attract media attention despite the continued popularization of newspapers and consequent reduction in number of festivals that are covered. Particular attention will be given to the spatial and temporal dimensions of the value-adding process. Theoretically, Bourdieu's theory of "cultural capital" remains the most important canonical vantage point through which to conceptualize the value addition accomplished at festivals, among a host of other important references (e.g., Bono 2001, 1992, 1991; Castells 2002; Dayan 2000; Shrum 1996; and Van Gennep 1977 [1909]).

The fourth case study examines festival programming and festival audiences. It sets out to, on the one hand, generate insights on the emergence of specialized and thematic programming and investigate the effects of the global spread, institutionalization, and popularization of film festivals on such programming (Czach 2004; Stringer 2003b). On the other hand, these trends are related to new practices of cinephilia (De Valck and Hagener 2005). The case study concentrates on the International Film Festival Rotterdam, because it is both an internationally acclaimed specialized festival (focusing on art, avant-garde, and auteurs) and one of the largest audience festivals. The success of Rotterdam beckons a further historical analysis of the emergence of specialized festivals, their contemporary position on the circuit, and the influence of subsidies and sponsorships. Why do festivals pursue growth – more films for more people? What happens to the interests of niche markets when this growth is realized? The research presents a shift from festival programmers in the 1970s, driven by cinephile passions and an ideology of political participation, to the festival director of the 1990s, who has become a professional cultural entrepreneur who manages the various constituencies of the festival network.

With these four case studies I do not claim to cover all of the corners of the festival network; my assessment of the international film festival circuit and its success as a network will be unable to capture all of the network's ramifications and thus, by definition, it remains incomplete. However, my aim is to map out some of the regularities of film festivals and thereby make future festival analyses easier.



Posters promote the Berlinale on the borders with East Berlin. © 1961, Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin, Press Office.

"… The practice of organizing special screenings for East Berliners on the border ended with the construction of the Wall on 13 August 1961", p. 52

1 Berlin and the Spatial Reconfiguration of Festivals

From European Showcases to International Film Festival Circuit

It is 2 p.m. on Wednesday 12 February 2003 and an audience of young film talents and cinephiles are expectantly awaiting the arrival of Thomas Vinterberg in the theatre of the Haus der Kulturen der Welt (House of World Cultures) in Berlin. The occasion is the first edition of the Berlinale Talent Campus; for five days the campus offers 500 selected up-and-coming film talents the opportunity to exchange experiences with each other and professionals, meet various organizations and institutions, and show and watch films.[1] Thomas Vinterberg, director of Festen/The Celebration (DK/SE: 1998), will discuss the process involved in developing his new international feature It's All About Love (USA/JP/SE/UK/DK/DE/NL: 2003) in one of the Script Factory Masterclasses. He is joined by co-writer Mogen Rukov, with whom he also collaborated on Festen. When they enter the auditorium at 2:20 p.m., the audience applauds enthusiastically. Vinterberg performs a Chaplin bow.

It's All About Love is not a Dogme film. Instead, the Dogme rules are reversed. Vinterberg explains how the Dogme rules, which he drew up with Lars von Trier in 1995, provided him with the necessary creative energy for writing and directing Festen. In order to maintain this type of inspiration, he felt he needed to make another courageous move: to the extreme opposite side of the manifesto that had made him successful. As a result, the movie is set in the near future (the year 2021); the visual style is inspired by Technicolor and old Hitchcock movies; the New York set was recreated in the film studios in Trollhätten, Sweden, at various locations in Copenhagen, and with the support of digital techniques. Meanwhile, Polish-born composer Zbigniew Preisner, internationally acclaimed for his work with Krzystof Kieslowski, was asked to compose the musical score; and Vinterberg traveled from Scandinavia to Uganda to find the appropriate location. The story follows John (Joaquin Phoenix) and world-famous iceskater Elena (Claire Danes), a married couple who, on the verge of a divorce, discover that they are still in love. The first couple of minutes of the film are shown in the Script Factory Masterclass. We see John traveling to a New York airport to meet his wife to sign the divorce papers before embarking on a transfer flight, which will bring him to his business destination. Instead of meeting Elena, John is met by Arthur and George, who inform him that she

insists on meeting him at her hotel in the city. John agrees and follows the two men. On the way down an escalator towards the exit, he spots a dead man lying at the bottom of the escalator. He is even more astonished when Arthur and George tell him to ignore the man and just step over the body.

It's All About Love is a report on the state of the world. Vinterberg and Rukov started writing the script in 2000 and finished it one-and-a-half years later. The major inspiration for the script was formed by Vinterberg's experiences in the period after the worldwide success of Festen. Vinterberg explains: "I got to observe the cosmopolitan club that seems to live in the sky, and realized that you could be in Budapest in the morning, have lunch in London, and go to bed in Venice. I saw a world in motion, a world in which individuals moved this way and that without belonging anywhere in particular at all. It is a whole new way of life, which increasingly applies to the everyday life of modern man. People are constantly on the move. They have meetings. They go to see their boyfriends or girlfriends with whom they don't live. They drop their children off at kindergartens and nurseries and pick them up later. They have conference calls and express their love in text messages over cell phones. I particularly felt this constant motion after Festen when I was away from my children and my wife. That experience was both fantastic and disheartening."[2] Festen was a major film festival discovery and a worldwide hit. When it won the Prix Spécial du Jury in Cannes in 1998, the Dogme95 movement acquired worldwide recognition and Thomas Vinterberg established his name as a new auteur. Subsequently, he traveled around the world, attended festivals, and promoted the film, Dogme, and himself.

In his new feature, Vinterberg expresses the dangers of living this kind of modern life in motion. His world of 2021 is out of balance. Bizarre natural disasters take place. People die on the street from a lack of intimate love. The choice for art-deco-styled interiors is a conscious statement about the future: it indicates that for a true understanding of love we should remember the glorious days of genuine articles and individual artisanship instead of focusing on the coming age of clones and worldwide branding. The airport in the opening sequence is used as the ultimate metaphor for the nomadic existence of (post) modern man. Vinterberg accompanies his new feature to several festivals, including Berlin, and thereby returns to the platform that inspired him to tell this particular love story: the international film festival circuit.

This chapter will reconstruct the development of the international film festival circuit from its origin on the European mainland. I will start by locating the first initiatives to found film festivals within the heart of the European geopolitical power play as exercised in the periods anticipating and directly following World War II, and distinguish between three key phases in festival history. In what follows, the International Film Festival Berlin will assume a central posi-

tion. With its peculiar context of being located in the solar plexus of the Cold War, the Berlinale provides us with an excellent case study of the geopolitical influences on the transformation of the film festival phenomenon from the early European cultural showcases to the contemporary international film festival circuit. The chapter will revolve around three important threads. The leading argument concerns the spatial reconfiguration of film festivals and deals with the effects of the declining role of nation-states in favor of new global networks of power. The second thread picks up on the discourse of how cities become more important in terms of the globalization of the world market. The mutually beneficial relation between the Berlinale and the city of Berlin will be explored. In addition, the chapter gives a foretaste of the economic perspective of chapter two by drawing on the condition of the post-war German film industry. Throughout all of these threads, the emphasis remains largely on the festival organization itself. I will investigate how festival decisions relate and respond to the larger geopolitical agendas that are played out via the Berlinale. Other actors on the festival scene – journalists, film professionals, filmmakers, and visitors – will assume more important roles in the later chapters.

Geopolitical Agendas

Film festivals started as a European phenomenon. The first festival was organized on New Year's Day 1898 in Monaco. Other festivals followed in Torino, Milan, and Palermo (Italy), Hamburg (Germany) and Prague (Czechoslovakia). The first prize-winning festival was an Italian movie contest in 1907, organized by the Lumière brothers.[3] On 6 August 1932, at 9:15 p.m., Rouben Mamoulian's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (USA: 1931) opened a major festival on the terrace of the Hotel Excelsior in Venice. *La Mostra Internazionale d'Arte Cinematographico* was the first film festival to be organized on a regular basis (biannually until 1935).[4] The film festival was established as part of the Arts Biennale, which was established in 1885. Initially, the international film community reacted enthusiastically to the initiative. Louis Lumière graciously accepted a position on the festival's Committee of Honour.[5] Soon, however, the darker sides of the event came to the fore.

Politically, the *Mostra*'s foundation received strong support from Italy's Fascist government – particularly Mussolini's brother, who had been the head of the Italian film industry since 1926, as well as from Mussolini himself. Mussolini believed that the film festival would give him a powerful international instrument for the legitimization of the national identity of Fascism. In 1930, his finance minister and personal friend, Count Giuseppe Volpi Di Misurate, had

been appointed president of the Biennale by the government. As Francesco Bono argues: "As a result … the Biennale lost its former autonomy, and control over it shifted from Venice to Rome – one will have to keep this in mind when evaluating the relations between the Venice Cinema Festival and Fascist politics – but, in return, the government ensured the exhibition its official character, stability, and consensus within the cultural framework of the Fascist regime."[6]

During the first festival, Fascist influence was not yet evident. However, by the time Goebbels attended the festival in 1936 as an honored quest, the role of the Venice Film Festival as consolidator of the ideological and cultural position of the Fascist party was unmistakable. In 1938, the great prize, the Mussolini cup, was awarded ex aquo to Olympia (DE: Leni Riefenstahl 1938) and Luciano Serra, Pilota/Luciano Serra, Pilot (IT: Goffredo Allessandrini 1938), which had been produced by Mussolini's son Vittorio.[7] The American favorite, the first feature animation, Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs (USA: 1937), only received a consolidation prize.[8] This display of prejudice towards Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy pushed the dissatisfaction of other participating countries to a climax and led the French, British, and Americans to join forces and found a counter-festival in Cannes.

In an interview for the MoMA exhibition "Cannes 45 Years: Festival International du Film," Gilles Jacob, Cannes president at the time, recalls the course of history that led to the establishment of the film festival in Cannes:

> On the night train back from Venice to Paris on September 3rd, 1938, critic René Jeanne and Philippe Erlanger, a young civil servant and future historian, hatched the idea of a truly international film exhibition that would serve as more than just propaganda for dictators. Back in Paris, Jeanne and Erlanger, who had gone to Venice as representatives of Jean Zay, the French Minister of Public Education and Fine Arts, spoke with Georges Huisman, Executive Director of Fine Arts. Huisman submitted the proposal to the Cabinet of Ministers, who approved it. Harold Smith, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America representative in Paris, and Neville Kearney, a British cinema emissary, were contracted and signed on immediately. On June 24, 1939, the establishment of the first film festival at Cannes, to be held between September 1st and 20th at the Municipal Casino, was announced in Paris. Other locations – Biarritz, Vichy and Algiers – had been rejected and Cannes [was] ultimately chosen for its sunshine and "enchanting milieu."[9]

The first festival in Cannes was scheduled to take place between 1-20 September 1939. But on 1 September, Hitler invaded Poland and France called for a general mobilization. Although one of the American entries – The Hunchback of Notre Dame (USA: William Dieterle 1939) – was screened, the festival as a whole was cancelled because of the outbreak of World War II. The first festival took place after the war in 1946, from 20 September to 5 October, at the Municipal

Casino. The French government and film industry had invited nineteen countries to participate. It became one of the most festive immediate post-war events. American productions from the six previous years – prevented from gaining a European release because of the war – were triumphantly shown. There were gala events, receptions, and grand parties organized alongside the film program. Moreover, in strong contrast with the future development of the festival, competition was not at the core of Cannes in 1946. Instead it was a rendezvous. Almost every participating country received a prize of some kind.[10] In retrospect, it is not surprising that, in the midst of vehement post-war sentiments, the revelation of the 1946 festival was the anti-fascist Roma, Città Aperta (IT: Roberto Rossellini 1946).

The immediate post-Second World War period offered Europe its first festival boom. Film festivals were a purely European phenomenon during this period and more and more countries decide to follow the example of Venice and Cannes, and found their own festivals. Events were organized in Locarno (1946),[11] Karlovy Vary (1946), Edinburgh (1946), Brussels (1947), Berlin (1951), and Oberhausen (1954), among others places. Like the first festival in Venice, these festivals were all established for a combination of economic, political, and cultural reasons. After World War II, the American motion picture industry became even more dominant. The film festivals in Europe offered opportunities to countries other than the United States to show movies and paid special attention to the national production of the country where the festival was organized.

The foundation of the Berlinale in 1951 provides us with an interesting case study. It can be seen, on the one hand, as a reaction to the crisis in the German film industry, and, on the other, as a result of the strategic American involvement in Germany's cultural affairs after World War II. In the following sections, I will discuss in more detail how these conditions resulted in the foundation of the international film festival in Berlin.

German Film Industry in Crisis

The German film industry found itself in a deep crisis when the decision to found a film festival in Berlin was made in 1950. The situation in Berlin, in particular, was not very promising. To understand the gravity and impact of the condition of the post-war German film industry, I will begin by drawing a quick overview of its previous prosperous position in Europe during the Weimar Republic (1919-1933) and the Nazi era (1933-1945). Although Weimar cinema is best remembered for its artistic heritage of German Expressionism (e.g., Das Kabinet des Dr. Caligari (DE: Robert Wiene 1920)), it also continued the tra-

dition of Wilhelmine cinema (1895-1919), with popular genre productions. Popular Weimar cinema included the genres of historical dramas, the mountain film, chamber film play and street film. It is important to note that not only popular cinema, but also art cinema was commercially viable during this period: while the popular cinema topped the box offices at home (especially with revenues from the big budget costume dramas) and led to product differentiation at Ufa (Universumfilm Aktiengesellschaft, founded in 1917) and other major film studios, the art cinema scored international successes and contributed to the artistic reputation of German cinema abroad.

Ufa's strategy was based on two premises: as Sabine Hake writes, "to protect its domestic interests against the growing influx of American films and to contribute to the development of a European alternative to the feared American cultural hegemony. This strategy included building the elaborate distribution and exhibition networks that, by the mid-1920s, made UFA the only serious competitor for the Hollywood majors on European markets."[12] In Europe, the German film industry acquired a leading position with its successful Ufa Babelsberg studios in Berlin, which, under the management of producer Erich Pommer, provided a strong model for European film production that was based on creative freedom, innovative set design, high technical standards, and artistic excellence. Talents from all over Europe wanted to participate in this successful model and help realize the European dream of a common international film language (Film Europe). They all flocked to Babelsberg.

With the introduction of sound, co-productions and border crossings received its first setback. The rise to power of National Socialism in 1933 put an end to the practices of collaboration and replaced them with the strategies of nationalist propaganda. Berlin's position changed from that of Europe's cinematic meeting point and melting pot of talents to the headquarters of a politics of cultural isolationism and national expansionism. In March 1933, the film industry fell under the control of the new Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels. He exercised complete control by means of a specific employment policy, various censorship rules and economic control mechanisms.[13] Both the production and consumption of German movies during the Third Reich was immense. Initially, the German film exports dropped, but as Hitler conquered more, cinema followed in its footsteps. By the early 1940s, the German film industry had become the country's fourth-largest industry.

After the capitulation in 1945, the flourishing period of the German film industry came to an abrupt end. The allied forces strongly opposed the Ufa Film's vertical organization. The Americans established a double strategy. On the one hand, "[t]he Information Control Division (ICD) of the US Army … treated the rebuilding of cinema as a project of political re-education."[14] There were obligatory screenings of Die Todesmühlen/Death Mills (USA: Hans Burger 1945)

about the Nazi concentration camps and, in addition, lots of old 1930s Hollywood films were imported. On the other hand, the Americans strove for the destruction of the Nazi industrial-political cartel and, replace it with their own model. This was a time-consuming process. The Soviets, on the contrary, were quick to resume production in Babelsberg, albeit under the close supervision of the Soviet Union's cultural officers.

With the beginning of the Cold War, the tensions between the ideological visions for rebuilding Germany culminated in the Berlin Blockade in 1948 and the founding of two separate German states in 1949, when the project of rebuilding the German film industry assumed two distinct models. While the Soviets transformed the Deutsche Film AG (DEFA) in East Germany to a state-owned company, the Ufa Liquidation Committee dismantled the hierarchically-organized production facilities, distribution companies, and cinemas in the West. As a result, the old studio facilities in the West were rarely used in the beginning. Throughout the 1950s, federal laws were introduced and agencies were established in order to streamline the German cinema along the lines of the political anti-Communism project. Film distribution companies gained market dominance with the exhibition of Hollywood films and Ufa film classics that were recoded as innocent entertainment.

However, the crisis persisted for the German film production companies. The situation remained difficult for a long time, especially in Berlin. Many of Berlin's studios had been destroyed, severely damaged or plundered by the war. There was a severe lack of material and facilities. Film professionals were unaware of the new techniques and styles. Moreover, the Berlin Blockade had shown a preference for the cultural and film industries of Munich, Hamburg, Wiesbaden, and Düsseldorf. It was the crisis in the film industry that led to the geopolitical decision to found an international film festival in Berlin. The festival was welcomed as an opportunity for the Berlin government and artists to rejuvenate their rich cinema traditions and, once more, turn Berlin into a cinema capital. For the German film industry, the reestablishment of international cultural prestige also offered a chance to regain some of its former luster in the European cinema scene.

The Western Cultural Showcase in the East

The Berlinale was more than welcome as a cultural injection to help the German professionals – in particular the Berliners – to re-build their film industry. The most important reason, however, to found an international film festival in Berlin was not economic, but geopolitical. The festival was used as an American tactic

in the Cold War; it was, after all, the American film officer Oscar Martay who initiated the Berlin Film Festival.[15] In 1950, he appointed a preliminary committee to conduct research on the possibility of a festival and then make preparations for a film event in the Western part of the city of Berlin. The festival organization was to collaborate with the Bonn government, American officials, and other allies in occupied Berlin. The choice of West Berlin as the location for the festival, located in the middle of the Soviet-dominated Deutsche Demokratische Republik (DDR), was seen as a strategic move. According to Heidi Fehrenbach:

> "Berlin became an important symbol of West Germany's democratic renewal. The festival was conceived as a way to revive the former capital's interwar reputation as an important European cultural centre; and ultimately American and West German officials expected the image of a revitalized Berlin to serve as proof of Western economic superiority and cultural dynamism."[16]

The first festival in Berlin took place from 6 to 18 June 1951.[17] The festival functioned as an American instrument in the Cold War in several ways. Firstly, there was the exclusion of movies from communist countries. The preliminary committee, assembled by Martay, conferred in 1950 on the topic of invitation and representation and decided to exclude Eastern European countries with a majority vote of seven (out of nine). At the same time, the representation was limited to one or two movies per invited country. But there were two exceptions: America and the UK, who could each submit three movies. Not surprisingly, both the USA and the UK had film officers on the committee who suggested this exemption.[18] This early event would prove to be symptomatic of the geopolitical influence on the festival until its eventual reorganization.

The second way that the festival manifested itself as a Western cultural showcase in the East was the use of border theatres. Twenty-one cinemas along the border with the Soviet sector and East Germany, were selected as extra locations for festival screenings. Prices were low and the border areas were covered with posters advertising the festival. Proximity, price, and promotion were supposed to make the festival an easy and attractive place to visit for East Berliners. These measures were taken to promote the Western world and Western values in the East. In addition, the month of June was deliberately chosen for the festival, because it was the same month that the International Youth Festival was to take place in East Berlin (1951). The Berlin festival was intended both as a counterweight to this manifestation and as an alternative attraction for East Berliners. The practice of organizing special screenings for East Berliners on the border ended with the construction of the Wall on 13 August 1961. In order to restore the connection with the East Berliners, the festival in 1963 decided to broadcast some festival films six evenings in a row. One could understand the name for

this series – TV bridge – as having a militaristic connotation, which would underline its political function.

In the 1950s and early 1960s, the festival in Berlin distinguished itself from its predecessors in the South. Whereas Venice – reestablished in 1946 – and Cannes relied partly on their quality as a sun and fun tourist destination to attract visitors, the devastated city of Berlin and its peculiar position as the former capital of the now divided Germany could not use these kinds of light-hearted characteristics to promote itself. Instead, the festival decided to place its political and ideological messages in the spotlights. Dr. Afred Bauer, a film historian and film consultant to the British military government in the immediate post-war period (and Reichsfilmintendanz in Hitler Germany), was appointed the festival's director.[19] He explicitly refers to the political importance of the event when applying for additional funding in a letter to Oscar Martay: "For the financing of the Film Festival Berlin 1951 – as an important cultural-political event to showcase Western films to the East of special significance – only DM 40,000 are available, provided from funds by the city of Berlin. If the festival is to become a success to fulfil its political objective, a subsidy of at least DM 100,000 must be made available."[20] The Berlinale began as propaganda under American occupation. Or, in the words of Fehrenbach, the Berlin Film Festival was "the epicenter of Cold War topography", "a celebration of Western values" and "the Western cultural showcase in the East."[21]

The Olympics of Film

Film festivals began as showcases for national cinemas. This means that, initially, it was common for festivals to invite nations for participation in showcases and competitions, upon which the national committees would select their films entrees. Festivals could exercise some influence, for example, by imposing a quota on the number of movies that could be entered by excluding certain countries from participation (Berlinale), or according to national production figures (Festival de Cannes). In a 1949, press release for the Festival de Cannes read: "The General Secretary of the International Film Festival would like to specify that the participation of all countries in the Festival of Cannes will be based on the production volume of each of these countries."[22]The form of various showcases existing next to each other was, however, neither uncontested nor unproblematic.

The international organization of national film producer associations, the FIAPF (Fédération Internationale des Producteurs des Films) was displeased with the unorganized growth of film festivals in Europe. In 1951, it designed a

plan that involved the replacement of the expanding group of national and regional film festivals with one global contest. The intention was to create an annual "Olympics of Film." Officials in Cannes and Venice, however, vetoed the proposal, which would distract from the cultural and economic benefits of their respective festivals. They proposed an alternative system of classification based on hierarchy. This system would give the FIAPF members clarity on which festivals were most worth visiting. As only Cannes and Venice received the highest level of recognition in the early 1950s, their positions were further strengthened. Being classified as a category "A" festival granted them the right to form an international jury for their prestigious awards.

The power of these major festivals was far-reaching. For the first Berlinale in 1951, both France and Italy refused to participate in any event that resembled their official program. Festival director Bauer yielded and formed a German jury instead of an international one to judge categories that were distinctive from the ones used by the "A" festivals. In the midst of the discussion of creating an "Olympics of Film," the FIAPF held its general assembly at the Venice Biennale on 4 September 1951. During the meeting, it was decided that all members should request their respective governments and various interest groups to join forces to prevent new film festivals from promoting any new international film competitions. Only Cannes to be held in April and Venice to be held in August were recognized by the organization. Furthermore, the members were instructed to refrain from participating in events that would violate FIAPF regulations and offer, for example, an international competition. Under pressure from this decree, the Berlinale resorted to merely awarding audience awards in 1952.

The German FIAPF representative, Dr. Günter Schwarz, continued to lobby in favor of the Berlin festival and, by foregrounding its distinct status as both a democratic and "serious" or "working" festival in contrast to the glitter of Venice and Cannes, he was able to receive FIAPF approval for the Berlinale (provided that it was organized without a jury or official prizes). The festival was granted the "A" status in 1956 and, for the first time, formed an *international* jury to award its Golden and Silver Bears.[23]

The decision not to replace the existing format with various film festivals in different countries with one big international event laid the foundation for one of the most defining elements in the film festival competition: the festival calendar. When a festival took place and how these dates position the festival in relation to other events on the festival calendar is of decisive importance for a festival's success, ranking, and profile. Initially, the FIAPF prohibited festivals from following one another too rapidly. When Cannes decided to hold its 1955 edition from 25 April to 10 May, the Berlin Filmfestspiele was forced to change its dates (planned for 18-29 June) to not encroach upon the Venice festival dates.

An agreement was reached for the period of 24 June to 5 July.[24] Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and most of the 1970s, this time slot was respected, but heavily contested. Especially the positioning of the festival right after Cannes fed the arguments in favor of earlier dates on the festival calendar; for instance, in the winter the festival would have a better supply of movies at its disposal. Meanwhile, Bauer's proposal to reschedule the festival in March was voted down in 1974, while a similar plan by the new festival director, Wolf Donner (1976-1979), was eventually approved in 1978. Donner argued that the expansion of the film market (*Filmmesse*) would benefit from the earlier time slot. If it was positioned outside of the influence of the other major film markets in Cannes (May) and Milan (MiFed in October), film professionals would be drawn to Berlin and would be able to release newly purchased features directly (without having to consider a summer stop).[25] It was not until the Berlinale was repositioned in the global film industry with a bigger film market, that a repositioning on the festival calendar was also approved. The Berlinale, beginning in 1978, took place in the winter. In the beginning it took place in late February and early March but because of pressure from Cannes and the FIAPF it was moved to the beginning of February.

The Olympics of Film was never realized and, despite FIAPF efforts, the number of film festivals in Europe continued to grow. This leads to questions of why the European continent was so ready for the birth and development of the film festival phenomenon? Which incentives were shared among the various European countries to cause this simultaneous turn toward international festivals? To answer these questions, it is necessary to consider the state of Europe at the time as well as the specific circumstances of the European film industry. In the following section, I will show that the format of international film festivals as a showcase for national cinemas was funneled into the European ideal of national sovereignty. Further attention will be paid to the influence of America's domination of the global film market.

Sovereign Nations, Diplomatic Disputes

Numerous theories have dealt with the construction of the nation-state in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries as a determining factor in the structure and development of European modernity.[26] After centuries of royal, feudal, and ecclesiastical rule it became the turn of the nation-state to provide coherence and order both in European countries and their colonized territories. International relations were formalized, legal conventions were established, and

the number of agencies concerned with international and transnational regulation and communication increased rapidly.

As some have argued, the concept of nation completed the notion of sovereignty by claiming to precede it. Likewise, the concept of the people completed the notion of the nation by making the identity of the people appear natural.[27] From the late-eighteenth century onwards, European nations engaged in various activities in order to construct this "natural" acceptance of their nations and its peoples. These nations all emphasized their sovereignty by creating currencies, writing legislation, writing constitutions, and profiling their nation whenever possible. International expositions, great exhibitions and world's fairs, as well as the Olympic Games and the Nobel prizes were important occasions for nations to present themselves as unified bodies clearly distinguished from other nations. The greater the nations' showcased achievements, the greater their position in the new European constellation of power. Culture proved an excellent area to be appropriated by nationalist agendas. The competitions between national cultural artifacts and its representatives (the artists) created a reservoir filled with examples of its national distinction and heritage. Cinema, too, became an object to be used for international competition and, thus, film festivals can be seen as part of the modern project in which European nations used the concept of nation to guard their sovereignty.

The most important incentive shared among the European nations, and which generated the first boom in film festivals in the immediate post-Second World War period, concerns the war's devastating effects: The traumatized European nations were eager to develop initiatives that would help them regain their proud national identities. Nation-states would continue to play a dominant role until the reorganization of the film festival format at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s.

Because film festivals were discovered as an effective means for gaining national distinction, they also provided ample opportunity for diplomatic disputes. Maintaining good international relations was one of the objectives of FIAPF regulations, so one of their rules prohibited the screening of films that might be harmful to the image of another nation. Indeed, nations not only controlled their own entries, but they also anxiously kept an eye on other nations' entries as well. The festivals often became the sites of diplomacy and disputes. For the 1951 festival in Cannes, the USSR tried to boycott Die Vier Im Jeep/Four in a Jeep (CH: Leopold Lindtberg and Elizabeth Montagu 1951). In 1953, the United States protested against the Japanese entry Gembaku no ko/The Children of Hirsohima (JP: Kaneto Shindô 1952). However, both protests were in vain. In 1956, diplomatic disputes reached another climax when the festival in Cannes refused to accept Himmel ohne Sterne (BRD: Helmut Käutner 1955) and the German government, in its turn, blocked the screening of

Alain Resnais's Auschwitz documentary Nuit et Brouillard (FR: 1956). In the same year, Japan demanded the retraction of Town like Alice (UK: Jack Lee 1956), which presented a British caricature of Japanese soldiers in Malaysia.

Besides exerting diplomatic pressure on festivals to prevent the screening of unflattering films or films with unwelcome messages, nations had other tools to foreground their own visions. One way was to support the presence of a national cinema at the festival with receptions, dinners, parties and other PR activities. Nations would go all out with lavish events especially in Cannes, – the PR center of the film world. A second way to ensure that attention was paid to your nation's visions or specific national cinemas was to found a new festival. As we explained earlier, the festivals of Cannes and Berlin were founded with clear ideological agendas and national interests.

Another interesting example is Karlovy Vary, located in the beautiful spa of the former Czechoslovakia. The main motivation for the establishment of this festival was the nationalization of the Czechoslovakian film industry in 1946. The first festival presented entries from the nationalized industry and from countries with strong filmmaking tradition, such as the USA, France, the UK, and Sweden.[28] When the communists came to power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, the festival underwent a political and ideological makeover, which would dominate the organization until the great social and political changes that came after November 1989. The conferral of awards was a very efficient mechanism in the confirmation of the communist world hierarchy. The Grand Prix was most often awarded to a movie from the USSR or Czechoslovakia. Because this practice did not correspond with the communist doctrine of equality, there was an abundance of other special awards at Karlovy Vary, which ensured that no movie from a communist or developing country would go home empty-handed. The awards had names like "the peace and work award," "the award for the struggle for freedom or social progress," "the award for friendship between nations," and "the award for the struggle towards a better world." When, in 1959, an international film festival was established in Moscow, the Soviet diplomatic dominance became apparent once more. The Moscow International Film Festival was immediately granted "A" category status by the FIAPF. The political decision to offer only one "A" festival annually in the communist countries soon followed. Therefore, Karlovy Vary and the Moscow IFF became biannual events, and they took turns in organizing a film festival between 1959 and 1993.

European Cinemas and Hollywood

The nationalist agenda of the various European nation-states was not the only raison d'être of the first international film festivals. A second explanation for why Europe was the cradle of the film festival phenomenon can be found in the American domination of the global film market, both economically and culturally, and Europe's subsequent struggle to protect its film industries and cultures. The American domination of European cinemas has been heavily debated and frequently analyzed. I agree with Geoffrey Nowell-Smith when he writes that "American films have dominated the European market since the end of the First World War. They have done so for a variety of reasons, ranging from more efficient business practices to sheer popular appeal."[29]

Since the mid-1920s, various European nations reacted with measures to protect and stimulate their own national film industries. The German Weimar model was a successful attempt to resist American hegemony. The introduction of sound to the cinema, however, weakened the various European national cinemas. After World War II, they became even more vulnerable. American productions, including the ones not released during the war, flooded European cinemas. The combination of aggressive business strategies and the attraction of the new, promising, and uncontaminated culture of the continent's liberator led to its deep penetration into the European film market, leading to a situation that could not be overcome by traditional measures. Film festivals emerged at a moment when the European film industries were in no position to stand up to the American cartels. What they did was sidestep the system by offering their European films a chance to receive some prestigious exposure outside of the commercial chain of distribution companies and exhibition venues. Inadvertently, the seed was sown for an alternative network that could challenge the hegemony of the American studio system on the global film market.

The first European film festivals, however, did not merely use the festivals as a platform for their oppressed national cinemas, but they also imported Hollywood techniques to enhance their profile. They relied heavily on the glamour and presence of American (studio system) stars to make the events more attractive, prestigious, and popular. As I have argued in the introduction, the success of the international film festivals has benefited from its ambiguous relationship to Hollywood, as it both counters and emulates its practices. The Berlinale was glamorized by the appearances of stars like Gary Cooper, Billy Wilder, Bob Hope, Trevor Howard, Errol Flynn, and Patricia Wymore in the 1950s. In 1958, Walt Disney received the porcelain Bear from major (and future West German chancellor) Willy Brandt. During the festivals, many enthusiastic Berliners would gather in the streets to catch a glimpse of their idols and try to secure

their autographs. A major festival like Berlin continues to this very day to make great efforts to attract movie celebrities, because the media that follows in their wake provide essential media coverage (see case study three).

The relationship between Hollywood and Europe has always been a dualistic one. Until the 1980s, however, cinema studies regarded the relationship between Hollywood and European cinemas, in particular, as an oppositional one. Hollywood movies were studied as representations of the standard universal film style.[30] European films, on the contrary, were categorized and studied as belonging to the canon of national cinemas. For Europe, cinema studies restricted itself to the production of film texts in national territories. Stephen Crofts writes:

> The idea of national cinema has long informed the promotion of non-Hollywood cinemas. Along with the name of the director-auteur, it has served as a means by which non-Hollywood films – most commonly art films – have been labelled, distributed, and reviewed. As a marketing strategy, these national labels have promised varieties of "otherness" – of what is culturally different from both Hollywood and the films of other importing countries. The heyday of art cinema's "new waves" coincided with the rise of Anglophone film-book publishing in the mid-1960s. Later, 1960s radical politics extended the range of territories covered to those engaged in postcolonial struggles. The idea of a national cinema underpinning most of these studies remained largely unproblematic until the 1980s, since which time they have grown markedly more complex.[31]

Andrew Higson's article "The Concept of National Cinema" (1989) was among the first to criticize the conventional mode of national film analysis.[32] He argued that "it is inadequate to reduce the study of national cinemas only to consideration of the films produced by and within a particular nation-state. It is important to take into account the film culture as a whole. And the overall institution of cinema."[33] Higson emphasized national film culture instead of film production and subsequently argued for the inclusion of exhibition and circulation (intertextuality), audience use of particular film exhibition circumstances, and both critical and cultural discourses in the study of national cinemas.

From this vantage point, Hollywood should, in fact, be seen as an integral part of most nations' film culture. "Hollywood has become one of those cultural traditions which feed into the so-called national cinemas of, for instance, western European nations," Higson writes.[34] European audiences are accustomed to the imaginary and the values of Hollywood movies. European filmmakers are influenced by American film genres and styles. In addition, Hollywood has welcomed European influences: many famous Hollywood directors and stars were and are European immigrants (e.g., Alfred Hitchcock and Greta Garbo) and Europe's films, culture, and heritage inspired Hollywood productions (e.g.,

films based on Shakespeare's plays and costume dramas). In the 1990s, a large number of studies and articles were published that offer a more complicated view of the relationship between Hollywood and European cinemas.[35]

My interest in these discussions concerns the theorization of film festivals, or, more precisely, the general lack of theory regarding this point. Until the 1990s, there was little explicit attention given to the role of (European) film festivals. In the new perspectives on the construction of European cinema, however, the topic of film festivals does make a modest entry. In his *New German Cinema: A History* (1989), Thomas Elsaesser observed how the new German films (1970s/1980s) had to receive international recognition before they could become part of the national German canon.[36] Elsaesser showed that national cinemas are not collections of autonomous texts, but are heavily dependent upon international aesthetic forums such as film festivals. Wenders, Herzog, Fassbinder and other New German directors were celebrated auteurs on the international film festival circuit, which elevated their works to the level of art, which, in turn, was required before they received the privilege of representing Germany's new cinematic identity.

Dimitris Eleftherioutis reiterates the argument in 2001 as follows: "In this sense, the national canon is determined by judgements based on universal values and often pronounced outside the geographical boundaries of the nation."[37] From the opposite direction, the critique on the neglect of popular cinemas in the study of European cinemas, similar conclusions have been drawn. Richard Dyer and Ginette Vincendeau argue that the agenda of European governments to position art cinema as the dominant national culture caused popular traditions to be undervalued and ignored:

> [Art cinema] is a solution to the problem of the small domestic market for national European films, since "art films" are shown at film festivals and on international distribution/exhibition circuits dedicated to them…; it is also the cinema that most national European governments have been prepared to subsidize. To gain this position, art cinema required high cultural prestige. This was achieved by constructing it through the discourses of European culture discussed above, traditions which, for socio-historical reasons, are accepted as the dominant national cultures in most European countries in a way that is certainly not true in the USA or Australia. Art cinema fed into the resistance to two filmic "bad others": US cultural influence, including television…; and the despised indigenous low traditions.[38]

It is important to acknowledge that these new perspectives on the "national cinema" in Film Theory were already pointing towards a central role for international distribution and exhibition circuits, and, more specifically, film festivals, in the legitimization of European cinema as art cinema. By moving beyond the narrow interpretation of "national cinema," these studies tried to explain why

new waves were canonized (as "art") and popular cinema was overlooked. However, since neither "national" nor "art" seemed to have offered Film Studies fully appropriate concepts for analyzing European cinemas, I will continue and investigate what can be learnt by studying international film festivals as sites where national interests are played out and cultural recognition can be acquired. In order to do so we now turn to the second important historical phase that began in 1968. In this period, the attention of film festivals shifted away from national concerns and towards artistic criteria.

The Call for Independent Festivals

Although film festivals flourished in the 1950s and 1960s, not everybody was pleased with the way they developed. The growing attention given to economic and glamour considerations created especially strong feelings of dissatisfaction. In France, the Nouvelle Vague film critics (Godard, Truffaut, Chabrol, Rohmer and Rivette) criticized the film industry in general and film festival in Cannes in particular for not paying enough attention to the medium as art in general and to young, new and alternative auteurs in particular.[39] Deeply dissatisfied with the state of French cinema, the film critics started to direct movies themselves. Françoise Giroud was the first to use the term "Nouvelle Vague" in *L'Express* in 1958 to refer to the new youthful spirit of these films.[40] Truffaut, banned from the Cannes Film Festival in 1958 for attacking the domination of commercial and political interests at the festival, returned the following year to win the Palme d'Or for Les Quatre cents coups/the 400 Blows (FR: 1959), essentially ensuring the official recognition of the Nouvelle Vague. But the general dissatisfaction with French cinema and the role of film festivals persisted.

In 1968, the bomb burst. The US and Europe found itself in turmoil because of various left-wing demonstrations. In the US, the Vietnam War was the main reason for the public's discontent. In France, cinema played an important role in the riots.[41] In February of that year, the minister of culture, André Malraux, dismissed Henri Langlois, head of the Cinémathèque Française. Founded by Langlois, the Cinémathèque housed the largest collection of films in the world. Many acclaimed filmmakers, including those from the Nouvelle Vague generation, were passionately engaged with the Cinémathèque as a meeting place and educational source. The dismissal of Langlois was seen as a repressive act of the state, meant to restrict artistic freedom. Upon hearing the news, Godard, Truffaut, and other filmmakers gathered in the streets for a protest march. They formed the Committee for the Defense of the Cinémathèque, and filmmakers

from around the world including Orson Welles, Ingmar Bergman, and Akira Kurosawa sent telegrams in support of Langlois.[42]

When the Cannes Film Festival opened on 10 May 1968, the situation in France was still very unstable. During the festival's first weekend, some three million French workers were out on strike. The Committee for the Defense of the Cinémathèque was also in full swing. They went to the film festival to open up an office and offer their support from there. Truffaut, Godard, Alain Resnais, Claude Berri, and Claude Lelouch organized a meeting to protest Langlois's dismissal in the *Palais*. Soon the protest's aim expanded to not only include the reinstatement of Langlois, but also the reorganization of the festival, which was criticized for being too focused on stars and prizes. The crowd, which gathered there to listen to the impassioned discussions, grew to such proportions that the meeting had to be replaced from the Salle Jean Cocteau to the larger Grand Salle. Shouts were heard that voiced solidarity with the striking workers and the shutting down of the festival altogether. Initially, Robert Favre Le Bret (film festival president from 1952 to 1972) reached a compromise which allowed the festival to continue but without prizes. When fights broke out during the screening of Carlos Saura's Peppermint Frappé (ES: 1967) and caused its premature termination, the jury, led by Roman Polanski, gathered to discuss the situation. The following day, the festival was officially closed. As John Stapleton and David Robinson argue, the upheaval in Cannes in 1968 marked the end of an era of fun and glamour at the various festivals:

> Spurred by the revolutionary situation in Paris, the Cannes militants, including Truffaut and Godard, occupied the Festival Palace, and announced that the establishment must yield its power and cease to corrupt the Seventh Art. All day long the Palace was held. Anybody could speak, and did. Most of the time there were more people on the stage than in the auditorium. Godard (or was it Truffaut?) kept getting knocked down in the intermittent skirmishes. Film festivals were never the same again. Out of the events of 1968 grew the important parallel events of Cannes and Berlin, the Quinzaine des Realisateurs and the Young Film Forum. Prized remained, for several years, disreputable. Venice foundered, never wholly to regain its old glories.[43]

Les événements of 1968 left a deep impression on film festivals worldwide. One effect was the global reconsideration of the role of film festivals now that the status of cinema and film directors had grown. The fact that cinema was increasingly considered a high art and the director was now the auteur led to the use of festivals as a platform for these voices (by some criticized as appropriation). The second effect concerned the shift in the selection procedures. With the contemporary emphasis on the individual achievements of auteurs and the task of the film festival to show great works of art, the format of festivals as show-

cases of national cinemas had become antiquated. Consequently, steps were taken to change the selection procedures. Ulrich Gregor, *Forum* director until 2002, explains why the Berlinale format was ready to be revised:

> The Film Festival Berlin's format was outdated. There were mostly two overlapping ideas. One was that films should be selected according to artistic criteria, the other was that it was up to the respective countries or even individual companies to submit films. The latter idea today appears fairly absurd, but back then the A-festivals like the Berlinale handed over their programming to the film industry or totally followed their advice. The film critics called out "It is midnight, Dr. Bauer." That was mean because the festivals back then were not that bad. One has to admit that significant masterpieces were shown in Berlin now and then.[44]

Cannes director Gilles Jacob expressed a similar view:

> [I]t was felt the best films were not always selected, and that often the criteria used for selection (such as personal, political, or professional connections) had nothing to do with art or the intrinsic qualities of the films. Gradually, the Festival [de Cannes] added its own selections to those of the various countries as a means of compensating for certain perceived errors or injustices. [From] 1972 … films, not countries, would be represented. … Moreover, it would be the Festival Director and not national committees who would decide which films would be invited from around the world; thus nationalist biases could no longer hold sway.[45]

Formerly, the various national governments selected the film entries. Now, the festivals themselves drew up their own selection procedures. When the Cannes Film Festival was resumed in 1969, its structure had been fundamentally altered. The *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* was established for films deemed too radical, marginal or young for the official selection and occurred parallel to, and independent from, the rest of the festival.[46] These films would not be in the competition for the Palme d'Or.

In Venice – where there had been passionate fights in the Cannes spirit between directors and protesters – director Prof. Luigi Chiarini reacted by shifting the festival to the left and in opposition to the capitalism of Hollywood. He also abandoned the tradition of awarding prizes. After its own scandal in 1971, Berlin followed with the foundation of the *Forum des Jungen Films*, which was comparable to the *Quinzaine*.[47] It was mostly the festival director or president himself who took full responsibility for the selections. The festivals were no longer showcases for national cinemas, but institutions for the promotion of cinema as art. In much the same manner as the auteur was given credit for being the creative force behind a film, the festival director became the embodiment of the festival's image in the international film festival circuit. Because the international

competitions were no longer dependent on the submissions of national film bodies, he was now free to emphasize artistic quality.

Upheaval in Berlin

In Berlin, the festival format remained a showcase for national cinemas and competition between nation-states until the early 1960s. In 1963, the Berlinale organization began to question its selection procedures for the first time. Several format changes and the discontinuation of the practice of inviting nation-states to select entries were debated. Although a breakthrough was not reached at this time, the doors to change had been opened by the institution of some modest changes. Bauer reported that: "Besides the right of large film countries to enter a film officially, the directorship of the festival has the option to select films of artistic significance to enrich the program."[48] While events in 1968 became the turning point for both Cannes and Venice, the Berlinale had to wait two more years before a conflict stimulated dissatisfaction to the point where significant changes were made to the festival's format.

The scandal surrounding Michael Verhoeven's film O.K. (BRD: 1970), which was screened in 1970, caused the eventual upheaval in Berlin. Besides criticism of the lack of artistic criteria and freedom at the festival, the conflict in Berlin was more specifically focused on its construction as a Western cultural showcase for the East, which provided a critique of the American geopolitical influence of the festival program. The experimental film O.K., which was based on the true story of Mao, the little Vietnamese girl who was raped and murdered by American soldiers in 1966, solicited strong reactions. The film displaced the historical events from the Vietnam War to an Easter Monday in Bavaria and relied heavily on alienation techniques.

After it was screened in Berlin, the press reacted positively to the film, admiring its political provocation but remained divided on the issue of artistic choices. The political content, however, proved problematic. The jury, headed by American director George Stevens, voted (six votes to three) "to neutralize the German competition entry by Michael Verhoeven as long as the selection committee has not re-confirmed that the film adheres to the rules of international festivals."[49] Not only had the jury obstructed artistic freedom with this act of censorship, it had also defended the festival's original role as a geopolitical instrument in the Cold War by concealing itself behind an FIAPF regulation passage that stated that international film festival entries should contribute to the rapprochement and friendship between nations. Moreover, Berlinale festival regulations prevented juries from interfering in the selection of festival entries.

In the ensuing scandal caused by this incident, the jury was forced to resign because their position had become untenable. Although Bauer tried to rescue the festival by claiming there were no legal grounds for the jury's actions and that O.K. would remain in the competition, all his attempts were in vain. The genie had been let out of the bottle. In the midst of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations and following in the footsteps of the festivals in Cannes and Venice, the Berlin organizers met to debate the validity of the organization itself and various festival regulations. In an atmosphere of suspicion, accusation, gossip, and slander, criticism of the lack of artistic freedom and the various national geopolitical interests were ultimately recognized. Walter Schmieding, director of the Festival GmbH (Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung), Bauer, and the jury all eventually resigned. The festival's program was abruptly stopped and the Berlinale had to contemplate whether and how the festival would continue the following year.

Although the 1970 Berlinale was very successful, everybody agreed that the festival had to continue. Heinz Zellermayer, a member of the Berlin Parliament, argued on 9 July 1970, that "Berlin is, more than any other city, dependent upon its congresses, conferences as well as its film festival because our viability needs a broad industrial foundation: without the many cultural attractions we could no longer maintain the claim of being a world city."[50] With political support guaranteed, the important question became how to improve the festival. Should the festival be thoroughly reformed? Should it assume a new active role of ballot commissions using independent aesthetic criteria in their selection of movies for the festival? That would mean a renunciation of its A-status, abandoning the tradition of having an (international) jury to award prizes, and focusing instead on new, young, artistic cinema, on quality productions and on retrospectives. Or was it, perhaps, better to keep the old festival as it was in a slightly altered form and establish a new parallel festival that could dedicate itself solely to the promotion of new young artistic cinema?

They decided for the latter, thus following the example of Cannes (*Quinzaine des Réalisateurs*) and Venice (*Giornate del Cinema Italiano*). Thus they maintained the festival's A-status. However, the FIAFP, in regarding the selection procedure, was pressured to change its regulations so that the right of major film nations to present their films could only be exercised in consultation with the German selection committee.[51] Like Cannes and Venice, the Berlinale developed from a showcase for national cinemas into an independent festival organization.

The second major change was the establishment of a parallel festival, to be called *Das Internationales Forum des jungen Films* where progressive cinema and young experimental directors would find a platform. The *Forum* format was designed in the service of aesthetic criteria and new discoveries. The initial festival

function of supporting the sovereignty of nation-states disappeared completely in this new type of festival; it was not the nation-states – represented by either governmental film associations or national film industries – that would select the festival entries for the *Forum*. Instead, the festival director assumed a central role in this regard. His skills in selecting movies, discovering new talents or movements, and designing programs would become increasingly important for the competition between the various festivals. It was based on the creation of a distinctive festival image (see case study four for a fuller account of the effect of the upheavals on festival programming). As I shall argue towards to end of this chapter, the national returns to these strategies in a different form.

The *Forum*: Between Barricades and Ivory Tower

Although the decision to found the *Forum des Jungen Films* was a direct result of the scandalous events of 1970, the dissatisfaction surrounding the Berlin Film Festival in particular and German film culture in general had already previously prompted a group of cinephiles to organize their own counter-events. Die Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek (Friends of the German Film Archive) organized their first film screening in May 1963. The Friends had criticized the Berlinale for its emphasis on stars and placing barriers that prevented independent production entries. The festival was accused of increasingly becoming a promotion branch for the Hollywood majors.[52] The friends, on the contrary, focused on individual achievements, criteria based on aesthetics, innovative styles, and engaging stories. These were the criteria they used to decide whether a movie, movement, or cinema was, in fact, better, "... more significant and insightful than the super productions adorned with Oscars."[53] The films that met their criteria would be treated according to the ideology of a Co-op rather than commercial company. In July 1970, the Friends organized a counter-festival to the Berlinale in Arsenal art house that had first opened its doors in January 1970 and called it the "Woche des Jungen Films." This precursor to the *Forum* included the first Fassbinder retrospective, films by Rosa von Praunheim, Cuban documentaries, films from Japan, films by Jonas Mekas and Robert Kramer, as well as two early cinema classics by Feuillade.[54]

When the decision to create a parallel festival was made, all heads naturally turned to the Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek, which included Ulrich Gregor and his wife Erika, Gero Gandert, Heiner Roß, Manfred Salzgeber, Gerhard Schoenberner, Wilhelm Roth, Sylvia Andresen, Peter Schumann, and Alf Bold. What these people shared was a strong belief in the necessity of promoting, supporting, and creating more favorable conditions for what they believed was

good cinema. They acknowledged the fact that the films and directors they favored were in a weak position and decided to intervene. Even as the *Forum* emerged as a major institution, the revolutionary spirit continued to prevail. Metaphorically speaking, the *Forum* employees and many volunteers from the Friends circle mounted the barricades for a better cinema.

Their programming criteria did not shun films with explicit and/or controversial political content, such as Nicht der Homosexuelle ist Pervers, Sondern die Situation in der er Lebt (BRD: Rosa van Praunheim 1971) and Coup pour Coup (FR/BRD: Marin Karmitz 1972). As Ulrich Gregor explains: "We were indeed looking for films that had the right 'revolutionary' spirit."[55] Moreover, contrary to the Berlinale, the *Forum* chose to show films from the Soviet Union (including classics by Dziga Vertov, Alexander Medwedkin, and Abram Room). The *Forum* distinguished itself from the Berlinale in four important ways. Firstly, whereas the Berlinale only showed narrative-oriented features, the *Forum* offered an indiscriminate mix of documentaries, avant-garde productions, short films, and features (usually with controversial themes, innovative styles or produced in neglected nations). Secondly, the *Forum* operated under the motto "screen, support, circulate, distribute, and archive." Its efforts did not end with the end of their festival, however. Each movie shown at the Forum was to be archived in the German Film Archive (*Deutsche Kinemathek*). Thirdly, Forum films were accompanied by extensive documentation and discussion. Whereas the information in the Berlinale catalogue was very concise and edited according to the lay-out, the size of the *Forum*'s documentation was not restricted to any one particular format but was dictated instead by the available information. Regarding the tradition of discussions, Ulrich Gregor recalls: "Back then we not only wanted to come into contact with works (of art), but with thought processes, with utopia. A film is not only a product, it is a process. During intermissions there were discussions and sometimes we thought that these discussions after the screenings were just as important as the films themselves."[56] And fourthly, the *Forum* was devoted to film history.

The *Forum* proved to be a successful extension of the Berlinale: influential directors such as Theo Angelopoulos, Mrinal Sen, Chantal Akerman, and Aki Kaurismäki were discovered here; new national cinemas (especially Asian) were introduced to Western audiences; and ground-breaking works were shown, such as Claude Lanzmann's Shoah (FR: 1974-1985). With the development and institutionalization of the *Forum*, however, the once-revolutionary principles also became the subject of criticism. It was argued that the exclusive attention given to art cinema, avant-garde, or experimental productions and new national cinemas made the *Forum* an elitist project – the metaphor of the ivory tower was added to the barricade battle-cry.[57] "Between barricade and ivory tower" reflects the *Forum*'s ambiguous position of representing the alter-

native, innovative, and small voices of world film cultures in opposition to the mainstream, established, and dominant (festival) sounds of the Berlinale, while, at the same time, functioning as an established and a respected institution for the promotion of high film culture. In the next section, I will turn to the third phase in the development of festivals where I will show that institutionalization was the general trend in film festival history from the 1980s onwards.

Embedded Festivals

The film festival phenomenon entered a third historical phase in the 1980s when festivals began to spread over the entire globe. Nowadays, there is a film festival every day somewhere in the world. Estimated numbers vary from 1200 to 1900 festivals each year. There are major international film festivals, regional film festivals, local film festivals, festivals dedicated to documentaries, animation, education and many retrospective film festival, as well as film weeks, and film specials. Film festivals mushroomed worldwide, which led to the establishment of the international film festival circuit. There is a lot of fierce competition, distinction *and* emulation on this circuit. Festivals cannot operate outside of the circuit. Meanwhile, the programs, the development, and organization of each festival influences the position and versatility of the rest of the festivals.

The interrelational dependency of festivals means that festivals are embedded within the global system of the film festival circuit. Their embedding is visible in many written and unwritten rules, such as the circuit's dogma to show world premières. Ulrich Gregor recalls how this situation was different in the early days of the *Forum*: "Back then the pressure was not as strong to show as many absolute novelties as possible. It was not that important if something was a world première or if the film had already been shown here and there. Today everyone seems to be asking "How many world premières do you have?" This unfortunately means that it is different these days. Every festival makes a big deal out of their premières."[58] Another example is the pressure to award prizes. The competition for prizes has become one of the main focuses of press festival coverage, and festivals without prizes are less frequently visited and reported upon by journalists. In case study four, I will elaborate on the attitude regarding prizes at the International Film Festival Rotterdam.

In order to understand the development towards embedded festivals, it is helpful to ignore the theories that focus on national cinemas and, focus instead on various theories of globalization. I will draw in particular on Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's book *Empire*. Although their theory concerns the new *political* order in today's context of globalization, many insights can be used to ex-

plain the *cultural* order within the international film festival circuit. Both transformations are ultimately linked to the passage from modernity to postmodernity and both cause a spatial reconfiguration of power.

The creation of the international film festival circuit has provoked different reactions. One may regret the loss of exclusivity for the historical festivals, while the other may celebrate the global dissemination of festivals as a justified break with the hegemony of European festivals. Hardt and Negri offer valuable insights because their work calls specific attention to the fact that globalization does not necessarily interrupt old forms of power, while simultaneously establishing new ones. Hardt and Negri argue that globalization or the passage into postmodernity is characterized by a process of deterritorialization. Whereas modernity was ruled by the territorializing forces of European nation-states – expanding the number of regions under their imperial Eurocentric influence – the spatial configuration of the world order in the 1980s and 1990s became fundamentally different. The world has become deterritorialized. This means that the new political order (Empire) does not have the former rigid boundaries and a center – although the US holds a privileged position within it. Instead, the globalized world and postmodernity are characterized as networks in which local elements are linked to global structures and heterogeneity and plurality are the preferred ideological projects.

Hardt and Negri draw heavily upon various postmodern theories in order to analyze this contemporary condition: the voices of Deleuze and Guattari, Foucault, and Castells are omnipresent in their elaborations on smooth space, biopower, and networks. At the same time, they succeed in pinpointing the moment where many postcolonialist and postmodern theories fail to see the new form of domination. Hardt and Negri argue: "The structures and logics of power in the contemporary world are entirely immune to the 'liberatory' weapons of the postmodernist politics of difference. In fact, Empire too is bent on doing away with those modern forms of sovereignty and on setting differences to play across boundaries."[59] The fact that homogeneous (European) structures are broken does not imply that power is equally distributed within the new heterogeneous flows (of Empire). For neo-Marxists like Hardt and Negri the usual suspect is, of course, the capitalist system. They argue that the ideology of the world market comes into full bloom when matched with postmodern and postcolonial convictions, because postmodernity's pet subjects such as circulation, mobility, diversity, and mixture are profitable to global trade. The world market embraces the deconstruction of nation-states and promotes open global markets and product differentiation. The differences between people, in their turn, are seen as market opportunities that can each be targeted by means of a custom-made campaign.

The point Hardt and Negri make is a valuable one; even without pushing it to an anti-capitalist extreme, it proves useful for the study of new power relations on the international film festival circuit. Hardt and Negri argue that the differences that appear upon the tearing down of the binary boundaries of the nation-state do not end up moving freely across global space, but, instead, end up being controlled in global networks of power with highly differentiated and mobile structures.[60] One can also argue that the unequal geopolitical power relations between film festivals did not simply disappear when the festival phenomenon was subjected to a spatial reconfiguration in the 1980s and 1990s. The creation of the international film festival circuit was accomplished by a rapid increase in the number of festivals and their global proliferation, causing a loss of the natural claim of exclusivity of some festivals and a definite end to the European monopoly. However, the development also did not mean that every nation would have an equal opportunity on the circuit. As Julian Stringer argues, the circuit is above all "a metaphor for the geographically uneven development that characterizes the world of international film culture."[61] Within the new power relations, the nationalist geopolitics that dominated the early European festivals has been replaced with the influence of historicity, cities, and sites (see case study three for an elaboration of power relations and cultural value). In this new configuration, "the national" returns as one of the two major discourse strategies with which festivals profiled their programming. The second strategy revolved around "art cinema."

Return of the National

When, in the early 1970s, the selection procedures of the major European festivals were opened up, this was not only followed by an emphasis on individual artistic achievements, but also by a passionate interest in unfamiliar cinematic cultures, especially the ones sprouting from the revolutions in Third World countries. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam argue that "[t]he late 1960s were heady days for revolutionary cinema. Worldwide decolonization seemed to suggest revolution everywhere in the Third World, while First World revolutionary movements promised an overthrow of the imperial system from within 'the belly of the beast.' At the same time, dominant film form and Hollywood hegemony were being challenged virtually everywhere."[62] As I will argue in more detail in case study four, the change in festival format gave rise to the emergence of "specialized" film festivals, which set out to intervene in cinema culture with thematic programs and debates, and to support political struggles around the world.

The *Forum* is a good example of a festival that operated under this ideology. It was eager to explore the unknown, indigenous film cultures of the world and set out to discover new forms of cinematography and storytelling, searching for fascination and inspiration as well as the prestige of having discovered something valuable or influential first. Ulrich Gregor's observation presently "there are no white territories left, no new cinematic cultures to discover – Greenland being a possible exception" reminds one that the difference between sincere support and neo-colonial attitude is a difficult one to draw.[63] On the one hand, the interest in Third World cinema genuinely coincided with the concern for socio-political power struggles in the countries where the films were produced, but, on the other hand, films could be (and were) claimed as "discoveries" and "national cinemas" by the festival programmers (competing with other festivals on the circuit) and artistic choices could mistakenly be interpreted as "national" by festival audiences looking for intimate encounters with unfamiliar cultures. [64] Thus, "the national" returned, not without its problems, in festival programming (see case study four for a more detailed discussion of "specialized" and "thematic" programming).

One of the most pressing complications concerns a discrepancy between the unproblematic presentations of the cream of various "national cinemas" at top festivals in the West, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the second-rate selections that are left for the newer festivals in Third World countries. The film festivals in, for example, Havana, Carthage, and Ouagadougou have a difficult time competing for films with the more established festivals.[65] As Hardt and Negri argue, on a political level, many colonized countries used the European project of nationalization to gain independence, but failed to find true liberation and equality because they still suffered from subordination on the global level.[66] In other words, colonialism was replaced by new forms of domination that, instead, operated globally and under the guise of open (fair) competition.

On a cultural level, a similar pattern can be distinguished for film festivals: the new Third World film festivals assumed subordinate positions in the global arena of the international film festival circuit. A good example is FESPACO. This Pan African Film and Television Festival in Ouagadougou was founded in 1969 and became the most important cultural event in Africa. Its subordinate position in the international film festival circuit, however, becomes clear when we consider the fact that it is passed over for the all-important premières. Film professionals prefer the old major festivals of Europe or the newer cosmopolitan festivals of North America over the festival in Ouagadougou to commence a festival tour. These Western festivals offer more benefits in return for a première (prestige, network opportunities, etc.) and are therefore capable of attracting the most successful and established directors and films. In this way, indigenous fes-

tivals may remain subordinate, while "their" national cinema may be "blossoming."[67]

Manthia Diawara, in comparing the presentation of African cinema at festivals in New York and Ouagadougou, writes: "African cinema exists in exile, with more African films seen in Europe and America than in Africa. ... Since the best African films are screened elsewhere – not to mention at Cannes, Venice, Berlin and London – filmmakers no longer look to FESPACO for premières. Such European and American festivals also contribute to the ghettoization of African films, since they use them only for the purposes of promoting the degree of multiculturalism sanctioned by their own citizens."[68] The effect of the global spread of the film festival phenomenon and the increasing importance of distinction and marketing completed the detachment between "the national" and "the nation." The national has become a free-floating signifying unit that is used in the festival discourse to market new cinemas (see also case study four).

This situation also has its advantages, however. For example, when national film boards censor a controversial film, the international film festival circuit may offer opportunities for global exposure. Ulrich Gregor notes that since the disappearance of "white territories," it has become the festival's task to observe developments and trends, and report back on contemporary film culture by showing these culturally relevant films to an international public, irrespective of distributor interest and governmental support. When national censorship becomes an issue for independent and critical productions, as is the case in China, for example, international film festivals abroad may help – with the assistance of local experts – to find an audience for these films outside of the national borders.[69]

The Local and the Global

The Berlinale has been firmly rooted within the geopolitical power play of the Cold War. The festival is closely related to the peculiar history of the city and is also affected by the German governmental division between the *Bund* (state) and the *Länder* (federal states).[70] Together, these influences add up to a variety of spatial modalities that can be used to analyze the film festival. Cities, in particular, offer a useful entry point for the discussion of how local practices are related to the global network. Stringer, for example – by referring to Saskia Sassen's theory of the role of global cities in the financial market – identifies the festival locations as the nodal points in the festival network. All major international film festivals have to compete on the terms of, what he calls, the global space economy. Stringer argues that this is manifested via two strategies: "As

local differences are being erased through globalization, festivals need to be similar to one another, but as novelty is also at a premium, the local and particular also becomes very valuable. Film festivals market both conceptual similarity and cultural difference."[71] Film festivals use marketing strategies to secure a "festival image" for themselves that will effectively position the festival both globally and locally. Stringer believes that the city is the most important node in this global network.

It is important to assert that the "local" and the "global" have already been playing a role in the organization of the Berlin film festival since its inception in the immediate post-Second World War period. Before they became manifestations of marketing necessities in a saturated festival environment they had already emerged as elements intrinsic to the festival organization and were imbued with geopolitical politics: The local festival event was strategically established as global propaganda promoting the Western system and ideology. Another city metaphor, therefore, might be more appropriate to understand how the global relates to the local in the Berlinale of the Cold War period: the city as airport.

In 1983, Paul Virilio published the provocative article "The Overexposed City."[72] The article begins with a reference to the construction of the Berlin Wall. Virilio presents the construction of the Wall as one of the clearest examples of the global development towards an introversion of the city, a relocation of the frontiers of states to the interior of cities comparable to Stringer's ideas regarding the festival circuit in its abandonment of center/periphery structures in favor of nodal ones. Virilio also makes it clear that, for him, it is not the physical boundaries of a Berlin Wall, but the immaterial systems of electronic surveillance that ultimately characterize urban redevelopment from the 1970s onwards. Elaborating on the position of the city in wartime, he proposes replacing the metaphor of the physical gateway of the ancient city (e.g., Arc de Triomphe) with an airport's electronic surveillance gateway into the modern city.

The metaphor of the city as airport ascribes a dominant role to urban locations in controlling exterior forces by means of advanced technologies. Nations are no longer primarily defended on the battlefield, but by administrative and technocratic practices of exclusion. This metaphor can shed light on the successful position of festivals. It brings their function as powerful media hubs to the fore. Film festivals can be seen as technologically advanced gateways to an alternative film culture, controlling the exposure in global media (see case study three); festivals are places where movies are discovered; receive worldwide media attention; and are sold to distributors or television. The selection of films is a process of inclusion in and exclusion from a promise of what Virilio calls overexposure. The metaphor of the city as airport, therefore, expands the metaphor of the city as node, because it not only points to the power relations be-

tween festivals in the international film festival circuit, but also provides an understanding of festival programming as a political act.

Let me elaborate a bit more on the spatial dimensions of this political programming practice. Throughout the Cold War era, the Berlin Senate and Berlinale organization were more progressive regarding politically-sensitive issues than the *Bundes* government was. The latter was persistent in its refusal to discuss the inclusion of movies from socialist countries even after the reorganization that followed the scandal of 1970. During this period, the Berlin Senate (particularly the culture ministry) and the festival organization slowly began to show an interest in Eastern European productions and develop initiatives to break the impasse. The exclusion of Soviet films and films from communist countries was finally resolved in 1974 when the Soviet Union was allowed to participate (outside competition) in the Berlinale for the first time. A Soviet delegation visited the festival. The Berlinale debut of a film from the DDR followed in 1975.

Another key incidence of when festival initiatives and federal support preceded global developments and state approval concerns the *Wende* of 1989. In February 1989, the Berlin film festival was already in negotiation with the DDR to show its competition program during the festival in East Berlin theatres as well. Moritz de Hadeln, festival director from 1979 to 2001, discussed the topic with Horst Pehnert, Deputy Minister of Culture in the DDR and leader of the DDR Film Committee during the festival. On 9 November 1989 – the day the Wall fell – he wrote Pehnert a letter in which he presented a detailed proposal for the realization of such a plan.[73] Nineteen days later, Berlin's mayor, Walter Momper, guaranteed De Hadeln the necessary extra financial means, because "at this historical moment hardly anyone understood that controversies between the federal government (national) and the federal state Berlin (regional) could result in Berlin's inability to comply with the new expectations."[74] The Berlinale organization in East Berlin was a fact and simultaneously constituted the introduction of a new phase in Berlinale history.

From 1989 onwards, the festival began redefining its relations with the East. Increased attention was gradually given to the Eastern hinterland, and Berlin would develop into one of the most important festivals for Eastern and Central European films. The festival remained a powerful media event, where local issues could become global concerns and politics reappeared on the festival agenda, albeit with a humanist and pacifist tint. The media presence at the 2003 festival, for example, was used by guests, reporters, and festival organizers to criticize the – then pending – Second Gulf War. The jury awarded the Golden Bear to Michael Winterbottom's road movie In This World (UK: 2003), which told the story of two Afghan refugees trying to reach London. Many festival

visitors interrupted their festival activities to join the mass demonstrations against the war on Saturday 15 February.

The festival had certainly undergone significant transformations since the 1970s: from showcasing almost exclusively Western cinema to becoming a meeting point for Eastern European talent, from being the epicenter of Cold War politics to becoming a symbol of Germany's unification. Consequently, the festival had to redefine its image on the festival circuit. Locally, the city of Berlin and its rich history were used by the festival as a means of creating cultural distinction. The federal government, in its turn, used the festival to market the city.

City Marketing

City marketing has become a key concept in describing worldwide municipal strategies for the promotion of their cities since the 1980s. The use of the concept is related to the popularity of globalization theories that convey the spatial reconfiguration of power dispersal across the globe over the past few decades. Much attention has been paid to the role of world cities in the debates. Friedmann (1986) and Sassen (1991, 1996) identified a shift in the location of the global economy's command and control functions from dominant nation-states to a handful of global cities; New York, London and Tokyo.[75] These world cities are seen as the major nodes in a global network; they are the leaders in areas as diverse as transnational finance and business; international institutions; manufacturing and transportation; population and immigration; telecommunications; and culture. Globalization theories induced widespread discussion and research on the topic of globalization and the city.[76]

City marketing was recognized as an essential activity for cities that wanted to compete in the global arena. The construction of a positive image became one of the key elements in promotional strategies for attracting investment and tourism. Others pointed out that world cities are not the only places of influence in the global network. Other cities or urban conglomerates are equally affected by globalization and may try to dominate on regional levels. Besides differing in their scope of influence, these cities distinguish themselves from world cities in their relative scale of dominance. They might excel as centers for software development (Seattle, US); geopolitical debates (Havana, Cuba); or culture tourism (Prague, Czech Republic); while remaining less influential in other areas.[77]

Whereas city marketing is an excellent concept for explaining the contemporary popularity of festivals with local authorities and it may even be part of the reason why the phenomenon spread so quickly in the 1980s and 1990s. I want to

emphasize that the idea of city marketing has been applied since the earliest days of festival history (when the concept itself had admittedly not yet been introduced). One of the motivations for the establishment of the first reoccurring festival in Venice in 1932 was tourism. The festival was carefully designed to attract as many visitors as possible to the city at a time when the tourist season was just coming to an end. The festival ran from late August to early September and thus it extended the tourist season an extra seven to ten days. Hotels, restaurants, and other tourist industry businesses were eager to give the initiative their support. Moreover, the festival director, Count Giuseppe Volpi Di Misurate, was related to the CIGA (Compagnia Italiana Grandi Alberghi), an association of luxury hotels, which included two palaces on the Lido. The recession of the 1930s had taken its toll on the elite clientele of these hotels and thus choosing to make the Venice film festival a glamorous and international event should be seen as the result of successful lobby work by CIGA with municipal authorities.

This is true for Berlin as well, where the practice of city marketing was a reality prior to it receiving more attention via globalization. Let me reiterate what Heinz Zellermayer, a member of Berlin's Parliament, argued on 9 July 1970 in defense of the continuation of the Berlinale after the scandal surrounding Michael Verhoeven's film O.K.: "Berlin is more than any other city dependent upon its congresses, conferences, and a functioning film festival because our viability depends on a broad industrial foundation because without the many cultural attractions we could never maintain the claim of being a world city."[78] The festival's move to Potsdamer Platz provides another interesting example of city marketing.

After the reunification of Germany on 3 October 1990, the need for a mutual place of representation was strongly felt in both East and West Germany. The old capital Berlin, with its majestic lanes and parks, historic buildings, and unsurpassed political and cultural heritage, again became the capital at the expense of Bonn after an eleven-hour debate in the Bundestag on 20 June 1991.[79] The national government ultimately moved from Bonn to the Reichstag in Berlin in 1999. But what was needed besides the revival of old landmarks was a new location that could become a symbol for the new Berlin. This became the Potsdamer Platz, which had once been the busiest intersection in the city before the erection of the Berlin Wall. The wall meant that the Potsdamer Platz space was neither bound to East or West German history. The location was reopened in the summer of 1990. Major companies were encouraged to sponsor the development of a new city center that would provide the reappointed capital of a united Germany with a fresh identity in the former no-man's-land between the East and the West. The idea of the symbolic function of Potsdamer Platz as a new center of the reunited Berlin made the area a focal point for Berlin's city

marketing. Acclaimed architects commissioned by Sony and Daimler-Chrysler designed a plaza with high, mirror-glass buildings, evoking the image of various American urban business districts of the 1980s (and arousing severe criticism by advocates of architectural novelty and distinction in the process). When it became clear, however, that most of the international corporations involved in the development of the Potsdamer Platz were not going to move their headquarters there, a solution was necessary. Officials reverted to the success of Berlin's cultural profile after reunification. Instead of marketing the area as the city's business center, it was decided that the Potsdamer Platz would become the audio-visual and entertainment heart of Berlin. Cinema multiplexes and a modern establishment for the film museum were erected on the grounds. The relocation of the Berlinale there guaranteed the requisite international attention and prestige.

The decision to move the film festival from the Zoo-Palast area, the première cinema in West Berlin, to the newly developed Potsdamer Platz, was a political one. Moritz de Hadeln recalls an encounter with Peter Radunski, Minister of Culture at the time, during which the latter gestured towards heaven and said that this decision came from high and nobody could do anything to prevent it, so it would be better to concentrate on making the move as smooth as possible.[80] De Hadeln's objections to the move were primarily supported by organizational obstacles. When the decision to relocate the Berlinale to the Potsdamer Platz finally became a reality, most of the planning had already been finished. Special festival requirements, facilities, and preferences were not taken into consideration and had to be negotiated one by one, which made the process a strenuous experience for the festival's organization. Most people acquainted with the festival, however, agreed about the increasingly inadequate facilities at the old location and, subsequently, the pressing need for change. Since 2000, the heart of the Berlinale is located at Potsdamer Platz.

Spatial Movements and Accreditation

The move of the Berlinale to the Potsdamer Platz not only changed the image of the new city center of Berlin, it also affected the festival itself. An historical examination of the use of cinema theatres and their spatial dispersal across the city reveals that the locations can be used to promote a certain (political) festival image and control visitor circulation.

Before the Wende, the Berlinale had always been located in West Berlin. In its first year (1951), there were festival screenings in the Titania Palast in Steglitz (also used for the opening), open air screenings in the Waldbühne and special

screenings in twenty-one "Randkinos" along the border with East Berlin. Soon, however, the need arose for a special festival theatre, preferably located in the area near the Kurfürstendamm and the festival's offices at the Budapester Straße 23. For the second festival in 1952, festival director Bauer selected the Delphi at the Kantstraße and the Capitol at the Lehniner Platz. It would not be until 1957 that the Berlinale was granted its own, new festival theatre, the Zoo Palast, equipped with climate control, modern projection facilities, and a lush interior. The erection of this grand theatre guaranteed that, from then on, the festival heart would be firmly located in the center of West Berlin. The smaller Delphi would become the main venue of *Das Internationales Forum des Jungen Films*, which was established in 1971.

Over the years, the Berlin film festival has continued to struggle with its locations in West Berlin as the number of visitors continued to grow. The events remained scattered across West Berlin, with substantial distances between venues and programs. In 1990, festival films were shown in East Berlin for the first time as well. In 1991, the press center was relocated from the small CineCenter to the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in order to accommodate the increases in German and foreign journalists. Though this improvement had long been the subject of heated discussion, the choice for the isolated Tiergarten park area was not applauded. Journalists felt they had been cut off from the festival's heart.

The most important advantage of the new location at Potsdamer Platz is its spatial concentration; during the festival, the area is transformed into a condensed festival space. Although a handful of theatre venues in both West and East Berlin are employed, the majority of screenings, including all competition premières, press screenings and ceremonies, take place at Potsdamer Platz. Besides the independent *Forum* (now called International Forum of New Cinema), which presents its premières at the Delphi; the *Kinderfilmfest* (now called *Generation*), which screens its premières in the Zoo-Palast; and the Berlinale Talent Campus, which takes place in the *Haus der Kulturen der Welt*, all of the official activities were relocated to the new center.

The theatres in West Berlin (Zoo-Palast, Royal Palast, Delphi, and Filmtheater am Friedrichshain) and in East Berlin (International – the former première theatre in the East, and Filmkunsthaus Babylon) are used for rehearsals and specifically employed to cater to the needs of local Berlin residents; the nightly screenings of competition films in the Zoo-Palast and the International are regularly shown with German subtitles instead of the standard English, which is the case in the Berlinale Palast at Potsdamer Platz. Potsdamer Platz, on the contrary, caters to the international visitors and their needs: the Berlinale Palast, a (musical) theatre during the rest of the year, and the Grand Hyatt Hotel located next door, house the press facilities; and the administrative and organizational festival

headquarters of are spread over several buildings; while guests are received at Potsdamer Platz; accreditation is distributed from various counters; the European Film Market takes place in the Daimler-Chrysler Atrium; the German film industry assembles in the Kollhoff-Haus; and various cafés, restaurants, and shops are located within a few minutes walking distance.

Despite the fact that most of the major festival facilities, programs, and events are now concentrated at Potsdamer Platz, the festival location is not centered. The political decision to move the Berlinale forward in an attempt to safeguard its attractive image for the city's marketing purposes prevented the festival organization from exercising influence on the project's development. As a result, the layout of the festival remains a provisional solution instead of a permanent structure. Moritz de Handeln criticized the persistent unwillingness of the national and federal governments to invest in a festival center. He writes: "I myself have for some time dreamt of remodeling the former Palast der Republik for the film festival, only to have it be declared a completely mad idea. So we finally had to – very different from the festivals of Cannes or Venice with their palaces and generous financing – be satisfied with what we were offered and make the best of it."[81] At Potsdamer Platz, the press facilities are isolated; administrative and interest group facilities are located in different buildings; and there is no central festival lobby or cafeteria, which could serve as a pivotal center for festival activities. This dispersal of facilities and activities has led to a decentralization of the festival.

There is also a second process at work here: the application of a strict hierarchical accreditation system. When I visited and was intensively researching the 2003 festival there were 52 levels of accreditation. The higher the number on a badge, the less someone's privileges and the more effort one needed to exert to obtain entrance to secure areas and important screenings. Seven ticket counters were spread across Potsdamer Platz. People with badge numbers 51 or 52, for example, had to line up at the counter of the CineStar multiplex in order to pick up their tickets for selected screenings the next day. Early each morning the queue would grow far beyond the multiplex walls. Fortunately, the covered plaza of the Sony-Center offered shelter from the frequent February snowfalls. Competition premières, which are often attended by the stars, are not open to this group of people. By contrast, *Forum* premières, which are not geared for media exposure or the creation of exclusivity, can be entered without prior ticket purchase, by merely showing one's festival badge.

I argue that it is the accreditation system that functionalizes the decenteredness of the Berlinale into a system of segregation. People with similar badges are led to similar locations at similar times by the invisible hand of this system. The possible routes of the festival map are pre-ordained by the baggage of the visitors. The festival decides which baggage (badge) the visitors are entitled to.

Although all of the visitors move through the relatively concentrated space of the festival, their movements are restricted and manipulated to the extent that leads to the creation of completely segregated festival experiences.

Conclusions

When we return to the Haus der Kulturen der Welt for our Berlinale Talent Campus Masterclass, we find Thomas Vinterberg is still responding to the many questions about his new feature It's All About Love by up-and-coming talents charmed by this star. It is the seventh day of the 53rd Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin. Festival-goers from 101 countries have come to Berlin, while participants from 61 nations have come to participate in the Berlinale Talent Campus. The festival offers these participants a chance to submerge themselves for eleven days in an exciting and intense event. For the professional crowd, this festival is but one stop amongst the many that, together, constitute their global work environment. There are constant flows of films, reflection, criticism, and value-adding. The channels range from institutionalized and formal to personal and informal. Juries deliberate over competition films ; while regular visitors standing in line at the central ticket office in the Arkaden at Potsdamer Platz chat about anything and everything; and the 3725 media representatives who attended the 53rd festival translate these local flows of information and opinion into a global discourse. At the European Film Market (EFM), additional screenings and negotiations contribute to the global proliferation of both film products and professionals. In addition, there are organized breakfasts, lunches, dinners, and parties, where people meet, mingle, and network.

For Vinterberg, this international festival circus became the inspiration for his new feature. He experienced its advantages and disadvantages while travelling the circuit with his successful feature Festen. The birth of It's All About Love was, however, nothing like the immaculate conception of Festen. Instead of three months, Vinterberg and Rukov worked on the script for one-and-a-half years. The movie changed entirely in the editing room and Zbigniew Preisner composed a unifying score for a narrative that refused to become coherent during the editing. The film was supposed to have its première in the competition in Cannes, but it was not selected. It did not appear in Venice, Locarno or Toronto either. Instead, it premièred in Sundance, out of competition. And the critics were very critical of this eagerly awaited second feature. After Sundance, Vinterberg embarked on a new tour, revisiting film festivals around the globe to promote – and defend – his new movie. By now it is already 5:55 p.m. in the theatre of the Haus der Kulturen der Welt. The Scriptfactory Masterclass is com-

ing to an end. Vinterberg asks, tongue-in-cheek, who has been persuaded to go and see his new movie. The audience of young film talents, aspiring to be the next Vinterberg, cheer in affirmation.

Vinterberg's analysis of his embrace by the festival circuit is a picture of a world out of balance, where it freezes in July and people die of a strange disease ("It's the heart. They say it's the heart."). It is also a classic love story and thriller. John is the only person who can rescue Elena, when she is about to be replaced by three clones that will guarantee and prolong her availability for top-ice skating performances until infinity. And there is the man in the plane, Marciello – Vinterberg's alter-ego, played by Sean Penn – who spends his life in airplanes, in permanent transit, and who understands what is happening with the world. The world seems to be coming to an end. People work, travel and attain success. They call each other on cell phones, but do not spend enough time with each other and forget what it is all about: love, so that they die of a curious illness of the heart.

The seven days in which the action of the film takes place are presented in the form of a countdown, captured by Zbigniew Preisner by means of a countdown of characteristic long tones, and by Vinterberg and Rukov in a song consisting of seven words: *ira dei*, *chaos mundi*, *homo querem*, *amorem*. The film ends in Uganda, where gravity has disappeared and people float in a sunny savannah. The image is hopeful and seems to offer a future after the demise of global urbanizations and fully-digitized civilizations. It's All About Love, a film about a world out of balance, was inspired by the international film festival circuit, which, in its turn, is a successful reaction to a film world out of balance caused by the worldwide dominance of the Hollywood film industry. Maybe Armageddon will be the result of the film festival phenomenon, but, thus far, it has only led to a global, influential, standardized and stable festival network that attempts to bring more balance into a web of distorted commercial relationships. How the festival network has managed to do this will be the subject of the next chapter.

The case study presented in the following chapter conveys the spatial reconfiguration of the film festival phenomenon by dividing it into three major historical phases: the incipient European phase of festivals as showcases for national cinemas; the turning point after 1968 when festivals changed their selection procedures and became independent; and, finally, the boom of festivals worldwide in the 1980s and 1990s, when the international film festival circuit was created and festivals were firmly embedded in the system. I aligned the spatial reconfiguration to the transformation from the era of modernity, where the idea of the sovereign nation-state influenced both world order and festival structures, to the era of postmodernity, where processes of deterritorialization dissolved boundaries and scattered the center into a global network with local nodes that

compete for influence and power. The case study in this chapter, which focuses on the International Film Festival Berlin, shows how closely the festival was related to the geopolitical power play of the Cold War. Until 1989, Berlin was in a peculiar position as the West's safe haven in Eastern Europe. It was only after the festival abolished its discriminatory programming practices and moved to Potsdamer Platz, the pivotal symbolic center of the reunited Berlin, that the ties to its Cold War past could be severed so that the conditions could again become favorable for the Berlinale to reposition itself on the international festival circuit. The Berlinale Talent Campus should be considered a part of this strategic repositioning, which helps the Berlinale explicate its function as a network node for film professionals by moving into the field on international training. But it is already late, and by now most of the film talents have left the auditorium to pick up more tricks of the festival trade elsewhere. So will we. Our next stop is the Cannes Film Festival.



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US Director Michael Moore accepts the Palme d'Or for FAHRENHEIT 9/11
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"…The image of a beaming Moore … was priceless in terms of media eloquence and guaranteed international exposure", p. 86

2 Cannes and the "Alternative" Cinema Network

Bridging the Gap between Cultural Criteria and Business Demands

In the late afternoon of Monday 17 May 2004, the most anticipated film at the Cannes 2004 competition is premièring in the Salle Lumière. It is Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 (USA: 2004). Two years earlier, Moore had established his name with the successful Bowling for Columbine (USA: 2002), a critical-populist investigation of the topic of violence in America, inspired by the Columbine high school shootings of 1999. For Fahrenheit 9/11 Moore has turned his cameras and unconventional research methods to the alleged relations between the Bush and Bin Laden families. The agit-prop documentary unabashedly pokes fun at the American President and counters the official image of Bush as a strong leader with an equally oversimplified picture of the spoiled rich kid, the failed businessman, and the uncommitted politician who preferred going on vacation and who ignored numerous warnings just prior to 9/11.

Moore shows footage of Bush visiting a primary school class just as the first airplane has crashed into the Twin Towers on the morning of 11 September 2001. We see someone coming in and whispering into the president's ear. The images are not even that unflattering in and of themselves. Bush is *made* to look bad by the mocking voice-over, which guides our interpretation. We hear Moore suggesting what the president was thinking. Was he at a loss for what to do, sitting alone in the classroom with no one telling him what to do? Was he considering his options? Was he regretting hanging out with the wrong crowd (the Saudis and the Bin Laden family)? Did he wish he had spent less time going on holiday and more time in the oval office? Was he, at that point, already considering blaming Sadam Hussein in order to distract attention away from his own failing policies? Whatever he was thinking, Moore emphasizes, although he had been told the country was at war, he did not get up and do anything for a full seven minutes, preferring to continue reading a story about a goat with the children.

Throughout the film, Moore expresses a particular interest in the legitimacy of American intervention in Iraq and displays sharp political opposition to the Bush administration. He is both critical of the American government and a proud chauvinist. He objects to the Iraq war, but is also concerned about the American people who have been fooled by a media campaign of fear. He speci-

fically takes the side of the poor families, such as those in his hometown Flint, Michigan. It is, after all, the poor who comprise most of the soldiers and who, therefore, stand to suffer the most from the rapidly increasing number of casualties.

Despite Moore's initial denial, the film was clearly aimed at influencing the then upcoming 2004 elections in the United States. Particularly because Disney was preventing its subsidiary Miramax from distributing the film in the US, the competition entry became a knotty affair prompting political stances and spurring debates. Although critics may not have been unconditionally positive about the film, with many pointing to the unsubstantiated connections Moore was making, there was basically nobody who was not writing or talking about Fahrenheit 9/11 and Michael Moore. When jury president Quentin Tarantino was asked for his opinion on Moore's film during the festival opening press conference, he could still insist that the film had to prove itself artistically, "may politics be damned." A fortnight later, this position seemed untenable.

Although Fahrenheit 9/11 is clearly not a masterpiece according to aesthetic criteria, it walked away with the *Palm d'Or*. In spite of Tarantino's previous statements, allotting Moore the Golden Palm should, in fact, be interpreted as a political signal; the jury and its American president made a statement against the Bush government, against the Iraq War and against the inhibitive conduct of the Disney Corporation. The image of a beaming Moore, in black tie for the occasion, showing off the precious prize to a crowd of reporters and journalists, was priceless in terms of media eloquence and guaranteed international exposure. Moore acknowledged the positive effect that this prestigious award had on his chances to find distribution in the United States. In *Le Monde* Moore stated: "I'm positive. She [the *Palm d'Or*], will get us a distributor for sure. I'll probably be able to announce [a deal] in the next two days, we've made lots of phone calls today. The Americans have heard about the Cannes Festival, they know it is a great honour" [original quote in French].[1]

The question of whether Fahrenheit 9/11 would find a distributor became as important as the political controversies it had provoked. Disney, according to Moore, had severed all of its associations with Fahrenheit 9/11, because CEO Michael Eisner had connections to the Bush family. But according to Disney, it was merely because its family policy did not agree with polemical political productions like Fahrenheit 9/11. Disney prohibited its subsidiary Miramax from distributing the film in the United States. However, after all of the media attention and the official cultural recognition bestowed upon the film after it won the Golden Palm, it was unthinkable that Fahrenheit 9/11 would end up without a distributor in America. The solution was found in a construction outside of the vertical integration of Disney's studio model: Miramax took over the movie rights from Disney for six million dollars and, instead of distributing the film

itself, agreed to look for an alternative network for the American market. Distribution was secured in June when Lion's Gate Entertainment and IFC Films were contracted to distribute the film to cinemas and the pay-for-view channel Showtime bought the television rights.

In the previous chapter, I have portrayed the history of the film festival phenomenon with an emphasis on the geopolitical issues at stake. Film festivals originated in Europe as showcases for national cinemas and developed into the influential film festival circuit of today. In this chapter, I will approach the international film festival circuit from a different angle. Instead of looking at festivals as aspects of diplomacy or hidden agendas and explaining the shift from nations to cities by means of political theories of globalization, I will concentrate on the economic function of the festival circuit. These two perspectives do not mutually exclude one another, but in fact, complement my analysis of the festival circuit as an alternative network/system for film culture. The example of Fahrenheit 9/11 shows that political interests and managerial restrictions for distribution can, in fact, go hand in hand in creating a controversy that enabled Moore to win the Golden Palm of the world's most prestigious festival and subsequently proceed to score a box office hit in commercial theatres and the DVD market.[2]

In this chapter, I will argue that film festivals are central sites within a global, influential film system that both counters and complements the Hollywood hegemony. Film festivals, in their opposition to the vertical integration of the studio model, are central nodes in what I call the festival network. This network is not closed to Hollywood products, but, in fact, offers alternative and secondary platforms for marketing and negotiation. The chapter commences with a brief historical reconstruction of the emergence of the festival network in relation to Hollywood's dominance since after World War I. I describe what effects the transformations in the film industry, in particular the success of video, have had on the function of film festivals in terms of business, and analyze what alternative options the festival network offers the world cinema market for doing film business. I then shift my attention to the actual festival site in Cannes, in particular the *Marché du Film*. I study the network in action at its local level before turning – as a prologue to the third case study on Venice and the international press – to Cannes as a media event, addressing the importance of media presence at the festival in relation to economic value.

Film Wars between Hollywood and Europe

Prior to World War I, France, Italy, Germany, the UK, and Denmark dominated the film market. After the war, the new American independents (who would later be named after the location for their new film production studios in Hollywood) began to acquire an almost irreversible grip on the European film markets. It is in this context of early American film hegemony that the first film festivals were organized on the European mainland. As I have shown in the previous chapter, the foundation of the international film festivals in Cannes and Berlin was co-orchestrated by Americans for geopolitical purposes. At the same time, however, the festivals offered the European film industries exhibition spaces outside the mainstream film market, and beyond the grip of the Hollywood majors. Films were shown at international platforms that attracted media attention and, through their prizes, could generate a new type of value.

These first European film festivals laid the foundation for a new type of cinema network that would become more and more important for the European film industries. Film festivals did not emulate the Hollywood studio model of vertical integration and aggressive export trade strategies, but would use Hollywood productions and its stars to add a festive and glamorous atmosphere to the events, which grew in status as the spectacles increased in their magnitude. Before we turn to the business potential of the festival network for the film industry, it is important to describe some of the key historical elements in the so-called film wars between Hollywood and the European film industries (in particular Germany and France). This will help us to understand why Hollywood was able to dominate the European film industries and why film festivals offered an appropriate solution to these unequal economic power relations.

Hollywood Rising

The first monopoly in the American film market was created by the manufacturers, who formed the MPPC (Motion Picture Patent Company) in 1908 and controlled the market through a system of patent fees. At the time independent filmmakers were struggling to survive. They invented new strategies to break the MPPC monopoly. One of the strategies was to move to Hollywood for film production, while maintaining administrative offices in New York. They also invented the star system, block-booking, extended marketing, and finally turned to vertical integration. From 1914 onwards the opposition of these so-

called Independents, the new Hollywood studios, became very successful and the seed for a new hegemony was sown.

The major Hollywood studios achieved vertical intergration by seizing control over the production, distribution and exhibition of their films. This process of cartelization completely transformed the American film industry in the 1920s. The eight major players at the time were the fully integrated Warner Brothers, Paramount Pictures Inc.-Loew's Inc., Twentieth Century-Fox, MGM and RKO; the production and distribution houses Columbia Pictures Inc. and Universal Corporation; and United Artists, which only facilitated distribution until 1941. The big five (Warner, Paramount, Twentieth Century-Fox, MGM and RKO) controlled the industry (mainly through distribution and first-run movie houses) while also screening the films of the smaller three. Vertical integration marked the beginning of the studio system. The success of the studio model was based on its vertical integration and the systematic use of feature films, film stars, and block-booking.

Moreover, opportunities for overseas expansion further consolidated Hollywood's dominance. European cinemas had suffered severely during World War II; production had been cut and facilities were destroyed. After the war, America was allowed almost a free hand in dumping hundreds of films onto the European market that had been released because of the war and/or for which the costs had already been recouped at home. This was one of the factors that enabled the United States to dominate the European film markets. Investigating Hollywood's film wars with France, film historian Jens Ulff-Møller lists four main reasons why Hollywood was able to establish its dominance in the French film market. The first reason concerns the *structural differences* between Hollywood and France in the development of monopolistic practices. A second one is the restrictively applied *cinema law* in France. He also draws attention to the aggressive *export trade policy* in America after World War I. And, finally, he emphasizes the fact that the US government worked with the film industry in trade negotiations, whereas the French government only enacted protectionist measures.[3] Similar reasons were to enable Hollywood to gain dominance in other European countries as well.

Whereas the United States witnessed the emergence of vertically integrated industries in Hollywood, the European film industries – with the exception of Ufa – did not make this essential transformation. Moreover, the Hollywood companies and their trade association, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), received unrestricted support from the federal government. Thus, whereas the Sherman Antitrust Act officially prohibited cartelization in domestic trade, Congress in 1918 adopted a policy that actually stimulated cartelization in foreign trade as a way of promoting American exports. The integration of the German film industry allowed it to establish the

only European monopoly capable of doing battle with the American film industry in Europe, even if only temporarily. In fact, as Ulff-Møller argues, "the development of foreign cartels was a major reason for the enactment of the Webb-Pomerene Act. The high degree of cartelization of the German industry in particular influenced American legislators to vote for anti-competitive measures in exports."[4] Other European film industries were unable to implement effective monopolies and only instituted protectionist measures to block American dominance.

Crisis in European Film Industries

In the introduction I pointed out that the crisis in the European film industries of the 1940s was related to the crisis caused by the conversion to sound in the 1930s. My argument was that film festivals turned the "problem of language" into an advantage by making the variety in languages a "natural given" aspect of the showcase format of the many national cinemas. But there is another important cause of the European film industry crisis, to which film festivals, I argue, offered a sustainable solution. That crisis is related to the introduction of distribution to the dominant business model for cinema.

Distribution was introduced in response to the transition from travelling cinema shows to permanent movie theatres, which occurred in the major European cities in circa 1904/05.[5] Exhibitors no longer traveled with their films from city to city and fair to fair, but began using rental systems that could provide their stationary movie houses with a regular supply of new films to attract local audiences. Major companies, like Pathé in France, aimed to monopolize the market by opening their own movie theatres and moving into distribution. The only European film company, however, that was successful in its cartelization process and allowing it to seize complete control of national distribution was the German Ufa.

Ufa was founded in 1917 upon the mandate of the Army Supreme Command to counter the successful media war propaganda of the enemies of the Prussian elite during World War I. Germany's national bank financed this new company. Klaus Kreimeier offers several reasons for the successful transformation of the propaganda initiative into a thriving economic enterprise: "Inflation, Germany's boycott of foreign films, and a huge popular demand for movies meant that the stockholders made money hand over fist. German films soon became hits in the United States. Ufa started to compete with Hollywood, with France's Pathé and Gaumont, and with Italy's film paradise Cinecittà."[6] German producers, distributors, and exhibitors were united in the "Spitzenorganization der

deutschen Filmindustrie" and jointly promoted the quota system for foreign film imports. This cartelization enabled Germany to impose strict import restrictions on foreign films. The quota policy adopted in 1925 allowed two foreign film imports for every German film produced. Moreover, only German distributors were licenced to distribute foreign films.

Other European countries without an integrated film industry were unable to take similar measures for their own protection because exhibitors preferred the popular Hollywood product that ensured their businesses maximized profits, and so governments were caught between trying to protect the interests of national film producers and those of national film exhibitors. Moreover, American diplomacy was more successful in neutralizing protectionist quota measures outside of Germany by means of diplomacy. In France, for example, quotas were introduced in 1928 as an ineffective seven-to-one system that, moreover, was modified from an import quota (setting limits on the number of foreign films that could be brought into the country) into a screen quota with the Blum-Byrnes Agreement of 1946 (reserving four weeks per quarter year for the screening of French films).

At the end of World War II, Hollywood's hegemony in Europe was nearly total. Ufa, which had offered the only viable alternative cinema monopoly in Europe, had been converted into a State-controlled company under the Nazi regime and was immediately dismantled by the Allied forces in the spring of 1945. The Soviets had been the first to occupy Neubabelsberg, the film production center in Berlin, but they were soon joined by the Americans in a struggle for Ufa assets and files of and that of its subsidiaries. As Kreimeier points out: "While the Red Army in Neubabelsberg was cleaning out the equipment, cameras, spotlights, editing tables, cranes, emergency lights and generators, the office employees at Dönhoffplatz concealed from Soviet troops the existence of the safe with Ufa's administrative files, money, and securities; in the next few weeks, these were secretly transported to Tempelhof, which was in the American sector."[7] The dispersal of the Ufa conglomerate and its entanglement in the emerging Cold War conflict of interests would prevent the German film industry from recovering completely and ever reclaiming its leading position in the national, let alone the European, film market. American movies invaded the German cinemas like they had already flooded other European nations earlier.

The post-Second World War period marked the beginning of a new relationship between Hollywood and Europe. European governments became less protective as the screen quota established by the Blum-Byrnes Agreement in France and the British abolition of the numerical quota system in favor of a levy on exhibition showed. Moreover, the end of the Second World War gave way to the beginning of the Cold War, which divided Europe into Western and Eastern sectors and, with this division, introduced two distinct formative new ideolo-

gies regarding the rebuilding of the war-torn nations. The American model that served as a model for Western Europe was a new democratic order that emphasized free trade, which was consolidated with the first General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades (GATT) in 1947.[8]

GATT helped to confirm the status of film as economic product and thereby naturalized the American dominance of the European film markets as a result of (free) market mechanisms. The modest restart of several European film industries was, however, not the result of any market mechanism, but result of various protectionist measures largely taken to prevent mass unemployment among cinema employees and to protect capital investments in the film industry. Though experimental films, national comedies, and popular spectacles kept the European film industries alive, they did not amount to a healthy film economy. When the European film industries tried to compete on Hollywood's terms, they fell terribly short. However, the post-war period also witnessed the development of a European phenomenon that would be able to generate an alternative circuit that was not based on the dominance of distributors. It would revolve around film festivals.

Film Festivals as an Alternative to Distribution

Parallel to the treatment of film as an economic product for export and import, the post-war European nations began to organize film festivals as events where films were exhibited as an expression of national identity and culture. Here economic considerations did not rule the programming. Instead, nations were invited to participate in international competitions with a more equitable ratio of national representation. No less than twenty-one countries participated in the film festival in Cannes in 1946. This kind of national diversity was unimaginable for any movie theatre of the time, as it remains unthinkable in commercial settings to this very day.

In Europe, film festivals were first and foremost regarded as a means of contributing to the actualization of the new democratic order in the West. Cannes had been founded in response to the Fascist agenda of the Venice festival, and Berlin was to present evidence of Western superiority in the East. Karlovy Vary and Moscow became leading sites for the celebration of cinematic accomplishments in the Eastern Bloc. Although the main reason behind the foundation of the major European festivals was political in nature, economic considerations were also important. For one, tourism at festivals generated substantial profit for the locations where the festivals were organized. In addition, festivals offered opportunities for national film industries to circumvent the American

grip on the market at commercial movie houses. The temporary structure of the festivals, in fact, harked back to the pre-distribution era when films were ambulant commodities displayed at fairs, carnivals and other festive occasions. Film festivals bypassed distribution, which served as a bottleneck for European film industries that were not cartelized.

The name "film festival" seems to have been directly inspired by the widespread practice of community festivals through which nations, regions, or ethnic groups could support and confirm essential cultural identities.[9] The acknowledgement of film as an artistic and cultural creation could also serve as justification for the search for exhibition sites that were not based on business models for maximized profits. Thus the format of the festival offered European nations a chance to inaugurate a public space dedicated to film outside of the established cinema theatre outlets that were controlled by the laws of economics.

The festival space was a success from the beginning and film festivals mushroomed in Europe. Film professionals traveled to these events and soon discovered the value of the festivals beyond their function as showcases for national cinemas. They offered opportunities to meet international colleagues, to compare situations and strategies across borders, and exchange ideas to improve the business aspect. In Cannes, film professionals met on an informal basis in the cinemas of the Rue d'Antibes. In 1959, the Cannes Film Market – *le Marché International du Cinéma* – was founded. What started as a modest event "with one flimsy twenty-seat room jerry-built onto the roof of the old *Palais*," as Kenneth Turan describes the first Cannes market in his film festival anthology *Sundance to Sarajevo*, developed into one of the festival's main assets.[10] Slowly but steadily film festivals became central sites for players in the film industry.

Transformations in the World Cinema Market

Festivals were popular with the film industry for two main reasons. For the European film industries, the events were an important way to bypass American hegemony on the various national film markets. Here they could exhibit films in prestigious international settings without being dependent on intermediate distributors. Moreover, the festivals served as meeting points for film professionals. Some festivals followed the example of the Cannes Film Market and established their own markets. The business conducted at these markets was not limited to the festival program and was equally interesting to the professionals from Hollywood and Europe, as well as from other continents.

After the upheavals of 1968 and 1971, the festival programs were opened up to world cinema. Festival programmers started scouting for quality productions around the globe, looking for discoveries and new waves. They did not have to feel restricted by the borders that had previously been set by channels of diplomacy or nationalist biases and the festival programs became more diverse as a result. Although Third World filmmakers had participated in the Cannes Film Festival before – such as Youssef Chahine (Egypt) in 1952 and 1954 and Satyajit Ray (India) in 1956 – their chances for festival exposure increased significantly after 1972. The African filmmakers Ousmane Sembene (Senegal), Idrissa Ouedraogo (Burkina-Faso) and Souleymane Cissé (Mali) achieved international acclaim in Cannes.

For the economic perspective of this chapter it is important to emphasize that the film markets were transformed as a result of changes in the festival format. In Europe, circuits of subsidized art houses and distributors were established for the "better" films and productions with explicit political content. The films for this subsided (art) circuit were predominantly selected during festivals and at the various festival film markets. Films that won prestigious prizes, were considered festival discoveries (festival hits), belonged to the latest new wave, or had attracted attention otherwise, had a good chance of finding distribution in this circuit. The opening up of film festivals to what we now call world cinema led to transnational film markets. Directors from Argentina to Zimbabwe realized they had a better chance of building a career through the international "art" forums of festivals, than via commercial success at home.

Festivals, in their turn, realized they could distinguish themselves from other festivals not only by means of discoveries of talents from established film countries, but also via new cinemas from developing film countries. Because financial resources for producing such films were limited in many of these new countries, international film markets like the one in Cannes were used to find interested investors, close (co-)production deals and secure other types of funding. If we consider the creation of the world cinema market after 1968 to be the first major positive transformation of the film festival network, then there are three other transformations that need to be highlighted as formative for the festival boom that began in the early 1980s: the impact of video, the porn industry; and the arrival of new independents such as Miramax.

Video and Porn

A key development in film festival history is the transformation that occurred in response to video.[11] Video had a profound and positive impact on the film in-

dustry. The technological invention had firstly been regarded as a threat by the major Hollywood studios. In 1976, Universal and Disney even filed a suit against the Sony Corporation of America for contributory infringement with the claim that video recorders did not pass the fair use test of exemptions.[12] Both Universal and Disney had significant interests in television and the lawsuit was directed against the time-shifting function of video and not against rental. In 1984, the US Supreme Court ruled against Universal. As Frederick Wasser points out:

> In the long run, the VCR has proven to be a rich profit center for copyright holders and, in the greatest irony of the video age, a great friend of the co-plaintiff, Disney. This reversal of fortune had little to do with time shifting and everything to do with the sale of prerecorded tapes … The sale of prerecorded cassettes has had a far more important impact on the film entertainment industry than has time shifting. The Universal case took place in the transitional period when very few understood the VCR.[13]

Though video rentals were not the VCR's original selling point, it quickly emerged as one of its main features.

Leading the development and exploitation of video rental was the "adult film" industry. The introduction of the VCR coincided with the rise of pornography in the 1970s, when sex theatres were attracting large numbers of visitors. Compared to these public outlets, video had the added advantage of privacy. Pre-recorded sex tapes were watched within the privacy of the home by an audience who would not need to go to an adult movie theatre, but were interested in pornographic products, and thus expanding the original public for pornography. The X-rated industry greatly stimulated the start-up phase of home video. Video, in its turn, influenced the porn business: sex theatres went out of business while producers abandoned 16 mm. for the cheaper and easier videotape.

The surge in pornographic interest also affected film festivals. Cannes was dominated by the porn industry in the early 1970s. Because movies shown to potential buyers in the market were not subjected to the French censorship board, the porn niche market grabbed its opportunity and grew exponentially at the Côte d'Azur. "In 1973, people would fight over a certain little red book on the film market, which listed an impressive number of porn films, including everything produced in the US, Germany and Sweden. The amateurs can choose between 20,000 Leagues under Love, Suzanne, open yourself, Passport for Lesbos, or A Mass for Messaline, " [14] Michel Pascal writes. The French Parliament did not approve very much of this situation and by 1976 had adopted a law that marginalized the porn genre and closed channels for open publicity. Festival administrators had to comply with the new legislation and began screening synopsises before allowing films to be presented at the market.

The number of porn movies at the Cannes market declined. But the adult film industry did not disappear at Cannes. Instead, an annual shadow festival was created in the vicinity of Cannes during the festival –though not under its auspices. Porn companies rented yachts and villas to celebrate, sell, and buy adult films and videos. The glamorous location, moreover, prodded the companies to shoot their films on the spot, such as EMMANUELLE GOES TO CANNES (FR: Jean-Marie Pallardy 1985). The productions were often shot both on film and on video.

Video arose as one of the new technologies that would seriously challenge the domination of the Hollywood majors. Initially, American film distributors sold videocassettes (for extravagantly high prices) and were reluctant to rent them out for fear of a decline in theatre attendance, but in the period 1981-1986, video rental developed as a completely new channel for film exhibition. Most of the majors, who had not already set up their own distribution, soon brought home video exploitation under their direct control.[15] They realized the market benefits of a multimedia entertainment industry as more channels could generate additional revenues.

During this same period, a new generation of independent distributors entered the market. Video created new opportunities for film financing that were specifically explored and exploited by these new market players, which caused the Cannes Market to change profoundly. The dominant business strategies were pre-sales and star signing. Pre-sales meant selling the film, video, and cable rights of films still in pre-production, often already adding up to the necessary financing, which made the actual box-office revenues superfluous and pure profit. Star signing involved getting a superstar's signature in exchange for a job for a relative or loved one. The embedding of the Cannes Market in the festival format guaranteed top conditions for doing business according to these new rules; the festival atmosphere enabled companies to build up the necessary portfolio for products that were not yet in production in order to pre-sell and persuade stars – present in large numbers at the festival – to sign mutually beneficial deals.[16]

Whereas the glamour of the 1950s had been mythical and dependent on the presence of stars and scandals, the glamour of the 1980s became more commercial. To support their market activities, companies would light up the city with billboards, merchandise, advertisements, marketing stunts, and parties. Menahem Golan and Yoram Globus from the new independent Cannon group, in particular, became renowned for buying and attracting excessive media exposure in the 1980s. Pascal quotes a distributor who remembers:

> They used to rent 50 rooms at the Carlton, spend more than 12 million francs during the Festival, give ostentatious press conferences announcing 30 to 50 projects (including a *King Lear* shot by Godard, in English, in the Virgin Islands!), protected by scary

> bodyguards behind metal barriers, emerging like "mafia godfathers" in the midst of all the gold and golden details of the Ambassadors' dining room… That power to impress, that flood of money, that aggressive advertising, signaled the end of an era, the beginning of the Kleenex-film period, films thrown away as soon as they're finished, instead of the great frescos that characterized the 1960s and the 1970s.[17]

Who were the most successful of these new independents, what distinguished them from Hollywood majors and what was their effect on film festivals?

The New Independents

While the major Hollywood studios in the early 1980s regarded video rentals as a threat to their successful system of vertical integration and initially tried to block the competing technology with legal action, new independent companies such as Cannon, Vestron, and Embassy grabbed their chances to enter the film market with aggressive and flexible responses to the emerging home video market. Film festivals – especially Cannes – were used to promote the surge of marginalized and new productions, such as horror – Halloween (USA: John Carpenter 1978), instructional videos – Jane Fonda's Workout (USA: Sidney Galanty 1982) and music videos – Michael Jackson's Thriller (USA: John Landis 1983).

In a review of the 1981 festival, Simon Perry writes: "[B]y 1980, the more successful of such operators could claim that Cannes needed them as much as they needed the festival."[18] In the same article, Perry states that there was a lack of hype and a lack of playable products during the 1981 festival. The most important reason for this decline of business conducted being in Cannes was the newly established American Film Market (AFM), which was held several months earlier in Los Angeles. The expansion of film's ancillary markets with cable and video gave a boost to the film indstury and led to the foundation new film markets, that would compete with Cannes: MiFed in Milan (1980) and AFM in Los Angeles (1981). Unlike the festivities and hype of Cannes, MiFed and AFM offered a "quiet" ambience in which to engage in hard business. When the film and video market consolidated in the latter half of the 1980s, Cannes' advantages were exploited in new marketing strategies developed for "light art-house cinema" by New Hollywood and the few new independent companies that had managed to survive the shake-up.

The name New Hollywood refers to the reorganized studio system that was a response to the emergence of the multimedia environment with measures that compel mass audiences to buy its products across various outlets.[19] It intro-

duced the two-tiered system for video pricing, dividing video cassettes effectively into rental tapes (high price) and sell-throughs (low price). By then, video revenues had outgrown cable profits and the standard order of media releases had settled into the sequence theatre – video (rental or sell-through) – pay TV – and, finally, national TV. At the same time, profits from video sales allowed the companies to invest in the more attractive and comfortable cinemas, the multiplexes. The multiplexes imitated the success of the video store with their larger selections of film titles. They not only screened more films, but also offered the moviegoer a variety of starting times so that one could now walk into a multiplex at any given time and see a film.

To compete with the abundance of mediocre product directly released onto video, a new marketing approach for blockbuster movies was developed: "high concept." A high concept film is characterized by three qualities that Justin Wyatt refers to as "the look, the hook and the book."[20] It can be captured in clear images, has a strong impulsive appeal and may be reduced to a concise narrative that can be quickly retold. These simplifications facilitate the easy recognition of the product on posters, in the media, promotional tie-ins and other film-related commodities. High concept films not only attracted large numbers of spectators to the multiplexes and cinema theatres, they also stimulated video sales. High concept films were popular with mass audiences in all their multimedia expressions. The strategy of New Hollywood was to use the ancillary revenues to increase the production and marketing budget for a relatively small group of new high concept films, the blockbusters, that geared to be worldwide hits and return extremely high profits on investments. Because emphasis shifted to a small number of mega-money makers, the box office of the opening weekend became essential.

The New Independents of the 1980s, however, chose a different strategy. Instead of relying on a couple of blockbusters they invested the (pre-sale) revenues in larger numbers of new productions, which were believed to satisfy (video) market demand for more and different products. By the end of the decade, most of these companies including Vestron and Cannon had filed for bankruptcy. Wasser argues, that "independents lost video market share as the cost of theatrical releasing grew higher. Eroding profit margins are even a more powerful explanation of the independent bankruptcy than lost market share. The independents did make hit movies, sometimes in the same ratio as the majors. They just did not make enough of them to accumulate power and long-term relationships with wholesalers and exhibitors."[21] The result of the New Independents' competitive disadvantage was that the new technological outlets, ultimately, only further strengthened Hollywood's grip on the global film market. Even successful independents like Miramax and New Line had to become subsidiaries of the Hollywood multimedia empires in order to survive

(becoming mini majors themselves). From a historical perspective, the major contribution of the New Independents to film history has been that they were the first to recognize the economic potential of niche markets, which was picked up by New Hollywood only later. Miramax in particular would have a lasting impact on the way film business is conducted.

Miramax

The New Independents created what Alisa Perren refers to as the "indie blockbusters – films that, on a smaller scale, replicate the exploitation marketing and box-office performance of the major studio high-concept event pictures."[22] Harvey and Bob Weinstein from Miramax took the lead in making that significant turn when the independent sector became increasingly entangled in the crisis that was brought on by a maturing video market.

Miramax had had experience with the exploitation of film classics, rock concerts, and concert movies, as well as with the organization of film festivals for cult and foreign language films before moving into production and distribution. Harvey Weinstein reached an almost mythical status by successfully distributing independent movies with effective marketing that exploited controversies and included sex and violence as its main selling points. In other words, Miramax used the high-concept approach of the Hollywood studios to conquer niche markets and make huge profits. The indie boom began with Steven Soderbergh's highly successful Sex, Lies and Videotape (USA: 1989). Although the film cost a mere $1.1 million, it returned a stunning $24 million in the North American market alone.[23] This box-office hit had participated in the Sundance Film Festival and the Cannes Film Festival in 1989, where it won respectively the Audience Award and the Golden Palm. Both awards contributed to the film's success, leading to an impressive list of nomination and awards for 1990.[24]

The use of film festival exposure reveals the key difference between the strategies of New Hollywood and Miramax. As Hollywood aimed to reach a mass audience, film festival competitions were shunned because of fears that the film would be considered too artsy and turn off mainstream audiences. Miramax, on the contrary, actively promoted their films with labels such as "quality," "sophisticated" and "independent," in order to address the niche audience looking for the "better" film. Film festivals offered excellent opportunities for attaching quality markers to a production, especially when it managed to win an award. These events also helped to emphasize the filmmakers and their creations and

underplayed the fact that the films were also the result of a complex, industrial, profit-making system.

Miramax's strategy and success attracted the attention of Hollywood's studios. In the 1990s, the major studios and media corporations turned to niche film exploitation by either creating their own division or buying successful independents. Thus, in April 1993, Disney purchased Miramax. Hollywood's acquisition of the new independents was followed by an appropriation of the niche market according to the rules of the mainstream market logic. Niche productions now had to be able to address a strong niche audience. Topics that were likely to do well in the art houses included literary adaptations, auteur films by established directors, films dealing with women issues, and biopics on well-known artists. This meant that the diversity of the early 1980s surge of independents had been almost completely consolidated into practices controlled by New Hollywood. As the earlier example of Michael Moore's FAHRENHEIT 9/11 has shown, this control does not go totally uncontested in the public discourse.

For a brief period, Miramax offered filmmakers the dream of an economically viable art system, in which the commercial treatment of films would ensure greater exposure and generate larger audiences while the artistic integrity of the director was respected. It would also help them to abandon the subsidized circuit of national film funds, non-profit distributors, and art houses. It would also make it easier to find funding for new projects and create more job opportunities, so they would finally be able to experience the process of trial-and-error and improve the quality of their films while building an oeuvre. Unfortunately, Miramax was not only highly successful in turning the former stigma of "art cinema" into a commercial selling point, the company also proved to be an extremely difficult partner for filmmakers to work with. Harvey and Bob Weinstein soon became infamous for disrespecting the artistic freedom of directors and employed intimidation and crudeness as part of their daily MO. Many filmmakers became disillusioned when Miramax seized control of the editing rooms, broke agreements, or simply withdrew support when money was needed for marketing campaigns elsewhere.[25]

Miramax's effect on film festivals cannot be denied.[26] Films produced by the company continue to dominate the competition programs of the major festivals. But there are other important trends as well. In order to understand how business is facilitated at the contemporary international festival circuit, it is necessary to turn to theories that can help link the various entities together. The transformations of the world cinema market after 1968 – opening up to world cinema, the introduction of video, and the arrival of New Independents – helped to consolidate what I call the festival network. I will now draw on Ac-

tor-Network Theory (ANT) to explain how this network functions, sustaining an "alternative" cinema system that both operates with and against Hollywood.

The Festival Network

In the introduction, I presented my concept of the festival network. I used ANT and the work of Bruno Latour to draw a theoretical framework for film festivals that allowed me to investigate them in relation to other presences, such as Hollywood and the avant-garde. Here I would like to present this larger festival network as an "alternative" cinema network. This network, in which film festivals assume key positions, is "alternative" in the sense that it sustains different models for economic sustainability and thereby complements the dominant model of Hollywood media conglomerates. It is important to underline that the network is *not* based on a strict opposition to Hollywood, but, in fact, involves multiple actors – including Hollywood – to sustain its own network.

The concept of network helps one to move away from the notions of "institution" and "nation-state" with which Hollywood's vertical integration and the incipient phase of film festival history until 1972 can be assessed, while at the same time allowing these notions to be present as stratifying forces within the network. It also allows us to understand film festivals as a set of relations instead of organizations. This is essential in order to capture the complexity of the festival system, in particular since the 1980s. If one follows Latour's notion of a network as a relation to living and non-living actors and thus as a continuous circulating process that prevents stable definitions, it becomes possible to explain how the various transformations on the world cinema market are part of the ongoing processes of translation with which film festivals have not only been able to sustain themselves, but also to multiply and proliferate worldwide.

When one compares film festivals to Hollywood using Latour's method of ANT we can shed light on the subtle – but relevant – distinction between using a term like "alternative" and simply evoking dichotomies. Hollywood and film festivals both experience processes of translation. The invention of high concept movies, for example, may be seen as a translation of Hollywood's marketing strategies in reaction to the expansion of cinema into a multimedia market. The difference between the festival network and Hollywood is that Hollywood's objective of economic dominance of the world cinema market and maximized profits is a constant factor throughout the development process. Hollywood's response to market developments, technological innovations, and changes in consumer behavior is in the service of economic expansion and profit. The func-

tional economic system of the (multi) media conglomerates subordinates all translations to this objective.

The translations occurring in film festivals, on the other hand, are more diverse, because there is not one dominant principle governing the festival circuit. Festivals are cultural canon builders, exhibition sites, market places, meeting points, and city attractions. Therefore, they are constantly dealing with a variety of agendas. The lack of a dominant objective renders the festival system inherently more open to alterity than Hollywood. In Deleuzian terms, the stratifying forces in Hollywood are to a large extent unified (and thus very effective), whereas these stabilizing trends are more competitive and therefore less effective when applied to film festivals. This is not to deny that film festivals have become institutionalized. They have, but as a network that allows the various agendas to be met. In this respect, it may be telling that Latour purposefully used the abbreviation ANT to allude to Deleuze and Guattari, who, in *A Thousand Plateaus*, argue: "You can never get rid of ants because they form an animal rhizome that can rebound time and again after most of it has been destroyed."[27] Like ants, film festivals have become an entity that endures, a rhizome or network that circulates through historic conditions and developments and is capable of translating its constitutive relations according to changing circumstances.

The concept of the network allows us to consider the different interests – economic, political, and cultural – that support festivals, even though, sometimes, these agendas are hard to distinguish. For instance, national governments support cinema both as cultural expression of national identity and as the protection of a branch of economic activity that would not survive without financial subsidies. In Europe, the main argument for providing economic support to cinema has been a cultural one. But political and (other) business considerations can be discerned as well. In the next sections, I will zoom in on various visions of film as industrial commodity. I explore the three strategies that underlie the festival network: its substitution of commercial distribution with subsidized festival exposure; its translation of culture into value through competition and awards; and its recent turn to industrial tasks.

The Question of Distribution

As argued earlier, Hollywood's domination of the global film market is historically linked to the period when travelling exhibition sites were replaced with permanent movie houses and distribution was invented. Distribution remains the key to understanding the extent of its monopoly today. In the blockbuster

age, films are ever more expensive commodities that need to make sufficient profits in order for the production companies to survive and invest in new big budget productions. In order for a film to make money it has to be sold – via various distribution channels / distributors – to exhibition outlets. Therefore, distributors have attained the most powerful position in the production-distribution-exhibition cycle. They control the scale of a film's release and marketing campaigns and, as such, act as gateways to economic profitability. Distribution is one of the most important reasons why Hollywood has a competitive advantage over the European film industries.

A 1992 report for the Media Business School (an initiative of the MEDIA program of the European Community) stated that "[o]nly large-scale distribution business can finance big-budget film making … The distinctive capability of the US majors is the large scale of their distribution operations."[28] The report argued that the scale and historicity of US distribution operations have led to the present situation in which Hollywood continues to dominate the European market with big-budget films. Having identified distribution as Europe's biggest concern, the MEDIA programs – 1 (1990-1995), 2 (1996-2001) and Plus/3rd generation (2001-2005) – allocated almost half of their funding to the distribution for cinema, television, and video. The main problem with these programs has been that film professionals were divided on the question on how funding should be allocated.

In the spirit of the 1960s and 1970s, some continued to believe only productions of sufficiently cultural/artistic value – to justify the use of taxpayers' money – should be eligible for subsidies. This resulted in initiatives such as the European Film Distribution Organisation (EFDO) that supported the distribution of low-budget films and was headed by future Berlinale director Dieter Kosslick from 1988 till its dissolution in 1996. The EFDO supported films categorized as "independent movies and intelligent entertainment."[29]

Many others were critical about the focus on "auteur and art cinema," for example Martin Dale, who argued that "[t]he 'experts' employed by the MEDIA programme now play a critical role in deciding which films should be developed and exported, and have helped consolidate the idea that European cinema is uniquely about niche films which represent 'intelligent' entertainment."[30] The reports of the Media Business School can be read along the line of this type of criticism as it advocated producing mainstream European films as the only viable strategy to counter Hollywood's film hegemony, because the necessity of finding a large distributor willing to invest in European films is specifically linked to the availability of "plenty of European films with mass appeal."[31]

In practice, only a couple of European producers (such as David Puttnam) and production companies (such as Berlusconi's Penta) have emulated Hollywood's big-budget productions, large-scale distribution, and the triple-M of

"market control," "marketing" and "mass appeal" with various degrees of success. I argue that the most "successful" solution to the distribution question for European cinemas so far has been the creation of the international film festival circuit.

The number of film festivals has increased significantly from the 1980s onwards and has been characterized by a global dispersion. In the 1980s, the film industry also underwent an important transformation influence by cable television and (predominantly) video. These two developments led to the creation of the international film festival circuit in which some major festivals operate as market places, cultural capital generators, and agenda setters while the remaining majority focuses on the (thematic) exhibition of (festival) films and, occasionally, the discovery of new talent.

Film festivals have been able to multiply because they offer opportunities for film exhibition outside of the regular movie theatre circuit and the regular year-round programming rhythm, in particular for films that do not (yet) have the commercial potential to be distributed while they are of special interest to the niche community of film lovers that visit festivals. For films that have already secured distribution before they are screened at festivals, the decision to participate in a specific festival is normally taken by the distributor for the territory where the festival will take place. The festival site thus becomes part of the marketing strategy laid out by a distributor.

Film festivals are thus considered good marketing opportunities, especially for European cinemas, because participation and awards are believed to help a movies' box-office success in the art house circuit. American companies, on the contrary, sometimes avoid film festival competitions, afraid of having their product stigmatized as an art movie.[32] American distributors, especially those of big-budget productions, tend to have a different way of participating in festivals; they prefer non-competitive sections such as "Out of Competition," "Special Event," "Opening Film", and "Closing Film." The festivities and hype of festivals are used to draw global media attention to their productions without having to subject them to the critical evaluation of competition programs. The Matrix Reloaded (USA: Wachowski brothers 2003), for example, was screened in Cannes in 2003, in order to boost its synchronized worldwide première with the media expsore bestowed upon the festival.

The growth of film festivals and their positioning as alternative exhibition sites has resulted in the institutionalization of a non-profit distribution system in which festival exposure constitutes a substitute for commercial distribution. Now that access to film festivals has become relatively easy and most countries have at least one major (international) film festival focused on the general public and many specialized festivals on the side, it seems that the international film

festival circuit functions as an "alternative" model that operates independent of commercial objectives while still enabling it to reach audiences worldwide.

The number of film festivals worldwide, estimated between 1200 and 1900 annually, may have even reached the point of market saturation. The continuous growth of festivals poses the question of how much longer the international film festival circuit can expand. What if the point of saturation is near? Will there be a shake-out? And will the festival phenomenon be able to survive? At present the public has continued to find its way to festivals to see, for instance, the latest movie of a Japanese cult director, a program specialized in Sub-Saharan cinema, animation or, short films. The bottom line is that attending festivals has become an established cultural practice. This "festival" solution to the unbalanced distribution market can be considered, on the one hand, successful, because it gives audiences a chance to see the smaller budget and niche films that are not made available to them in the commercial context while offering sure art-house hits the chance to accumulate the necessary critical acclaim before entering the theatrical market. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the "success" of the subsidized festival network has made it very difficult for many producers and filmmakers to find creative ways of becoming financially independent. They have, in other words, become trapped in the subsided festival network. I will return to this tenstion in more details in my conclusion.

For now it is sufficient to underline that supplying festivals with films is not subjected to the rules of commercial releases. Because film festivals are not commercial, profit-making enterprises, but organizations that pursue their economic sustainability in order to perform a specialized task for film culture – and a number of other reasons, such as tourism, support of national film industry, etc. – they are not in a position to afford high fees for the films in their programmes. The expensive lease deals that are common for commercial exhibition do not apply at festivals, simply because the number of films screened per festival is too high and the number of screenings per film during the festival is too low. Ergo, festival exposure in itself is not very profitable for producers and/or distributors.

Festivals enter into a negotiation process with producers, sales representatives, or distributors that varies per film. Major festivals tend to receive prints for free, while smaller festivals without many of the extra services (premières, film market, etc.) have to pay relatively high fees for the right to screen films. Promotional prints travel from festival to festival, while festival schedules are adjusted to allow for logistical transport between the various events. The result is a widespread alternative exhibition circuit where many people have the opportunity to see a variety of films, while little profit stands to be made from the festival exposure itself and only a couple of films manage to move on to theatrical release and/or other forms of distribution. An urgent question for the near

future is whether developments in digitization and satellite transmission will turn the market upside down by destroying established distribution patterns.

In the Business of Cultural Prestige

The festival network functions as a zone where films can be evaluated in terms that would not be competitive in commercial settings outside of the festival environment. Festivals are sites of passage at which "art cinema," "world cinema," and "auteur cinema" find audiences and through which they might attract sufficient attention for further release. Film festivals have become an alternative exhibition circuit of its own, supporting, and reinforcing its own survival. Films premier at major festivals like Cannes, Berlin and Venice, and subsequently go on to appear at an entire series of medium- and smaller-sized festivals. Meanwhile, specialized festivals may discover new talents that, subsequently, move on to the prestigious competition programs of the A festivals. In this way, festivals "produce" their own material: they are in the business of cultural prestige.

A good example of the latter is the Thai director Apichatpong Weerasethakul, who acquired recognition with his Dokfa Nai Meuman/Mysterious Object at Noon (TH: 2000) at the Vancouver International Film Festival[33] and with Sud Sanaeha/Blisfully Yours (TH/FR: 2002) at the international festivals in Cannes ("*Un Certain Regard*"), Thessaloniki, Rotterdam, Buenos Aires, and Singapore[34] before winning ex aequo the extra jury prize at Cannes in 2004 with Sud Pralad/Tropical Malady (TH/FR/DE/IT: 2004). [35] Weerasthakul is one of many Third World filmmakers who depend on the international film festival circuit and its related opportunities for financing. His films are devoid of any conventional structure and self-consciously fuse an observational realism of the quiet life in Thailand's tropical forests with mythical undertones and intense encounters. By travelling the festival circuit and winning prizes, a "difficult" film like Tropical Malady can accumulate cultural value and reach substantial festival audiences, although distribution outside the festival circuit remains marginal.

Festivals can also translate cultural value into economic value through competition programs and awards. For films with cross-over appeal, the format of competition programs and awards is, in fact, a successful preparation for theatrical release. Art house favorites like Wong Kar-Wai are not dependent on festival exposure, but participate in prestigious festival competitions because the global media attention constitutes good marketing that is believed to increase box office receipts later on. Wong Kar-Wai's highly anticipated sequel to In the

Mood for Love (HK/FR/TH: 2000) – 2046 (HK/USA/FR/CN/DE: 2004) – premièred in the Cannes competition of 2004. The co-production was handled by the Dutch sales agent Fortissimo Films and had been pre-sold to more than twenty territories including Japan (BVI), France (Ocean), Italy (Istituto Luce) and Spain (Araba) before its premier in Cannes on 20 May 2004.[36]

Wong Kar-Wai's film belongs to the brand of international art cinema, which, in contrast with Weerashtakul's national art, is characterized by a postmodern style and universal appeal and, as a result, addresses a global instead of a film festival audience, appearing afterwards in cinemas and film houses worldwide. Art houses and the more commercially oriented niche cinemas specifically attend festivals to prepare their programming and scout for potential hits. This means that the large international film festivals operate as trendsetters in the global art-house circuit and the films that win (important) awards at these events are likely to make it into the theatres. Festival logos are indeed prominently used in the promotion of niche or quality films.

To properly assess the festival network as an alternative to Hollywood's hegemony it is important to recall that the notion of cinema as cultural expression or art form has been a continuing point of debate between Europe and the United States.[37] France, in particular, has been a fierce opponent of the American position that cinema should be treated as economic product (and consequently subjected to the rules of free trade, which had already been America's objective in 1947 with GATT). During the GATT negotiations of 1994, the disagreements between France and the United States were played out on high levels. President François Mitterand took part in what is known as the France-American film war and defended the French view as follows: "Creations of the spirit are not just commodities; the elements of culture are not pure business. Defending the pluralism of works of art and the freedom of the public to choose is a duty. What is at stake is the cultural identity of all our nations. It is the right of all people to their own culture. It is the freedom to create and choose our own images. A society which abandons to others the way of showing itself, that is to say, the way of presenting itself to itself, is a society enslaved."[38] Although, under French leadership, European nations together advocated the view that film and television should be excluded from the agreement, the GATT negotiations also showed how fragmented European film policies were.

Michael Chanan argued, moreover, that the real stakes for the US were hidden and that the negotiations for them were "an attempt to shift the balance from protection based on authorship towards the interests of corporate bodies, from film and record producers to computer software companies."[39] Film and television became one of the two obstacles of GATT 1994 (agriculture being the second) and was signed with the agreement to disagree about film and television. The cultural defense position was upheld and quotas continued to be used

for protection by European nations (especially France) as well as opposed and legally fought by the Americans.

Europeans today continue to be divided on the issue of the best strategy to deal with Hollywood's hegemony. Some persist on using the cultural defense, while others emphasize industrial competitiveness. For film festivals, Europe's official governmental support of the position of cultural protectionism is relevant because it endorses the cultural function of festivals and, in doing so, justifies the subsidies granted to festivals. At the same time, the call for more economic and industrial measures has not gone unnoticed on the festival circuit. Encouraged by the political climate as well as the growing competition between festivals as a result of globalization, many festivals have turned to development and training. I now turn to this third trend.

Facilitating the Industries

A common argument against Europe's cultural defense position is that if they made it better films they would be more successful with general audiences. Although European governments are right to point out that Hollywood is not competing on an equal footing – especially considering its distribution advantage – they also acknowledge the need to invest more in the development of projects and the training of new talent. Whereas the rich infrastructure of Hollywood offers young talents many opportunities to learn the trade through trial and error, Europe's film education remains fragmented. There are film schools, media studies programs at universities and other initiatives, but few have direct relations to the film industry or can offer placement opportunities. Moreover, as Angus Finney argues: "While film schools and university courses abound across Europe, few if any teach about the way the audiovisual market operates on a pan-European level – or an international one, for that matter."[40]

An additional problem for Europe is its lack of geographical concentration. Bjorn Erickson, former principal of the European Film College, argued that Europe needs six or seven excellent training centers based on the American model.[41] The example of the Sundance Institute shows that the combination of an excellent training center with the organization of a film festival can be very effective. Sundance developed into a valuable resource for fresh talent, in particular, for the American market and Hollywood's corporations. The exposure and competitive evaluation at the festival in Utah generate favorable conditions for talents to be discovered and signed by commercial companies.[42]

The situation in Europe differs from the American one in its lack of a healthy industry. Film festivals can, however, be used to train emerging talents and act

as matchmaker between the creative professionals and the industries/investors. The main advantage of using film festivals as nodes for such industrial support programs is that they, by definition, transcend national boundaries and, thus, are highly suitable to facilitate a branch that is more and more dependent on co-productions and international investors. They stimulate the transnational approach to cinema that, nowadays, seems to have become a pre-condition for industrial viability, especially for productions without a large domestic market.

An important trend of the late 1990s is that film festivals turn en masse to the industry's facilitating services. They organize film markets, industry meetings, producers' networks, training for script development and production, and all kinds of seminars. With these kinds of initiatives, festivals try to make useful contributions to the development of the transnational film market. The Berlinale Talent Campus (2003) and Cannes' Cinéfondation (1998), for example, specifically support young filmmakers. The Berlinale Talent Campus is a five-day training program for 500 selected talents. At the festival in Cannes, Cinéfondation presents a selection of about twenty films from film schools or first films under 60 minutes that "deserves special encouragement." CineMart in Rotterdam, in its turn, pre-selects projects, both from young filmmakers and established directors, that are then thouroughly assisted in their search for financial backing among the many festival partners attending the market.

The international film community meets at these targeted festival industry events to network and seek cooperation. Because the industry has become transnational, it is very important for professionals to come together at these nodal points to join forces. It helps in the production and realization of individual projects in the larger network. The festival environment offers a rich source of possibilities, because it is, on the one hand, dynamic and flexible enough to bring together different parties and create opportunities, and, on the other hand, institutionalized and established enough to attract these different parties in the first place.

Initiatives like the Berlinale Talent Campus and Cinéfondation in Cannes are particularly effective because they offer participants an insider's view of the international film market and allow them to make the connections vital to the development of their careers. Through on-the-spot training, festivals help new talents prepare for the transnational practice of the contemporary film industry. This means that they are aware of the need to address universal values or be convincing in their representation of national identity and learn how to use decentralized and international facilities for financing and production. It is important to note that major festivals like Berlin and Cannes have the advantage of facilitating the film market in all its diversities: from Hollywood's most commercial strategies to international co-production deals for art house favorites, like Lars von Trier or Wong Kar-Wai, and the bustling activity in the margins.

There is yet another trend with which festivals have begun to support film talent in the transnational market place. Ella Shohat and Robert Stam have noted that international film production in the 1990s has witnessed "the appearance of First World nations and institutions (notably in Britain, Japan, Canada, France, Holland, Italy and Germany) as funding resources for Third World filmmakers."[43] I would add that these funding resources are more and more linked to established festival institutions.

An example is the Hubert Bals Fund, named after the founder of the International Rotterdam Film Festival and established after his sudden death in 1988. Following Bals' preference for South-Asian cinema, the fund is focused on supporting filmmakers from developing film countries. Its strategy is to concentrate on artistic productions that have a good chance on the international film festival circuit, but lack the popular appeal of a national audience and therefore need to rely on international funding. This strategy has been so successful that the Hubert Bals Fund has become a hallmark of quality.[44] The Cannes competition of 2004 featured no less than four productions that received support from the Hubert Bals Fund.[45] The prize-winner Tropical Malady was not only realized with the support of the Hubert Bals Fund, but was also one of the seven projects that participated in the Rotterdam CineMart (see case study four). [46]

The turn to various industry-supporting services is a significant development in the transformation of the festival network model. It strengthens the nodal function of a couple of leading festivals and adds a strong business agenda to the dominant cultural agenda. It may also help to establish a regional hierarchy among festivals. The Thessaloniki International Film Festival in Greece, for example, initiated the organization of the Balkan Fund parallel to the festival in 2003. The Balkan Fund emerged from the Balkan Survey, a programme that offered a central platform for exposure and critical evaluation of Balkan cinema since 1994. The fund provides a central facility for script development as incentive for regional pre-production and "offers seed money for script development" to five feature films from selected Balkan countries. [47] It thus supports the regional film industry while underlining the importance of the festival. The festival combines its position as cultural gateway and meeting point for professionals with training in an attempt to mobilize its expertise within the regional film industry and to improve the creativity of local talent as well as the infrastructure of the industry. As a result the fund helps the festival to uphold its festival image of a key institution that nurtures cinematic developments in the Balkan region. The Balkan Fund distinguishes Thessaloniki from the festivals in Sofia (Bulgaria) and Sarajevo (Serbia) and other events in the Balkan. It is precisely because film festivals have already assumed a dominant position in the *cultural* nurturing of European cinema that they have been able to develop busi-

ness initiatives that come closest to the excellent training centers that Erickson had in mind.

The weaker side of initiatives like the Berlinale Talent Campus and Cinéfondation is their short duration. Although cultural programs benefit from the concentration of the festival event as it gives the screenings a touch of exclusivity, professional training and development cannot be achieved in a fortnight. The various festival initiatives offer valuable platforms for the international film community to meet and extend networks, but the question remains whether the spatial and temporal dispersal of the festival network can provide sufficient continuity for the film professionals and film industries to flourish.

The Cannes Film Festival Cinéfondation responded to this challenge in 2000 by creating the *Résidence du Festival*, which provides accommodations in Paris for young filmmakers from around the world and offers a program of seminars and professional contacts to assist them in realizing their first or second feature films. Each group of students stays for four-and-a-half months, during which they have the chance to develop their own projects while learning from established directors, scriptwriters, and industry professionals. Considering the trend among festivals towards cooperation among various film industries, it seems likely that more initiatives will be developed in this area in the near future.

Picking up on Trends in Cannes

Returning to my case study of the Cannes Film Festival of 2004, I would like to point out how some of the latest trends are picked up and discussed at the actual festival site. The festival in Cannes provides the international film industry with an excellent occasion to catch up on world film market trends. A variety of publications, including both comprehensive studies and daily festival newspapers, are essential to the discourse and debates. A good example of the former is the European Audiovisual Observatory's annual report. The Observatory prepares a bilingual French/English report on world film market trends since 1998, which is published by the *Marché du Cinéma* and presented during the festival. Using statistical input from different countries, all the continents are covered with figures presented for the number of productions, admissions, box office, number of screens, average ticket prices and more.

In *Focus 2004: World Film Market Trends*, André Lange, Head of Department Markets and Financing Information, summarizes the annual trends in three observations: "Blockbusters perform well but "B list" is fragile"; "circulation of European films declines sharply"; and "too few popular European films with

European and international potential."[48] This approach to the world film market is one of clean economic statistics with many numbers, percentages, tables, figures and pie charts. The approach is complemented with daily festival papers and publications like *Variety, Screen International* and *Hollywood Reporter* that not only give facts and figures, but also try to analyze trends. The reports rely on lots of quotes from leading film industry professionals and provide information on the achievements of individuals and individual corporations. Along with the festival daily published by the Cannes Market itself (*Cannes Market News*), the four daily publications constitute the main public news channels for observing developments and trends on the Croisette.

The communication priorities of these publications can be gleaned from the decision to place reviews and screening schedules right after the business pages: the main objective is to support the film industry with economic information and business analyses. That the dailies are, indeed, read by large numbers of film professionals is reflected in the large number of glossy advertisements that turn *Variety* and *Screen International* into heavy, cumbersome magazines. The declining thickness of the publications after day six coincides with the decline in market activity (having its peak during the first weekend). Apart from the publications there are public conferences, panels, and many more closed meetings organized during the Cannes festival in which film industry professionals gather to evaluate developments and discuss strategies.

The two central figures to emerge during this period are the international sales representative and the media lawyer. These two figures are the result of the progressive globalization and transnationalization of the film market. The media or entertainment lawyer has increased in significance as film financing has become increasingly international and more complex. There are different national tax systems, many investment opportunities and various regional tax incentives to support local film industries. As a result the lawyer has become one of the most important persons sitting at the negotiation table. Meanwhile, the sales representative acts as the mediator between products and (ancillary) international markets and has become more and more essential to non-integrated film industries. *Screen* opens its ninth day edition with the catchy heading "Croisette witnesses the rebirth of the salesman," followed by the observation that "Cannes may have been slim pickings for US buyers, but business was refreshingly brisk for the rest of the world."[49]

Successful movements such as Iranian cinema and Dogme prove that different types of films can be sold globally, provided that there is a shared sense of coherence and outstanding value between films; a brand name in marketing terms. In art/world cinema "brands" are predominantly formed of movements (stylstic and/or national) or authors. Sales representatives and companies recognize that film festivals are the places where such "brands" are made. They offer

a system of competition programmes and awards that can lead to the necessary international recognition for films to become movements and for directors to rise to the status of auteurs. Sales representative will therefore try hard to get their films accepted in various festival competitions. When one notes the number of films represented by French sales companies – for example Celluloid Dreams and Wild Bunch – in the Cannes 2004 competition (fifteen), one begins to believe that this type of lobbying is very effective. The first German[50] feature in competition in Cannes in eleven years, Hans Weingartner's Die Fetten Jahre Sind Vorbei/The Edukators (DE/AT: 2004), is, indeed, being sold internationally by the French Celluloid Dreams.

Le Marché du Cinéma

The official film market in Cannes – *le Marché du Cinéma* – was founded as an independent organization in 1959 that organized an annual festival event for the film industry. In 1983, the market became part of the festival's organization, a decision made concrete with the construction of the Riviera Hall in 2000, built as an extension of the new *Palais des Festivals* (inaugurated in 1983). It would allow festival visitors to walk directly from the *palais* into the market and vice versa. The Riviera offers 7000 square meters of exhibition space for a multitude of companies and is also equipped with eight modern (Dolby) screening theatres, "bringing the total to 28 Dolby screens for the Market," as we are informed by the festival's website.[51]

The market developed from a modest meeting into the world's leading event for the international film industry, with over 8,000 participants and 1,400 market screenings in twelve days. The range of services offered by the Cannes Market is enormous. Besides the screenings, the organization also facilitates meetings between professionals and provides access to information. There is a business center that focuses on communications, rental services for mobile phones, Internet access, and the daily Cannes Market News publication that is distributed (each day after 4 p.m.) along the Riviera as well as in all of the major hotels. The market also offers continuous updated information through the databases on their website [http://www.cannesmarket.com]. Industry professionals with high accreditation have access to the Plage des Palmes, a quiet location for business meetings.

In 2004, the Producers Network was initiated to streamline meeting opportunities as producers become increasingly dependent upon international film financing. General director Véronique Cayla notes that the Producers Networks entails "a set of means to help producers find new partners and financiers, as

well as to encourage new projects and international meetings."[52] The project is part of the Village International that offers pavilions to national organizations that support and/or promote national cinemas with presence, information, and network facilities in Cannes.

The business conducted at Cannes during the festival is not just limited to the official festival spaces. It occurs just about anywhere especially in restaurants, hotels, apartments, and yachts. Companies rent locations (hotel suites, apartments, or yachts) that they transform into communication centers and use as temporary offices and private settings to welcome (potential) partners and discuss deals. Walking through Cannes during the festival, one sees big banners hanging from balconies and boat railings that attract attention to the organizations that have taken up residence there.

Compared to the normal situation, the festival creates increased opportunities for people to meet as regular barriers tend to be lowered. Someone looking to make contacts can easily walk into these provisional offices to pick up information or leave a calling card. With the professionalization of the world cinema market, the real business, however, is not left to chance encounters, but is carefully planned beforehand. Sales representatives, buyers, distributors, lawyers, and filmmakers are constantly on the move to make the most cost-effective use of the gathered professional film crowd. Business is conducted over endless breakfast, lunch, dinner or drinks sessions. People meet at the booths and screening theatres of the *Marché*, during the many organized events and, of course, the numerous parties at night. Parties are, in fact, thrown to boost business interests. The productions benefit from the glitter and glamour of Cannes, which – as Jérôme Paillard, director of the *Marché du Cinéma*, argues – distinguishes the Cannes Market from the competing markets in Milan (MiFed) and Los Angeles (AFM). [53] Thanks to its additional glamorous flavor and festival ambience Cannes still is the number one film market.

Glitter and Glamour

The success of Cannes as market place is related to the exclusivity, glitter, and glamour that are added by the festival and which sets the site apart from the more ordinary film markets. The decision to develop the Cannes Film Festival in this direction was a conscious choice upon its inception. Cannes was chosen as the festival location in 1939 over Biarritz, Vichy, and Algiers, as Gilles Jacob recounts "for its sunshine and enchanting milieu."[54] With the Venetian Lido as its model, the French specifically selected a former leisure resort for the old elite. The ambience of old glory at Cannes made it easy to transform the beach city

into a hotspot for the new elite of film stars and other celebrities. If it had been located in Paris it would have had a much harder time of distinguishing itself from ample supply of other cultural activities in Paris. In short, the location on the Riviera contributed to its exclusivity and appeal.

It is important to note that the decision to choose a small leisure resort over a capital was shared by other festivals. The festival organizations might be in Paris, Rome or Prague during a larger part of the year, but the festival circus travels to Cannes, Venice, and Karlovy Vary for the actual events. One could argue that it is the diminutive nature of many festival sites and the absence of big city distractions that is beneficial to the efficiency of the market. One could also observe a parallel between the festival split of organization and event, and the American move of production facilities to Hollywood in the 1910s. Just as the financial headquarters remained in New York in order to be close to essential government and business services, festival organizations tend to set up offices nearby the various administrations.[55]

The festival in Cannes has since 1946 attracted worldwide attention.[56] With Venice abandoning most of the glitter and glamour that had characterized its festivals before the war, the beautiful location on the French Riviera became the place where the rich and famous from the movie world met and mingled with other celebrities. Numerous books have been written about the glamour and the scandals of Cannes,[57] which has proven to be too intrinsic to the festival to leave unmentioned. Writing about the cultural significance of the film festival in Cannes, Robert Sklar makes a passionate plea to "look beyond the hoopla." In his view, the "hoopla" is not natural, but created by the media, and it can only be discredited for distracting people's attention away from the festival's cultural significance.[58]

Andrew Sarris, on the contrary, argues that the riots, scandals, and related details, were what made Cannes unique. In his view "the worst of Cannes has always been the best of Cannes … If it were less a zoo, and more an art gallery, Cannes would be paradoxically less interesting even to people whose primary interest is ostensibly in the art of the film."[59] The effect of the scandals and glamour should, indeed, not be underestimated. It was this aspect of Cannes that allowed Cannes to rise above the other international film festivals in the 1950s. Cannes established the popular mythology of festival folly and glamour in the period from 1946 to the end of the 1950s. There were extravagant parties, the novelty of (nude) starlets, people competing for stardom or attention, as well as real stars.[60] In *Le Festival de Cannes: D'Or et de Palmes* Pierre Billard describes the extravaganza as follows:

> The Festival, in its early years, looked like a war of lace. A battle was going on, but it was a battle of flowers, with chariot processions (of cinematographic themes) in which the stars participated. Or battles of luxury, festivities, banquets, balls, and re-

> ceptions of all sorts. *The* event of 1949 was the 350 bottles of Champagne served at the Italian reception; in 1952, it was the late arrival, during the Spanish reception, of a paella prepared in Madrid – with the plane carrying the paella being delayed by a storm; and in 1959, it was the 500 bottles of ouzo and the 50,000 broken glasses at the reception for *Jamais le Dimanche*.[61]

Andrews Sarris has referred to the glamour of Cannes as a combination of the Hollywood celebrity system and the French Folies-Bergère.[62] There were, on the one hand, stars who came to Cannes to be seen and enjoy themselves in the extravaganza of the elite and, on the other, the sexual excesses and scandals that provided juicy divertissements. The festival used the stars, the glamour, and the scandals to promote its own institution and guarantee its status as the most important international festival.

Thus, when the first meeting of Grace Kelly and Prince Rainier of Monaco– organized by the festival in 1955 – resulted in their marriage on 19 April 1956, the festival was happily rescheduled to take place in the period of 10-24 April in order to allow the wedding guests to attend both the festival in Cannes and the wedding in Monaco. The wedding provided a beautiful example of the fairytale dream of fame and fortune becoming reality at Cannes. The myth of Cannes became so powerful that nobody in the film business could afford to neglect the festival on the Riviera. Everybody who was anybody in the film business came to Cannes, making it one of the most important events for the film industry.

As I have argued before, the special festive atmosphere and the almost tangible relation to myth continues to be part of the reason why the Cannes market is so successful even today. The film business is unlike most other businesses in the sense that the products have a creative origin and a strong emotional appeal. As a result, closing film deals is essentially different from, for example, selling cans of tuna or coal. The stars, the red carpet, the parties and all of the other expressions of glamour, predispose film professionals to approach the film products not only rationally but also with intuition. Since the 1980s, the glamour of Cannes was completely appropriated for business purposes. The Cannes tradition of glamorous parties was successfully used by the film industry as just another aspect of doing business. To this very day, parties are still thrown to woo people with their exclusivity and extravagance, and actively sell an image – of a movie, national cinema, and production company etc. – employing spectacle and experiences instead of arguments and negotiation.

The organization of parties during Cannes has become a profitable business in itself. The careful selection of locations is vital to a party's success. Dennis Davidson, founder of the PR film company DDA, reflects: "I think that the biggest challenge is to find a venue that has not been done to death and actually fits the bill. There comes a point where even the most ardent partygoer gets

bored queuing to get into the same venue five nights out of 10 and then faces the same catering and entertainment. Trying to re-create the wheel whenever possible is our basic rule."[63] The observation that parties are predominantly thrown for business purposes becomes apparent when one analyses the daily "party line" column in the *Hollywood Reporter* that is devoted to the evaluation of the parties thrown the previous night. The criteria for evaluation are a combination of business and entertainment interests, with a subsequent look at the attendees, the cuisine and the highlights/lowlights. The evaluation is presented in style, with a score of 1-5 martinis. One of the top parties of 2004 (4.5 martinis) was the International Film Guarantors Lunch at the ultra-exclusive Hotel du Gap.

The *Hollywood Reporter*'s description emphasizes the fact that nowadays it is (business) people make the party in Cannes: "This is the lunch during Cannes. IFG's annual gathering of financiers, bankers, fund managers, lawyers and accountants represents a who's who in the industry. As someone quipped during the lunch, 'If this veranda falls into the sea, there would be no industry left.' … You can feel the power. You can take in the view. You can't get much better."[64] The combination of power and view, or, in other words, the people and the festival site, is what makes Cannes the leading business event for the international film industry. The Cannes Film Festival and *Marché du Cinema* constitute an unchallenged business event because everybody attends and the festival setting offers unique opportunities to do business with a glamorous twist.

The positive effect of glamour and glitter has not been limited to the festival, but extends to the city as a whole. Originally, the festival took place in the Municipal Casino. Since 1949, however, the *Palais des Festivals* has left a permanent mark on the city of Cannes.[65] In the 1950s, pictures of Cannes, the stars on the Croisette and the starlets on the beach were distributed globally. The festival made Cannes famous. As the equation of Cannes equals the festival became irreversible, the city became economically dependent upon the business generated by the festival. Hotels and restaurants mushroomed to accommodate and cater to the crowds who arrived in May.[66]

The effect of the festivalization of the city has extended beyond the Festival du Cinéma. Cannes was transformed into a city for (international) conferences. When the new *Palais des Festival* was inaugurated in 1983, its full name *Palais des Festival et des Congrès de Cannes* made the municipality's main economic industry obvious. Conferences are organized the year round in Cannes, which has the infrastructure and climate to make various sized events run smoothly. In order to keep attracting companies, the Festival du Cinéma remains the city's most important annual promotion. The global coverage of the stars walking the red carpet is priceless in marketing the *Palais* as conference center. When conference organizers select Cannes as their location, they are not only choosing it for the

modern and high-tech facilities in the *Palais*, they are also choosing it for the imprint of glamour that lingers in the buildings and environment of the world's leading film festival. It is an added value to their event that conference participants can sunbathe on the same beach where Brigitte Bardot posed for pictures in her bikini, and sleep in the same hotels where the celebrities stayed during the festival.[67]

The festivalization or conferenciation of Cannes has had its negative effects as well. It has weakened the city as a flourishing residential area. The festival has caused real estate prices to skyrocket, making them too expensive for the average Côte d'Azur citizen. Instead, many apartments are bought by foreigners who do not live there year-round, but only come to spend their holiday or rent the accommodations for exorbitant amounts to festival (and conference) visitors. As a result, apartments are empty during the low season and some living conditions have deteriorated as a consequence. Nowadays it is hard for local youths to find a job outside of the conference/tourism business and, as a consequence, many depart for nearby cities like Nice. It is almost as if the festival and conference visitors are the real citizens of Cannes and the city only comes alive when business from the outside takes up its temporary residence.

Media Event

The glitter and glamour of Cannes is not only relevant to the business conducted locally during the festival, it is also a vital ingredient for the global media coverage of the festival and, as such, part of its marketing strategy. The media presence is necessary to report on the local festival activities and spread the festival's news around the world. In the next chapter, I will analyze in greater detail how film festivals, media, and press cooperate to create additional value for the films. For the Cannes case study and its relation to other festivals, business and festival business, it is important to present a preview of the issues central to the next case study, which focuses on Venice and show the impact of the virtual festival world that is created by the media.

The local performances during the Cannes Film Festival acquire global value by means of media exposure. The Croisette, the beach, the Carlton, and above all, de *Palais des Festival* have become powerful media icons that represent Cannes and its international film festival throughout the world. Part of the local magic of Cannes, therefore, is the chance to become part of its global coverage. For a first-time visitor to Cannes, it is almost obligatory to acquire one of the silvery tickets that will grant one access to a competition screening in the Lumière Theatre of the festival palace and – more importantly – allows participation

in the red carpet ritual. Mounting the festival stairs in the prescribed black tie or evening dress is the quintessential mediacized festival moment: images are continuously captured on cameras and projected onto huge screens both inside and outside the *Palais*, where people line up to catch a glimpse of the privileged ones (preferably famous) on the carpet. For the non-famous, there is the additional luring promise that their picture may be chosen and transmitted to a global audience susceptible and eager to consume the myth of glitter and glamour, thereby fulfilling Warhol's notion of their fifteen minutes of fame.[68]

I believe it is important to see that the media spectacle of the festival network is similar to the media spectacle of Hollywood. Despite the clear difference in economic power between Hollywood's film industry and the international film festival circuit, between the studio model of vertical integration and the festival network, they both rely on a similar spectacular mode of conduct. Both create images and circulate these globally via the media.

When Guy Debord linked the spectacle to commodity's dominion over the economy, he was waging a Marxist critique against the spectacle as "a permanent opium war" that manufactures pseudo-needs.[69] The critique was essentially a critique of power sustained with and inseparable from the new virtual worlds of the society of the spectacle. The term spectacle has maintained current value to allude to many contemporary (economic) practices apart from political ideologies. For the contemporary globalized film markets, media event and media hypes are indispensable for generating sufficient attention. Thus the media is not only the interface of the product sold, but also the factor essential to its success in terms of sales. The media adds glamour and has the power to transform ordinary objects into desirable items or persons.

This becomes all the more clear when one visits Cannes and notices that the city is deteriorating. Cannes has had its heyday and when the sun darts behind the clouds one notices, even at a casual glance, that the streets are dirty and the apartments above the designer shops are in need of renovation. Cannes as a city is not sexy. However, when captured on camera during the festival the city in the atmosphere of stars, premières, debates, scandals, and hype continues to shine. These disparate images of Cannes create a virtual city that seduces. It seduces with the possibility of transforming the everyday to something larger than life.

The poster for the 2004 Cannes Film Festival presents a striking example of this dream image. It features a small girl posing in the foreground while a thick beam of light casts her shadow on a wall. The shadow, however, is not a lifelike representation of the little girl's profile, but the immense iconic image of Marilyn Monroe holding down her skirt standing over a subway airshaft. The picture can be read straightforwardly as the girl's fantasy: she is pretending to be the star Marilyn Monroe, who is posing for cameras. From a different perspec-

tive, the image can be interpreted as self-referential: Cannes presents itself as the place where ordinary people are transformed into media icons, where a mediocre city becomes exclusive, and where thousands of global media cameras merge into one strong spotlight that is capable of generating larger than life images. This transformation is not merely reached by local glitter and glamour, but, above all, by the festival as media event. The multitude of media representatives at the festival generates inevitable global media hypes that are highly beneficial to both the festival and the business.

Conclusion

If, during the 2004 festival, one had asked jury president Quentin Tarantino the question of why Cannes is the leading event in the film business, we might have heard him pointedly paraphrasing David Carradine, protagonist in Kill Bill, Vol. 2. (USA: Quentin Tarantino 2004) in his reply: "Cannes is the man."[70] More dialogue, more explanation, is not necessary, not unlike the character Bill who in the movie doesn't find it necessary to be more specific about the Bride's question on how he was able to find her after running off to marry another man. One cannot sidetrack Bill.

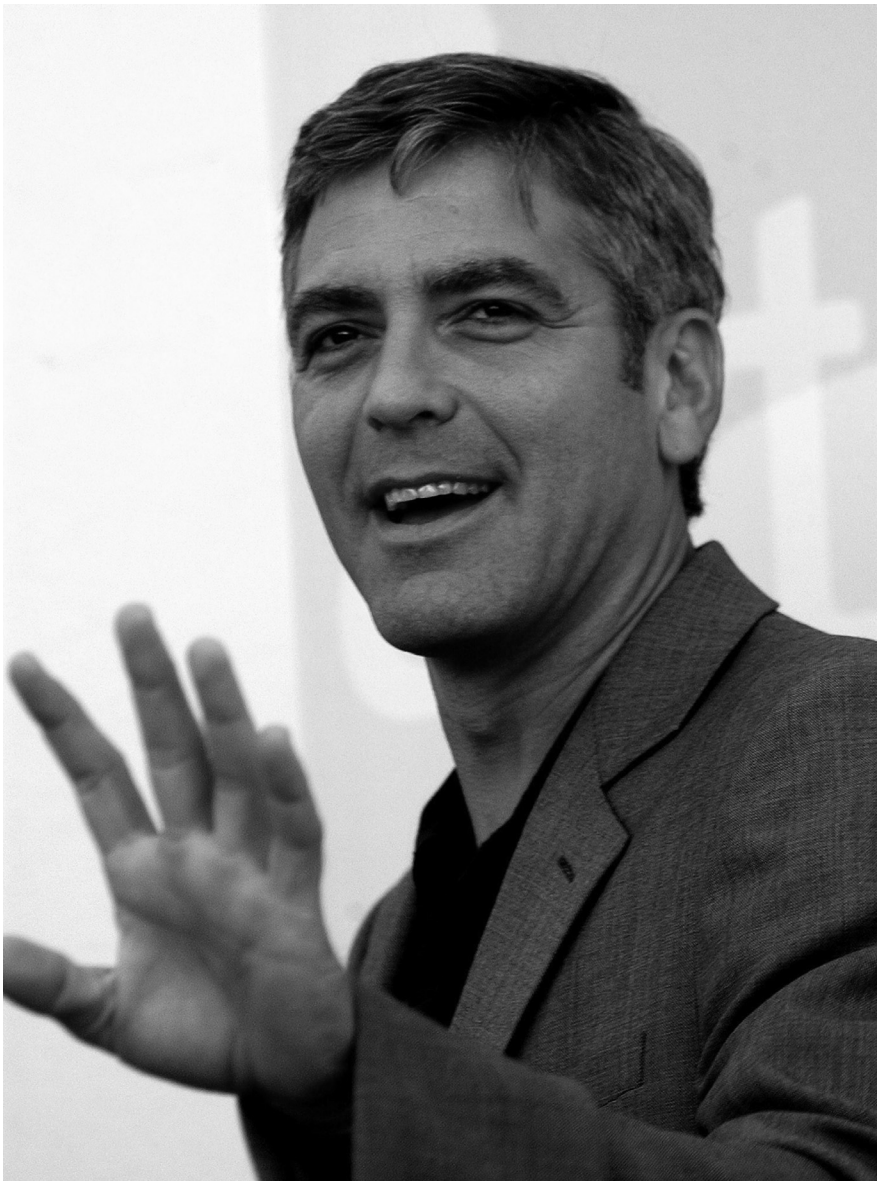
In cinema matters, one cannot sidetrack the Cannes Film Festival. Cannes continues to occupy the undisputed leading position in the international film festival circuit, Other than the attention for and evaluation of its creative achievements, the festival is mostly concerned with cinema as economic product: the competition contributes to the positioning of films in the market; the festival platform and global media attention are used to optimize the release of Hollywood mega-productions; the large number of market premières is important for it to continue to attract buyers to Cannes. The festival facilitates the encounter between various economic partners with the important addition of having a historically invested ambience and being a media event, two elements that set the festivals apart from film markets such as the AFM and MiFed. Cannes offers the ultimate network opportunity for the contemporary transnational cinema market. It takes part in the recent festival trend to develop more and more film industrial services (such as training and development). In order to do so it also expands its professional collaboration.

If we continue the metaphorical comparison the festival in Cannes, however, does not only bear the features of Tarantino's Bill, it also resembles the Bride.[71] Compared to Hollywood, Cannes is the less powerful character who stands up against the hegemony of the studio system and multimedia corporations. Like Bill and the Bride, Hollywood and Cannes, at the same time, share an intimate

history. Cannes carried Hollywood's child – the star system, glamour and glitter – and gave birth to the highly successful phenomenon of the festival media event that is as much a part of the art house and smaller budget productions of world cinema as it is of the lavish marketing strategies for blockbusters.

The controversy surrounding Michael Moore's FAHRENHEIT 9/11 cannot hide the fact that, underneath the anti-American rhetoric of the festival jury, the festival is very dependent on Hollywood's film business. It needs its big-budget premiers to attract media and powerful film moguls and studios to guarantee enough market activity. For Miramax film producers Harvey and Bob Weinstein, who still controlled the marketing of FAHRENHEIT 9/11 after having sold its distribution rights for the American market, the controversies were a business blessing. Moore and his movie were set firmly on the media agenda and discussed as a hot topic by both opponents and proponents. Anti-Moore websites mushroomed, and here Moore was criticized for inconsistencies in his polemics and in insincere actions (such as profiting from other people's miseries and sending his child to an elite school while pretending to be an average guy). Others praised Moore's subversive interview techniques, which exposed the empty rhetoric of the powers that be.[72] The Weinstein brothers of course considered all exposure as welcome marketing material, which helped position the film as a must-see.

The prestige of having won the Golden Palm added to the film's success both in the USA and abroad. FAHRENHEIT 9/11 was sold to all of the world's territories. When the film opened in the USA on 25 June 2004, it immediately broke box office records. The revenues for the first weekend were 21.8 million dollars, which made FAHRENHEIT 9/11 the first documentary to surpass all feature films and reach the number one spot in the box office revenues charts for its scale of release. The opening weekend revenue, in addition, broke Moore's previous record of the total revenue of 21.6 million dollars for his BOWLING FOR COLUMBINE. The independent status of the Cannes Film Festival allowed it to influence Hollywood politics and helped secure worldwide distribution for FAHRENHEIT 9/11. The example supports my analysis that the festival's opposition to Hollywood is only one side of the story; the objective of the festival is not to kill its Bill. Its own survival is too intertwined with Hollywood's for this to be a realistic option. Instead, the festival aims to counterbalance Hollywood's hegemony by facilitating and participating in the transnational cinema market. The "alternative" festival network is successful in bypassing distribution by offering a global exhibition circuit for festival films that are not interesting to commercial companies. Moreover, the films with cross-over appeal can accumulate the necessary cultural value to emerge as economically interesting to the art house circuit by travelling this circuit. How is this cultural value created? We will find out in greater detail in the next chapter when we move to Venice to investigate the phenomenon of value addition in the international film festival circuit.



George Clooney attends the Venice Film Festival
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"… the editors chose a medium close-up photo of a beaming Clooney for the front page", p. 124

3 Venice and the Value-Adding Process

The Role of Mediation, Segregation and Agenda Setting

On Thursday 5 September 2003, a large picture of George Clooney covered two thirds of the front page of *The Times*. The picture was accompanied by the following lines: "George Clooney was in Venice yesterday for the première of his latest film *Intolerable Cruelty*, in which he stars with Catherine Zeta-Jones. In the film, which is not in competition at the festival, Clooney plays a divorce lawyer and Zeta-Jones a 'serial divorcee.' Still single, the actor was asked by an Italian journalist to marry her. 'Finally,' he joked."[1] George Clooney attended the film festival in Venice for the promotion of INTOLERABLE CRUELTY (USA: 2003), written and directed by Joel and Ethan Coen. The female Italian television journalist "proposed" during the well-attended press conference for INTOLERABLE CRUELTY in the festival palace on the Lido. It turned out to be not some casual remark, but a carefully-planned joke, complete with wedding attributes such as rings, rice and a veil.

The act itself is not surprising. Many of the press conferences during that 60th edition of the *Mostra* were obviously servicing various personal interest issues and by the end of each session, groups of journalists were charging the stage to get autographs from the stars. What was, at first sight, a little surprising about the Clooney picture, was the decision by *The Times* to put this on the front page. The format of the front page picture is a combination of an oversized photograph of a celebrity with some juicy details in a concise subtext, is more reminiscent of gossip magazines or tabloids than of a quality newspaper like *The Times*.[2] Even more surprising is that the Clooney picture was the only festival topic covered by *The Times* that year. There were no reviews of the films, no background articles, interviews, or festival analyses.

This example illustrates the broad interest media may have in film festivals. Festival programmes indeed are not limited to showing "art cinema" but present both "high" and "low" culture. They help generate media attention for artworks and popular culture products alike. The example further shows that the distinction between "high" and "low" culture is not a very useful one when trying to assess the cultural role that film festivals play in the larger festival network.

In the previous chapter, I mentioned the 1990s trend of what could be called "Miramaxization," or the use of festival exposure, marketing strategies, stars and controversies to promote "quality" films with cross-over appeal to ensure

their box-office success. To this I'd like to add that it was around the same time that genre films and "art cinema" began to merge, as they freely appropriated each other's narrative conventions and formal styles in the new brand of world cinema.[3] As a result, it became easier for directors and (star) actors to move between Hollywood studio productions, independent projects, and international co-productions. The oeuvre of the Coen brothers is a case in point.

With Intolerable Cruelty, Joel and Ethan Coen have made their most commercial feature to date. They bring to bear a touch of their characteristic dark humor on the smooth performance of Hollywood stars George Clooney and Catherine Zeta-Jones. Produced by Brain Grazer's Imagine Entertainment (instead of their usual producers, Working Title) and distributed by Universal, the movie is foremost a *high concept* film that was awaiting a wide release in commercial cinemas worldwide and support from a marketing campaign based on the star actors. At the same time, however, Intolerable Cruelty is "the new Coen brothers' film" that can play on its value of being the next feature in the established directors' already successful oeuvre. Presenting the film in Venice, out of competition, had the double advantage of utilizing the traditional attention paid to "auteur cinema" at film festivals, while also using the glamour of the event to promote the film via its main stars George Clooney and Catherine Zeta-Jones.

Journalism, like film, was subjected to major transformations in the 1990s. Human interest, popular entertainment, and "mood" pieces have become more prominent. *The Times* is one of the British newspapers that chose an increasingly popular format. Nowadays, "serious" festival coverage (the competition films, established directors, trends, discoveries and awards) is provided in the UK by *The Guardian*. *The Times* did not mention that Intolerable Cruelty was a Coen brothers's film, nor did it review the film. Instead, the editors chose a medium close-up photo of a beaming Clooney for the front page. In the photo he is raising his hand as if in defense of obtrusive fans or – as implied by the subtext – an indecent proposal. Many would criticize this journalistic choice, referring to it as "popularization." However, one could also point out that the Clooney photo not only plays on the popular interest of readers, but also has news value, because it – indirectly – refers to the increasing importance of Venice as marketing platform for star vehicles.

In this chapter I will move beyond high-low and art-entertainment dichotomies and investigate the complex interrelationships between the quality press and the popular media at film festivals in order to understand the roles they play in the value-adding process. I examine the relationship between film festivals, on the one hand, and the press and media, on the other. Some historical events will be recounted because they are vital for understanding the present

day, but we will focus mainly on an analysis of the contemporary situation. Our case study is the 60th edition of the Venice film festival in 2003.

After having asserted that the high/low culture distinction is untenable for characterizing the mediation of film festivals, the process of value addition will be reworked for the specific conditions of the film festival system. This reworking starts off by investigating the nature of the film festival as mediated event. I observe that, on a spatial level, value is added through various mechanisms for distinction and spectacle. On a temporal level, I see the influence of agenda setting that predominantly determines the selection of objects for value addition. The benefits of the value addition at film festivals can thus be collected in a global arena that crosses over from the cultural into the economical realm.

The Value-Adding Process

Film festivals and the media are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Both parties benefit from the other and, in this way, the preservation of the larger festival network is supported. Media representatives continue to travel to film festivals because they find ample material to report on. The number of films, filmmakers, and actors at major international film festivals is impressive and therefore the advantages of the events are clear: many films are screened in (world) premières; there are competitions for prestigious awards; and attending directors and actors are usually available for interviews. Especially the competitions and awards provide newsworthy occasions that demand coverage. The festival format moreover, allows the reporters to work efficiently, which guarantees a cost-benefit ratio. Although festival costs for visitors are high, the benefits outweigh the costs, firstly because of the interview possibilities and secondly because the premières place reporters in a vanguard position, which legitimizes their profession.

For directors, actors, and major stars, attending film festivals is an (obligatory) part of promotional tours. In the case of Hollywood movies, the decision to attend film festivals is made by the production companies as part of the marketing strategies for these movies. Stars are contractually obligated to accompany their movies and give interviews to the international press. Journalists approach press agents, who can schedule them for one of the interview junkets held during the festival.[4] Although there are plenty of interview opportunities outside of the festival context, these are usually much less cost-effective. They are widely dispersed over time (spread over a year's span of release dates) and space (interview junkets normally take place in Los Angeles, New York, or London) and thus, per interview, are very expensive. Film festivals, on the contrary,

allow reporters to attend a marathon of major interviews for the cost of one festival ticket. Many journalists therefore depend on the international film festival circuit to collect information that year's upcoming big budget releases as well as to remain up to date on the latest trends and discoveries in world cinema.

Film festivals, in their turn, are also dependent upon the media. With the global proliferation of film festivals during the 1980s and 1990s and the consequent increased level of competition between festivals, the formula of premières, awards, and stars has become an obligatory part of any festival that wants to keep attracting large numbers of media representatives. The greater the number of attending press representatives, the greater the chances of success for a festival on the international film festival circuit will be. Some festivals proudly display the number of visiting journalists on their websites. Media are indispensable to film festivals, because the media coverage constitutes a tangible link between the local festival event and the global arena of media networks. The effect of media exposure can hardly be underestimated. What occurs within the confines of the segregated festival space would largely remain unknown to the general public without media coverage.

Tripartite Selection

In order to frame the value-adding process conceptually, one can turn to Bourdieu, who elegantly explained that capital (value) can be manifested in forms other than economic. Bourdieu's theory of distinction (1979) linked taste preferences for cultural objects to class position and argued that status can be generated and maintained through cultural capital. Bourdieu emphasized the parallel between the social hierarchy of the arts and the social hierarchy of the consumers. He presented a system of differences (habitus) that is both *structured by* the division of social classes and that *structures* cultural practices and the perceptions that sustain that division. He argues: "The habitus is both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the habitus, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of lifestyles, is constituted."[5]

Despite Bourdieu's focus on taste preferences in consumption structures, the concept of habitus opens up possibilities to frame the position and role of film festivals. Festivals can be seen as an institutionalization of Bourdieu's system of

classification; a practice that should be differentiated from other film practices, especially commercial film exhibition, and when film products are appreciated according to standards in taste. This cultural appreciation is divided into two phases. First, films are selected at the festival gates and – if selected – classified into festival programs using cultural criteria of quality, aesthetics, and subject matter. Secondly, some of the films enter into competition with each other. Juries congregate to pass official judgements and select the final festival winners. Film festivals are similar to Bourdieu's institution of family and educational system in the sense that they are specifically designed to pass judgements, give grades, and impose classifications. In addition, there is a hierarchy within the international film festival circuit; some film festivals have a higher status than others. The cultural value-adding process at film festivals is thus closely related to the relational status of festivals on the circuit and not so much to the class position of (potential) consumers.

But in order to assess the process of value addition we should not only look at the position and role of film festivals, but also at mediation, the third step in the process. Writing on the role of critics at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival (theatre), Wesley Monroe Shrum Jr. bases his main argument on a reworking of Bourdieu, whose concepts remain among the most important reference points in academic thinking about cultural practices until today. Shrum argues that the social hierarchy of the arts is based more on the difference in the nature of participation than on the (social) characteristics of the participating people:

> [T]he difference between high and popular art is not fundamentally a difference in the institutions that promulgate their products or in the class background of consumers but a difference in the process of *mediation*. The relation between producers and consumers of art is not constant. It entails different levels of expert involvement. The higher a work is in the cultural hierarchy, the more important is discourse about the object to its status. Taste in high art is mediated by experts, whereas taste in low art is not.[6]

To underline the importance of mediation for high art, Shrum introduces the concept of the status bargain. The status bargain is the symbolic exchange of opinion rights for prestige, which characterizes the mediation between critics and consumers. Shrum's study is relevant to my research on the relationship between press, media, and film festivals, because he tries to explain the role of critics in a festival environment. However, my interest in the value-adding process concentrates not on Shrum's decontextualized mediation between critics and consumers, but on the dynamics between critics and film festivals, both in a historical context and as contemporary realization.

I argue that if one seeks to understand the cultural importance of major international film festivals it is necessary to investigate the value-adding process that

is, on the one hand, intrinsic to the festival system (selection for entries and awards) and, on the other hand, formed via mediation that is shaped by the interdependence between film festivals and media representatives.

While Shrum concentrates on the different roles of critics in the mediation of high and popular art, I emphasize the fact that there are also similarities. Each filmmaker alike seeks media attention at film festivals – both the director of a Hollywood blockbuster and the author of an experimental short. Irrespective of the taste categories the films appeal to or the fact that they may or may not have been influenced by the critics, filmmakers hope their films will be noticed; therefore they will all compete for (limited) media coverage. The participation in competitions and the chance of winning an award are reserved for a select group of filmmakers and films, but everybody and everything has the chance to gain symbolic value at film festivals through media attention, because journalists and critics are purposefully on the lookout for input that may translate into newsworthy items.

A rigid distinction between high and low culture overlooks the quintessential role of mediation in the value-adding process at film festivals. Film festivals are nodal points, where the concentration of material and media inevitably implodes into festival buzz, which, in its turn, may explode into global media attention. The initial festival value may evolve into media value if picked up and passed on via various national media networks. Media value, in its turn, can be transformed into economic value such as sales for distribution, television rights and DVD/VHS releases, and user values such as popularity and cult followings. This is where Bourdieu's concept about cultural capital easily converts into a concept about economic capital.

Beyond the High/Low Distinction

The relationship between European and Hollywood films has been abusively equated with a high/low cultural distinction. Festivals have, on the one hand, contributed to this opposition, because they have emphasized the notion of "cinema as art" from the beginning. The first film festival in Venice was established *within* the Arts Biennale. By explicitly adding cinema – the seventh art – to Abbé Batteau's category of fine arts, it became a cultural practice that was worthy of being used as a national legitimization.[7] The high status of the festival was underlined by its splendid organization, the selection of luxurious hotels on the Lido, and an elite leisure resort as the festival's location. Cannes followed Venice's example by choosing a festival format that corresponded with these high-society standards and cosmopolitan flair.

If one looks closer at the actual participation of Hollywood in these early events, it is clear that the opposition has never been as black-and-white as one might assume. The presence of Hollywood stars did not contradict the high society standards necessary to make the early festivals into respected institutions for cultural legitimatization, but instead confirmed them, as stars were seen both as respected members of the international community of the rich, famous, and beautiful, and as major film icons. Moreover, many Hollywood studio productions could be found competing in the various European festival programs.

With the interposition of the Nouvelle Vague, the festival format began to change. The proponents of the French New Wave made cinematic differentiations and considered some aesthetic forms superior to others. They evaluated films on their compliance with new standards for film as art and replaced the star with the auteur. The effects of the Nouvelle Vague can be summarized as a temporary dichotomization of the distinction between "high" and "low" cinema, which were equated with "good" and "bad" cinema, and a change in the definition of high cinema. This is when the idea of festivals functioning in the service of good, artistic cinema really began to emerge. The Nouvelle Vague's proponents thought that the spectacle, stars, and starlets of film festivals and increased market activity were merely a deviation from the festival's core business of art cinema. Hollywood productions themselves were not denounced, as long as (popular) movies showed sufficient signs of a directorial signature.

The global proliferation of the film festival phenomenon and the growing competition between festivals in the 1980s and 1990s, forced the festival format to undergo another important transformation. The boundaries between art and entertainment, distinction and spectacle, began to blur again. Various types of films use the festivals for value addition in a global market, whether they are targeted for a mainstream or niche audience. The presence of major stars and spectacle is a sure attraction for international media representatives, which, in its turn, is a marker for the festival's ranking on the international film festival circuit.

What we learn from this short historical account of the relations between (European) film festivals and Hollywood is that the rigid distinction between high and low culture is untenable. Throughout festival history, different types of films have benefited from the value-adding potential of film festivals. Today, the added value can be beneficial for the art-house circuit as well as a commercial release. Festival events can thus be seen as flirtatious encounters between art and entertainment. Distinction and spectacle – high cultural prestige and popular attraction – are the two pillars on which the major European A festivals continue to rest. Prestigious competition programs with high critical standards of taste are joined by glamorous parades of stars from the latest Hollywood

vehicle. For example, the 2003 Cannes Film Festival, featured Gus van Sant's intelligent account of the Columbine high school shooting, ELEPHANT (USA: 2003), which ultimately won the *Palme d'Or* and the circus surrounding the world première of THE MATRIX RELOADED. Moreover, films that fuse various film traditions, such as the Coen brothers' INTOLERABLE CRUELTY, are increasingly shown at film festivals.

The film festival paradox is that, despite reoccurring objections to the conflation of hierarchical cultural orders, the structure proves persistently successful. The prestige of these festivals as cultural events is constituted in their relation with spectacle and popular attraction. On the one hand, festivals revolve around the cultural legitimization of films that fall outside of the commercial film circuit because they do not fit into its spectacular and generic cinematic aesthetics. Festival participation allows them to acquire the necessary value for a niche art market. On the other hand, festivals present gala premières of commercial features; the global media attention that is generated helps to promote (continental) releases or support those films running for the Oscars.

The Film Festival Event

In order to explain the value-adding process, I will investigate the film festival event from both the perspective of social anthropology and network theories. The former is necessary to conceptualize the performances of the media and the festival's organization, the latter to connect local events to the global network. Media anthropologist Daniel Dayan has produced an influential anthropological study of the festival phenomenon, which investigates the Sundance Film Festival. It is of particular relevance to my argument and is thus worth discussing here at some length.

After having investigated media events in the early 1990s,[8] Dayan wrote about the 1997 Sundance Film Festival in his article "Looking for Sundance: The Social Construction of a Film Festival," which reflects the inadequacy of only applying (traditional) anthropological categories to film festivals. Dayan's starting point for analyzing Sundance is an anthropological interest in the audience (dispersed media spectators) and in the rules of a temporary event with a short duration (in-between permanent structures such as kinship and brief enactments such as face to face encounters). His initial hypothesis regards the festival as a collective performance, in which norms settle into behavioral sequences. The article, however, evolves into an account of how his observations forced him to adjust his hypothesis and, conversely, change his methodological approach to the festival.

Dayan observed that the festival consisted of various performances: "The unity of the festival was a fragile equilibrium, an encounter between competing definitions; a moment of unison between various solo performances. Rather than taking harmony for granted, I would watch it in the making, stress its processual nature, explore rival scripts."[9] Besides his observation that there were different groups of participants (audience, journalists, organizers, buyers etc.) at the festival, Dayan also realized that these groups were engaging in a definitional process, dominated by printed material: "Festivals turn out pages by the million: pamphlets, programs, photocopies, postcards, maps, essays, and excerpts. Ironically, film festivals live by the printed word, they are verbal architectures."[10] Unexpectedly, he was forced to include reading in his methodology of observations and interviews. Referring to Roland Barthes's study of the fashion system (*The Fashion System* 1967), in which he turns to fashion magazines rather than the fashion shows themselves, Dayan argues for the recognition of a double festival: the visual and the written. He realized that, as ethnographer, he could no longer ignore the latter.

The lesson for media scholars is obvious: If an ethnographer has to acknowledge a written component, the media scholar must not ignore the performative components. Media Studies has its roots in linguistics, and so media scholars may all to easily turn solely to the written or printed word to study the value-adding process of film festivals. Festival journalism, however, comprises more than a written component. The context of the festival highly influences the activity of journalists and media representatives. The proximity of many fellow reporters and the pressure to evaluate a large number of films in a short time are no neutral conditions. In the following sections I will therefore investigate the hybridity of performances that take place during the festival event.

Hybridized Performativity

The film festival event is a temporary social concentration during which performances of various agents are enacted in a cohabitation of public and segregated space. In his attempt to dissect the social construction of the Sundance festival, Dayan was forced to change lanes after the observation that the performances at the festival were divergent. In other words, he discovered that performances at festivals are driven by various agendas. In this chapter, my interest concerns those performances that are structured by and that structure the value-adding process. By concentrating on the value-adding process, there is sufficient orchestration between the relevant performances to analyze their construction. However, this does not mean that film festivals neatly correspond to traditional

anthropological definitions of social constructions such as the spectacle, ceremony, and festival. On the contrary, film festivals are dynamic hybrids.

Let's return to the George Clooney wedding proposal to illustrate the point. The setting is a press conference. The official festival press conference hall is furnished with an elevated stage that is placed in front of a fence covered with the festival logo and geometrically lined seats for the audience. The imposed format is strict. The audience gathers before starting time in the room and anticipates the arrival of the interviewees. Some collect an audio device for simultaneous translation. When the interviewees arrive, they take their by brass-plates appointed seats. A moderator opens the conference and the floor is taken by interviewers who, one after the other, receive a microphone to make themselves heard in the crowd. Upon receiving the microphone, one typically stands up to ask his/her question. Within this format, the respective roles of interviewers and interviewees are clear. The former ask questions (serious or not) and the latter answer them (sincerely or not). The unity of the press conference performance is broken when the female television reporter seizes the opportunity to ask George Clooney not a question, but for his hand in marriage. Clooney plays along and a fake wedding ceremony takes place with rings, rice and a veil. The aim of the counterfeit ceremony, however, is not marriage but the construction of a media item. The scheme is carefully registered on camera. The ceremony is thus actually a concealed spectacle.

Value addition at festivals is a complex tripartite process in which all steps are accompanied by various appropriate performances. These performances do not fit one category, but, in their diversity, contribute to the value of the festival, films and visiting guests. Films that enter film festivals are met with ritualized honors such as different type of screenings, a press conference and photo call. The standard format in Venice comprises of three days for visiting guests. The first day is filled with a press and industry screening and the première in the *Sala Grande* of the Festival Palace and its red carpet ritual. At night, a party, dinner or reception may be dedicated to the film and/or visiting guests.

Between 10:30 am and 2:30 p.m. of the second day, there is a press conference followed by the photo call on the Terrace and a TV and radio call (new in 2003 and specifically added for the festival's official broadcast partner Rai Sat). If there are public screenings, these also start on the second day. Directors and actors are usually available for interviews and photo shoots. The third day may be used for additional interviews and an early departure. The closing ceremony offers additional honors for the films and people selected for one of the awards. Again, the format of this public ceremony is highly structured and ritualized.

The third step of selection, mediation, is formalized in the press conferences, press screenings and opportunities for interviews, but is also open to external influences from less-official performances. Everybody and everything competes

for attention at film festivals. Billboards are plastered throughout the Lido and monitors continuously loop fragments from press conferences in the casino. Spectacle is used in various forms and shapes to attract attention. Distorting or subverting performances, such as the fake wedding, is one of the strategies.

Film festivals cannot be captured in one existing category, because they are visited by people with diverse agendas. Even if one zooms in on one festival function, such as value addition, the sum of performances does not break down into a neatly identifiable classification. Value addition is, on the one hand, achieved in pre-planned occasions and ritualized ceremonies. On the other hand, it is attained in the elusive process of selection for mediation and guerrilla endeavors of various actors.

When concentrating on the value-adding function of film festivals, it becomes clear that the hybridized performances, competing for attention, are an essential element of the festivals that contributes to the right atmosphere in which news items may be born and value can be added through mediation. The hybrid performances lead to a suspension of "normal" life. In the introduction, I used Victor Turner's study on the phase of liminality to argue that this suspension is necessary to mark transitions in the cultural order. Here we can add that film festivals are able to place themselves outside normality principally by the cultural performances that take place during the festival.

A Travelling Sequence of Events

Because neither the productivity nor performativity of media representatives alone are sufficient for understanding the value-adding process, I will now turn to the question of how local performances translate into global value. The film festival event should be understood as being embedded in a global network of festivals. The international film festival circuit can, at the same time, be drawn on a world map and set out on a calendar. Combined, these dimensions present the circuit as a travelling sequence of consecutive and overlapping events that is structured in an annual rhythm. It is important to emphasize that together these events are more than the sum of their parts.

Individual festivals occupy a position in the circuit in relation to the position of others. Moreover, they are framed by events outside the festival circuit that belong to the larger festival network. Some examples include film markets, such as the AFM and MiFed, and award ceremonies like the Oscars. The profundity of the embedding of festivals is best demonstrated by the observation that small variations in time slots can cause a chain reaction of repositionings. For example, when the Oscars in 2004 were rescheduled from late March to 29 February,

the British Academy Film and Television Awards for film (the BAFTA's) were pushed forward a week to 15 February.[11] This meant a near frontal collision with the Berlinale award ceremony on 14 February, thus posing a threat to the strategic placement of Berlin on the film festival calendar for building up Oscar profiles – as awards ceremony fatigue became a serious possibility for the public, the press, and even the stars. If the Berlinale, however, could have moved a couple of days forward, the expected knock-on-effect would have effected the International Film Festival Rotterdam, scheduled tightly just before Berlin.

What is important here is the identification of the sequential interdependency of positions in the network. The film festival circuit in this respect differs significantly from both contemporary information networks that are formed by permanent organizations and their continuing competition and cooperation, such as financial services or multinational retail corporations, *and* from temporary cultural events that are unaffected or unchallenged by comparable events, such as the Olympics.

In order to understand how the structure of the international film festival circuit as a travelling sequence contributes to the value-adding process, it is important to conceptualize how the individual festival events "talk" to each other. In the introduction, I presented my concept of the "sites of passage," which alludes to both cultural performances (the importance of the anthropological state of liminality) and the interdependence between festivals (the ANT notion of obligatory points of passage). The concept can be used to show how, for example, films with a prestigious festival prize travel along with the sequence of festivals and accumulate more value in the process.

What I want to add to my earlier discussion is an investigation of the role of mediation between the local event and the global network. Most contemporary network and system theories account for one type of mediation. Marc Augé, for example, differentiates between place and non-place and deems the non-places of our contemporary worlds instrumental in, what he calls "extended ritual set-ups" that construct meanings based on compromises between individuals and networks. [12] Augé specifically connects these extended ritual set-ups to the performance of spectacle and the mediatization of our relation to reality. His conceptualization is similar to my observations in the previous chapter on the regenerative process of the city of Cannes, while its spectacular festival-image flourishes in the media. Like all festivals, the Cannes Film Festival is a non-place that uses rituals, spectacle, ceremonies, and other performances to establish a connection between the local and the global. The hierarchical relations within the international film festival circuit, however, cannot be addressed by employing Augé's observations. For this, the distinctions that Manuel Castells made between "spaces of flows" and "spaces of places" is useful.

According to Castells, "the space of flows is the material organization of time-sharing social practices that work through flows."[13] This means that the space of flows is defined, on the one hand, by social exchanges within the network and, on the other hand, by the spatial organization of managerial elites. The space of flows offers a model for understanding how local spatial forms, such as film festivals, are used to mediate information in global functional networks. Castells regards the world as a network in which a place does not exist outside of its position created by exchanges of flows. According to Castells, the space of flows consists of personal micro-networks through which people transfer their interests into functional macro-networks by global interactions. These interactions are communicated by strategic nodes, which are located in segregated spaces, and are accessible only to elites. Not all nodes are equally important; some are more privileged than others.

This description reminds one of Latour's obligatory points of passage and, as such, is applicable to the international film festival circuit. The embedding of film festivals in the circuit is inevitable. The festival events are (temporary) spatial forms created by the elites in the film world. During the period of a festival, the festival location is temporally transformed into a segregated space for film professionals and film critics. The festival event can thus be seen as a node where these professionals meet in personal micro-networks, such as the film market or the press community, and from where they exercise influence on the proceedings in the events that follow.

The inclusion of the role of "personal micro-networks" is of particular importance for film festivals, because it – like Augé's concept of the non-place – allows for the conceptualization of performativity, and, as an extension, of the mediatized spectacle and ritual. I will now turn specifically to the effects that the festival circuit's structure as a travelling sequence of events has on mediation. By utilizing Latour, I will not only focus on the divergent performances of human actors but also on non-human actors. Both will be observed on both the spatial and temporal axes of the film festival grid.

The Spatial Axis

The spatial axis of the film festival event has both a global and a local component. The embedding of individual film festivals in the international film festival circuit results in competition between festivals. I have already referred to Castells's "space of flows" when describing the festival network. His theory is useful in explaining why "distinction" is an intrinsic element of the festival network. The international film festival circuit is a nodal system that has no "natur-

al" hierarchy. In competition, festivals distinguish themselves from other festival nodes. Privileged nodes, identified by their location, have more status. Following Castells's network theory, one can identify two qualities that enable a node to occupy a privileged position in a network: suitability for function demands and historical specificity.[14]

The first quality – suitability for function demands – explains how hierarchical relations between festivals can shift. A festival's function demands may change and film festivals can also improve their suitability. In this way, newer festivals like Sundance in America, Toronto in Canada and Pusan in South Korea acquired high status rankings in the festival circuit. Sundance was a small festival when it was established in 1978 in Salt Lake City as the US Film Festival. Its purpose was threefold: to attract the national film industry to Utah; to screen old movies and organize high-profile discussions around them; and to offer a competition for small regional films made outside the Hollywood system.[15] This last function eventually became central, after the festival's fortunate affiliation with Robert Redford's Sundance Institute and its move to Park City in the winter of 1981. The festival offered a platform for American independent production and became Hollywood's observation post for new talent.

The successful metamorphosis of the Toronto International Film Festival took a little longer. The festival was inaugurated as a festival of festivals in 1976. Under director Helga Stephenson (1987-1993), the festival was transformed into a high-profile event capable of attracting big stars and top films as well as large numbers of buyers, distributors, producers, and media representatives. The festival provided a professional film market in North America and became the ideal première spot for both Hollywood studio productions and international or independent films. The international film festival in Pusan belongs to the most recent success stories. Founded in 1996, the professionally organized festival focuses on the surge of global attention for Asian cinema.[16] Located in the center of Asia's film nations, it provides a focal point for cinema in Asia.

The second reason for occupying a privileged position in a network – historical specificity – points to the intertwining of the temporal and spatial axes. Cannes is so tremendously important from a historical perspective that everybody who is anybody in the film business usually tries to go to the Riviera in May. The historical value is, as it were, locked into the specific spatial forms of the historical festival's location. In this case, the festival location also shows characteristics of Castells's space of place, in which the socio-historical specificity of a location is predominant.[17]

Historical specificity explains the persistent high ranking of the first European festivals on the festival circuit. Festivals like Cannes, Berlin, and Venice were recognized early on as internationally important festivals. The FIAPF allotted these festivals their A-status, which meant an official recognition of high rank-

ing, certain privileges (such as the right to form an international jury) and protection from newly organized festivals. New festivals, by definition, lack historical advantages. As a result, many newcomer festivals on the festival circuit turn to spatial (and meteorological) advantages; new festival locations are scouted for their exoticism, exclusivity, or current (political) relevance to attraction attention. The move of Sundance to Park City in the winter specifically placed the festival in the attractive position of being a film festival in a ski resort.

Another good example is the Midnight Sun Festival in Finland founded in 1986 by Finnish filmmakers, among whom the Kaurismäki brothers. Every year in mid-June, the most northern festival in the world takes place in the town of Sodankylä (11,000 inhabitants). This is the period of the midnight sun, when the sun never sets. This means that the only place where you can find darkness during the festival is inside the cinemas. Screenings occur 24 hours per day, which gives the festival visitors a unique kind of experience that is proudly promoted in the festival's very name as well as on its website: "The village of Sodankylä is located in the heart of Finnish Lapland, some 120 kilometers above the Arctic Circle, where the sun doesn't set at all in the summertime. The Lappish nature and the nightless night provide the Midnight Sun Film Festival a setting no other festival can compete!"[18]

Another striking example is the Sarajevo Film Festival, founded in 1995 during the war in the former Yugoslavia. Screenings were organized despite, or in defiance of, the bombings of the city and the Bosnian people. Pushing this further, the festival's organization erected an open-air cinema on the city's main square in 1996. In addition, an international and politically engaged board was formed to support the second festival. Ingmar Bergman, Francis Ford Coppola, Milos Forman, Richard Gere, Susan Sarandon, Martin Scorsese, Susan Sontag, and Nagisa Oshima lent their names to the festival. The festival's website emphasizes the continuing relevance and recognition of the initiative since the end of the war: "Despite the relative normalization of life in Sarajevo, the media gave a lot of coverage to the festival again in 1998. The traces of war were still present and the process of reintegration was worthy of being watched and reported. More then 40 international journalists covered the Festival and its various side events in 1998, and more then 40 hours of daily feature stories, reports etc. were broadcast nationally and internationally."[19]

These examples can also be understood using Julian Stringer's concept of "festival image." The physical location of the festival is very important for the festival's image of cultural difference and it is used in festival marketing strategies to compete with other film festivals. Location, the element most central to a festival's image, is usually reflected in the name. By and large, festivals are named after the city where they take place.[20]

The *Mostra* and the Cultural Memory of Space

Let us return to the case study of the *Mostra Internazionale d'Arte Cinematografica* and examine how the spatial axis is constituted. On the circuit, the *Mostra* specifically enters into competition with the festivals in Locarno, just before Venice, and Toronto, beginning towards the end of the *Mostra*. The winner of the Golden Lion in 2003, Andrey Zvyagintsev's debut film The Return/Vosvracheni (RU: 2003), became the object of a fierce struggle between the festivals in Locarno and Venice. Both festivals wanted to include the film in their programs. The *Mostra* ultimately won. In the international film festival circuit, the *Mostra* occupies a prestigious position, which is particularly important in the European context of art cinema.

In the case of the highly-anticipated new film by Jane Campion, In the Cut (AU/USA/UK: 2003), Venice lost out to Toronto, where the movie had its première. *Screen International reports*: "Pathé UK, *In The Cut*'s financier, has pitched it as a cross between David Fincher's seminal chiller *Seven* and Campion's Palme d'Or-winning *The Piano*. But it would still rather downplay Campion's art house pedigree, a tactic apparent from its decision to shun this year's rarefied Venice film festival in favor of the more generalist Toronto. Pathé says it managed to pre-sell all international territories by treading a fine line between emphasizing the project's genre credentials and not alienating Campion's core audience."[21] When business considerations prevail – as in the case of In the Cut – Toronto has a better reputation than Venice. In Castells's terms, the function demand of the festival as market place is best covered by Toronto, whereas the historical specificity of the *Mostra* gives Venice the advantage of high cultural status, which is more important for a first feature director.

I want to argue here that the advantages of historical specificity are locked into the spatial forms of the *Mostra*. The history of the oldest film festival in the world continues to generate value for its contemporary events and position in the festival circuit through its locations. Festivals are what Pierre Nora named *lieux de mémoire* usually translated as "memory sites."[22] Festival memories are lost times that go through a Proustian retrieval each year during the festival because the historical locations trigger the past. The *vaporetti*s or water taxis between the Lido and the mainland, instantly remind of earlier festivals, as do the –lines of beach houses along the south shore of the island.

Moreover, not only one's own memories are retrieved by this annual rhythm, collective memories of the festival's rich history also surface during the annual rituals and the material surroundings of the Lido. On the terrace of the Hotel Excelsior you realize that it was here that the first film, Rouben Mamoulian's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (USA: 1931), was shown at the *Mostra*. The environ-

ment has a noticeable quality of authenticity and historicity that gives all present activities that little bit of extra flair. The historical value of the Venice Film Festival is based on cultural memories of unforgettable occasions and the numerous classic masterpieces, directors and stars, who were discovered here *on the Lido*.

The *Mostra*'s organization supports this historical advantage by, on the one hand, deploying the various locations and buildings in its segregation practices and, on the other, actively celebrating glorious moments of its past. During the 60th edition of the festival, the latter strategy was visible in at least three forms. The first was the photo exhibition in the Casino entrance hall entitled "diamonds are forever" The exposition shows a collection of photographs of celebrities at the film festival, wearing diamonds. It offers snapshots of memorable moments that the festival is keen on identifying with. The second form was the presentation of a book on the history of the film festival. Enrica Roddolo presented *La Biennale: Arte, polemiche, candali e storie in laguna* on the Terrazza Martini at the Hotel Excelsior. The book was available at the festival bookshop as a tribute to the public's acknowledgement of the festival's history. The third form is what can best be described, somewhat inelegantly, as the recycling of an old star, Gina Lollobrigida, who was included in the *Open 2003* exhibition.

Open was founded in 1998 as a counter-initiative to the Biennale. It concentrates on the arts and on cinema, presenting sculpture and installations during the film festival at various easily accessible locations.[23] Gina Lollobrigida presented a selection of her bronze sculptures and was fêted with a personal press conference, an open discussion, a dinner and a great deal of media attention. Although the quality of Lollobrigida's work remains questionable, the decision to include her as honored guest clearly had more to do with her being an iconic representation of the *Mostra*'s glamorous days in the 1950s.

The second strategy entails a careful planning of how various locations can be used to hierarchize activities and events. The main historical locations of the festival are the Hotel Excelsior, Hotel des Bains, the Casino and the *Palazzo del Cinema*. Consequently, these locations are used for prestigious activities and guests. The Hotel Excelsior accommodates the important guests, facilitates receptions and presentations, and is used as meeting point for jury delegations, film professionals, and film critics. On the terrace, the Terrazza Martini is where accredited guests can attend discussions, presentations, or have a drink. The Hotel des Bains is the most luxurious hotel on the Lido, an atmosphere that was brilliantly captured in Thomas Mann's *Tod in Venedig* [*Death in Venice*]. The hotel is the festival's most prestigious location, where many of the stars stay and give interviews. Like the Hotel Excelsior, the Hotel des Bains facilitates receptions and dinners. Across the street, the beach club Pagoda hosts many of the nightly parties.

The Casino, which serves as the festival's press center, is another relic of earlier times when the Lido was a retreat for the Venetian upper classes. Press conferences, photo sessions, and other media events take place here. Downstairs, the industry lounge offers a quiet environment for the accredited film professionals and there is also a sunny terrace where the Wella Interview Space is located. The *Palazzo del Cinema* is located next right next to the Casino. It was especially built for the festival and first used in 1937. Francesco Bono writes:

> It was only in the winter of 1936/1937 that the Biennale finally [began] construction on the Palazzo del Cinema – which was to include a big 2500-seat theatre and several smaller theatres, as well as the Festival offices. On 18 November1936, the executive commission chose engineer Luigi Quagliata's design. Unlike the project proposed by Maraini in 1932, in which the location of the Palazzo was to be in the area occupied by the old Quattro Fontane fort on the Lido, near the Excelsior hotel, Quagliata's choice was the result of the combined interests of the Venice municipality and the Italian hotel company Grandi Alberghi.[24]

Untangling some of the interests of the Venice community and the CIGA (Compagnia Italiana Grandi Alberghi), a chain of luxury hotels that includes the Hotel Excelsior, the Festival Palace became the heart of the festival.[25] Although the hotels retain their prestigious roles during the festival, the premières and ceremonies with their red carpet rituals (which is blue in Venice) moved to the *Palazzo*. The segregation involved in the deployment of the various festival locations becomes clear in the observation that access to the four most prestigious locations is restricted to special guests and, invitees. We can therefore indeed argue that the cultural capital of the *Mostra* is largely locked into the historical locations and buildings on the Lido.

One of the main problems of the present festival involves dealing with restrictions posed by the limited capacities of the various locations. The festival suffers from a severe lack of high-tech screens.[26] To meet the demands for more screening space, the theatre Pala BNL erected every year, is within walking distance from the *Palazzo*. This rather uncomfortable location is used for public screenings. It adds 1,700 temporary seats to the 3,416 permanent ones. But this is still not sufficient. Industry screenings, in particular, remain a serious problem.

Discussions frequently return to the question of how this problem can be resolved. Among the options is the conversion of the old airport on the Lido for festival purposes. But this option will cost a lot of money, which is not likely to be provided by a government that has been imposing cuts on the festival for several years. Another option is the relocation of the entire festival to the Arsenale area, the old harbor, on the main island of Venice. However, dispersing the festival to areas beyond the Lido is basically inconceivable without incurring cultural capital damage. The roots of the festival remain on the Lido and

its continued occupation of this environment, with its rich past remains one of the main sources of its present prestige in the international film festival circuit.

Spatial Segregation through Accreditation

The status of the film festival event is also obtained by the use of segregationist practices. Segregation in the organization of festivals is normally carried out by systems of accreditation. Not everybody can access film festivals equally. Some are excluded completely and access to specific places is often reserved for people with proper accreditation. The *Mostra* applies strict rules for accreditation to film professionals, film critics, and representatives from cultural institutions. In order to be recognized as a press representative, an applicant has to produce verification, such as coverage of previous Venice festivals or other festivals, a press card, and a letter from the editor-in-chief confirming his or her status.[27] The festival's press coordinators then decide to approve or deny an applicant and the approved then receive their accreditation.

Venice has four accreditation categories: *daily, periodical*, *media*, and *technician*. *Daily* accreditation is reserved for journalists writing for the top, daily, national newspapers. Less important daily newspapers fall under the category of *periodical* which also – as the title suggests – periodical publications, such as *Screen* and *Variety*. Smaller magazines, as well as Internet sites and miscellaneous other organizations, are covered under the umbrella category of *media*. These three categories are used to regulate entrance to screenings, places, and press facilities. The fourth category, *technician*, is reserved for cameramen, sound technicians, photographers, and other technical workers. It provides them with access to places such as the red carpet, interviews and photo session areas – but not to the screenings.

Two observations should be made regarding the distinction between the four press categories. One: it is pre-eminently hierarchical. Two: it is based on the written press. The hierarchical nature of the distinction becomes apparent in the differences in privileges between the various cardholders. Most importantly, *daily, periodical*, and *media* cardholders have separate lines for scheduled press screenings. This structure guarantees *daily* press cardholders access to all these screenings. *Periodical* press representatives, too, are pretty sure to find a seat for those films. *Media* cardholders, on the contrary, have to make sure they are at the front of the line for certain screenings if they want to have a fair chance of getting inside. For popular screenings this implies an investment of up to two hours of queuing. The logistical explanation for this hierarchical division is that journalists who publish daily reviews in newspapers have to be able to see the

films in their première screenings in order to do their jobs. Meanwhile, those journalists who will probably only publish one festival report can take advantage of the later screenings.

However, apart from being based on practical considerations for job facilitation, the division also comprises an act of differentiation. Daily journalists – who publish more often (daily) and often in culturally more acclaimed media (top national newspapers) than periodical journalists– are categorized as the elite guests of the festival. Periodical journalists, in their turn, are categorized above media journalists. The journalists in the lower *media* press category are granted access to screenings *after industry* cardholders, who are equal to *periodical* cards. This means they are less likely to attend the première press screenings and therefore have less influence in the meaning making and agenda setting activities of the press. The *media* category of guests also becomes obvious when you see their festival facilities; while the *daily* and *periodical* press have press boxes that professionalize their channels for communication and information, the *media* press have to go without this luxury.

The hierarchy of the accreditation system can be understood as part of the mechanism of segregation by which the festival consolidates its high cultural status. The hierarchical accreditation of press and media representatives favors the journalists that represent high cultural capital media companies and "serious"' film criticism, which both supports the prestigious image of the festival and legitimates the dominance and influence of daily journalists, who "seriously" cover the competition programs.

The second observation is that the category division is based on print media. Michela Lazzarin, head of foreign press coordination during the festival, confirmed that "television is a problem."[28] Though it would, of course, be technically possible to broadcast daily items about the festival, in reality, no television station other than the festival's official partner RAI Sat can do so, because the *Mostra* has sold exclusive rights for press conferences, opening and closing ceremonies and other special events to RAI Sat (which broadcasts them via satellite). Other television companies have the (legal) right to show a maximum of three consecutive minutes from any of these events – offering, for example, sufficient time to broadcast the staged proposal to George Clooney.

Many of the services that are offered to media representatives at the festival, such as the distribution of audio-visual material and the organization of interviews, do not fall under the festival's jurisdiction. Interviews are organized via the various press attachés for individual films. Other than the press conferences in the casino, the consecutive photo sessions on the Terrace and the TV/radio sessions in the RAI Sat lounge, which are organized by the festival, these services are merely *facilitated* by the festival. It offers locations and provides the contacts, but does not actively select or organize. The same goes for audio-vi-

sual material; the press can search for audio-visual material at the audio-visual counter at the casino, which serves as the press center during the festival, but it are the production companies that are responsible for providing the material. In this way, they can influence media exposure by selecting specific excerpts and including or excluding particular reporters. A common precondition for being allowed into one of the press junket interview sessions, which are limited to about 20 to 30 journalists per session, with an actor or director is, for example, that the movie must have been distributed in the country where the program will be broadcast or the story published.

The particular reliance of television on audio-visual material partly explains Michela Lazzarin's statement about television being a problem. While published film criticism more easily transcends mere description or infotainment into critical evaluation, televised reportage usually focuses on film excerpts and/or interviews and devotes less time and space to analytical commentary. The categorization of television reporters is "dependent on the type of program they make" as Lazzarin explains. The more interest is displayed in star behavior and juicy facts, the less likely a reporter will receive high press accreditation. This type of coverage is not what lends the festival its high status profile and, moreover, reporters do no need to follow the festival program closely to write popular pieces. Thus the festival tends to concentrate its accreditation system on print media.

The Temporal Axis

If we now turn to the temporal axis of the film festival event we can immediately make some observations that are relevant to the value-adding process. Timing, in the most literal sense of the word, is a key concern at festivals. Festival programmers are dependent on the filmmakers and production companies finishing their product "on time." It is common for directors, producers, and distributors to plan a project with an eye on the festival calendar. They may choose to follow a strategic plan – what festival can best serve the interests of this particular film– or maintain a loyal relationship with a specific festival. Roderick Conway Morris, film critic for the *International Herald Tribune,* on the opening film of the 60th *Mostra* noted, that "[f]or many years, Woody Allen chose Venice as the venue for his European premières, but last year deserted to Cannes, to the general dismay of the lagoon dwellers. But de Hadeln enticed him back to Venice this time with his latest 'Anything Else,' which was the opening, out-of-competition film of the festival."[29] The completion of a film

may also be postponed until the (deadline of the) festival of choice, so that when the film appears it has a maximum freshness – and thus newsworthiness.

Time is also a given element of festival programming. Films are presented in a scheduled order. Timing is important, because both day and slot of screening can influence a film's reception; a première that is scheduled on Monday morning is likely to attract less public than one taking place on Saturday night; and a small film that is placed in a time slot with three highly anticipated festival premières is bound to have a hard time attracting media attention. Moreover, "time" is essential for festivals' ability to add value, because their short duration encourages a feeling of 'buzz' or newsworthiness. In the period between the opening and closing ceremony, juries deliberate over the official awards. Venice has three competitions: the Competition, the Short Competition and Upstream. There is also a competition for all of the first features participating in the festival. In total, there are three international juries that decide the various awards.[30] The Competition jury selects winners for both long and short films. The selection process of the various juries remains a secret as much as possible. Jury members are not allowed to talk about films in competition or any incidents related to jury discussions. Nobody except the festival director is allowed to be present during jury deliberations. The aim is to reach an independent decision that is revealed during the dramatic closing ceremony.[31]

While the jury deliberations are kept out of the public eye, media coverage is both a segregated and a public activity. Press representatives at the local festival site choose topics that they'll want to cover, while editors at the various publishing offices around the globe ultimately decide what will make the news. Because of the public nature of the festival event, critics and journalists, however, are far from being closed off to external influences on their decision-making. They go to screenings and write their pieces, but in between they are subjected to a lot of (biased) information in press screenings, daily papers, interviews etc. Moreover, in between they are likely to engage in background discussions, gossip and buzz with other professionals. Published items may boomerang back into the evaluative process of the festival's programs and influence the evaluation of other films or the assessment of the film festival as a whole. Opinions, articles, and conclusions accumulate during the course of the festival. While at the beginning of the festival many film critics tend to write more carefully and prefer description over evaluation, by the end of the festival there usually is a broad overall consensus on what the festival's highlights were and how the general quality of this year's harvest ought to be assessed.

The latter two phases of the value-adding process – awards selection and mediation selection – are susceptible to agenda-setting forces. The idea of agenda setting has been used to discuss the spinning of news to affect public opinion or behavior for decades. As early as 1963, Bernard Cohen, in his *The Press and*

Foreign Policy, argued that: "the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*."[32] By the 1990s, one also began to wonder who actually sets the media agenda? This revived interests in news sources, hierarchical influences between media companies, and the gate-keeping role of editors.

As I said before, media exposure is not only dependent on the decision of what the critics write about. Editors have a large say in what gets published. Whether a review is published or not can depend on a variety of factors, such as the personal preferences of an editor, his or her assumptions about what will interest readers, and other competing newsworthy items. Wesley Shrum argues that "favorability is not as important as the sheer appearance of the text in a widely circulated newspaper, so editorial decisions are often more important than the evaluations of the critics. A critical notice may not appear because it is not commissioned. It may be commissioned and rejected. And it may be altered in form or occasionally even in content before its appearance in print."[33]

In the case study on Venice, I'd also like to scrutinize the process agenda-setting. The question of who sets the agenda is relatively easy. It is the juries, media representatives and editors that determine what others read and see on film festivals in the news, while media corporations, filmmakers and stars have a great influence on the actual content. Of course there is plenty of PR, spin and fabricated spectacle going on at film festivals and film companies try to orchestrate the exposure of their films in the media, but the power to select what appears how in the press ultimately lies in the hands of journalists. Therefore I will mainly focus on the role of the press. They are officially assigned to participate in film festivals, assess the program or individual achievements, and convert these selections into awards, publications, or broadcast items. The process by which these selections are made can be analyzed using the concept of agenda setting. In this context, I understand agenda setting to be the dynamics between unequal opinion-makers and their products that results in the transfer of opinions into dominant topics. Value addition, then, is achieved when these dominant topics are credited with jury awards or media attention.

It is important to note that the value addition of mediation is not dependent on the positive content of the media accounts. Various researches support the view that also negative exposure can add value to films and their makers.[34] In assessing the agenda setting process at film festivals one should keep in mind that the jury's agenda differs from the media's agenda. Juries set the agenda of the official festival winners. Through its selection of award winners, the juries immediately contribute to the festival image (or the image of any other associations they might represent, such as FIPRESCI) and thus public opinion is not a primary consideration to them. The media, on the contrary, are directed at the

general public. Although film critics write for a particular newspaper, their writings are above all considered to be personal. They aim to inform the public with their observations and analyses. Festival reviews are read by a variety of people, cinephiles, film buyers, distributors and festival programmers. This means that film critics are not only able to influence the opinion of a general lay public, but also effect the decisions of film programmers (to include or exclude certain films in a particular festival) and the choices of distributors (with regard to purchases, timing and scale of a release). In the following section, I will discuss the agenda-setting practices in more detail by presenting examples of four categories with which individual films and filmmakers are often framed in festival reviews: winners, losers, favorites, and scandals.

The Winner: The Return

There are many criteria that juries use in deciding which entry is most likely to win a particular award. The *Mostra* categories of "Best Film / Director / Actor / Actress," "Grand Jury Prize," and "Outstanding Individual Contribution" however do not define how quality is measured. This is the task of the festival jury. Since jury deliberations are kept secret from the public, it is difficult to trace the actual deliberations that lead to the final list of winners. It remains unknown who the most influential among the jury members was and unclear what the most important disagreements between jury members were.

What can be said, however, is that there are two privileged positions: the jury president and the festival director. Both have the authority to set the agenda. The jury president is the appointed day-to-day leader of the jury deliberations, who, in theory, has decisive power in setting the criteria for the selection process. During the 60th *Mostra* Mario Monicelli (1915), the established Italian director and screenwriter, acted as president.[35] The second-most influential position is that of the festival director, who is omnipresent and whose views on the festival, its films and film culture in general, matter a great deal. In 2003, festival director Moritz de Hadeln offered his views on the 60th festival edition in the festival catalogue. He begins by referring to the *Mostra* as a meeting place for world cinema and, later on, he discusses the program: "Two types of films come together here: those using Venice for self-promotion at the beginning of a commercial career, and the newcomers who are waiting to be discovered. So Venice becomes a forum for both established and new filmmakers, actors and actresses appearing for the first time under the limelight knowing that Venice could be the turning point in their careers. Among the many themes that emerge from this rich selection, we should emphasize the large number of European films,

which includes an interesting Italian presence. From Portugal to Poland, Italy to France, Great Britain to Germany, a geographical unity is being created beyond language barriers, in which our common past becomes a binding source of vitality."[36] I will rely on such secondary sources, in particular festival reports, to reconstruct some of the issues that helped determine the festival winner of 2003.

In 2003 the official Venezia 60 jury awarded the Golden Lion for Best Film to The Return by Russian director, Andrey Zvyagintsev. The Return was screened towards the end of the festival. The press screening was held at 1 p.m. on Tuesday 2 September in the Palagalileo. The public premières took place the following day on Wednesday at 6 p.m. in the Sala Grande in the Palazzo. Three days later, during the awards ceremony, Zvyagintsev accepted both the Golden Lion and the Luigi de Laurentiis award (for first features) for The Return.

The film did, indeed, stand out from the rest of the competition, because it was the only first feature in competition that was dominated by award winners and festival habitués, such as Takeshi Kitano, Margarethe von Trotta and Manoel Oliviera.[37] Zvyagintsev (1964) graduated from the Moscow State University as an actor and worked, as an actor, until he began to direct television in 2000. His film debut tells the story of two young brothers who are unexpectedly confronted with the return of their father. After a 10-year separation they embark on a journey together. The purpose of the trip is unknown to the brothers and the growing tensions between them and their returned father unfolds in a drama. Zvyagintsev, in talking about the film, noted: "It sounds like a valid question – what is this film about, but I think this question should not be asked. The strange thing is how easily we are prepared to rid ourselves of our own vision, replacing it conveniently with someone else's interpretations, such as an author's … When I was shooting the film, I did not see the story as an everyday or social story. To a great extent, the film is intended to be a mythological look at human life. This is probably what I would like the audience to keep in mind before they enter the screening room."[38] The director's ambiguity emphasizes the film's atmosphere and (religious) symbolism. The Return is beautifully shot by cinematographer Mikhail Kritchman, who enables the rough view of lakes and landscapes to play a part in the contemplative, but suspenseful narrative.

Its mysticism and symbolic cinematography puts the film in direct opposition to the politically-engaged films in the competition, such as Marco Bellocchio's Buongiorno, Notte (IT: 2003), Paolo Benvenuti's Segreti di Stato (IT: 2003) and Christopher Hampton's Imagining Argentina (ES/UK/USA: 2003). Choosing the visually stunning debut of a Russian filmmaker over the political message of Italian directors playing a home match, or the latest projects of more established filmmakers, the jury issued a clear statement of what they thought the *Mostra* is all about: cinema as art and offering space for fresh talent. Peter

Zander from *The Welt*, on the day of the closing ceremonies, wrote: "Unlike Cannes or Locarno, the 60th Mostra internazionale d'arte cinematografica did not feature one great work that overshadowed the rest (and yet did not win). When the Lions are handed out tonight, anything can happen. The question is, which of the two p-parties will win the trophies: the political or the private. There is, of course, a third option: to honour the big exception, which does not fit into either pigeonhole – Takeshi Kitano's ironic Samurai Film 'Zatoichi.' Or there is one possible compromise: to select a film, which fits into both categories. That would be Manoel Oliveira's A TALKING PICTURE."[39] With THE RETURN, the jury opted for Zander's private party and the apolitical notion of cinema as (visual) art form.

During the festival rumor went that Silvio Berlusconi, premier at the time, would have preferred an Italian victory. The Italian public had high expectations for Bellocchio, especially because the jury president was Italian. After the awards had been allotted Roderick Conway Morris of the *International Herald Tribune* wrote: "The Russian film's brace of prizes was an almost universally applauded choice, except among a section of the Italian film and media establishment, who had pinned their hopes on Marco Bellocchio's BUONGIORNO, NOTTE (Good Morning, Night). Although this film was awarded a special prize for 'an individual contribution of particular note' for its script, the director and a cohort of sympathizers decamped, apparently in a huff, back to Rome before the closing ceremony, leaving one of its hapless stars, the popular Luigi lo Cascio, to collect the award."[40] BUONGIORNO, NOTTE became the widely recognized loser of the 60th *Mostra*.

The Loser: BUONGIORNO, NOTTE

Ironically, it can be argued that BUONGIORNO, NOTTE, although bravely treating the abduction and execution of Italian Minister Aldo Moro in 1978 from the perspective of the Red Brigades, fell victim to the politicized nature of the festival and the influence of the Berlusconi government. These anti-political sentiments might have influenced certain jury members to prefer the apolitical THE RETURN for the Golden Lion. In order to understand the situation it is important to give a brief historical sketch of the political influence on the festival in 2003. At the time the right-wing Berlusconi government [now out of power] was busy extending its influence across the Italian peninsula by replacing people in key positions with straw men and passing legislation that would allow monopolies such as Berlusconi's media empire to thrive. Berlusconi's project to tighten his

grip on Italy's cultural institutions did not pass over the Biennale and the *Mostra*.

In 2002, the highly acclaimed *Mostra* head, Alberto Barbera, was dismissed. When Pierluigi Celli and Piera Detassis[41] declined the offer to head the festival together – allegedly because the political pressures were too great, Moritz de Hadeln was willing to lead the world's oldest film festival. Initially, his appointment aroused suspicion. Was he just a straw man for Berlusconi? Various articles speculated on Berlusconi's intentions, ranging from the revitalizing of Italian film to bringing more glamour and stars to the Lido. The latter was often used to characterize De Hadeln's appointment. Just before the opening of the 59th *Mostra*, Bianca Stigter wrote: "De Hadeln is Alberto Barbera's successor, who was fired last year and had to be replaced by someone who would be more appropriate to what the Berlusconi government considers culture to be. It was said the festival did not have enough glamour under Barbera. The appointment of De Hadeln was a superior move. De Hadeln had just been fired from the Berlin Film Festival, which he had led for 22 years. De Hadeln was reproached precisely because he attracted too much American glamour to the festival."[42]

However, the 59th and 60th festival editions of the *Mostra* under De Hadeln's leadership convinced most critics that he was not only capable of attracting stars to the Lido, but also of cherishing serious cinema and artistic achievements. The Golden Lions for the Magdalene Sisters (UK/IE: Peter Mullan 2002) and The Return (2003), played important roles in the international acceptance of De Hadeln as independent festival director. They, moreover, consolidated the image of Venice as a serious film festival, whose main concern is to nurture art cinema and which would not bend under political pressure. It is more than likely that the widespread opposition to the political interpositions with the festival led to a reactionary favoritism for apolitical films and an unwillingness to award the Golden Lion to an Italian film dealing with its own political history. The example underlines the importance if contextual factors in agenda setting practices and shows how much films that fit into the current disposition are in favor.

How the actual jury deliberations developed remains hard to pin down. From the above we can derive that it might have been De Hadeln who kept the festival from an easy retreat into nationalist onanism. He was in the position to do so. In the press he'd repeatedly complained about the bureaucratic inefficiency of the Italians, the small size of his team and the lack of financial support to revitalize the festival with better facilities. Moreover, his artistic agenda for the *Mostra* was cleary different from that of the government. De Hadeln had won the support of the international press, but would soon fall out of favor with the

political powers. A couple of months after the 60th *Mostra* the Berlusconi government prevented Him to be reappointed for a third term.[43]

Buongiorno, Notte became the loser of the 60th *Mostra*. Its embrace by the Italian media and public had created a buzz that was picked up by the international journalists during the festival. In *Le Monde*'s Thomas Sotinel wrote: "During its press screening, on September 3, the film was received with a respect not common in Venice (not one mobile phone rang during the screening!), and was saluted by long applause. One would say that there's something cathartic in Bellochio's approach." When the expectations were not rewarded with a substantial award – apart from the consolation prize for an outstanding individual contribution – it meant that Buongiorno, Notte would have a much harder time attracting audiences outside Italy. The film did embark on a festival journey after Venice, including a gala screening in Toronto and participation in the Berlin Market, but it collected only one more prize: the European Film Award of the Critics for 2003.[44] Thus the film remained mostly a national hit that was sold with moderate success on the European continent, but failed to make it in the United States, where the film's sympathetical portrayal of terrorists might have been too controversial.[45]

The Return, on the other hand, was much more successful on the festival circuit. It swept a collection of grand prizes at mostly Eastern European film festivals such as Gottbus, Zagreb, and Thessaloniki. In addition, it won the Prix Fassbinder in the European Film Academy Discovery 2003 (awarded in Berlin), received nominations for the Golden Globe (USA) and Cesar (France) in the category Best Foreign Film, and won awards in Palm Springs and Iran.[46] Moreover, being the winner of the Golden Lion 2003, The Return could count on widespread attention and curiosity.

In an earlier empirical study on the effects of nominations and awards, John C. Dodds and Morris B. Holbrook support the premise that "Oscar nominations and awards can provide a boost to demand in the form of additional distribution (number of theatre screens where the film is shown) and incremental revenues (total box office receipts)."[47] The effects of the Oscars cannot be equated with those of Golden Palms, Golden Bears and Golden Lions, but do point in a similar direction. Imagine what would have happened if the 60th *Mostra* jury would have chosen the political over the private. Would The Return still have received all those other awards and nominations? Would Buongiorno, Notte have been more successful? Would a festival prize have led to distribution in the United States despite the film's controversial content (as was the case with Fahrenheit 9/11)? Despite difficulties in empirically measuring the exact effects of an award or nomination, it is clear that winning an official award at a major film festival (the grand prizes, that is) instantly adds value to the winner.

The Favorite: Lost in Translation

When Suzan Vahabzadeh from die *Süddeutsche Zeitung* described why she liked film festivals, she uses a powerful metaphor that can also be used for my arguments on agenda setting and value addition. She writes: "Perhaps the best thing about film festivals is that the films being shown are still pure and immaculate – like snowballs rolling down a hill – and with every screening something sticks to them: expectations, longings, fulfilled and unfulfilled hope. But at the big festivals, they encounter their audience in a state of innocence, and are able to rouse emotions which no one in the auditorium has expected."[48]

The metaphor is not entirely correct. Not every film that premières at a film festival is pure as the undriven snow. Takeshi Kitano's Zatoichi, for example, was eagerly anticipated by the *Mostra* (professional) audience. It was not only the new feature by the established Japanese film director "Beat Takeshi," who won the Golden Lion for Hana-BI (JP: 1997), but also his first costume drama film. Based on the well-known and often recounted story of the blind swordsman Zatoichi, Kitano produced his first popular genre tribute. The interest in Zatoichi during the *Mostra* was overwhelming; there was a run on tickets and the queues for the première press screening were a daunting sight for those with low accreditation. In this case, expectations were clearly set before the actual premières on 1 September 2003 (press) and 2 September (public).

Vahabzadeh's metaphor, however, is strikingly accurate in its portrayal of possible sequential accumulation of value. Most major international film festivals will present some (premières) films that will then travel along to various other festivals and accumulate positive receptions; these are also called festival hits. What interests me here is how these journeys add value to films. I see this process as mainly driven by the agenda-setting powers of accredited press/media representatives. They follow the festival programs closely and evaluate the achievements. Favorites then emerge out of the local dynamics between these opinion-makers when a majority lauds the same film. Journalists have the authority to translate the favorites of the festival agenda into dominant issues on the media agenda and thus capture the volatile festival buzz in retrievable documentation. Media coverage adds value because a larger (global) public can be reached. This part of the value-adding process runs independent of the official festival award deliberations, but can contribute to nominations and awards given by other institutions or associations such as the Oscars and BAFTAs. In the following example of Lost in Translation (USA/JP: Sofia Coppola 2003) we will see how this may work.

Lost in Translation is Sofia Coppola's second feature. Like Zatoichi, the film was not completely immaculate when it entered the Upstream (Controcor-

rente) Competition of the 60th *Mostra*. Coppola's debut The Virgin Suicides (USA: 1999) premièred at Cannes and was well-received by both public and press, arousing curiosity about her new film. In addition, she stood to benefit from her famous family ties that guaranteed at least minimal attention from media and press.[49] Francis Ford Coppola had signed on as executive producer for his daughter's second feature and nephew Nicolas Cage, who attended the Venice International Film Festival for the promotion of Matchstick Man (USA: Ridley Scott 2003), affectionately expressed the family's happiness with Sofia's success during the packed press conference.

A day before Lost in Translation's press première, *The Guardian* was already ranking the film second on a list of films that were expected to make a splash: "Sofia Coppola, the daughter of you know who, appears to have conquered the second-film syndrome with her follow-up to The Virgin Suicides. Set in a Tokyo hotel, it includes a much-lauded performance by Bill Murray."[50] Lost in Translation presents Bob Harris, a middle-aged movie star, who is in Tokyo to make a whiskey commercial. He meets the young Charlotte, a Philosophy graduate who accompanies her photographer husband on a business trip. Both are suffering from jetlag and find themselves contemplating their lives. They share everyday experiences in the luxury hotel where they both stay and draw closer to each other as they feel alienated from Japanese daily culture.

The rhythm of Lost in Translation is slow, with occasional eruptions of burlesque humor; Bill Murray towering high over the Japanese crowd in an elevator; confusion of languages when a translator repeatedly abbreviates streams of a director's instruction into short adjectives; self-regulating curtains that open when the jetlagged protagonists are just beginning to doze off. When laughter does not dominate, the tone of the film inclines mostly towards the blues. The events do not end up building toward a closing climax. The affectionate chance encounter between Bob and Charlotte is the central narrative line, but when they share a bed midway the film, they do not kiss or make love and Bob's fling with the tacky, hotel lobby jazz singer does not result in a confrontation with Charlotte. Only at the end of the film, when Bob is leaving for the airport and turns to again say goodbye to Charlotte, do we see them openly expressing their mutual affection for one another. Bob's words whispered in Charlotte ear, however, remain unheard by both bystanders and the audience.

The original form of Lost in Translation motivated its selection for the Upstream Competition, a competition added to the festival by De Hadeln's predecessor Alberto Barbera. This prize is reserved for feature films that are selected on their "innovational intent, creative originality and alternative cinematographical qualities."[51] During the festival, De Hadeln repeatedly emphasized the equality of the competition programs and urged reporters to take both into consideration.[52] His encouragements were in vain. Although the various competi-

tions are important events for the press, due to the fact that the format makes the participating films more newsworthy to write about, not all competition programs are considered equally important. Measured by press coverage, the Official Competition is the superior contest. Most articles that appear in the daily newspapers are dedicated to films screening in the official competition or the Out of Competition films (with famous directors and stars making appearances in Venice).[53]

Le Monde's Thomas Sotinel reviewed one Upstream film and two from the New Territories (*Nuovi Territori*) section, and significantly enough, the article features a headline and chapeau that emphasize the hierarchically lower position of these films in the festival programme. "Some ambiguous heroes are encountered on the margins of Venice's Film Festival. Separate from the official competition, pleasant surprises fill these corresponding sections. You can meet a 50-year old Argentine, a German officer, or a Russian FSB policeman there."[54] The festival categories tend to prioritize media coverage, with most attention being devoted to the competition programme. Films participating in the less prestigious categories have a much harder time attracting attention. And when the press chooses to cover these sections, their report usually focus on the less immaculate films, such as Jørgen Leth's De Fem Benspænd/The Five Obstructions (DK/CH/BE/FR: 2003), Hana Makhmalbaf's Lezate Divanegi/Joy of Madness (IR: 2003), and Sofia Coppola's Lost in Translation in Venice 2003.[55]

Lost in Translation was screened early in the festival and was unanimously embraced by the media and press. The modest buzz that surrounded the film prior to the festival went allegro after its première. The film was discussed on the Lido and appeared in articles in many major newspapers. Scheduled at the beginning of the festival, the first observations that appear in the media on Lost in Translation are concise and concentrate on praise for Bill Murray and/or Scarlett Johansson's performances and Coppola's ability to direct a comedy and repeat her success after The Virgin Suicides.

A couple of days later, with the end of the festival in sight, when reporters have had a chance to recapitulate the state of affairs, Lost in Translation began to surface in articles that attempt to describe a meta-theme for the 60th *Mostra*.[56] The film thus was capable of making both a grand first impression and, consequently, holding that attention over the time-span of roughly half a year that stretched to Oscar night. If we look at the media coverage over this period, we can see the various elements of the film that were addressed to keep it on the media agenda. During the festival it is predominantly Coppola's mix of tranquillity and humor and the May-December romance between Murray and Johansson that draws the attention.[57] Both Murray and Johansson are applauded for their acting performances and Johansson wins the award for Best

Actress in the Upstream competition. The film's setting seems to hit a sensitive chord with the accredited festival journalists, who are accustomed to transit locations, to jetlag, to feeling out of place and to the pleasures of short-term encounters far from home. The Japanese setting is moreover timely chosen in relation to the surge of interest in the martial arts and Japanese remakes, although Coppola takes a completely different and original take on the country.

After Venice, Lost in Translation embarked on a successful all-embracing festival tour, starting in Toronto, well-known for its market. The film is both a festival hit and a commercial success. It opens the Viennale (Vienna International Film Festival), generates large box-office receipts far and wide, and sweeps an impressive list of prizes.[58] There are at least four elements that kept Lost in Translation on the media agenda. Firstly, there is director, producer, and screenwriter Sofia Coppola. She is blessed with both glamour and personal style. Articles and interviews linger on her riches, her famous family and friends (among whom Kevin Shields of the band My Bloody Valentine, who did the soundtrack for Lost in Translation), and the unlucky acting adventure when she replaced Winona Ryder in The Godfather: Part III (USA: Francis Ford Coppola 1990). Lost in Translation is a film that invites journalists to read Coppola's history into it. In interviews, she admitted to getting her inspiration partly from her many stays in the Park Hyatt Hotel in Tokyo and the experience of feeling alienated abroad.[59] Extending the biographical take, journalists read Charlotte as Sofia's alter ego and the troubled relationship with the photographer husband as an indicator of the state of Coppola's marriage to director Spike Jonze. Others concentrate on her cinematic style and defined it as sparse, feminine, and personal.

Secondly, we have the performances of the two protagonists. Scarlett Johansson, who also stars opposite Colin Firth in Girl with a Pearl Earring (UK/LU: Peter Webber 2003), is presented here as receiving her definitive breakthrough.[60] Bill Murray is an agenda issue, mainly because his widely applauded performance makes him a favorite for the Oscar for Best Actor, which, at the same time, has always been considered as unlikely to be awarded to a comic actor.

The third element that kept media attention fixed on Lost in Translation was the accusation of racism. Coppola was reproached for mocking the Japanese and resorting to racist stereotypes. Both the US anti-racism group and the Asian Mediawatch campaigned against the film, lobbying with members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts to vote against the film.

Finally, then, its nomination for four Oscars as well as four Independent Spirit Awards, five Golden Globes, and eight BAFTAs, guaranteed a constant stream of media attention. Lost in Translation appeared on many journalists' list of favorites for the Oscars, which generates the most media attention of any single

award. The four nominations it received were for Best Film, Best Director, Best Actor, and Best Screenplay. Sofia Coppola is third in an impressive small list of female directors being nominated for an Oscar, and the first woman to be nominated for three Oscars. Female journalists react by putting the feminist issue on the media agenda.[61] On Oscar night, Lost in Translation loses out to the fantasy film Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King (USA/NZ/DE: Peter Jackson 2003) for major prizes. Sofia Coppola wins the Oscar for Best Screenplay.

The Scandal: Twentynine Palms

Lost in Translation was a favorite of the journalists during the Venice International Film Festival. The positive buzz translated into the film's frequent recurrence in articles and reviews, which continued to accelerate down the media hill like a snowball growing bigger with added values. This is an altogether different journey than the one experienced by Bruno Dumont's Twentynine Palms (FR/DE/USA: 2003). Like Lost in Translation, the film did not enter the Venezia 60 competition of the *Mostra* immaculate. Twentynine Palms is Dumont's third feature. He was applauded for his La Vie de Jesus (FR: 1997, Camera d'Or at Cannes) and Humanité (FR: 1999, Grand Jury Prize at Cannes). When Cannes rejected his third film, the Frenchman resorted to the *Mostra*. Where Lost in Translation entered the Upstream competition in an atmosphere of high expectations, Twentynine Palms had to deal with the success of Dumont's previous two films as well as the burden of his rejection by Cannes.

The story revolves around an American photographer and his French-Russian girlfriend. They are scouting for locations in California's rugged landscape of Joshua Tree National Forest around the town of Twentynine Palms. They love each other. They hate each other. Nothing important seems to happen until the narrative takes an unexpectedly violent turn. In Venice, Twentynine Palms was quickly relegated to a film that provoked scandal without having substantial body to live up to expectations. Bianca Stigter (*NRC Handelsblad*) noted that "the capacity to shock with rape and joyless sex is also subject to inflation."[62] Scandals are created by controversial aesthetics, content or related issues, but also depend on the willingness of journalists to turn these qualities and conditions into a scandal.

On the Lido, Twentynine Palms did not succeed in convincing the accredited journalists. Instead of drawing media attention to its film, Dumont incited journalists to contemplate on the futility of scandalous festival films. A comparative-analytical article on the common failure of festival scandals to achieve

box-office success appeared in *Corriere della Serra*. Ranieri Polese compares Twentynine Palms to other scandalous festival films such as – again – Irréversible (FR: Gaspar Noé 2002), The Brown Bunny (USA/JP/FR: Vincent Gallo 2003), Anatomie de l'enfer (FR: Catherine Breillat 2004) and O fantasma (PT: João Pedro Rodrigues 2000).[63] What is most remarkable about the reception of Twentynine Palms is the fact that it was immediately marked as a film aiming to provoke a scandal without succeeding in being truly scandalous.

The frame of reference of this assessment is a festival genre of films that contains explicit and unglamorous sex, usually depicting inner frustrations, destructive relationships, or sheer sexual violence, and that are appreciated for their intellectual complexity and strong iconic visual representation. Twentynine Palms indeed fits this category, but it failed to convince the journalists of its intellectual depth. In a *Guardian* poll listing the "Candidates for Lions…and dogs" the film is promptly put at the top of the "worst" section poking fun at Dumont's "intellectual" objections: "[T]his two hours of tedium crowned with a male-on-male rape and a stomach-churning stabbing was booed. The critics have it wrong, Dumont says, who urged them to 'take their clothes off [like his characters] and go out into Mother Nature.'"[64]

Leaving Venice without any awards and a bad reputation, Twentynine Palms embarked on a festival journey. Interestingly enough, the original denunciations actually began to erode. Like The Brown Bunny, booed at Cannes and moderately well-received in later festivals after cutting half an hour from the original, there was an increased appreciation (though modest) for Dumont's feature with its extended exposure on the international festival circuit.[65] At the International Film Festival Rotterdam, Twentynine Palms received an average score, three out of five stars, from a selection of international film critics.[66]

How is it possible that the opinions of film critics change? Most importantly, the original reviews were made under strict festival time constraints, with reviews being finished directly after the first screening. In such situations, there is little time for reflection, because the festival premières keep on coming, beckoning new reviews and reports. A common fear of film critics is the possibly of missing or not-recognizing a masterpiece, leading to phenomenon where some critics are influenced by their peers.

Film critics form a sub-community at film festivals, because they all know each other and follow similar routes through the various film festivals; they meet at press screenings, press conferences, junket interview sessions, the press room, where they write their pieces, as well as all other press facilities and events at the festival. Before journalists write their individual articles – especially the late-festival wrap-ups – there is a lot of opportunity to talk amongst each other. Some may have a code not to discuss films with others before having written about them, others will be less strict and engage in (small) talk.

When talk and exchange does occur, it is important to note that all film critics are all opinion-makers, but they are not equally influential. As *daily* journalists have the best access to information as well as the most prestigious festival credentials, they are most likely of influencing others.

Despite the initial reservations of some journalists to give clear opinions in early articles, the festivals usually end with a clear general (media) image of the highlights, the favorites, and the disappointments. Among journalists from the major newspapers there is a striking general agreement regarding the winners and losers. Once a film begins to travel along the festival circuit, there is more time to consider its qualities. Twentynine Palms took advantage of this opportunity for reconsideration. Although it was perhaps not the best example of what is called a scandal film, it was appreciated as such and consequently became a viable film on the festival circuit.

Agenda Setting and Media Exposure

Within the festival context, I understand agenda setting as the dynamics between unequal opinion-makers and their products, which leads to a transfer of opinions into dominant topics. Agenda setting is especially important when it comes to selections dealing with awards and mediation. The awards process takes place in the insulated environments of jury delegations. The mediation selection process is both a segregated and a public practice, in which film critics talk amongst themselves and absorb the festival's public buzz. Both types of agenda setting involve media exposure; indirectly when it comes to jury decisions determining what journalists write about and more directly when journalists themselves choose topics of interest. When the critics' dominant topics are translated into media exposure, value addition occurs. The above accounts are examples of the practice of agenda setting. What I would like to do now is see how these examples can help us recognize agenda-setting and media exposure patterns at film festivals.

I should start by mentioning that a different type of agenda setting is deployed in the months preceding the festival. Various programmers – among whom the festival director as a leading figure – select the films that will be shown at the festival and decide in which program they will be shown. The festival's image is taken into account when composing these programs. For the major European festivals this means ensuring that there are enough established auteurs participating, enough premières of big commercial movies out of competition, and a strong national presence, as well as maintaining the more elusive identity markers such as political awareness (Berlin), artistic accomplishments

(Venice), and groundbreaking quality (Cannes), and reacting to current and/or global issues.

The festival image is one of the major influences of the agenda setting process of the official juries. Although jury members (directors, actors, producers, critics, and festival professionals), should offer independent, international, and professional opinions the festival image does constitute a major influence on the jury's criteria, mainly because the festival director – concerned with the image of his/her festival – is the one responsible for the competition selections, who appoints jury members, and supervises the process of offical evaluations.

Film critics, on the other hand, at first sight, seem to be more independent in their evaluations. They do not represent the official festival choice nor are they treated with any corresponding sycophancy. When we look a bit closer, however, critics do respond to fixed markers. They respect the festival's categories, for instance. As we noted at the *Mostra,* they focus mainly on the major competition and mostly write about the larger productions screened out of competition. As the closing ceremony approaches, critics begin speculating about who will win the awards. Festival coverage normally ends with an overview of the prizes.

Critics, moreover, read and evaluate the various aspects of the festival programs along recurring themes. Firstly, they may look for newness: new talent, new genres, new waves, new styles, etc. Dogme was so successful in large part because it combined the staged launch of a new wave with the introduction of a fresh talent, Thomas Vinterberg, who participated with Festen at Cannes in 1998. Discoveries are quickly catalogued into the new mainstream art cinema or among the more eccentric film cultures.

Secondly, critics favor films that deal with current or global topics, preferably from a leftist perspective. Examples include In This World (UK: Michael Winterbottom 2002, Berlin 2003 – Golden Bear), about the troubled journey of two Afghani refugees on their way to London, and Panj é Asr/At Five in the Afternoon (IR/FR: Samira Makbalhaf 2003, Cannes, 2003 – Special Mention), the fictional account of the election of the first female president in Afghanistan.

Thirdly, established directors and acclaimed stars are put in the spotlight. Some directors are also considered stars when they have reached a certain status and have a popular following, but most stars are actors. Journalistic interest in these stars far exceeds their performances in any one particular festival film. Thus, small events – like the Italian television journalist's marriage proposal to George Clooney – and trivial personal facts – such as Clooney being single and owning a large villa in Italy – are reported in many newspapers, often in a tongue-in-cheek tone.[67] A light-hearted approach to the stars characterizes festival journalism. Besides the serious reviews of performances, the interviews, and biographical profiles, journalists often feel free to write about stories of human

interest, gossip or plain adoration.[68] The red carpet is the ultimate star moment. Scandals are the other occasions when popular interest crawls into serious festival coverage.

Finally, critics often display a special interest in the accomplishments of their own country's filmmakers, actors, and actresses. National participation at festivals will be coverd in detail in the national media, with background information and stories on the current condition of the national cinema. Thus, in our case study, while most newspapers devote little attention to Imagining Argentina by the British director Christopher Hampton, not so well received at the 60th *Mostra*, *The Guardian* used a feature article flanked by a large photograph and movie still to detail the disappointment leading actress Emma Thompson's comeback attempt: "Emma Thompson came out fighting yesterday after her emotional comeback film, Imagining Argentina, was booed and jeered at the Venice film festival."[69] Three days later, *The Guardian* publishes a lengthy profile on Emma Thompson, reworking her contribution to Imagining Argentina in light of previous accomplishments, personal situations, and political beliefs.[70] Similarly, German newspapers showed a keen interest in the new Margaretha von Trotta, Rosenstrasse, which was in competition at the festival and was eventually awarded a Silver Bear for leading actress Katja Riemann.

Conclusion

The staged marriage proposal during the press conference for Intolerable Cruelty plays on the insincere intentions with which Marilyn Rexroth (Catharine Zeta-Jones) gets married in the film. She considers a marriage to a rich man as her "ticket to freedom" and intends to acquire at least half of all the assets when she eventually files for divorce. When Miles Massey (George Clooney) successfully defends her first ex-husband, exposing Marilyn in court as a gold digger and leaving her empty-handed, she takes up the ultimate challenge; making Miles believe she loves him, marrying him, and stripping him of his possessions.

For Marilyn, the institution of marriage is but a performance and a method for reaching her goals. She marries a fake oil baron, divorces him and rents an expensive dog in order to make Miles believe she has earned her fortune and could not possibly be after his money. The fake marriage proposal at the Venice Film Festival should be seen as a tongue-in-cheek parody of the film, a staged performance with a hidden agenda: in this case, the construction of a media spectacle.

In this chapter, I have shown that one of the most important functions of film festivals is their ability to add value. In the value-adding process, the media play a vital role. Following Manuel Castells's concept of the space of flows, it becomes possible to account for the influence of locally-gathered elites (such as media representatives) in the global network and to understand how performances and products (reviews and reports) relate the local film festival event to the larger network. During a festival, a multitude of performances are competing for attention. There are abundant pre-planned ceremonies and rituals, but at the same time, there are also more uncontrolled expressions of spectacle and outright distortions of existing formats.

I defined value addition as a tripartite process which the selection of entries, awards and mediation undergo. All types of films and filmmakers can use this process to acquire value in the global market, whether they are targeted for a mainstream or a niche audience. In fact, major international film festivals depend on the format of premières, prizes, *and* pop idols to attract the necessary numbers of international media representatives and thus create a successful festival profile. The George Clooney picture on the front page of *The Times* was valuable promotion for both the film and the festival. Instead of focusing on high/low culture distinctions, I have chosen instead to analyze how the festival network generates value. It became clear that the spatial and temporal dimensions of the network lead to practices of segregation and agenda setting that are indispensable to value addition.

Agenda setting on the temporal axis and segregation on the spatial axis amount to the highly successful formula for adding value to a film via film festivals. On the international film festival circuit, only a few festivals can occupy a privileged position. Suitability for function demands allows some new festivals to jump forward in the rankings when they succeed in responding to the current needs of film professionals. Historical specificity explains the persistent high ranking of the first European film festivals.

I have argued that the advantages of historical specificity are, to a large extent, locked in the spatial forms and environments of festivals. The *Mostra* purposefully segregates the use of its locations – *lieux de mémoire* – to contribute to the prestigious image of the festival. The spatial segregation is facilitated by the system of accreditation, which controls the access that people have to various locations. The most prestigious locations are reserved for renowned occasions and important people.

A close analysis of the accreditation rules and media practices showed that the written press and the top daily, national newspapers appeared at the top. The seriousness and scope of daily festival coverage contributes to the cultural prestige of the film festival. This hierarchy, however, also has an effect on the

temporal axis. It forces daily film critics to assume leading positions in the agenda-setting process during the festival period.

Agenda setting plays a role in the selection of films for various festival programs, but it is especially important for the awards selection and mediation processes. Both juries and media representatives travel to film festivals to evaluate the programs or individual achievements and convert these selections into awards, publications, and broadcast items. I explained that, in the festival context, I understand agenda setting to be the dynamics between unequal opinion-makers and their products that results in the transfer of opinions into topics that dominate the festival's agenda. Jury deliberations convert these topics into awards, which – as institutionalized cultural legitimization – add positive value to films and filmmakers.

Interestingly, my analyses of a festival winner, a loser, a favorite, and a scandal showed that the positive or negative nature of media exposure was not that important. Media coverage can always valuable because it puts films on the agenda. Film critics, on the one hand, have the power to establish favorites on the media agenda, which are independent of competition results, and thus contribute to the buzz that will help the film travel the festival circuit successfully. On the other hand, films that initially had bad reviews may still accumulate value as they visit other festivals.

The added value that is acquired at festivals can also be of value outside of the festival network. It can be translated into additional sales, cult followings, or prizes for similar awards like the Academy Awards. Near the end of this chapter, I touched upon the issue of review patterns. Journalists process the information overload of film festivals according to fixed markers such as newness, topicality, a (popular) interest in established directors, the acclaimed stars and scandals, and national accomplishments. Similar patterns may be discerned in the programming practices of festivals. This will be one of the topics of my final case study, a study of the Rotterdam Film Festival.



Festival atmosphere at the multiplex square in Rotterdam
© 2006, International Film Festival Rotterdam

"… people flock to the festival not only for the films themselves, but to watch films in a 'spectacular' setting", p. 194

4 Rotterdam and the Rise of Thematic Festivals

From Cinephile Initiatives to Popular Events

On the night of Wednesday, 28 June 1972, seventeen spectators attended the opening of the new film festival "Film International Rotterdam." The sight of an all but empty theatre prompted the Councilor of Arts, De Vos, to depart without performing the official opening ceremony for the film week that had been described as "super experimental."[1] This label was the consequence of the outspoken – and controversial – taste preferences of the founder of the festival, Huub Bals, who was also the co-founder of the Féderation Internationale des Festivals Indépendents that included the *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* (Cannes) and the *Forum des Jungen Films* (Berlin). Although the festival's consistent focus ever since its foundation has been on art cinema, experimental works, and southern developing film countries, the popularity of the festival has increased dramatically.

Today, the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR) attracts one of the largest audiences of any film festival in the world, with an attendance of 367,000 during the 2007 festival.[2] This number also positions the IFFR as the largest event for paying visitors within the Netherlands.[3] The IFFR pleases its visitors by offering a first feature competition program, the best films of the festivals of the preceding year before their release in the theatres, national and international premières that have not (yet) found distribution, thematic programs, and highly popular Q&A sessions with filmmakers, after the screening of their films.

But we must also remain a bit wary of the attendance figure of 367,000 because, as IFFR's CineMart director Ido Abram un-euphemistically puts it, "the number is a lie."[4] What we should bear in mind when we read this figure is that it does not represent the number of actual *visitors* to the festival. Festivals work hard to secure a positive image in the global competitive context, and so attendance figures are an important measure of success that is artificially boosted – in the case of Rotterdam, the published figure also includes all *potential* admissions through tickets sold at the festival box office to people visiting exhibitions at associated cultural institutions – in order to reach the impressive 367,000. This data is used to support the impression of the IFFR as an important national and international event when it applies for funding and looks for sponsors, the two main financial resources upon which the festival organization is dependent.

Because all film festivals use similar methods to calculate attendance, the lie is sustained and these figures retain their usefulness for comparing festivals.

In general, they point to an explosive increase in attendance in Rotterdam since the mid-1990s.[5] The flattering attendance figures aside, the fact is that the IFFR is very popular with a diverse and devoted audience. Mark Peranson, editor-in-chief of the Canadian film magazine *Cinema Scope*, on the occasion of the 2004 festival, wrote: "Rotterdam was the first international film festival I attended, and those first few years remain precious in my mind as a time of nascent cinephilia, opening my eyes to filmmakers that I never would have discovered staying at home even in such a film savvy city as Toronto, who [sic] has its own excellent festival; anyone concerned that Rotterdam has grown unwieldy in recent years should come to Toronto and try to find anything like a familial environment or an unheralded discovery."[6] As this quote suggests, not everyone has welcomed the growth of the festival with equal enthusiasm.

Film critic and *Filmkrant* editor-in-chief Dana Linssen is among the skeptics, putting a satirical photo of the festival icon – the tiger – drowning in a sea of popcorn on the cover of her daily festival paper. Linssen expressed her concerns directly to festival director Sandra den Hamer, who, at the time, would soon become the sole captain on the festival ship, after co-director Simon Field retired with the 2004 festival. The editorial appeared at a time when the director was probably considering some significant changes to the festival that would bear her personal imprint. "I am, for example, heavily concerned about the size of the festival, both as a journalist and a film lover … The real highlights from the 'best of the fests' are sure to be released in Dutch cinema theatres. No matter how proud you may be of this festival with all those sweet, crazy cinephiles who take a week off to watch 50 films here, I can also imagine that you will agree with me that it would be better for the culture of wayward, explicit, and artistic films in general if these same people would also periodically go to the cinema during the rest of the year as well … The IFFR should be smaller, more explicit, and more accessible."[7]

Linssen is not alone in her concern about the size of the festival. The logistical handling of Rotterdam's visitors is a continuous source of concern for the organization and frustration for the audience. A couple of days before the festival kicks off, the reservation lines and ticket center are opened. Within hours the most popular screenings are sold out. Tickets are difficult to obtain, especially for the evenings and the weekends. This is frustrating for those not experienced enough to know that you have to either arrive early and physically line up at one of the ticket counters in Rotterdam or persistently redial your (mobile) phone(s) until you get through to one of the volunteer operators. In this respect, it is telling that the attempts to launch an on-line reservation system remained

unsuccessful for a long time, because the early peak in traffic repeatedly created bottlenecks that effectively crashed the online reservation program.

This case study will investigate the nature of the programming and audience of the International Film Festival Rotterdam, in particular the 2004 edition. The festival differs from my previous case studies on Berlin, Cannes and Venice, because it was not founded in the context of pre/post war Europe, but after the festival upheavals and the subsequent transformation of the festival network in the late 1960s. This implies that the festival is not rooted in a project for national or geopolitical interests like Berlin, Cannes, and Venice were, but in the belief that film festivals ought to take responsibility for programming themselves and dedicate the services to the benefit of quality cinema.

The International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR) is similar to *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* in Cannes and the *Forum des Jungen Films* in Berlin in its attention for art cinema, avant-garde interests and auteurs. Like the Fortnight and *Forum*, the IFFR has put itself on the map of the international film festival circuit as an important and prestigious event that is specialized in what could be summarized as a "triple-A" niche of "art, avant-garde, and auteurs." and where new film talent from around the globe – with a consistent focus on Asia – can be discovered.

A second characteristic of the festival in Rotterdam is its success in attracting a large audience. Surprisingly, the focus on one type of programming that is traditionally not related to popular reception in a commercial context has not prohibited the festival from becoming one of the most successful audience events both on the international film festival circuit and on the Dutch cultural agenda in the 1990s.

The IFFR will be taken as a case study that reveals the rise of thematic film festivals and thematic programming on the circuit. I relate the emergence of such festivals and programming to the historical events of the late 1960s, leftist demonstrations in the West, militant movements in Latin America and anticommunist sentiments in Central and Eastern Europe. More specifically, the French New Wave will be identified as foundational to this new type of festival. Its effects are, however, not limited to the well-known auteur theory, which offered the first contours of a new model for festival programming, but also to the creation of a new audience, the cinephiles. The passion of cinephile programmers was central to the incipient phase of thematic festivals in the 1970s. I will show how the age of the programmer shifted into the age of the festival director. For this it is necessary to consider the effects of technological transformations and the rise of the experience economy, to distinguish between the classical concept of cinephilia and its contemporary manifestation, and look into the increased demands of responsible management, cooperation, sponsorship and fundraising.

Thematic Festivals

The transformation of the festival network that began in the late 1960s was part of a larger cultural upset that swept through the Western world. Peace demonstrations against the Vietnam War, student protests and labor strikes provided the turbulent setting in which the upheavals at the festivals in Cannes, Venice (1968) and Berlin (1971) were embedded. It is important to note that the revolutionary spirit of the time was just as strongly felt in the Soviet bloc as in Third World Countries, in particular in Latin America.

The "Prague Spring" (1968) offered brief hope for liberation from the straightjacket of Communist party authority in Czechoslovakia. The so-called velvet revolution also had a profound impact on cultural affairs, including cinema. Banned films were made available and New Wave directors freely experimented with forms and stories instead of working within the style of Socialist Realism that had been previously imposed on them by Moscow. Although the reforms in Czechoslovakia were soon brought to a stop (the USSR sent in troops in August 1968) and the strict disciplinary policy of "normalization" drove many intellectuals and artists out of the country, political reform movements continued to agitate with varying degrees of success, in other Socialist countries in Eastern and Central Europe. Hungarian cinema in particular flourished, managing to keep pace with the trends and developments in the West.

The independent cinema activities in Brazil (Cinema Nôvo) and Argentina predated the post-1968 trends of political cinema in the West. Influenced by the Hollywood classics and the European New Wave, these young Latin American film directors addressed the problems of their working class people with militant engagement. Western left-wing intellectuals and artists, in their turn, found inspiration in the "Third World" revolutions and even appropriated controversial, militant leaders such as Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Mao Zedong as (pop) icons for their anti-Capitalist struggles.

When the major European film festivals went through their transformation phase, brought about by a series of festival upheavals, the Third World filmmakers had already found sympathetic audiences and support for their political cinema at the new, thematic film festivals. The Pesaro Film Festival in Italy in particular generated worldwide attention for the new cinema movements of Latin America. As Julianne Burton reminded *Jump Cut* readers in 1975: "Virtually all the key films [of the militant New Latin American Cinema] – several of which are still not available in the United States – had their first screenings in that Italian seacoast town: Argentina's Hour of the Furnaces, Bolivia's Blood of the Condor and The Courage of the People, the films produced in socialist Chile and in the heyday of Brazil's Cinema Nôvo movement, and Cuban

masterpieces such as Memories of Underdevelopment, Lucia and Days of Water."[8]

Pesaro had substituted the conventional festival format of international juries and prizes for a practice of roundtable discussions, lengthy publications, and audience participation. Once the major European festivals began to acknowledge that their festival had become outdated and opted for reorganization in the early 1970s, the existing alternative festival and cinema tradition offered models for reformation. However, as I have pointed out in the case study on Berlin, the "A" film festivals did not decide in favor of a comprehensive, radical intervention of the prestigious events themselves, but chose partial reformation of the historical festivals, while establishing new, parallel events to accommodate the "young," "experimental" and "political" movements. It left the way open for more, new film festivals to fill the demand for thematic programming.

The International Film Festival Rotterdam is one of the initiatives that successfully seized the opportunity and put itself on the festival map as an important event that specializes in art, avant-garde, and auteurs, using all that world cinema has to offer. I will now discuss other constituencies that influenced the historical emergence of thematic film festivals.

The Age of Programmers

From roughly 1971 onwards, programming became the core business of film festivals worldwide. The format of the showcase of national cinemas was abandoned and, instead of a National Film Funds, the film festivals took it upon themselves to select films for the festival screenings. The success of festival programming strengthened the influence of film festivals as an alternative model for commercial theatrical exploitation of films in which the principle of the box office was substituted for cultural value. For cultural value was no longer tied to the idea of film as national accomplishment, but generated for the films and their filmmakers themselves, as art and artists.

The programmers focused on established auteurs, new discoveries (such as new waves in national cinemas) and/or the film-historical canon. As they were not limited by the number of invited nations they could suddenly select from the *worldwide* supply of (new) film products. Some festivals used expert programmers to scout for cultural quality in their field of specialization. The *Forum*, for example, started with a group of engaged film professionals from the *Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek* that complemented each others' expertise: Erica Gregor with her eye for political films; Wilhelm Roth, who was interested in documentaries, Peter Schumann with his thorough knowledge of developments

in Latin American cinema and Alf Bold who specialized in the avant-garde, all overseen by festival director Ulrich Gregor.

Other festivals, like Rotterdam, depended more on the skills and passion of one person. Huub Bals (1937-1988), the founder of the film festival in Rotterdam, was renowned for his idiosyncrasy. "You have to watch films with your belly," he would say.[9] The cryptic formulation indicated that non-rational, gut feelings were decisive for Bals when watching movies. He would often be spotted leaving an auditorium after fifteen minutes because he intuitively "knew" that the film in question was "bad" and therefore not worth watching any longer, or, at the other extreme, it was so "good" that it became an absolute must, and was added to his wish list of films for the festival in Rotterdam.

Forum director Ulrich Gregor says: "Huub's walking out of a film was exemplary. Sometimes I wondered why I stayed in my seat, but it has to do with character as well: I cannot form a categorical opinion that quickly."[10] No matter how diverse the programmers of the time might have been in their selection procedures and taste preferences, the 1970s would be the age of the programmers. Never before had they had so much freedom to pursue their cinephile and critical agendas without being restrained by national politics or economic interests. Never again would programming be as pure and unaffected by audience expectations or the financial side of event management that would eventually become increasingly important during the 1980s.

It is worth recalling Bals's maturing as a programmer at some length. His rise (and fall) are emblematic of a period of independent programming and places the contemporary specializations of the festival into historical perspective. Bals had learned to watch films when he worked for the movie theatre operator Wolff in his hometown of Utrecht. The Wolff Company ran four commercial cinema theatres in Utrecht when Bals started working there as an assistant manager in 1959.[11] Bals recalled: "I started devouring films intensely! No, no preferences, that took some time. People like Antonioni or Buñuel I didn't understand very well, but gradually I developed a certain feeling. Something like 'come on, just forget about your reasoning and take it in'."[12]

Besides his growing passion for films, Bals proved to have a talent for film promotion. He soon emerged as Wolff's PR manager and started organizing special events that attracted attention to the theatre. He set out to transform the theatre's interior to match the ambience of current events or pulled stunts in the city to promote a film – such as having a group of girls with umbrellas parade through the city for Les Parapluies de Cherbourg (FR/BRD: Jacques Demy 1964) or providing *sirtaki* lessons in the cinema's basement at the time that Zorba the Greek (USA/UK/GR: Michael Cacoyannis 1964) was playing in the theatre.

In 1965, Bals went to the Cannes Film Festival. The experience was a revelation. He decided he wanted to organize his own festival in Utrecht. The first *Cinemanifestatie* was held from 26 January to 2 February 1966 and gave Bals the opportunity to combine his talent for organization with his love for cinema. He had programmed twenty features and sixteen shorts among which: Vaghe Stelle Dell'orsa (Sandra) by Luchino Visconti, High and Low by Akira Kurosawa, Le Feu Follet by Louis Malle, and Lord of the Flies by Peter Brook.

The program was very diverse, ranging from international hits, such as the winner of the Golden Lion (Sandra), to new talent, like Claude Lelouch – whose Une Fille et des Fusils had received bad reviews in *Cahiers du Cinéma* but who would follow it up with the acclaimed Un Homme et un Femme that launched his career. Dutch contributions were by Pim de la Parra, Adriaan Ditvoorst, Erik Terpstra, and Frans van de Staak. The young Bals had created a program with a focus on films that had not been purchased for further distribution in the Netherlands (yet) and that offered space to future talent. Later he would apply the same principles to the film festival in Rotterdam.

Because the first Cinemanifestatie was a success Bals was given the go-ahead to organize the event biannually.[13] While he was preparing for the second festival Bals started to travel. Besides Cannes, he went to festivals in Germany and he travelled several times to both London and Paris. As Bals refined his cinematic taste and his passion for underexposed films grew, it became more and more difficult to completely identify with the original objective of the Cinemanifestaties: which, in the end, of course, remained the promotion of the commercial cinema theatres themselves.

In 1970, he was called to account by the organizers of an "anti-commercial Cinemanifestatie," an evening of underground films during which the Cinemanifestatie and Bals personally were criticized for only screening films that fit into the commercial policy of the cinema theatres. Though Bals defended his task as Wolff's PR manager with the assurance that the company was not making a profit from the event, he was, in fact, himself moving away from the original project. His interest was increasingly shifted away from the promotion of (commercial) cinemas to the programming of (art and avant-garde) films. He contributed to a list of 150 important films from 1960 onwards that had not yet been released in the Netherlands. The list offered a preview of the type of programming that Bals would pursue in Rotterdam. It featured prominent art cinema names; from Bellochio to Buñuel, Fassbinder to Fabri, Loach to Lucas and Truffaut to Tarkovsky.[14]

New chances presented themselves in 1972 when Bals became the managing director of the new cultural center 't Hoogt in Utrecht and it was at the same time that a project to organize a film festival in Rotterdam began to take off. Bals was the perfect man for this new project. He was approached to play a pivotal

role in the new film festival that would be organized independent of the commercial theatres. The plan for this festival differed significantly from his Cinemanifestaties in Utrecht. After the first festival in 1972, Bals set a goal for himself to improve film culture in the Netherlands:

> The press is very critical about the situation of film in the Netherlands. The film climate continues to be impoverished, the number of films available in art houses is rapidly declining. This has in part been caused by the many delays so that a lot of art house films never reach the Netherlands. Which means we are still deprived of the work of new, young filmmakers. Rotterdam will concentrate itself in 1973 on the young filmmakers; these films will primarily be suitable for screening in the non-commercial theatres.[15]

Bals committed himself to supporting films that were engaged, artistic, and stylistically innovative. He also decided to invite filmmakers to the film festival in order to facilitate discussions with audiences and stimulate their active participation. The second festival welcomed nearly thirty filmmakers among whom many "great masters" of the art cinema such as Marco Bellocchio, Paolo and Vittorio Taviani, Theo Angelopoulos, Akira Kurosawa, Jean-Marie Straub, and Wim Wenders.

Rotterdam and Film International

Bals was not the only one concerned about the film climate in the Netherlands. A lot of people thought the time was right to seriously consider the question of art cinema. With the general turmoil of Europe and the call for film renewals in countries all over the world in the background, the Netherlands was ready for a change in the structure of it's the way films are distributed. The foundation of the film festival in Rotterdam was part of a larger movement that also included the establishment of an alternative circuit of art-house cinemas and a specialized distribution company, called Film International.

Bals's experience in the commercial circuit provided him with the expertise and commitment to become the undisputed leader of the national movement for non-commercial cinema. The Dutch context, however, was nothing like the bohemian protests of film critics in France, the revolutionary aspirations of filmmakers in Latin America or the waves of anticommunist ideology in Eastern and Central European countries. In the Netherlands, the credit for launching a new cinema movement went to the city of Rotterdam.

The urban development of Rotterdam had been defined for centuries by the presence of its large harbor. [16] At the end of the nineteenth century, people

flocked to the city in search of jobs in the booming shipping business or, alternatively, embarked on one of Holland-America Line's vessels to try their luck in the New World. Bad housing, unhealthy working conditions, and low wages made the citizens of Rotterdam susceptible to the global surge of social democratic movements in the post-1917 period. As city historians Gerrit Vermeer and Ben Rebel argue: "Rotterdam [became]… a red city" with a social democratic victory in the 1919 municipal elections: "After three centuries of unbridled growth and a period of liberalism during which private initiatives ruled, people realized that the government ought to re-figure the city."[17] However, history prevented the newly embraced project of urban planning from being extended to something as frivolous as culture. This had to wait an extra four decades. At the outbreak of World War II, the Germans destroyed the city's center and large parts of the harbor (14 May 1940). The destruction became complete when the city was again bombed in the autumn of 1944.

After the war, the municipality gave high priority to rebuilding the harbor and, to solving the housing shortage problem. The harbor was of strategic importance, not only for Rotterdam, but for the European hinterland as well. It was the main port to receive American Marshall Plan aid, as it then went further inland to various destinations in Western Europe. The Cold War necessitated policies for urban development that would not be subjected to any serious criticism so that the city could recover. Rotterdam slowly began to prosper at the end of the 1960s. By that time, however, the inner city had seriously degenerated.

The time was ripe to discuss municipal policies in a light broader than just industrial growth and housing shortages. When increasing numbers of people (the middle and upper classes) left Rotterdam for the new suburbs and the town center faced of the rising problems related to poverty and crime, the issue of "a livable inner city" was added to the municipal agenda. One of the results of this policy shift was that "culture" was no longer considered mere icing on the cake, but seriously attracted the attention of policymakers.

Culture became a municipal concern in Rotterdam in the late 1960s. By that time, Amsterdam had already established itself as the national capital of culture, in particular for theatre, music, literature, and the fine arts (with internationally renowned museums such as the Rijksmuseum, Stedelijk Museum, and Van Gogh Museum). Moreover, Amsterdam attracted constant streams of tourists with its seventeenth-century mansions, picturesque canals, and tolerant city image related to readily available drugs, prostitution, and a gay nightlife.

Rotterdam, on the other hand, did not have the historical ingredients for an obvious urban self-image at its disposal. The director of the Rotterdam Arts Foundation (Kunststichting), Adriaan van der Staay, was dissatisfied with the fact that Rotterdam was always the proverbial underdog in matters of culture,

and so he initiated a series of measures to improve the cultural position of Rotterdam. He smartly appealed to the city's inferiority complex about its "secondary" status and used the rivalry with Amsterdam to generate funding. The intention was clear; Rotterdam would become just as important culturally as Amsterdam.

His strategy was to concentrate on the "new"[18] arts – poetry, architecture and film (later digital media would become another spearhead) – which had not yet been appropriated by other cities. He figured that this was how Rotterdam could become a second (and not secondary) capital of culture because it did not have to compete with Amsterdam on the exact same playing field.

Bals was asked to be part of a fact-finding committee whose task it was to draw up a film proposal. The municipality guaranteed the necessary financing that would stimulate improvements in Rotterdam's film plight. One of the recommendations was to found an organization, to be called Film International, which would function as the distributor of artistic films and would organize an annual film festival in Rotterdam. Moreover, the plan provided for the establishment of a specialized art-house cinema where the artistic films – purchased by Film International – could be screened all year round. The final proposal (1972) [19] concluded that "[a] local or regional film policy breaks up the national monopoly that it has on the film world. It was a first attempt – this time in Rotterdam – to draw film closer to the local community. As such, the proposal was a call to other cities and regions to come up with alternatives to [film] culture, the most important leisure activity, which is dependent upon the profit motive, and allow it to emerge as genuine committed culture participation."[20]

The foundation of a film festival and a film distribution organization in Rotterdam were made possible with the financial support of Rotterdam's cultural renewal project. The film proposal ushered in a period of roughly eight years in which an alternative distribution network of art houses unfolded throughout the Netherlands.[21] Film International was appointed to supply this new circuit of art houses in the Netherlands with quality films. Film International would also purchase the films for the film festival. The idea behind this double distribution focus (both permanent, art house, and temporary film festival exhibition) was to secure enough return on investment to continue its non-profit activities. Because local public interest was difficult to gauge, subsidizing the acquisition of films for the new festival alone was considered too risky. But by embedding the film festival within a larger circuit of alternative distribution and exhibition, it allowed for a cinematic awakening of the Netherlands that would become a national cultural project.

Alternatively, the double distribution model can be understood as a strategic move towards the centralization of the city of Rotterdam. Its position as the film capital of the Netherlands would further benefit from the launch of a national

network of non-commercial cinema theatres. The national organization would have its headquarters in Rotterdam, which could control both national distribution and the media-sensitive festival activities in Rotterdam. Film International received subsidies from the city of Rotterdam and the Ministry of Culture.[22] Despite its modest beginnings, Van der Staay's strategy succeeded. The film festival would develop into one of the most prestigious cultural events in the Netherlands.

Programming, Passion and Politics

The age of the programmers can be seen as a reaction against the dominant influence of geopolitical agendas and glamour in the period prior to that. It is important to bear in mind, as I have pointed out in the introduction, that the film festival phenomenon emanated from two major antagonistic forces in the world of cinema at that time: Hollywood, on the one hand, and the (European) film avant-garde, on the other. Indispensable to the survival of the festival network in the Interbellum and immediate postwar period was its ability to adequately confront the conflicting national political concerns (Fascism versus antifascism and, above all, the Cold War). While the introduction of sound to cinema in the early 1930s left the European film avant-garde basically mute when it came to facing the problem of language. Instead, the avant-garde preferred a future order that would transcend nationalist concerns) leading to a further weakening of the position of European film as language severely hindered film's exportability. However, the first European film festivals managed to convert these troublesome circumstances to their advantage.

The festivals were conceived as showcases of national cinemas. This not only meant that language could be perceived as an unproblematic and "natural" aspect of film as a national accomplishment in an international arena, but also specifically responded to the nationalist struggles that divided the European continent by showcasing films as national products. Film festivals survived the incipient phase because they blended cultural agendas with geopolitical concerns and economic interests (tourism, unofficial film market activity, etc.), and combined the avant-garde model of "traditional" artisanship with Hollywood glamour.

Over the years, the balance between the two increasingly shifted in favor of Hollywood, especially in Cannes where glitter, stars, and starlets established the popular myth of festival folly. The dissent among those who were concerned with the cultural and artistic functions of the festival grew proportionately. At the same time, the West experienced a surge of anti-authoritarian and counter-

nationalist feelings emanating from a growing self-awareness and wish for self-empowerment. The forefront of the film avant-garde, by now located in New York and not Paris, went "underground." They followed in the footsteps of their European predecessors, who had been inspired by egalitarian, leftist (communist) ideals and initiated new cooperative facilities to make their work available (e.g., Mekas's Co-op).

In Europe, the process of individualization produced a different type of film emancipation. The *politique des auteurs* in France would turn out to be highly influential in transforming the film festival format and reinstating cinema itself as its main raison d'être. Echoing the influence of the existentialist notion of "authenticity," the critics of *Cahiers du Cinéma* – Truffaut, Godard, Chabrol, Rohmer, and Rivette – had distinguished between *metteur-en-scènes*, who simply put pictures to written dialogues, and *auteurs*, whose stylistic signature was visible in the lighting, camera work, set design and/or editing and who thus created personal works of art instead of contributing to the production of cultural commodities.[23]

The concept of the auteur also provided the ideal point of intervention in the outdated festival format in the context of recent social developments. The idea of the auteur harked back to the autonomous avant-garde artists, but remained vague enough to be appropriated by popular (Hollywood) productions as well, thereby continuing the reliance of film festivals on the merits of both of these antagonistic presences. Programming became an issue of cinephile passion (recognizing new great auteurs and movements) and political sensibility (representing both large social movements or liberation struggles and personal issues that remained underrepresented among the mainstream, such as those relating to gender, race, and ethnicity). In the following sections, I will show how passion and politics rejuvenated the film festival agenda in the area of programming: presenting, on the one hand, auteurs, new waves and "discoveries" and, on the other hand, creating "specialized" and "thematic" sections.

The Dogma of Discovery and Politics of Participation

The French New Wave had left the cinematic world gasping for breath. There they were, a group of cinephile critics turned filmmakers, deciding they would reinvent cinema and proceeding to do exactly that. They presented films that were unlike anything else like it at the time. They were beautiful little gems with characters and stories taken from ordinary life that immersed the spectator with such vigor and conviction that these movies became larger-than-life experiences.

Les 400 coups (FR: Truffaut 1959) took Cannes by surprise in 1959 and brought instant fame for Truffaut's as a filmmaker. The film was a true discovery of what cinema could be. The impact and novelty of the French New Wave stimulated the first part of the two-tier transformation that would provide film festivals in the early 1970s with a new model. If cinematic revelations like Roma, Città Aperta (IT: Rossellini 1945) in Cannes and Rashomon (JP: Kurosawa 1951) in Venice were still somewhat tempered by the national biases as a consequence of the festival format, the age of programmers that followed after 1968 produced an unbridled sampling of the global supply of films, filmmakers, and new waves.

The first consequence of the French New Wave, was that festivals appropriated the notions of auteur and new waves as strategic discourse. They deployed this discourse to distinguish themselves as institutions of discovery; the new festival task became to present the current condition of world cinema to the world. However, it would be a mistake to assume that film festivals merely report on current cinema developments. They actively select. As Jonathan Rosenbaum argues in *Essential Cinema: On the Necessity of Film Canons*: "[canon formation is] an active process of selection rather than a passive one of reportage."[24]

Therefore, beneath the surface of discovery, a more fundamental transformation can be discerned; towards programming. The international movement of the political avant-garde influenced this second part of the metamorphosis. Festivals adopted the idea that they could participate in film culture and make a political difference. By clustering carefully selected films in specialized and thematic program sections, they could frame the individual film screenings and mobilize public attention for a variety of issues.

The first series of new waves that flooded the international film festival circuit in the 1960s and early 1970s came from countries as diverse as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, West Germany, Brazil, Cuba, Argentina, Japan, and Russia. Their novelty and relevance could be credited to formal innovation, controversial subject matter, and their socio-political message. While Hollywood's entertainment machine fell into a malaise in the late 1950s, only to recover as a result of the emergence of the seasonal blockbusters in the mid-1970s, the various cultural youth movements and national liberation struggles of the time inspired filmmakers from around the globe to experiment cinematically and with new socio-political forms of storytelling. This was especially true of Latin American militant cinema, which reconceived cinema as a political act.

Festival programmers set out to pick up on these new trends and present them at the increasing number of annual and biannual film festivals. Festivals were increasingly looking for mind-blowing discoveries similar to the one generated by the archetypal French New Wave. This dogma of discovery implied

that every new wave would inevitably have a limited life span at the festival circuit. Once the aura of discovery had materialized into dedicated attention, the system would move on, craving fresh input.

Filmmakers, on the contrary, were more likely to survive the expiration date of new waves. Looking at the situation from a traditional auteurist perspective, filmmakers could evolve from the discovery phase, in which they were one of the many "new talents" to the establishment, becoming "auteurs" with a recognizable signature that tied their oeuvre together. The role of the media was crucial in this respect. Film movements may come and go relatively quickly and thus the most essential element for their discovery is the initial recognition of a series of (regional) events as worthy enough to be presented to an international public *via festival exposure*. Filmmakers, on the other hand, need prolonged recognition *via favorable film criticism and festival awards* to reach the cultural status of true auteurs.

What is much more interesting, however, than regarding Godard as an auteur "going through phases,"[25]for example, is to understand his presence at international film festivals from the programmers' perspective of a politics of participation. Whereas the majority of the French New Wave generation continued to ignore pertinent political issues such as the wars in Vietnam and Algeria, Godard broke with this tradition and developed a counter-cinema along the lines of the political avant-garde. The films from this "political period" were selected by festival programmers not only to present the authorial development of the filmmaker, but also – and sometimes solely – to contribute to the political agenda of a thematic section of the festival program. It was precisely this section that allowed festivals to generate critical discourse and to actively participate in political struggles.

The independent format of festival programming led to the phenomenon of the "festival film," films that successfully travel the international film festival circuit, but fail to "make it" outside of the circuit. The so-called festival film smoothly fits into the model of auteurs, new waves, discoveries, and political participation, which, in effect, provides a blueprint for filmmakers seeking festival exposure. Successful films on the festival circuit indeed incite entire sets of followers, who try to maximize their chances of success by conforming to the acclaimed films as if they were a magic formula.

Moreover, programmers are embedded in a system that has, to a certain extent, become self-referential. Bill Nichols argues that the context of the film festivals adds another layer to the experience of film viewing that was not there before.[26] The festival audiences, he argues, not only perform the common aesthetic and political readings of the films they encounter, but also try to acquaint themselves with "back region knowledge" and discover patterns that will help them understand the unfamiliar images. The result is that new, global meanings

are attributed to the films. I would argue that the same applies to the network of programmers that select films for the various festivals. New global meanings are attributed to the films by how they are framed and labeled as a consequence of the programming. This is particularly true of the specialized and thematic sections. "Discoveries" of new auteurs of new waves, therefore, are by definition acts of creation and not of reportage.

The notion of "discovery" becomes increasingly problematic with globalization and the increased transnational influences. The second set of new waves (Taiwan, West Africa, Spain, Ireland, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Iran, and China's Fifth Generation) emerged in the already globalized environment of the 1980s. The Fifth Generation of Chinese filmmakers, for example, not only stood out from their studio-assigned predecessors by moving to self-selected provincial studios in Xi'an, Guangxi or, for instance, secluded Mongolia, to work more independently, but also because they took their inspiration from European art cinemas instead of the popular Chinese party tradition.

As Dudley Andrew has pointed out, the canonization of China's Fifth Generation at Western film festivals was a predictable consequence of that particular system, continuously searching for new trends to present to its international, though predominantly Western, audience.[27] The European orientation and political position against the Cultural Revolution of the films of China's Fifth Generation made it a perfect (though temporary) favorite for the critically engaged Western festival audience. When one considers that the output of this Wave was comprised of no more than seven percent of the nation's annual production, the "discovery" of these films and filmmakers begins to show signs that it was merely a predisposed selection by Western outsiders.

The situation is even more complex in the contemporary situation. Filmmakers have become more and more transnational themselves. They travel abroad for training and use the broader availability of films on television, video and DVD to complete their film educations themselves. Moreover, when it comes to film projects, these filmmakers have a wider choice of international locations and production partners. As the Danish Dogma movement has proven, new waves as local and autonomous eruptions that are unaffected by film-historical knowledge and elements of self-conscious performativity are becoming an increasingly unlikely phenomenon. The dogma of discovery, in short, has had the side effect of having the ideas of "auteur" and "new wave" appropriated for clever marketing purposes.

Thematic Festivals in the Festival Circuit

Specialized and thematic programming appeared on the film festival circuit as a result of two major reasons in the late 1960s. The first involved the period of global political turmoil, which was a great inspiration for socially and politically committed filmmakers worldwide. The anti-government nature or anti-authoritarian inclination of most cinematic movements created the demand for independent platforms to accommodate the young, critical voices without censorship. Film festivals satisfied this demand and also developed the ambition to deploy careful programming to intervene directly in the international political debates and participate in film culture.

However, because freedom of speech was predominantly defended by Western ideologies and legal systems, the unequal situation could occur in which Western film festivals took over the task of supporting (the visibility of) political cinemas from other parts of the globe. The Pesaro Film Festival was among the first to show Latin American cinema in the 1960s and greatly contributed to the lively debates on local issues concerning the South American continent. This type of support could often not be facilitated by the troubled countries themselves.

For instance, the Brazilian Mar del Plata Festival, that had received its "A" status from the FIAPF in 1959 and would seem to have been the most appropriate international platform to present new national developments in the cinema, was suspended for 25 years from 1970 to 1995. The Brazil's military government and difficult economic situation prevented the festival from being reinstated. This meant that the revolutionary Brazilian Cinema Nôvo was highly unlikely to find either political support or sufficient funding within its own national borders.

At the same time, it was precisely festival programmers in the West, who were looking for new ways to intervene directly in current debates and participate in film culture, who ultimately embraced these films. Political cinemas were in particular shown in the sections parallel to the established festivals (*Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* in Cannes and *Forum des Jungen Films* in Berlin) and programmed by those festivals (old and new), which imitated the Pesaro example: among others, Locarno (Switzerland), Edinburgh (Scotland),[28] Taormina, Sorrento and San Remo (all Italy).

Thematic film festivals were also founded to support the political emancipation of minority groups, such as the San Francisco Gay and Lesbian Festival (1977), the oldest and largest festival devoted to gay and lesbian cinema.[29] These Western film festivals shared the leftist ideologies that acknowledged their support of the various liberation and emancipation movements to be a

worthy cause and, moreover, had the financial means to realize basic requirements such as screening facilities and film transport, as well as welcome extras like inviting filmmakers to attend the festivals, providing subtitles (e.g., *Forum*) or publishing documentation (e.g., the Pesaro papers and Edinburgh magazine). Another trend taken from Pesaro was the organization of seminars, conferences and retrospectives.[30] Many of the festivals that programmed specialized and thematic sections shunned the traditional competition format, favoring open debates and critical analyses over jury deliberations and prestigious prizes.[31]

The intentions of the new generation of festival programmers were both sincere and, in the case of presenting/supporting new, national political cinemas, the result of a somewhat belated colonial urge to explore ("discover") the cinematic hinterlands. The advantage for "Third World" filmmakers to screen their films first in the West, was the extensive media exposure and the greater cultural recognition that would be conferred upon them. The disadvantage was that some of these filmmakers began to make films for an international (above all Western) audience and part of the original, local relevance of political cinemas or aesthetic new waves was lost.

The second reason why festivals turned to specialized programming, was the need for distinction. The number of film festivals increased and all of them instructed their programmers to go and scout out "good" films for the festival. Because everybody was fishing in the same pond and established filmmakers preferred the major film festivals, newcomers on the festival circuit needed something else to be competitive. A specialization would allow them to unify their programs for the festival audience at home, while at the same time carving a niche into the global cultural agenda of cinema.

This strategy would continue to gain relevance, especially from the 1980s onwards, when the global proliferation and professionalization of the festival phenomenon coincided and specializations were increasingly of a non-political nature, such as genre (e.g., the Brussels International Festival of Fantastic Film, founded in 1979), children's film (e.g., Lukas International Children's Film, founded in 1974 in Frankfurt) and documentary (e.g., International Documentary Filmfestival Amsterdam, founded in 1988).

In Rotterdam, the specialization of the festival was not strategically planned, but the direct result of the taste preferences and cinephile passions of festival director Bals. The effect, however, was the same. The festival developed a clear image of what types of films and filmmakers it supported and could, by virtue of its consistent programming, acquire a competitive, nodal position on the international film festival circuit. Rotterdam concentrated on new talent and auteurs from the art cinema and avant-garde, and displayed special attention for films from "the Third World," "the South" or "developing countries."

Bals himself favored films from Asia and Russia. He would be able to dictate his tastes and purchase films for Film International until 1987, when the Ministry of Culture decided to discontinue its structural subsidies.[32] Film International was in great debt, not in the least because of Bals's tendency to go over budget.[33] Finally, in 1987, Bals had to resign as director of Film International. He was re-appointed as director of the foundation "Film Festival Rotterdam" and acted as advisor to the new foundation "International Art Film" that was to continue the distribution activities of Film International. But Bals felt that his life's work had been confiscated from him and he suffered from bouts of depression. He died unexpectedly on 13 July 1988. With his outspoken and controversial opinions, his striking appearance, and his bon-vivant lifestyle, Huub Bals had reminded some of Henry Langlois. Like Langlois, Bals continued to have a clear influence on the alternative film culture of the Netherlands in general and on the film festival in Rotterdam in particular, even after his death. His legacy would guide the festival when it began to face the demands of the rapidly changing environment on the festival circuit.

Before I elaborate on the changes brought about by the new festival audiences and technological developments, it is worth drawing specific attention to the emergence of specialized festival funds in the contemporary international film festival circuit, such as the Hubert Bals Fund. In 1988, just before his death, Bals established a special fund to support talented filmmakers from developing countries, which was post-mortem re-named after the festival's founding father.

The Hubert Bals Fund supports filmmakers from developing countries whose films are formally innovative, shed new light on their countries of origin, and/or contribute to the improvement of the local film industries. The financial grants are allotted twice a year in the areas of script or project development, post-production and distribution, because, as the organization explains, "support in these areas has proven to be the most effective kind."[34] Many films made with support of the Hubert Bals Fund are programmed in Rotterdam and some are also selected for DVD release on the festival's own label "Tiger Releases."[35]

Moreover, the interest in films supported by the Hubert Bals Funds outside of the IFFR has increased significantly over the years. Festival programmers regard the fund's involvement as a good indicator of quality and hence pay special attention to its annual crop. The result is that, in recent years, increasingly more of the Hubert Bals Fund films are selected by major festivals. The Hubert Bals Fund logo, for example, has appeared in Cannes, Venice, Locarno, San Sebastian, Pusan and Toronto in 2004 and 2005.

Moreover, an increasing number of these selected films, receive prestigious prizes. To name but a few; the winner of the Cannes 2003 Grand Jury Prize, Uzak (Distant) (TR: Nuri Bilge Ceylan 2002) received support for the Hubert Bals Fund as did Kamosh Pani (Silent Waters) (Pakistan: Sagbiha Sumar,

2003), which was awarded the Golden Leopard in Locarno in 2003. The development points to an extension of what film festivals consider their core business, an extrapolation from exhibition to production and distribution.

It is important to assert that the relevance of such festival-related funds is not mainly the financial support provided. The total budgets tend to be modest and the limits per application relatively low (set at € 10,000 for script development, €30,000 for post-production, and € 15,000 for distribution in Rotterdam). Although it is true that even such small amounts can make a significant difference in the realization of the typically low-budget, world cinema productions, one's acceptance for funding is above all important as official recognition of the project's artistic value. Because such funds are affiliated with film festivals, they are widely acknowledged to have the necessary cultural expertise, which allows for informed decisions on the cultural value of the various projects. In effect, the emergence of the specialized festival funds resets the beginning of the process of cultural value addition before the actual festival events.

Many film festivals nowadays look beyond the programming and evaluation of finished products and demand a say in which films are artistically interesting *before* they are made; with these funds the festivals, in fact, influence which films will be realized and what (type of) films will be on the market for their and other festival programmers to choose from. This development adds a whole new layer of meaning to the label "festival film," as these films are not only predominantly produced *for* the festival circuit, but also partially *by* (and with the cultural approval of) the festival circuit.

Other festivals have followed in the fund's successful footsteps, such as the Thessaloniki International Film Festival, which launched the Balkan Fund in 2003 to support script development in the region, and the World Cinema Fund in Berlin (2004). These funds combine the 1970s tradition of a politics of participation – the ideology that festivals can make a difference and should commit themselves to act for the benefit of venerable cinemas and filmmakers rather than merely select and present – with the 1990s embedding of art cinema in an increasingly professional economic system.

Cinephilia and the New Festival Audiences

The French New Wave marked the initiation of the new film festival model, which was based on auteurs, new waves, and the dogma of discovery. However, as Colin McCabe argues, the *politique des auteurs* was not only concerned with establishing the primacy of the filmmaker-director, but also aimed at the creation of a new audience. The *Cahiers* critics developed passionate preferences

for certain directors and consequently set out to legitimize these (popular) preferences in the public *Cahiers* discourse. This project would lead to the construction of a cinephile archetype that was to become central to an elitist mode of film reception in the 1960s. McCabe writes:

> [T]he project of the magazine's critics was very different [from the Bazinian project to liberate through education]. On the one hand, they were concerned, because of their particular battle with contemporary French cinema, to denigrate the role of the script and to promote the role of the director. At the same time, the audience they were in the process of creating, that of the omniscient *cinéphile*, was very distant from the universal audience that they postulated in their classical theory … What happened in '68 is that, Godard and *Cahiers* both attempted in a moment of revolutionary enthusiasm to create the perfect audience. [36]

Recognizing the importance of the notion of "the perfect audience" in relation to the upheaval of 1968 in Cannes may help to frame some of the more reluctant reactions against the rapidly expanding number of festival visitors in the 1990s. It makes clear that the institutional reform of film festivals in the early 1970s is culturally not only related to the well-known normative re-consideration of filmmaking, but also to the emergence of new ideas on film reception.

Festivals ceased to be showcases of national cinemas and became, on the one hand, launching pads for directorial talent (re-clustering around the figure of the "auteur" instead of the "national"') and, on the other hand, by extending the normative tradition to film reception, alternative exhibition sites where "the perfect audience" would be able to watch films that were excluded from the available structures of commercial film distribution and exhibition. The norm imposed on "perfect" festival visitors was that of classical cinephilia, a rather elusive notion for which Susan Sontag and Paul Willemen would offer prominent reflections in the mid-1990s. They argued respectively that these perfect spectators, for example, preferred to sit in the third row center of intimate movie theatres and dedicate themselves to a social relationship to the screen, eagerly waiting for something to be revealed in these privileged moments in the dark.[37] The cinephiles formed a select group of individuals that were bound together by shared taste preferences.

Most of the new generation of festival programmers from the late 1960s and 1970s belonged to the avant-garde of classic cinephiles. Bals even elevated taste preferences and political beliefs to key selection criteria when selecting the first volunteers for the film festival in Rotterdam. For example, Monica Tegelaar who would become his first assistant, was asked to complete a questionnaire that asked her among others: "If circumstances forced you to have dinner with a young militant Black Panther, would you mind?" and "What is the best film you have seen this year?" [38] Naturally her choices would be thoroughly debated

with Bals himself in the job interview that followed. What I want to discuss here is how the classic cinephilia that dominated programming and the public at the new thematic film festivals in the late 1960s and 1970s was affected by transformations on the festival circuit. For this I will first have to address the effects of video and digitization on the rise of contemporary cinephilia.

Video, Digitization and the Rise of Contemporary Cinephilia

For Willemen, who was one of the first to position cinephilia in the French cultural history and relate it specifically to the 1920s discourse on *photogénie*, the cinephiliac moment is located in the personal relationship of the viewer to the screen, when he/she discovers extra information – a gesture, body position, look, mise-en-scène etc. that was or was not choreographed for the spectator to see – that touches his/her subjectivity. The immersion of the spectator in the movie theatre is essential to Willemen's understanding of cinephilia. In his seminal article on cinephilia, "Through the Glass Darkly: Cinephilia Reconsidered," he specifically distinguishes between cinephilia and telephilia and expresses his concern with the influence of television that threatens cinema and film theory with extinction.[39]

The alleged "death of the cinema" would become a hot topic of international debate two years later, when Sontag published "The Decay of Cinema" in the *New York Times Magazine* on 25 February 1996. In the spirit of Willemen's academic writing, she argues polemically that, with the decline in grandeur of the movie-going experience, cinephilia has died as well. Central to the discussions that followed was the question of whether cinephilia had been killed by the new technologies such as video and the Internet or, had merely been transformed.

The online film journal *Senses of Cinema* dedicated a dossier to this debate entitled "Permanent Ghosts: Cinephilia in the Age of the Internet and Video" in 1999. One of the main oppositions played out in this debate is "going out" versus "staying in." Value judgements differ with regard to the question of which condition qualifies for the cinephilic practice. The younger generation tends to defend the technology of their home video and Internet education as a democratizing tool that not only allows for a global, outer-urban public access to cinema culture, but also gives them control over their beloved films.[40] The critics of video and bootleg copies, on the other hand, lament the options of fast-forwarding, freeze-framing, and zapping through the sacred cinematic texts and uphold the superior technology and immersed experience of the theatre.[41]

Another recurring element in the debates was cinephilia's relation to memory. Both Elsaesser and Willemen have alluded to the connection between cinephilia and necrophilia. Elsaesser described cinephilia as "the love that never dies," the love that binds the present to the past in memory.[42] Willemen, in his turn, explained the necrophile overtones in the cinephiliac moment with a similar observation, namely that cinephilia "relat[es] … something that is dead, past, but alive in memory."[43] While Willemen feels that cinema is threatened by the advance of new audiovisual technologies, Elsaesser believes they merely transform the act of memory that is so central to cinephilia: "When we speak of the cinema today, we speak of cinema *after* television and *after* the video game, *after* the CD-ROM and the theme park. … Therefore, TV is not the impossibility of remembering the cinema, but just our moment and our way of remembering it."[44]

As I have argued elsewhere, I believe that the most crucial characteristics of contemporary cinephilia are its truly global nature and reach, and its popularization in terms of practice.[45] The boom in film festivals, art houses, archives, video stores, (online) film magazines, bootleg software, and cinema groups has not only increased the number of cinephiles worldwide, but also diversified the types of cinephilia practices. The small number of film critics who travel to film festivals and lead the official public debates on the state of world cinema are now merely one community among many (local and global) communities that express their desire for cinema in writings, discussions, and repeated viewings. Soyoung Kim, for example, discusses a Korean version of cinephilia – cine-mania – that is a hybrid mix between the "quasi-mystical aspect" of classical cinephilia and local (consumerist) reactions to Korea's energetic project of globalization.[46]

The international critics still hold authoritative positions thanks to their professional cultural status as well as their breadth and depth of expertise, but can by no means exert the same influence over individual taste preferences as did the critics of *Cahiers du Cinéma* in the 1950s and 1960s. Thanks to new technologies, large parts of the cinematic heritage, and current film production is widely available to contemporary cinephiles, who can just as easily satisfy their cravings for "revelatory moments" by immersing themselves in a collection of Bollywood DVDs purchased on the internet as by closely following the regular screenings and performances of Ken Jacobs in Manhattan or, alternatively, with ten days of late-night cult screenings of Asian horror at the International Film Festival Rotterdam. It no longer matters whether they live in remote rural areas, towns, or world cities because video, DVD, the Internet, and the ubiquitous festival phenomenon have made the specific object of their desire readily available for consumption.

Despite my disagreement with the lamentations on the terminal condition of cinema, I do find it necessary to acknowledge that certain aspects of the developments, spurred by the advance of new technologies, may be cause for some modest concern. In the next section, I turn to one of these issues that is particularly relevant for film festivals and investigate what role festivals play in the commercial exploitation of cinephilia by large media corporations.

Memory and the Market

Video and digitization not only changed the commercial film industries, but also affected film festivals. As I described in one of the earlier case studies, the early 1980s was a decisive period in which the festival and film market in Cannes became the epicenter of bustling activity, new independents and commercial frenzy, all emanating from the video boom. The period of opportunities and change did not last long, however. Towards the end of the decade, the market consolidated and most of the independents went bankrupt in the process. Those that did survive, like Miramax, became subsidiaries of multinational media corporations and started to apply their commercial marketing techniques to smaller art productions for niche markets.

The period of open competition may have been relatively short but the effects of the larger transformations of the time endured in both the commercial market and festival circuit. The funding models for commercial and art cinema went through a fundamental change as more and more weight was given to the international and ancillary markets. Moreover, Hollywood may initially have been caught by surprise by video and the success of independents, however, once the initial shock had settled, the Empire struck back, taking measures to bind mass audiences to its products across the various outlets in a smart response to the emergence of the multimedia environment. Vinzenz Hediger identifies the developments as part of a larger movement. "The extension of the commercial life span of films is a crucial element of a larger development that is best characterized as the film industry's shift from a theater or cinema industry to a copyright industry."[47] This shift also affected film festivals. As Julian Stringer writes: "The international film festival circuit now plays a significant role in the re-circulation and re-commodification of 'old' and 'classic' movies. Taking the form of revivals, retrospectives, special gala screenings, and archive-driven events, the contemporary exhibition of such historical artifacts provides a powerful means of extending cinephilia into the second century of cinema through a process of what Grant MacCracken has identified as the "displaced meaning strategy."[48]

With "displaced meaning strategy" Stringer means the process of labeling, classification, and identification that takes place at festivals worldwide. The re-framing and re-circling of "old" cultural products as festival films secures, as Stinger argues, "the importance of some titles rather than others within the memory narratives of institutionalized culture."[49] The ramifications of these trends for cinephilia, as it is experienced at film festivals, are, however, not straightforward.

The boom and global spread of film festivals have, on the one hand, as I have argued, contributed to the diversification and multiplication of cinephiles worldwide. These spectators nowadays have access to a large supply of new, old, and forgotten works at festivals. Cinephiles, especially in urban areas, have access to a variety of international festivals, thematic film weeks, retrospectives, and tributes at their disposal from which to choose their preferred objects of desire. This situation is a far cry from the impediments in access common in the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, when a central element of cinephilia was the effort required to pursue one's passion: travelling to far away (and often run down) theatres in order to catch one special screening. It was, no doubt, the exertion required for such a quest that made the experience all the more precious in the cinephile's memory.[50]

The contemporary staging of "revivals, retrospectives, special gala screenings, and archive-driven events" at film festivals, on the contrary, is characterized by its being readily available. The audiences that flock to such special screenings expect to witness a (re-)discovery that the festival institution has carefully selected for them. It can therefore also be argued that the organization of such events presupposes that the festival programmers have experienced the classic cinephiliac moment of revelation as a substitute for the audiences. What is left for the spectator, in this perspective, is a mere second-order cinephilia, presented on a plate, ready for consumption: a commodified mass cinephilia instead of privileged revelation.

It is important to emphasize that festival programming may emanate from cinephile interests – as was especially visible in the emergence of thematic festivals and thematic programming in the 1970s – but ultimately revolves around different objectives. Both film festivals and individual cinephiles are highly concerned with revelatory moments (discoveries), authorial signatures (tributes and retrospectives) and discourses that define one's relationship to the films (festival coverage and publications), but the festival form differs from the individual pleasure-seeking and desire-driven individual cinephile in its institutionalized nature.

The cultural value added by festival selection and programming reaches beyond the level of personal preference and becomes more or less – according to the festival's prestige in the international film festival circuit – globally acknowl-

edged as evidence of quality. The process is similar to the way in which museums and art galleries add cultural capital to the artifacts they exhibit. Moreover, the shift from a cinema to copyright industry and subsequent industrial recognition of the potentially unlimited commercial exploitation of artistic products through new technologies has put a serious strain on the independence of film festivals. Corporate organizations especially, acknowledge that commercial motivations are involved when they cooperate with festivals in the organization of retrospectives, tributes, and special events.

Stringer mentions the example of the "Turner Classic Movies" series in which the digital restoration of works from the recent past seems to be a comprehensive and commercial project to reclassify these works as must-see movie classics is more motivated by entrepreneurial profits than cultural desire.[51] But state film archives and institutes, which look after the interests of private collections – which can be counted among the indispensable suppliers of films central to special festival events – also have their own agendas. Two recent examples of "copyright censorship" concern the restored musical version of Max Ophüls's Lola Montes (FR/BDR: 1955) and the lost, legendary original version of John Cassavetes's Shadows (USA: 1957). Marcel Ophüls, son of the acclaimed filmmaker, refused to give the festival in Cannes permission to show the Munich Archives' restored version of Lola Montes, because he preferred the earlier French restoration. The Cassavetes heirs, in their turn, stepped in after the first screening of the lost Cassavetes film at the 2004 IFFR and vetoed further public screenings.[52]

The growing market for DVD, in particular, is a strong incentive for corporate, private, and state archives alike to re-examine the capital on their shelves. Film festivals are part of this cultural copyright industry because they are prime events to legitimize re-framed artifacts with the necessary cultural value. Film festivals have to negotiate between their independent programming (the project of institutionalized canonization), the forces of corporate commodification, and the task of offering broad opportunities of access and individual selection to a diverse, mass audience. Some festivals, in particular the bigger ones, are more susceptible to market forces. Cannes, Berlin, Venice and Toronto, for example, lend their event to global gala-premières of high-concept movies like The Matrix: Revolutions and Star Wars III: Revenge of the Sith.

Thematic festivals like Rotterdam, on the other hand, tend to be more wary of commercial exploitation of their (media) format. The discussion in Rotterdam, therefore, has not concentrated on the presence of Hollywood (which the festival hardly has) or the professionalization of its fundraising activities. The major cause of public concern in the late 1990s was the emergence of a mass audience.

Debating the New Festival Audiences in Rotterdam

The number of festival visitors in Rotterdam has increased exponentially over the years, especially in the 1990s. After having closed its first major sponsorship deal with a national quality newspaper, *de Volkskrant*, in 1982, the festival proudly set an attendance record a year later (44,680). By 1996, attendance had already exceeded 200,000 visits and the number would continue to grow rapidly, reaching 367,000 in 2007. The exponential increase after 1996 had been made possible by the inauguration of a new location in 1997, the Pathé Multiplex on the central Schouwburgplein. The greater number of seats (circa 2,800) offered by the multiplex exceeded the combined total of the various other venues that were used previously and, moreover, substituted their dispersion around the downtown area with a convenient spatial concentration, one breath away from Rotterdam's central train station. Festival director Sandra den Hamer also emphasizes that the consistent quality of the festival programming is a reason for the festival's successful growth.[53]

In my introduction to the case study on Rotterdam, I described some of the critical reflections on the development towards a mass festival audience. Film critics in particular have articulated concern that the festival is becoming unwieldy as attendance growth has also meant an increase in the number of films being screened. The counter hit 774 in 2005.[54] One of the questions raised was whether this should be interpreted as a reversal of Bals' dictum of "finding an audience for the film" into "finding films for the audience."

I want to emphasize that the specific rhetoric used in these reversals evokes the sentiments that also drove the cinephilia debates in the late 1990s and points to an appropriation of the festival debate for expressing central concerns about the larger transformations in film culture. The issue at stake in the "death of cinema" discourse was the disagreement between those who felt that the technological advance threatened cinema with extinction and those who considered the use of new media formats as a different (and potentially very rich) way of pursuing cinephile interests.

The former feared that the multiplication of distribution channels and accompanying broadening of access to film culture would result in a loss of quality and that original cultural contexts would be misunderstood or misquoted. Extending these sentiments to the festival debate, it becomes clear that the underlying fear of the expression "finding films for an audience" concerned a fear of "losing" the established spaces for the recognition and appreciation of marginalized film tastes to appropriation by the new audiences. The anxiety was based on the uncertainty of whether the new festival audiences would influence pro-

gramming in the future and devalue the festival's original (classical) cinephile standards, because of different (and potentially more popular) taste preferences.

The collage of the festival tiger drowning in popcorn, printed as the cover of a 2004 festival daily, offered a clear illustration of this sentiment: issuing forth a warning that popcorn munchers are about to overrule the serious cinephile interests of the Tiger Awards Competition. It should be investigated whether the fear about a mass audience causing a popularization of the festival's programming (marginalizing marginalized tastes even more) can be substantiated. For this we have to start with the festival goers themselves.

In my article "Drowning in Popcorn at The International Film Festival Rotterdam? The Festival as a Multiplex of Cinephilia" I present a preliminary taxonomy of the various cinephiles visiting Rotterdam.[55] The six "archetypes" include three types whose main reason for visiting the festival is related to the films: 1) *the lone list-maker*, who "thoroughly prepares his/her festival visit" and primarily "follows his/her own taste" when selecting films; 2) *the highlight seeker*, who "also prepares his/her festival visit, but consciously considers and collects the tips of others in order not to miss the highlights of the festival," and; 3) *the specialist*, who visits the festival because of a unique program offered, for instance the Tiger Awards Competition.

The other three archetypes can be clustered around "the festival" as main attraction of their visit instead of the "films" central to the types described above. In contrast to the typical individualist planning of "film cinephiles," the "festival cinephiles" are more inclined to visit the festival in the company of friends or family. Among the "festival cinephiles" I distinguish between: 4) *the leisure visitor*, for whom the "wish to visit the festival as leisure activity doesn't include the willingness to sacrifice (a lot of) time and energy in early selection and reservation of films;" 5) *the social tourist*, for whom "the social element of a festival visit is central" and the selection of films is usually entrusted to one person in the group; and 6) *the volunteer*, who works for the festival and obtains "an inside experience" as reward.

These six "archetypes" are based on unstructured observations over several years of festival going and therefore by no means offers a complete or indisputable analysis. However, in my opinion, no comprehensive empirical research is needed to make a justifiable point about the general development over the past three decades. My point is that, initially, when the festival was still small, the audience was limited to one type of festival goer (the classic cinephile). When the number of visitors grew, variety was introduced.

These observations are substantiated by audience reception research conducted in 2001, by an independent research office, commissioned the IFFR, which shows a distinction between "old" and "new" visitors with regard to the question of the festival being (too) massive or not. Of the seasoned visitors

(those who had come to the festival for five years or more, between 20 and 60 years of age), significantly more people experienced the festival as massive (82%, of which 33% evaluate this as slightly/very negative) than did the neophyte visitors (coming to the festival for four years or less, 40 years old or younger) of whom 28% does not experience the festival as massive at all.[56]

The seasoned visitors most resemble the classic cinephile. Love of the cinema and a curious passion for new developments are vital to their attendance. For the neophyte festival audiences, the festival can be about many things, such as the opportunity to immerse oneself in premières and unreleased films, an encounter with a filmmaker, the specialized knowledge at hand, the promise of discovering new talent, the atmosphere of expectations, the combined social experience of a popular event and/or the inside look. The empirical research confirms my distinction between "film-oriented" and "festival-oriented" cinephiles and specifies the dichotomy for "seasoned" versus "neophyte" visitors.[57]

The general "festivalization" of the late 1990s is another reason for the growth in attendance. The zeitgeist turned to a preference for large public events, in which – it must be reiterated – for some the occasion was of less importance than the social happening itself. This cultural tendency explains, for example, the success of the so-called "*Volkskrant*-dag" (*Volkskrant* Day) and "VPRO-dagen" at the IFFR.[58] The films screened during the highly popular *Volkskrant*-dag are those that have been selected from among the top-scorers in the audience poll. This is, of course, not a very cinephilic selection criteria, because, as Peranson, casually devaluating popular taste, comments: "the films at the bottom of the audience polls are generally the best."[59]

From the perspective of the film festival organization, the popularity of the IFFR with a broad audience was the successful result of their efforts to find that audience. Sandra den Hamer underlines that the key concern of the festival has always been the filmmakers and the films.[60] The search for a new and broader audience was in line with Bals ideology of "finding an audience for the film" because it was undertaken, the director argues, with the mission to broaden the exposure of independent and wayward cinema to the general public and thereby extend the possibilities for filmmakers.

The preface to the festival's 2001/2002 annual report proudly opens with a quotation by film critic Ronald Ockhuysen: "The IFFR has mastered its growing pains of recent years. The festival proves that it is possible to be popular as well as essentially wayward. This proves there is a broad, cinephile public in the Netherlands, which is overlooked the remainder of the year, however."[61] I agree with the festival organization's reassurance that the broad public in Rotterdam has not fundamentally affected its objective and that the festival rightfully developed alongside the transformations on the festival circuit ("same content, different coat" in Den Hamer's catchy phrasing).[62] Young and upcoming film-

makers are still served very well at the festival. Moreover, the festival organization, professionals and (part of) the public are strongly dedicated to maintaining this task. The strength of Rotterdam compared to the major festivals in Cannes, Berlin and Venice is, in fact, precisely the co-existence of cutting edge and uncompromising film programs with an open-minded mass audience.

Many of the new "festival" goers are susceptible to the selections and opinions of experts, which are made available to them at the festival. René van der Giessen, head of program coordination, observes how influential pre-festival publications are and how careful the festival has to orchestrate this "buzz," the auditorium size, and the time slots to "match" a film with an audience.[63] Nevertheless, the festival organization also subscribes to the general observation underlying the various critiques, namely that the growth has caused some imbalance in the festival programming and for many people (especially the new "inexperienced" visitors) it has become difficult to find their way into the lavish supply of films.[64] The festival has for several years been developing several educational programs to "familiarize" the broader public (in particular schoolchildren and students) with artistic filmmaking. More specifically, the 2005 festival substituted three new sections for the main program that offered festival visitors little guidance: "Cinema of the Future: Sturm und Drang" for the traditional focus on young and innovative cinema; "Cinema of the World: Time & Tide" which refers to the films made with critical views; and "Maestros: Kings & Aces" for the established filmmakers and great auteurs.[65]

In 2006, the unwieldiness of the program was dealt with by cutting the number of films, a step for which the festival had not been ready a couple of years earlier. The challenge was to keep audience attendance figures up with fewer films and to generate more visibility for the filmmakers who make it through the selection. Attendance figures continued to grow.

The Age of Festival Directors

The transformations on the festival circuit affected the way in which thematic film festivals operate. The small and intimate gatherings of like-minded cinephiles in the 1970s were put under pressure by the technological advances, the subsequent make-over of the film industry, and the global proliferation of festivals in the 1980s. To this, in Rotterdam and at some other festivals, the rapid growth in attendance figures was added. Under these conditions, film festivals have to continuously respond to change and adapt accordingly. They need to protect or reposition themselves within the expanding and dynamic festival circuit in order to compete and survive.

Premières, professional services, cutting-edge (specialized and thematic) programming and the possibility of discovering new talent are some of the most important elements that festivals need in order to become a node in the ubiquitous festival network. The major precondition for securing such matters nowadays is a well-oiled, professional organization. Festivals could still get away with haphazard activities and last-minute decisions in the 1970s, but the changing circumstances over subsequent decades would demand responsible economic management in addition to feasible objectives. These demands meant that, in the early 1990s, the age of the programmer came to an end and the age of the festival director was inaugurated. I will elaborate on this shift by taking Bals' successors in Rotterdam as my example.

After Bals' sudden death, his assistant Anne Head stepped in to lead the leaderless festival in 1988. The arrival of a new era (and the end of Film International's distribution activities) was underlined by the adoption of a new name: International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR). The directors who followed led the IFFR through the demanding changes of both global and local developments. Marco Müller (1990-1992) organized two festivals and expanded the number of films and auditoriums. When he left to become the director of the festival in Locarno, Emile Fallaux took over his position.

Fallaux (1992-1996) attracted secondary programmers and advisors to the festival. His most important measure was the introduction of the VPRO Tiger Awards Competition in 1995. As an advocate of the model of participating festivals, Bals never liked the idea of prizes. They constituted a discrepancy with his ambition to conceive of the festival as a non-hierarchical meeting place where filmmakers, press, and audience could meet and discuss films passionately without the festival imposing a normative evaluation on the works presented. However, as have I argued before, the global spread of festivals changed the rules of the game. The introduction of an award was a competitive necessity in the 1990s. Competition programs and awards are the preferred subjects in media reports, because the premières add newsworthiness to the regular programming. Festivals, in their turn, need this media attention to attract filmmakers, who will select the festival that can accommodate them best. The industry professionals that needed to advance their careers would, however, not likely attend festivals that did not offer fresh "products." Festivals without prizes, therefore, would become caught in a downward spiral of losing the interest of these various interdependent professionals.

In Rotterdam, the competition program was established for first and second feature filmmakers only. The award is allotted ex aequo to three directors. This format made the VPRO Tiger Award a successful negotiation between Bals' legacy and contemporary demand. On the one hand, the choice to concentrate on first and second features confirmed Bals' support of young talents and innova-

tive movements in the cinema. The young filmmakers are at the beginning of their careers and (still) willing to discuss their films in the familiar environment that the IFFR aspires to maintain (which is a far cry from the star-driven competition programs in Cannes, Berlin, and Venice.)

On the other hand, the yearly allotment of a set of prizes for new talent does confirm the festival's position on the international film festival circuit. It supports the festival image of serving the interests of these new talents and presenting the world with some of the great auteurs of tomorrow. The VPRO Tiger Awards Competition is central to the festival's nodal function for upcoming filmmakers and wayward cinema.

Under the leadership of the next festival director, Simon Field (1996-2004), the festival continued to adapt to local and global demands. Locally, as discussed above, new audiences were sought and found. Globally, Field responded to the cinephilia debates by adding a new program section. On the festival's website the following is said of this period:

> The International Film Festival Rotterdam still aims to convey the message that world cinema is sometimes a serious matter, but often also a delightful adventure. To add weight to this, in the past years the festival has tried to replace the pessimistic view of future in culture from the last years of Bals, with a hunger for adventure. In addition to this, the dull printed matters were brightened up. The funeral announcement for Film was followed by the idea that something will grow on every grave, for instance the Exploding Cinema programme that focuses with increasing success on the culture of the moving image - outside the cinema.[66]

The ambitious "Exploding Cinema" program was first organized during the 25th edition of the festival in 1996. [67] The idea behind this new program was to look at the future of cinema outside of the traditional theatre, because the developments, particularly in digitization, had blurred the borderlines between cinema and the other arts. Exploding Cinema zoomed in on this hybrid media condition and explored "the filmic" in, for example, music, architecture, and the fine arts. Under the umbrella of Exploding Cinema, the IFFR began presenting installations, games, music/media events, and exhibitions in other arts institutions in Rotterdam such as the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, the Dutch Architecture Institute (NAi) and the Centre for Fine Arts Witte de With.[68] The program was in line with the festival's focus on new talent, and merely added new platforms where they could present their increasingly hybrid media works. The Exploding Cinema program can be seen as proof of the festival's interactive participation with the cinema culture at large. Whereas major festivals like Cannes, Berlin, and Venice refrain from changing their "winning" formula too drastically, Rotterdam, as a thematic festival, can stay closer to current developments and act as a more finely tuned barometer of recent trends.

Sandra den Hamer (2002-2007) was the first director to have had already worked for many years at the festival before becoming director. In the period 2002-2004, she served as co-director with Field. The festival had certainly come a long way since the early Bals years. It had moved into visual culture, attracted new audiences, and had introduced a competition program. Moreover, the success of the Hubert Bals Fund and the CineMart, had expanded the traditional festival services to new talent with involvement and support in the period before the completion of film projects. The gradual expansion and broadening of festival activities over the years had changed the role of the festival director. Festivals increasingly needed professional management and directors who could provide vision and leadership that allowed for the different activities and programs to connect.

Sandra den Hamer in one interview remarked that the festival circuit had recently undergone a generation shift. [69] If Gilles Jacobs in Cannes, Moritz de Hadeln in Berlin, and Simon Field in Rotterdam were still inclined towards treating the festival as a one-man-show, which, in particular in the case of the former two, needed to be protected and shielded from other festivals, then the new generation of Thierry Frémaux, Dieter Kosslick and Den Hamer herself had fully embraced the model of cooperation, between the programmers within their respective organizations as well as between the various film festivals. In the age of festival directors, networking skills had become indispensable. The director confers with his/her team of programmers, keeps in touch with professionals, and maintains links with other (local/national) cultural institutions. In addition, he/she is a key figure in the festival's contacts with policymakers and sponsors.

The Experience Economy

The transformations in Rotterdam's festival program and the addition of "hybrid" sections such as Exploding Cinema can be understood in light of the historical rise of "event culture" or the "experience economy" of the 1990s in general. More people flock to the festival not only for the films themselves, but to watch films in a "spectacular" setting. In my discussion of cinephilia, I explained that the growth in festival attendance can partially be attributed to the arrival of new types of visitors, for whom the context of the "festival" is at least as important as the films themselves, if not somewhat more so. At the same time, cinephilia itself has undergone a transformation that runs parallel to the technological developments and subsequent make-over of the film industry; the

result being a new generation of cinephiles who have a different relationship to cinema than their predecessors during the 1950s-1970s period.

The arrival of a culture where attending (cultural) events constitutes an increasingly popular leisure activity has been related to the rise of the new experience economy and the life style of what Richard Florida calls "the creative class." Elsaesser argues:

> To cater for this new economic class, municipal or metropolitan authorities try to endow their city with the sense of being a site of permanent, ongoing events. Complementing the architecturally articulated urban space with a temporal dimension, the built city turns into, and is doubled by, the "programmed" – or programmable – city. In this endeavor, major temporary exhibitions and annual festivals are a key ingredient in structuring the seasonal succession of city events across the calendar year.[70]

Elsaesser's notion of the "programmable city" is similar to Latour's online project of presenting Paris as an "invisible city."[71] Both show that there are other defining aspects to urbanity, more dynamic and less pronounced, than the historic architectural landmarks commonly used to promote (and represent) cities. For Elsaesser, these are related to the needs of the creative class, which – being already comfortably settled in matters of housing and labor – are extended to experiences, diversion, and intellectual challenge. Cities are more than willing to accommodate such needs with diverse exhibitions, events, and festivals that provide a consistent flow of new and up-to-date information.

The mobility and diversity of flows are equally important to Latour, but where Elsaesser emphasizes the content of flows (programming), Latour focuses on their material grounding (in networks). He turns, for example, to the Parisian subway system, the sewers, archives and signage, and demonstrates how these invisible actors are vital to the management of daily city life. It is instructive to combine Latour's reliance on material networks and non-human actors with Elsaesser's attention to seasonal programming and content to explain the successful expansion of the festival in the 1990s, because festival programming can only flourish in a stable institutional network that, in the Latourian sense, is maintained mainly via invisible interconnections. For the IFFR, the multiplex is one of the nodal actors that enabled the festival to grow and accommodate more visitors and more films. I will return to this shortly.

We can assert that festivals nowadays can both screen marginal films and offer commodified "experiences" that are popular in the present-day culture economy. The commodification, however, does not necessarily point to a high-low cultural divide, but can also be related to changes in regimes of perception brought about by the technological transformations. It is Jonathan Crary's perspective that can shed specific light on this development of "festivalization." Crary has persuasively argued that Western modernity has forced individuals

to manage "attention" since the mid-nineteenth century, because the forces of industrialization fragmented people's experience with a continuous stream of shocks and sensory stimuli.[72] Extending this line of thinking, it can be argued that the recent information revolution amplified the shocks and perpetual sensory overload, confirming the management of "attention" as a primary concern. Because, as the supply of images, words and sounds becomes too overwhelming in our contemporary media societies, the mediation of information flows becomes more and more important.

Festivals and other events are particularly successful in attracting attention because they have concentrated their activities and present special "spectacular" exhibitions. In this way, events are very well equipped to "guide" people through the sensory overload they encounter in their daily lives. The spectacular exhibition of film festivals is related to the unique festival atmosphere; packed rooms, "buzz," Monday morning revelations, Q&As with filmmakers etc. Audiences also like to attend festivals because the institution promises a certain "quality guarantee" to the attention they will dedicate to the event, turning the visit into a worthwhile "experience" that can be recounted in social intercourse. Although it is beyond doubt true that festival attendance is used as bragging evidence of one's cultural capital in conversations between friends, colleagues and family, the focus on "attention," "spectacle," and "experience" also offers ways of framing the popularity of contemporary festivals without being caught in high-low culture dichotomies.[73]

The move to the multiplex in 1997, for example, cannot simply be taken as proof of a "dumbing down" or commercialization. The connotation of the multiplex, however, does point to key issues, which have been at stake since the transformation of the festival in the 1990s. The multiplex specifically links the film festival to the mass audience it attracts, while, at the same time, mass audiences point to the unavoidable professionalization of the IFFR organization that has occurred both in response to the increased global competitive context, as well as to the growth and success of the festival itself.

The festival schedule somewhat resembles the logistics of the multiplex that it has temporarily taken of its own use; films are constantly beginning and festival visitors may come to the multiplex without a clear idea of what they are going to see, as last-minute decisions are facilitated by the concentration of cinema screens within one mega-theatre. Furthermore, films from the various programs are screened parallel to each other in order to accommodate the tastes of a diverse audience. The most popular films – or those that are expected to be – are programmed in the largest cinema theatres (notably Pathé 1) and have the prime timeslots of between 8 and 10:30 p.m. to give as many people as possible the ability to include these on their festival itinerary.

Like the commercial management of the multiplex, the festival carefully considers which theatres and timeslots are most suitable to what films. Due to the short duration of the festival, the commercial dogma of box office revenues in the opening weekend affecting a film's circulation does not apply, in a strict sense, to the festival's films. The schedule and numbers of screenings per film is set and limited beforehand. However, the juggling of attendance figures (not exclusive to the IFFR) points to the institutionalization of the festival system, which has to account for its mass popularity and competitiveness by means of hard figures.

Because the invention of the multiplex is tied to the rise of New Hollywood's high-concept marketing strategies, the combination of festival and multiplex indicates the key role festivals play in strategies to promote what Alisa Perren calls "indie blockbusters – films that, on a smaller scale, replicate the exploitation marketing and box-office performances of the major studio high-concept event pictures."[74] Festivals are not only alternative exhibition sites for films that cannot find theatrical distribution, but also events that help build the profile of niche productions before release. At the level of the contemporary global film market, exposure during festivals and preferably awards, constitute world/art cinema's essential baggage for check-in.

For many traditional cinephiles, these changes are the cause of some disenchantment, a feeling evoked in particular by the festival's architectural setting. Jonathan Rosenbaum, for example, writes:

> In some respects, the Pathé suggests an airport or a train station where crowds are periodically appearing and disappearing between scheduled departures; in other respects, it recalls superstores like Virgin or FNAC – or, in the US, bookstores like Borders and Barnes & Noble – that have become the capitalist replacements for state-run arts centres or public libraries. The disturbing aspect of these stores as replacements of this kind is the further breakdown of any distinction between culture and advertising which already characterises urban society in general. But a positive aspect may also exist in terms of community and collective emotion.[75]

Despite the somewhat soulless atmosphere in the multiplex (a non-place Augé would argue), the festival is able to avoid its regular impersonal anonymity by creating a sense of community among the different types of film lovers. Simply walking to your screening in the Pathé will give you the sensation that you belong to the festival's in-crowd by seeing all the other festival-goers rushing to their respective screenings in the main hall. And attending an evening screening in Pathé1 is certain to generate that specific festival magic that crosses all tastes via the sheer thrill of sharing the overcrowded room with an eagerly anticipating large audience. Regarding Rosenbaum's criticism of the blurring of distinctions between culture and advertising, I want to argue in the following section

that, despite the fact that the IFFR has become professionalized, in terms of both fundraising and sponsoring, this distinction is ultimately not violated.

Fundraising, Sponsoring and the City

The festival in Rotterdam has long depended on the structural subsidies it received from the Rotterdam municipality and Dutch government (the Minister of Education, Culture and Science). Additional sponsoring was only paid in kind (for instance, by putting cars at the festival's disposal or taking care of printed matter), for some exposure in return, until *De Volkskrant* became the festival's main sponsor in 1982.When the festival's attendance figures and program size began to grow in the 1990s and the structural subsidies were not being raised in similar proportions, fundraising and sponsoring activities necessarily began to be intensified.

Hester Barkey Wolf-Lambooij, head of fundraising and sponsoring, attests to the fact that the festival's point of departure in acquisitions is not to "sell its soul" or "go on sale."[76] The most ideal partnership for her is the one in which cooperation is beneficial to both parties. Often these will revolve around content. *De Volkskrant*, for example, offers extensive film services (agenda, reviews, interviews, and background articles) in its weekly Arts Supplement. The festival's second main sponsor, the television and radio network VPRO, in its turn, also maintains a cinema profile and is known for broadcasting the better films (world cinema, auteur films, documentaries), including Tiger Award winners. Moreover, the two companies cooperate with the cinema portal www.cinema.nl on which extensive film-related services can be found. One of the newer sponsors, the Internet provider Tiscali, continues this line of content-related partnerships by offering Tiger Releases via streaming video on the Internet to its broadband subscribers.

Barkey Wolf-Lambooij, however, also points out that the process of acquisitions is dependent on the dynamics of the business world and that the decision to close a deal is always on case-to-case basis. The clash of interest between culture and advertising is a recurring point of consideration for the festival. Let me offer two telling examples. The first concerns the addition of commercials during screenings. The admittance of advertising on the screen used to be considered undesirable. A deal with Microsoft ended this tradition in 2005. The consideration that made the festival decide in favor of the commercials was a connection between the advertised product, the content of the commercial, and the festival program; the ad for software that promised to enable young entrepreneurs to fulfil their dreams was only shown before "Cinema of the Future:

Sturm und Drang" films, the program section that has a similar objective within the cultural domain, seeking to help young talented filmmakers in their careers.

For the second example, a similar justification was not found, however. A well-known producer of potato chips had suggested a swap: visibility during the festival in return for exposure in their media campaign. Despite the high value of the media exposure, the festival decided against it. The most important reason was that the IFFR was already well-known with a large public and did not need the additional exposure. On the other hand, as event it had to be wary of "exposure inflation" during the festival, because the more the companies are visible, the less effective the individual campaigns will be. These examples show that the IFFR does not open its doors to advertising without giving it a second thought, but that, on the other hand, the necessity of sponsorship did force the organization to make the effort to please their (potential) sponsors more than they would have been inclined to do in the past.

The trend towards professionalization in the cultural sector is a general one. The IFFR has stimulated its fundraising and sponsorship activities in particular by adapting to the business world and making it clear what services it has to offer. Culturally, the relevance of the festival has been undisputed for a long time. A recent evaluation of the Board of Culture (advising the Ministry of Culture on the subsidies for the period 2005-2008) stated that "The Netherlands can call itself lucky with the International Film Festival Rotterdam. Thanks to programming that is constantly being renewed and still without compromises, the festival has once again proved its value to the Dutch film climate beyond any doubt."[77]

In business circles, however, the dominant image of the festival included connotations of "dusty, alternative and smoky, remote projection rooms."[78] To improve this image, the festival started to pursue visibility in financial and business publications, intensify its networking, and featherbed potential business partners during the festival. Another factor that has facilitated fundraising is Den Hamer's membership in the Economic Development Board Rotterdam. Founded with the indispensable support of the city of Rotterdam, the festival maintains a special relationship with the city. The festival has a positive effect on the perception of the city by its citizens as well as among outsiders.[79] The event brings diversion and tourism to the city during low season in late January and early February. The hotel and catering industry welcome the activity brought to the city in this notoriously difficult period after Christmas and New Years. The IFFR has to be credited with a 4.5% increase in hotel reservations as well as generating revenues for the city that is estimated to be triple of what is spent on the festival.[80] The IFFR, in short, is the municipality's cultural showpiece.

This situation did not change when a new political Leefbaar Rotterdam (Livable Rotterdam) movement won the municipal elections in 2001. For the former red bastion this dramatic victory by the Leefbaar Rotterdam party was nothing short of a modern-day revolution. The regime change was related to the large following that the right-wing populist politician Pim Fortuyn had. He was subsequently murdered several days before the national elections by an environmental/animal rights activist. Rotterdam, traditionally regarded as a "working city," became the center of a new political movement that consisted primarily of industrialists and other well-to-do businessmen who were dissatisfied with the slow, soft and bureaucratic government who wanted to re-organize the government based on a more transparent business model. The new City Council, appointed a "Culture" minister from Leefbaar Rotterdam, who was completely inexperienced in matters of culture and whose party had clearly indicated it did not understand the need to subsidize the arts.

Local arts institutions and cultural workers feared the worst-case scenarios involving the slashing of subsidies and the reorientation of the financing of culture based on a private charity or corporate sponsorship model. Nationally, the political shift did ratify the international trend towards favoring "cultural entrepreneurs" over autonomous artists. Artists and organizations are more and more responsible for the acquisition of their own funding and the generation of revenues, and had to justify their cultural relevance with, for example, public attendance figures and innovative products or programs. Although a wave of cuts had been imposed on the cultural sector, the IFFR was largely exempted from the cuts. The new municipal government might not have been convinced of the festival's cultural project, but at least it recognized its economic relevance to the city and even went so far as to subsidize a new initiative, the Tiger Business Lounge, which was established in 2004 in order to involve local corporations and businessmen with the festival and create more opportunities to initiate new partnerships.

Conclusion

The International Film Festival Rotterdam has developed from a small, cinephile project into the largest cultural event in the Netherlands. Internationally, it can be placed at the crossroads of three major festival trends. The first concerns the post-1968, widespread adoption of a new festival model based, on the one hand, on auteurs and new waves, and, on the other, on the programming of specialized and thematic sections. Initially, the festival was reacting to a lack of attention for independent cinema. It was founded as part of Film International,

the Dutch national distribution company that was to acquire films for the festival as well as the soon-to-be established art houses, and corresponded, moreover, with the international trend to conceive of the festival task as participatory: intervening in debates and supporting political movements.

The ambition of the festival's first idiosyncratic programmer was to support innovative films and talented young filmmakers and contribute to a climate of "committed participation in film culture." His passionate vision created the consistent focus for the festival that was to survive new directors and new times: "art, avant-garde and auteurs." In Rotterdam, filmmakers and film lovers continue to meet in a familial setting that is characterized by an aversion to the glamour that dominates the festivals in Cannes, Berlin, and Venice.

A second festival trend, for which the IFFR is emblematic, is the shift in type of leadership. Whereas, in the 1970s, the new type of festival directors were primarily concerned with programming, the demands of changing circumstances forced later generations to develop more and more in the direction of professional cultural entrepreneurship. The growth of the international film festival circuit, technological developments and changes in the film industry, forced the festival to react and adapt. In order to maintain a competitive position internationally, the IFFR, among others, inaugurated a competition for first- and second-feature directors in 1995, developed a successful support fund for productions from cinema-developing countries (Hubert Bals Fund), began a new type of film market (CineMart) and included a recurring program on cinema in the other arts (Exploding Cinema). Nationally, the festival survived by appealing to new audiences and complying with professional standards in projection facilities, fundraising and sponsorship, as well as in marketing and communications.

The growth of the festival audience led to a third trend, in which Bals's mission to "find an audience for the films" was not completely reversed into "finding films for an audience," but, nonetheless, was adapted to include the popularity of the festival event itself. To the classic cinephiles from the early days a whole new range of cinephiles and film lovers was added, of whom some visited the festival not primarily because of the selected films, but more because they were searching for the spectacle of the popular event or worthy cultural experiences.

The IFFR accommodates all of these different types of visitors by offering a varied and comprehensive program, while at the same time remaining close to its original cinephile principles. Films by established auteurs can be found alongside young talent in the competition program and films that attest to current social or cinematographical trends in the thematic section "Time and Tide." The festival, moreover, helped to promote the city of Rotterdam as the cinema capital of the Netherlands and continues to do so every year at the end of January when the preparations for a new festival reach their climax of bustling intensity.



Cate Blanchett on the red carpet for the première of The Good German
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"… Festivals are not only concerned with films and filmmakers, bestowing them with cultural prestige, but also with their own survival", p. 207

Conclusion – Successful or Safe?

The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Film Festival Network

Three of my four case studies began with a film-related anecdote. Thomas Vinterberg's It's All About Love, Michael Moore's Fahrenheit 9/11 and the Coen Brothers' Intolerable Cruelty. None of these films were chosen for their artistic qualities or because they had made a particularly deep impression on me. The choice was less cinephilic, and more circumstantial; the specific circumstances surrounding the screenings of these films at the film festivals in Berlin, Cannes, and Venice provided me with the appropriate examples to introduce my case studies.

In retrospect, it is telling that I intuitively selected films that touched upon the more ambiguous sides of the various festivals: the borderline between success and failure in the case of Vinterberg; the intertwining of political and economic interests in the case of Moore; and the Janus-faced nature of the media in the case of the Coen Brothers. Their ambiguity illustrates the fact that festivals are, to paraphrase Vinterberg, not all about a love for cinema. Of course these examples are not representative of all festival films. There were numerous films with outstanding artistic credentials that premièred within the festival circuit. Let me therefore balance this un-cinephile image that has thus far been presented by beginning this conclusion with an analysis of a great festival success, a cinematic masterpiece and my personal festival favorite. The example will also allow me to introduce the topic that will be central to this conclusion.

I was a cinephile by the time I attended the première of Todd Haynes's Safe (UK/USA: 1995) at the International Film Festival Rotterdam in 1996 and I had devoured substantial number of film classics that had further refined my taste. Yet this particular film "blew me away" like none of the classics had done before. It conveyed suspense, psychological depth, and contemporary social criticism. The cinematography and mise-en-scène were in complete harmony with the protagonist's alienation, transforming the well-known imagery of American suburbs – the geometrical grid of the streets, the well-kept lawns and lavish mansions – into a disconcerting setting, forecasting depravation instead of enduring comfort.

Carol White (Julienne Moore), an affluent LA housewife , becomes allergic to her environment. Car fumes, milk, the new couch, even a young girl sitting in her lap at a friend's baby shower cause her to have allergic reactions that the doctors can neither explain nor cure. She finds affirmation in a meeting for vic-

tims of "Environmental Illness" and decides to travel to the secluded Wrenwood Center in New Mexico to seek shelter from the toxic, harmful chemicals that threaten her in her everyday life. While engaging in self-help group sessions, Carol, at the same time, begins to close herself off from her social obligations and family life, looking for salvation inside her own mind. The film ends with a particularly eerie scene, in which we see Carol retreat into a white, sterile cabin that resembles an igloo. She sits on a fold-out bed, folds her jumper and inhales some oxygen from the oxygen tank she has started to carry around with her. Then she gets up and walks to the mirror. "I love you," she repeats four times in a soft voice, but the expression on the face of this pale woman looking straight into the camera remains blank.

This was Haynes's second feature and it is a typical festival film and cinephile favorite. The film gets under your skin via its startling images, juxtaposed soundtrack and intelligent, ambiguous narrative on the relativity of the comfortable life of the well-to-do, the cultural obsession with health issues, the danger of pollution, and the growing number of people turning to New Age religions as a means of spiritual support. It encourages the viewer to reflect on his/her own beliefs. "Is the 20th century making us sick?," the promo-video that raises Carol's awareness of "Environmental Illness" rhetorically asks its unhappy target audience. She embraces the suggestion wholeheartedly, albeit quietly at first. Carol is desperate, that much is clear. She has blocked herself off from her life's routine – managing the household, aerobics classes, meetings with girlfriends, sex with her husband – while keeping up appearances with idle chatter and apologetic smiles. Most of all, Carol is keeping up appearances for herself. She seizes the opportunity to hide behind her allergic reactions and seizures; she refuses to show her emotional despair while sending a clear message that things are not as fine as she keeps reiterating. Instead of trying to improve her social relationships, she withdraws further and further, finding a new identity in her illness.

Safe ends in ambiguity. On one level we have been led to sympathize with Carol. At the same time, however, Carol not only alienates herself from her family and friends, but also from the viewer. The question any viewer is left with by the end is whether this inhibited woman has succeeded in finding a safe place to recuperate or, on the contrary, has regressed into the "safe" condition of illness to such an extent that it seems unlikely she will ever be able to get herself together and resume a normal life.

Now at the end of my book on film festivals I am confronted with a similar question. Does the festival network offer a safe environment for the vulnerable films in our society, where they can be sheltered from commercial interests and, can they be appreciated on their own (cultural and artistic) terms? Or does it merely provide a pseudo-cure that allows filmmakers to remain marginal by

sinking deeper and deeper into the secluded festival network, assimilating its discourse while simultaneously losing its ability to connect to the film world outside?

In *Film Festivals* I have described the historical development of the film festival phenomenon and analyzed the emergence of a global film festival network that is self-sustainable. Throughout the study I have, preliminarily, referred to this capacity for self-preservation as successful. Film festivals succeeded in establishing vital links with various other entities, such as European governments, Hollywood, the avant-garde and city marketers. The effect was that film festivals were opened up to a variety of agendas and that the number of people and parties that benefit from the annual organization of such events multiplied, strengthening the pillars under their foundation and leading to institutionalization and global proliferation.

However, the question that remains to be answered at the end of this research is whether these developments can, in fact, be understood as signs of success, or should they be interpreted as symptoms of a permanent illness. "I'm on artificial respiration," Werner Herzog said with a critical eye towards the negative effects of the European system of film subsidies.[1] The parallel between his "oxygen" metaphor and Carol's progressive reliance on her oxygen tank and her sealed off cabin is obvious: both convey the message that it is not very healthy to depend completely on artificial support systems for one's survival.

Like Carol's situation, the condition of the film festival network is ambiguous. On the one hand, film festivals provide global exhibition opportunities and exposure for many wonderful films that would probably fail to find an audience otherwise. On the other hand, they have not resulted in the creation of stable, financially-independent industries for such films, and have, arguably, even prohibited initiatives for economic independence. The international film festival circuit is self-sustainable, but the future of most of the films and filmmakers that pass through its channels remains highly uncertain and their success, one could argue, remains somewhat artificial. Successful or safe? A straightforward answer cannot be given. In my conclusion, I would like to look back at some of the key modalities of the film festival network that emerged from this study and see to what extent they appear as strengths and to what extent as weaknesses.

The Larger Network

In order to understand how festivals relate to Hollywood, avant-garde practices, city policies, and other entities, I suggested moving away from notions such as "art," "auteur," and "national." Although these terms represent the

dominant discourse by which European cinemas have been framed (not in the least by film festivals themselves), they often result in thinking in binary oppositions and do not offer any starting points for considering the transnational dynamics, the multiple agendas, nor the complex spatial and temporal dimensions of the international film festival circuit.

Instead, I have introduced the concept of the festival network. Drawing on Actor-Network Theory, in particular Latour, film festivals can be analyzed in terms of an interrelated dependence between other actors, such as Hollywood's use of the festivals as a platform for marketing campaigns for big-budget productions or the incorporation of festivals into municipal policy plans for city marketing. In this larger festival network, the international film festivals take nodal positions.

The greatest advantage of the concept of the network over notions such as "auteur" and "national" is that it allows for a broad analysis of a complex cultural phenomenon without being narrowed down by the biased discourses that have been so essential to the festival phenomenon's historical development. Although these discourses are included in the analysis as stratifying forces, they do not prevent one from considering antagonistic presences and the interplay between contradictory interests as well. In this way, I was able to analyze the function of glamour, glitter, and stars at festivals as well as typical programming practices revolving around "auteur cinema," or, for example, the commercial boom of the festival film markets alongside the surge of film festivals adopting the leftist ideology of a politics of intervention.

With an ANT approach, all these different actors are not simply considered as *parts* of the larger network, they *are* the festival network that may end up falling apart when one of the vital links is broken. This implies that, although oppositions between the actors may be played out in (ideological) discourse, they are too much intertwined as a network for anyone to risk putting words into practice. Let me give an example. Suppose Cannes took a more direct and provocative position against US interference in Iraq and the entire Hollywood film industry and all of its stars suddenly decided that, as a response, they will cease their involvement with the festival for a period of, say, five years, then the festival would surely lose valued media attention and business activity, which would negatively affect the prestige of its competition program and cause the city to collapse into an economic crisis.

In reality, it is unlikely that these opposing political views will escalate at the expense of the festival's leading position on the circuit, simply because the stakes are too high. All actors – the festival, Hollywood companies, the city of Cannes, filmmakers etc. – benefit from a strong festival. Therefore, Cannes will continue to use anti-Hollywood rhetoric and foster anti-American sentiments to cultivate its self-image as an independent, politically correct, and leading center

for "alternative" film culture, while, at the same time, knowing better than to damage the relation and risk a lethal exsanguination of the festival network's coronary artery.

Throughout this book, I have argued that the larger festival network will always work towards stability and its own survival. In theoretical terms this means that Latour's idea of the network has to be complemented by Luhmann's system theory. The festival network's capacity for self-preservation – its systemic tendencies – relies to a great extent on the ability to adapt to transformations and shifts. In post-war Europe, festivals often catered to nationalist sentiments. In the 1970s, they responded to youthful rebellions worldwide and supported young film talent and political struggles. In the 21st century, they close professional sponsorship deals and seek industrial partnerships in order to continue to grow and to remain competitive.

Festivals are not only concerned with films and filmmakers, bestowing them with cultural value, but also with their own survival. They are constantly redefining their position in the larger festival network and adapting to transformations. This is both a weakness and a strength of the festival network. Because festivals depend on many other actors for their survival they necessarily have to compromise. Multitasking and negotiating between the various interests makes them less sharp as cultural institutions. Whereas Hollywood can straightforwardly pursue one clear agenda (maximized economic profits), film festivals are held back by the necessity to give and take between various agendas. At the same time, the presence of multiple agendas provides a safe foundation for the network system. The assurance of widespread support legitimizes a film festival's existence in the absence of financial independence. In other words, it is the larger network that guarantees a festival's sustainability.

Successful or Safe?

In order to come closer to an assessment of whether successful or safe is the more appropriate word to describe this self-sustainable festival system, it is necessary to zoom in on two key moments of transformation. Firstly, the shift towards independent programming after 1968. Taking the notions of "auteur" and "new wave" as their strategic discourse, the festivals began participating in film culture through its programming policies in the late 1960s and 1970s. They framed selected films by clustering them in "specialized" and "thematic" program sections. In this way, they could raise public awareness for political issues and stylistic movements.

Whereas the old festivals remained more conservative in their programming choices and relied mostly on tried and tested talent for the main competition, the new alternative sections and specialized festivals offered room for new talent, experimentation, and explicit political content. In addition to the screenings, short catalogue descriptions, and interview opportunities, some festivals, such as the Edinburgh International Film Festival and Pesaro Film Festival, published extensive documentation and organized leading seminars that contributed to a flourishing international cinema discourse.

The greatest strength of this kind of independent festival programming was that it made the international film festivals into renowned centers of expertise. They became cultural gateways that could legitimize films and filmmakers, for example, new national waves that needed the international recognition of the festivals (prizes and/or debates) before they could be considered as having any cultural value at home.

The weaker side of the coin was that the festival model became self-referential. The festivals depended on a constant supply of "discoveries" – new trends, new authors, and fresh new waves – to keep the festival machines running. The festival system became more and more boxed-in, a safe zone that depended on standardized (autopoeitic, Luhmann would say) input/output channels and it was closed off from the latest developments in the rest of the cultural industries. As time passed, the focus on independent talent, art cinema, and the avant-garde turned into an artificial and outdated dogma that provided the criteria for determining who would qualify for subsidies. The danger of this type of internalization is illustrated most clearly by Safe. After some time, Carol seems to lose her ability and her will to connect to the world outside of Wrenwood Center. When her husband visits her, she shuns his embrace with the excuse that it might be his cologne, although he replies that he is not wearing any. That night she delivers an impromptu speech for the Wrenwood community. She talks about environmental illness – "because it really is an illness" and "it is out there" – as if she were defending her retreat into the igloo and her new self, not only to her husband but also to herself. A similar mechanism appeared to be at work in the festival network.

Although "artistic independence" and "the freedom of cultural expression" are justified concerns – just as environmental pollution is in Carol's case – and although the overstretching of protectionist measures and the retreat into ones' own subsidized circuits have successfully sheltered filmmakers and national film industries from the power and competitive advantage of the Hollywood studios, these developments have also imposed unnecessary restrictions on the filmmakers and national film industries that are equally harmful to them, albeit in a different way. Contemporary filmmakers can become trapped in a cultural ghetto by becoming dependent upon subsidies and festival prestige.

Thus far, "safe" seems to best describe the festival network. However, from the 1990s onwards, a number of key shifts took place that announced the arrival of a new festival era. The most important of these was the discovery that "art cinema" could be economically viable as well. Miramax unleashed a cinema revolution when their low-budget Sex, Lies and Videotape won the Golden Palm in 1989 and subsequently became a box-office success. The Weinstein brothers combined festival prestige with provocation and aggressive marketing techniques and created the "Indie blockbuster," quality film hits that were profitable in the art cinema niche market.

The economic opportunity of "art cinema" was also recognized by the new multimedia corporations, who started in-house art divisions (or bought independents like Miramax) in order to benefit from the development. With the rise of the multimedia market and the increased opportunities for financing a film through presales to the various (ancillary) markets, the film industry for festival films became professionalized. Sales agents and lawyers were the new key players at the negotiation table.

The transformations in the festival network that were the result of these shifts have – until now – mostly been effective on the edges of both sides of the established model for cultural legitimization: on the back-end, festivals started to cooperate with the industry to provide training and facilitate or fund production deals, while, up front, festivals reached out to broader types of audiences. In the middle, the competitions continue to occupy the agendas of the festival programmers, juries, and media representatives in ways not so different from the past. Most festival organizations still use the European discourse of art and auteurs, national cinema and new waves, and discoveries and canons. However, with Latour in mind, the current situation can be analyzed as the first move away from festivals retreating into safe zones.

In *The Pasteurization of France*, Latour describes how Pasteur was able to galvanize competing social forces and conflicting interests to support his own research program. He argues that "[w]hat was peculiar to Pasteur was a certain type of displacement that enabled him to translate and divert into his movement circles of people and interest that were several times larger."[2] Pasteur succeeded in convincing those concerned with the macrocosmic problems of hygiene that his research on the microcosmic culture of the bacilli would solve. The key to his success of this "translation"[3] was his ability to divert the problem to the place where he was strongest: the laboratory.

In the current festival network one can also observe important diversions taking place (in both programming and pre-programming practices) that result in the inclusion of larger interest groups, namely the industries and the audiences. What is particularly interesting is that the "new" festivals in North America and Asia are predominantly in the vanguard with these trends. The Sundance Film

Festival in Park Utah is the quintessential example of a festival that was established to foster independent filmmaking and that turned out to be one of the most important stepping-stones for those talents seeking to make it in Hollywood. Another success story is the Pusan International Film Festival in South Korea, which has taken advantage of the country's economic boom as well as the surge of Cinemania among its youth to establish itself as a window onto the Asian cinema world.

What is important to note about both examples is that these festivals responded to actual developments – industries developing an interest in independent filmmakers in the case of Sundance; and young people using the cinema to create a new identity for themselves in the case of Pusan – instead of merely using standardized input/output channels. The question remains whether these current shifts and diversions can be considered successful. In order to answer this question it is imperative to first assess what the festivals' interests are and, secondly, scrutinize whether these are furthered in their "translation" into the positions of industries and audiences.

Adding Value and Agenda Setting

Traditionally, festivals emphasize their attendance to the interests of those films and filmmakers of particular artistic, cultural, national or socio-political worth. They remind one that festivals were created as a separate zone, where such films could be exhibited outside of the normal film industrial facilities and where the commercial conventions did not apply. At festivals films did not have to generate revenues. Their first function in the festival setting was not to make money (as commodities), but to show "the best" of national cinema productions (as artistic accomplishments and expressions of cultural identities).

But film festivals were never meant to be merely the stage where others could shine and show off their splendor. Film festivals were not simply alternative exhibition spaces. It soon became clear that they would put their own stamp on film culture. What set film festivals apart from the beginning was their capacity to add value to films and filmmakers. Competition programs, international juries and prizes were used to bestow honour upon selected films and filmmakers, lifting them above the gross of yearly national productions.

Essential to the process of value addition was the presence of media representatives, because local festival events could only acquire global exposure for their international competitions via media coverage. Moreover, the media added another layer of selection, of independent quality criteria, and thereby increased the cultural value of the films and filmmakers that were covered in the media.

The development towards independent programming was of great importance to the festivals' capacity to add value. The upheavals of the late 1960s and early 1970s were an attempt to purge the festivals of their distraction by glamour and the temptation of money, and give more weight to the films as art and the filmmakers as *auteurs*. The major film festivals adjusted their selection procedures and began programming films themselves instead of inviting nations to send in festival entries. In addition, parallel sections such as the *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* in Cannes and *Das Forum des Jungen Films* in Berlin were established to accommodate the young, innovative, and experimental directors.

From this point onwards, festivals were not only able to add value through competition programs and prizes, they could also intervene more directly in film culture by setting the agenda as media events. The issues that were put on the agenda ranged from cinematographical innovation and narrative experiments to political freedom struggles and taboo topics such as (homo)sexuality, race, and gender. In the contemporary international film festival circuit, some festivals have specialized thematic programming in, for instance, science fiction or queer cinema to maximize their agenda-setting effect.

The increased competition on the festival circuit had made it necessary for film festivals to emulate, on the one hand, the festival format of premières and prizes (in order to keep attracting media representatives) and to distinguish themselves, on the other hand, from other festivals by specifying the area where they would (try to) intervene in film culture. The interest of festivals is thus twofold: firstly, they work towards self-preservation and, preferably also, the amelioration of their position in the festival network; and, secondly, they use their power of value addition and agenda setting for a politics of participation, advancing those films and filmmakers they deem to be of particular artistic, cultural, national, or socio-political interest.

Are these interests furthered by cooperating more closely with industry partners and attracting larger popular audiences to the festivals? Let me start with the former trend. In recent years, film festivals have become professionalized. They have developed more and more initiatives that involved local companies (sponsorship) and international film industries ("match-making" markets, training and funding) in the festival network. Nowadays, commerce is no longer dogmatically considered the "evil other" and festivals fully recognize the potential of cultural entrepreneurship for expanding their strategic influence. Most interestingly, they have begun moving into pre-programming activities. Festival-related film funds – such as the Hubert Bals Fund in Rotterdam, the World Cinema Fund in Berlin and the Balkan Fund in Thessaloniki – use the festivals' position as established institutions for cultural legitimization to not only add financial resources to film productions, but also cultural value, *before* they are completed, giving them a head start in the festival circuit. Many of these sup-

ported films indeed appear in the prestigious competitions and receive major prizes. Moreover, with training and "match-making" markets, festivals give (young) film professionals the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the international film business and make contacts with key parties who might be able help them realize their projects.

What happens with these initiatives is that the festival's key competence to recognize "quality" is "translated" into the promise of sufficient economic value for industry professionals to invest in the pre-selected or supported projects. The reasoning behind this translation is that a project will probably find distribution and an audience within the network that revolves around film festival events when one of these established festivals has already expressed its support for the project. Most interestingly, Latour emphasizes that his notion of translation can be applied to understandings between various agents as well as misunderstandings and disputes. As long as they result in a concerted movement, he argues, the translation has achieved its purpose. In other words, it does not matter whether the industry partners are only concerned with practical or economic interests and the festivals focus is on ideological and aesthetic objectives, provided that they support the same films and filmmakers so that this translation has achieved its purpose – a simple, but refreshing solution to overcome the persistent art/commerce dichotomy.

To conclude, I would therefore argue that the festival/industry joint ventures have successfully furthered festival interests, because they have expanded the 1970s tradition of the politics of participation beyond programming and discourse; many contemporary festivals intervene in cinema production on behalf of films and filmmakers with artistic, cultural, national or socio-political interests.

What about the trend towards broader audiences, then? Can this translation also be considered a success? Let us take another look at the process of professionalization. Film festivals shook off their dusty image of elitist events for cinephiles who gather in small and smoky theatres to obsess over somewhat unworldly issues. The "new" festivals were more inviting to the general public. Their programming became broader and the "dressing" sexier. The growing popularity of film festivals with a broader audience was also fostered by the larger cultural trend towards an experience or attention economy. The festival context added another layer of experience to the film screenings to which an increasing number of people (the growing creative class) was susceptible. Nowadays, the average festival goer is no longer a classic cinephile, whose main interest concerns the "films" being shown. The festivals are attended for various reasons by a variety of cinephiles, and for some, the experience of being part of the "festival," its unique setting, the spectacle, the hypes and the pre-

mières are just as important as (and sometimes more important than) the films themselves.

Many regard this primarily as a weakness. Especially when the growing popularity of festivals is matched with increased numbers of films, as was the case in Rotterdam. Critics tend to lament the potential marginalization of the "more difficult, but artistically challenging" films within the lavish and broad supply of films. I, however, argue that the contemporary situation can also be considered a smart (and necessary) move on the part of the festivals that increases the reach of their agenda-setting powers.

By attracting more people to the festivals, they give more people the opportunity to familiarize themselves with "other" cinemas and give the individual, so to speak, an easy landing from where his/her personal cinephile taste may find its own course. One should not forget that the films and filmmakers that touch the festival interests the most are those that request a more than average refined understanding. And, in order for audiences to refine their tastes, they need lots of exposure and critical mediation. Festivals can provide this refining process while simultaneously maintaining the authority to submit "quality" suggestions.

After all, it is quite easy to preach to the converted and argue that the festival community should focus on the protection of art and auteur cinema and only cater to the serious cinephile – even Carol managed to speak up in front of the Wrenwood community – but in order for festivals to expand their strategic influence and encourage some of the newcomers to explore the unfamiliar, the less culturally "safe" (and more daring) programming practices could very well prove the more successful course in the end.

Implications and Limitations

My study of film festivals has shown that the implications of applying ANT to cinema studies is one that can include new objects of study and forms of evidence. Latour's obsession with complex configurations and infrastructures in his case studies suggested to me that the study of the international film festival circuit would benefit from a focus on spatial and temporal dimensions and that I should investigate, in particular, the complexity of these modalities. Thus I studied both the human and non-human agents in the festival network, scrutinizing the strategic use of festival locations, the interconnections between the local and the global, the phenomenon of films travelling the circuit and much more. My historical research and analyses led me to believe that the success of international film festivals can also be explained – on a systematic, abstract level

– in terms of their spatial and temporal concentration, on the one hand, and their embedding in the festival circuit and festival calendar on the other.

The former generates what I call an implosive boiling pot, which includes the concentration of people at the festival site, the news value of the programs, the ritualistic character of performances, the pressure of deadlines, the practices of spatial segregation. All of these help contribute to that special festival atmosphere where expectations, buzz, and exclusivity inevitably lead to an implosion of the event into cultural value for films and filmmakers. The embedding of the festival within the larger network, then, ensures that this value can transcend the confinement of the individual event. The media provide global exposure, while films and filmmakers can travel from festival to festival to acquire more exposure and prestige. The festivals are, as indicated, sites of passage, locations from where filmmakers can be inaugurated into the festival network that may be of vital importance to them throughout their careers.

When one looks at the international film festival circuit from a spatial point of view, its complexity can be understood as an interrelation of the local with the global; the city with the nation; and the place of the event with the space of the media. From a temporal perspective the festivals revolve around both current affairs (programming as a politics of participation), the latest discoveries, news value, *and* historicity, as the oldest festivals continue to rely on their glorious pasts and a city's history to maintain nodal positions on the circuit.

A limitation of the ANT approach is that it offers few critical tools for assessing power relations. Using the notion of "obligatory points of passage," one can assert that some festivals assume more powerful positions than others, but the analysis becomes problematic when one wants to explain what the effects are of the inequalities that are an intrinsic part of the festival network. With ANT, one could describe the relations in the network as a task division between the major and the smaller festivals. The major media events, the ones that attract the most media representatives and industry professionals, are the central nodes in the festival network, while the smaller festivals perform specific functions, for instance, by supporting new talented directors, paying attention to specific genres or serving as a cultural-political platform for (ethnic) minority groups. Together, the festivals offer a heterogeneous, spatially-dispersed system in which every film can find an event somewhere that suits its interests best and filmmakers, in addition, can grow within the system to different levels of establishment.

However, what has been overlooked in this description are the neo-colonial tendencies that persist in the new configurations. Other theories are needed to adequately critique this situation. Following Hardt and Negri's notion of empire, for example, it becomes possible to assess the current forms of domination that characterize the transnational dynamics of the festival network: Western

festivals continue to be the most important gateways for the cultural legitimization of world cinema; Western funding has a disproportionate influence on international co-productions; and the primacy of Western taste results in the "ghettoization" of cinemas from developing countries in the less prestigious program sections of the various festivals.

The question remains whether this is an issue of representation or repression. Does the festival network provide the much-needed representation of world cinemas, offering opportunities for international exposure, and standing up for neglected or censored socio-political issues and cultural identities in independent forums where artists are free to speak out? Or does it repress the autonomy of economically-vulnerable cinemas, appropriating achievements such as the festivals' discoveries, and sanctioning the internationally-appreciated "festival hits" as the standard for new national productions? As my concluding discussion of the "successful or safe" issue has shown, the festival network is too complex and ambiguous to give a straightforward answer. I hope my study will inspire others to continue to engage in research on this and other aspects of the fascinating phenomenon of the film festival.



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Notes

Notes Introduction

1. The concluding conference of the "Cinema Europe/Media Europe" research project (Amsterdam, 23-25 June 2005), of which I was one of the organizers, was called "Cinema in Europe: Networks in Progress" in order to represent both the heterogeneity of European cinemas and highlight the fact that cinema – in its broader understanding – is not limited to national production, but includes transnational influences and international presences.
2. Sarris, Andrew. "The Last Word on Cannes." *American Film*, vol. VII no. 7 (May 1982): 26, 29-30; 29.
3. "Thus Hollywood would connote 'differential,' and Europe 'dialectical,' Hollywood would be inclusive, and Europe exclusive, Hollywood hybrid, relational, while Europe autonomous, essentialist. Hollywood multipurpose and mixed media, Europe specific and mono-media, Hollywood deterritorialized and rhizomic, Europe territorial and hierarchical, Hollywood is real time, Europe time is history, Hollywood space is site (access for all, from anywhere), Europe space is place (local, geographically, linguistically bounded.)" Elsaesser, Thomas. "German Cinema Face to Face with Hollywood: Looking into a Two Way Mirror." In *Americanism and Anti-Americanism: The German Encounter with American Culture after 1945*. Ed. Stephan, Alexander. New York: Berghahn Books, 2004: 183, 185-188.
4. The use of the term "successful" in the research objective is preliminary. On the lowest, neutral level it refers to the fact that the number of film festivals has increased (explosively) over the years and that the international film festival circuit has become a prominent cinema network. In my conclusion, I will address the question of whether these developments really justify the adjective "successful."
5. Elsaesser's description of "second order" qualities is comparable to my treatment of these labels as part of the strategic discourse of festival.
6. Non-academic festival guides and relevant (historical) overview articles include: Falco, Sidney. "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Film Festivals (But Were Afraid to Ask)." *Films & Filming*, no. 406 (July 1988): 22-33; Gaydos, Steven. *The Variety Guide to Film Festivals: The Ultimate Insider's Guide to Film Festivals Around the World*. New York: Berkeley Publishing Group, 1998; Gore, Chris. *The Ultimate Film Festival Survival Guide: The Essential Companion for Filmmakers and Festival-Goers*. Los Angeles: Lone Eagle Publishing Company, 1999; Longer, Adam. *The Film Festival Guide: For Filmmakers, Film Buffs, and Industry Professionals. (Revised Edition).* Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2000; Ranvaud, Don. "Don Ranvaud and Festivals." *Film News*, vol. XV no. 9 (December 1985): 10-11; and Steinborn, Bion. "Filmfestivals in der Bundesrepublik." *Filmfaust*, no. 22 (April/May 1981): 1.
7. Rapport, Nigel. "The narrative as fieldwork technique: processual ethnography for a world in motion." *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World*. Ed. Amit, Vered. London and New York: Routledge, 2000: 73.

8. Augé, Marc. *An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999: 5.
9. Crary, Jonathan. *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1999: 2.
10. Benjamin, Walter. Het Kunstwerk in de Tijd van zijn Technische Reproduceerbaarheid. Nijmegen: SUN, 1985.
11. See, for an elaborate overview of the New Film Historicism: Allen, Robert, C. and Douglas Gomery. *Film History: Theory and Practice*. New York: Knopf, 1985.
12. Elsaesser, Thomas. "Early Cinema: From Linear History to Mass Media Archaeology." *Early Cinema: Space/Frame/Narrative*. Ed. Elsaesser, Thomas. London: BFI Publishing, 1990: 1-8; 3.
13. In the Bundesarchive in Berlin, Jacobson found, among others: "Protokolle des Politbüros des ZK de5r SED, Aktenbestände aus dem Büro des ZK-Sekretärs Kurt Hager und aus der Haupt verwaltung Film in der DDR." Jacobson, Wolgang. *50 Jahre Berlinale: Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin*. Berlin: Nicolai: Berlin, 2000: 543.
14. "Thick description" was introduced by the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz. He used it to refer to an interpretation of culture that deals not merely with the behaviors (thin description), but with the social understanding of these behaviors (thick description); with the symbolic meaning of the behavior in the social relations of a community. See Geertz, Clifford. "Chapter 1: Thick Description: Towards an Interpretative Theory of Culture." *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973: 3-30.
15. Ethnomethodology was developed in anthropology and therefore usually based on fieldwork over an extended period of time, in which the ethnographer immerses him/herself in the social relations of a community. This method is also known as *participant observation*. Globalization and the increased mobility of both researcher and research subjects have led to revisions of the traditional conceptions of participant observation. Communities can exist in a dispersed form over various locations. Communications and transportation technologies play a larger role. The ethnographer thus has to be more active in keeping the contacts viable. Although the objectives of Media Studies research are different from anthropological ones, the method of participant observation, especially in revised form, can be useful in analyzing networks and events. In anthropology, participant observation focuses on the agency and performances of people rather than disembodied cultural categories or language. The practices through which cultural models are embodied involve values, emotions, and motives as much as the words through which these are expressed. The strength of participant observation, therefore, is the access it provides to lived experiences, which incorporate yet transcend language. It enables the festival researcher, for example, to consider the common fear among journalists of missing, neglecting or misjudging a film that will prove to be very influential or successful as an element in the cultural process of adding value. To this traditional ethnomethodology, Latour adds the role of non-humans. With his neo-material approach in hand, I not only consider people, but also various types of objects. For more information on contemporary ethnographic fieldwork see, for example, Amit, Vered, ed. *Constructing the Field: Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Contemporary World.* London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

16. As many have pointed out, silent film was not really silent. Films were accompanied by orchestra, organ or piano, a lecturer, sound effects or even, occasionally, actors speaking the lines behind the screen. See, for example, Miller Marks, Martin. *Music and the Silent Film: Context and Case Studies, 1895-1924.* New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1997.
17. For a critique of technological determinism behind these types of historiography and a fuller account of the European avant-garde in the period 1919-1939, see the dissertation by Malte Hagener: *Avant-garde Culture and Reproductive Media: The Networks and Discourses of the European Film Avant-garde, 1919-1939*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2005.
18. See also Christie, Ian. "The Avant-gardes and European Cinema Before 1930." *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Eds. Hill, John, and Pamela Church Gibson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 449-454.
19. Hagener: *Avant-garde Culture and Reproductive Media*: 310.
20. Rees, A.L. *A History of Experimental Film and Video: From the Canonical Avant-Garde to Contemporary British Practice*. London: BFI Publishing, 1999: 31-32.
21. See also Wollen, Peter. "The Two Avant-gardes." *Readings and Writings*. London: Verso, 1982: 92-104.
22. Rees. *A History of Experimental Film and Video*: 57.
23. For more historical information on this period of the American Avant-garde see, for example Nichols, Bill, ed. *Maya Deren and the American Avant-Garde*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 2001.
24. Iris Barry, the first curator of MoMA's Film Library, was the first to establish professional standards and practices for film preservation. She acknowledged cinema as an art form and recognized the importance of preserving films for future exhibition and study. Her pioneer methods receive praise and attention and would serve as a model to others.
25. Bordwell, David, and Kristin Thompson. *Film History: An Introduction*. New York [etc.]: McGraw-Hill, 1994: 633.
26. La Noire de… is believed to be the first feature film made by a black African in sub-Saharan Africa. Sembene would win many more prizes at film festivals in, among others, Carthage (1966), Moscow (1971, 1975, 1977 and 1979), Berlin (1972, 1977), Venice (1988, 1992), Cannes (2004, 2005), Marrakech (2004) and San Francisco (1993). *Internet Movie Database.com*. July 2005, 28 July 2005. <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0783733/awards.>.
27. Armstrong, Richard. "Girls, Guns and Godard." *Audience Magazine*. 2001, 28 July 2005. <http://www.audiencemag.com/ARTICLES/godard.html>.
28. Lort, Robert. "Jean-Luc Godard, in between Deleuze." *Personal Web page Robert Long*. 1999, 28 July 2005. <http://members.optusnet.com.au/~robert2600/godard.html>.
29. Burton, Julianne. "The old and the new: Latin American cinema at the (last?) Pesaro Festival." *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media*, no. 9 (1975): 33-35. 28 July 2005. <http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC09folder/PesaroReport.html>.
30. Ranvaud, Don. "Pesaro Revisited." *Framework*, no. 18 (1982): 34-35; 34.
31. Ranvaud. "Pesaro Revisited:" 34.
32. Latour, Bruno. "On recalling ANT." *Actor Network Theory and After*. Eds. Law, John, and John Hassard. Oxford [etc.]: Blackwell Publishers, 1999: 15-25; 15.

33. Bruno Latour was born in 1947 in Beaune (Bordeaux) into a wine-growing family. He studied philosophy and later anthropology. Latour conducted field studies in Africa and California and specialized in engineers at work. His breakthrough book *Laboratory Life* was published in 1979 in French and translated into English in 1986 (revised edition). The book was the resulted of a two-year ethnographic study on the neuro-endocrinology laboratory of Professor Roger Guillemin in La Jolla, California. It deals with the various steps taken to create scientific facts and it framed the issues of the then emerging discipline of science studies. Latour, however, is most famous for developing the actor-network theory (ANT). Although ANT is usually associated with Latour, he is not the only person related to it. Michel Gallon, who, like Latour, worked at the École Nationale Supériere des Mines in Paris, and John Law at Lancaster University are also important to ANT's development.
34. Dayan, Daniel. "Looking for Sundance: The Social Construction of a Film Festival." *Moving Images, Culture and the Mind*. Ed. Bondebjerg, Ib. London: University of Luton Press, 2000: 43-52; 45.
35. Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern*. New York [etc.]: Harvey Wheatsheaf, 1993: 3 [italics in original].
36. He explains the crisis in the critical stance as follows: "The [modern] critics have developed three distinct approaches to talking about our world: naturalization, socialization and deconstruction. Let us use E.O. Wilson, Pierre Bourdieu, and Jacques Derrida – a bit unfairly – as emblematic figures of these three tacks. When the first speaks of naturalized phenomena, then societies, subjects, and all forms of discourse vanish. When the second speaks of fields of power, then science, technology, texts, and the contents of activities disappear. When the third speaks of truth effects, then to believe in the real existence of brain neurons or power plays would betray enormous naiveté. Each of these forms of criticism is powerful in itself but impossible to combine with the other two." Ibid.: 5-6.
37. Latour, Bruno. *Aramis, or the Love of Technology*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1996: 10.
38. Turan, Kenneth. *Sundance to Sarajevo: Film Festivals and the World They Make*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2002: 169.
39. With more than 4,000 media representatives, the Cannes Film Festival is the third-biggest media event in the world. Only the Olympic Games and the World Soccer Championships attract more media attention.
40. The separation between objects (non-humans) and subjects (humans) and between the natural world and the social world (what Latour calls the "practices of purification") has created various forms of criticism – naturalization, socialization, and deconstruction – that are, indeed, very powerful critical stances in themselves, but fail to be combined with one another. His thinking is a thorough philosophical revision of what the base of science should be and distinguishes beneath the conspicuous "practices of purification" the hidden, but equally important "practices of translation" that, instead, concentrate on relations, also between nature and culture. The "theoretical mission statement" of ANT is most clearly formulated in *We Have Never Been Modern*: "The hypothesis of this essay is that the word 'modern' designates two sets of entirely different practices which must remain distinct if they are to remain effective, but have recently begun to be confused. The first set of practices, by 'translation', creates mixtures between entirely new types of beings, hybrids of nature

and culture. The second, by 'purification', creates two entirely distinct ontological zones: that of human beings on the one hand; that of non-humans on the other. Without the first set, the practices of purification would be fruitless or pointless. Without the second, the work of translation would be slowed down, limited, or even ruled out. The first set corresponds to what I have called networks; the second to what I shall call the modern critical stance. … So long as we consider these two practices of translation and purification separately, we are truly modern – that is we willingly subscribe to the critical project, even though that project is developed only through the proliferation of hybrids down below." Latour. *We Have Never Been Modern*: 10-11.

41. "Autopoesis" is a term from Luhmann's later period. It is derived from cognitive biology, where it originally referred to the self-creation of organic cells. The purpose of the organic cells is to preserve the system, which they are able to do because they can reproduce the parts of which they consist. See, for example, Luhmann, Niklas. *Essays on Self-Reference*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
42. See, among others, Callon, M. "Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fisherman of St Brieuc Bay." Ed. Law, John. *Power, Action and Belief. A New Sociology of Knowledge?* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986: 196-233; and Latour, B. *The Pasteurization of France*. Trans. Sheridan, A., and John Law. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988, 43.
43. Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Trans. Vizedom, Monika B. and Gabrielle L. Caffee. London [etc.]: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977.
44. For further reading, see Turner, Victor. "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage." Ed. Helm, J. *Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion: Proceedings of the 1964 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1964: 4-20.
45. See for a discussion: Deflem, Mathieu. "Ritual, Anti-Structure, and Religion: A Discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis." *Journal of Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 30, no. 1 (1991): 1-25. "Turner also offered a fruitful set of tools to discover the meanings of ritual performances, and he suggested a useful complement to French structuralism in which ritual analyses are dominated by myth, speech, and thought analysis. Turner's approach takes into account not only what is said about ritual, but also the relationships among ritual performances, myth and religious belief; the manner is which ritual symbols are manipulated and handled by the ritual subjects; the meaning and efficacy of single ritual symbols as well as their relation to other symbols at all ritual stages; and the field context, both social and cultural, in which symbols appear." 14.
46. Stringer, Julian. *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*. Eds. Shiel, Mark, and Tony Fitzmaurice. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001: 134-144; 139.
47. Website exhibition *Making Things Public*, ZKM Center for Art and Media, 4 July 2005, <http://makingthingspublic.zkm.de/fa/dings/DingPolitikHome.htm>.
48. Ibid.
49. Stringer. "Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy" 138.
50. Ibid.: 140.
51. Harbord, Janet. *Film Cultures.* London [etc.]: SAGE Publications, 2002: 60-61.

52. Because I wanted to identify key moments in the historical development of film festivals, it was important to include those festivals that have had a major influence on the phenomenon's transitions from the very outset. Furthermore, the interest in the complex relation between (European) film festivals, on the one hand, and Hollywood, on the other, led me to the old European festivals with the most prominent Hollywood presence: Cannes and Berlin (with Venice recently moving increasingly in a similar direction).
53. The second festival in Mar del Plata was organized in 1959 and immediately recognized by the FIAPF. In 1967 and 1969, no festivals were organized because it alternated with the new festival in Rio de Janeiro. The festival was suspended from 1970 through 1995. The military government and difficult economic conditions prevented reinstatement of the festival. The Mar del Plata Festival was revived in 1996.
54. Moscow and Karlovy Vary alternated with each other between 1959 and 1994.
55. The Cairo International Film Festival was non-competitive until 1991 when the FIAPF allowed the festival to organize a competition. In 1990, the festival was voted the second best non-competitive festival after the London Film Festival.
56. The 2005 calendar of FIAPF accredited "competitive specialized feature film festivals" reads:
    - Brussels (Science Fiction): Fantasy films and science fiction films – 11-26 March
    - Istanbul: Films on art: literature, theatre, music, dance, cinema & plastic arts – 2-17 April
    - Wiesbaden (goEast): Films from Central and Eastern Europe – 6-12 April
    - Troïa: Films from countries producing a maximum of 25 features annually – 28 May-5 June
    - Valencia Jove: New directors' films – 18-25 June
    - Valencia Mediterranean: Films from Mediterranean countries – 14-21 July
    - Sarajevo: Films from Central and Southeastern Europe – 19-27 August
    - Namur: French-language films – 23-30 September
    - Frankfurt: Films for children – 25 September-2 October
    - Bogota: New directors' films – 5-13 October
    - Pusan: Films from new directors of Asian countries – 6-14 October
    - Warsaw: First and second features – 7-16 October
    - Ghent: Impact of music on films – 11-22 October
    - Sao Paulo: New directors' films – 21 October-3 November
    - Kyiv: Young directors' films – 22-30 October
    - Ljublijana: First and second features – 10-24 November
    - Turin: New directors' films – 11-19 November
    - Stockholm: Films on new cinematographic orientations – 17-27 November
    - Thessaloniki: New directors' films – 18-27 November
    - Gijon: Films for young people – 24 November-2 December
    - India (Goa): Asian films – 24 November-4 December
    - Sitges: Fantasy films – dates to be confirmed
    - Courmayeur: Police and mystery films – 6-12 December
    - Kerala (Trivandrum): Films from Asia, Africa & Latin America – 9-16 December

    11 July 2005, <http://www.fiapf.org/intfilmfestivals_sites02.asp>.
57. The 2005 calendar of FIAPF accredited "non-competitive feature film festivals" reads:

- Sydney – 10-25 June
- Melbourne – 20 July-7 August
- Haugesund – 19-26 August
- Toronto – 8-17 September
- Vienna – 14-26 October
- London – 19 October-3 November
- Kolkata – 10-17 November

11 July 2005, <http://www.fiapf.org/intfilmfestivals_sites03.asp>.

58. The 2005 calendar of FIAPF accredited "documentary and short film festivals" reads:
    - Tampere – 9-13 March
    - Oberhausen – 5-10 May
    - Krakow – 31 May-5 June
    - St. Petersburg – 15-22 June
    - Bilbao – 21-26 November

    11 July 2005, <http://www.fiapf.org/intfilmfestivals_sites04.asp>.

Notes Chapter 1

1. The Berlinale Talent Campus is a cooperative effort of the International Berlin Film Festival, the Filmboard Berlin-Brandenburg, UK Film Council, House of World Cultures and MEDIA Promotion. It also has the support of over thirty other partners. The first edition took place from 10-14 February 2003. In the *Campus Magazine* editorial, festival director Dieter Kosslick wrote: "The Berlinale Talent Campus is a unique place for international and multicultural exchange between up-and-coming film filmmakers and established professionals. Here, you can learn how the business really works, you can have discussions with directors, producers, and other professionals. At the same time, the Campus is a platform which allows various organizations and institutions from all over the world to present themselves and it offers a place to show and watch films." Kosslick, Dieter. *Berlinale Talent Campus Magazine*. Berlin: Berlinale: 2003: 2.
2. Handout of The Script Factory Scene at the Berlinale Talent Campus 2003, *The Script Factory Masterclass with Thomas Vinterberg & Mogens Rukov,* 12 February, 2003.
3. Kennedy, Harlan. "… And God Created Film Fests." *American Film*, vol. XVI no. 2 (February 1991): 12.
4. In 1936, the Venice Film Festival received official recognition. The festival was separated from the Arts Biennale and scheduled as an annual event. The decision in 1936 was made to build the *Palazzo della Mostra del Cinema* at the Lido, which would remain the heart of the festival for years to come.
5. Louis Lumière responds to the invitation of festival president Count Giuseppe Volpi Di Misurate in a letter dated June 10th: "*Monsieur le Président, J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 30 Mai que vient de me communiquer le Directeur de la Chambre Syndicale Française de la Cinématographie et m'empresse de vous dire que je suis très touché de la marque de sympathie dont je suis l'objet. J'accepte bien volontiers de faire*

partie du Comité d'Honneur de la manifestation que vous organisez et vous prie, Monsieur le Président, d'agréer, avec mes remerciemente, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués. Louis Lumière." From: Turfkruyer, M., and Jean-Pierre Wauters. "50 jaar Venetië." *Film en Televisie*, no. 306 (November 1982): 7.

6. Bono, Francesco. "La Mostra del cinema di Venezia: nascita e sviluppo nell'anteguerre (1932-1939)." *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. XXII, no. 3 (August 1991): 513-549; 514 [original in Italian].
7. Another Intriguing detail is that one of the screenwriters of this Fascist film was Roberto Rossellini. Rossellini was to become the embodiment of anti-Fascism with his Roma, Città Aperta (Italy: 1946).
8. For more historical details on the foundation of film festivals and Fascist influence in Venice, see De Valck, Marijke. "Building the Circuit: An Historical Overview of the Film Festival Phenomenon." Ed. Granja, Paulo. *Cineclubes, festivais de cinema e outras cinefilias.* Coimbra: Ariadne, 2005.
9. Museum of Modern Art. Published on the occasion of the exhibition. *Cannes 45 Years: Festival International du Film*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1992.
10. Ibid.
11. Locarno's precursor was the "Rassagna del film italiano," which was organized for the first time in the Italian language city of Lugano, Switzerland in September 1941. When citizens rejected a proposal for the construction of a festival palace in 1946 and the festival was cancelled, cinephiles in the nearby city of Locarno took over the initiative. See De Valck. "Building the Circuit."
12. Hake, Sabine. *German National Cinema*. London: Routledge, 2002: 30.
13. The Reichsfilmkammer (Reich Chamber of Film) only employed "politically reliable" men, which led to a wave of immigration among Jews and non-conformist talents, especially to Hollywood. Censorship was exercised on the pre-production level (Reichsfilmdramaturg), minimizing the economic risk to the film studios. Financial incentives stimulated the production of movies that promoted the National Socialist ideology. In addition, Ufa and the distribution companies Terra and Tobis-Rota were nationalized in 1937, independent film production banned in 1941 and, finally in 1942, the entire film industry reorganized into the conglomerate Ufa Film, which fell under the direct control of the Ministry of Propaganda. See Elsaesser, Thomas, and Michael Wedel, eds. *The BFI Companion to German Cinema*. London: BFI Publishing, 1999: 179-180 and 239-240.
14. Hake. *German National Cinema*: 87.
15. The idea for a festival, however, had been proposed by various people at around the same time. See: Fehrenbach, Heidi. "Mass Culture and Cold War Politics: The Berlin Film Festival of the 1950s." *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler*. Fehrenbach, Heidi. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995: 234-259; 238.
16. Ibid.: 234.
17. In the first three years of its existence, the International Film Festival Berlin was not a permanent institution. According to the task division between state and federal states, the city of Berlin was responsible for prolongation. Every year the Berlin Senate had to decide whether or not the festival would continue and every year the House of Representatives was formally notified of this decision. In 1953, the Berlin Parliament decreed that the film festival would become a permanent annual event,

which would be organized with the "Berliner Festwochen" under a communal "*Festspiele*" budget.

18. The preliminary committee consisted of:
    - Theodor Baensch, head of Sub-Department of Film, Department of Art (Senator für Volksbildung)
    - Manfred Barthel, publicist and film editor for Berlin daily newspaper *Der Abend*
    - Oswald Cammann, manager of SPIO
    - Dr. Hans Cürlis, producer of art films and chairman of the Society for German Art Film Producers
    - Ernst Hasselbach, producer of feature films and chairman of the Society for Berlin Film Producers
    - Oscar Martay, American Film Officer
    - Schneider, Tourist Information Office of Berlin
    - George Turner, British Press and Film Officer
19. The International Film Festival Berlin has been directed by four festival leaders: Alfred Bauer (1951-1976), Wolf Donner (1976-1979), Moritz de Hadeln (1979-2001), and Dieter Kosslick (since 2001).
20. Letter to Oscar Marty from Alfred Bauer, dated 13 April 1951 in: Jacobson, Wolfgang. *50 Jahre Berlinale: Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin*. Berlin: Nicolai, 2000: 16 [original in German].
21. Fehrenbach, Heidi. "Mass Culture and Cold War Politics: The Berlin Film Festival of the 1950s;" 236.
22. Quoted from the festival press release in 1949 in: Billard, Pierre, *Le Festival de Cannes: D'Or et des Palmes*, Découvertes Gallimard: Paris, 1997: 27.
23. Another example of the international power play round the "A" status concerns the developments in the socialist countries. In 1956, the Czechoslovakian festival Karlovy Vary's received the "A" status as "non-specialized festival with a feature film competition." When an international film festival was established in Moscow in 1959, it was immediately accredited with a category "A". The political decision was made to have only one "A" festival per year among the Eastern Bloc countries. Therefore, Karlovy Vary and Moscow IFF became biannual events, each taking turns in organizing a film festival between 1958 and 1993.
24. Wolfgang Jacobsen argues that the competition between the festivals was complicated by the rejection of both 17 and 18 June 1955 as appropriate opening dates, because they were respectively a Saturday and new national anniversary. See: Jacobsen. *50 Jahre Berlinale*: 58.
25. ShoWest is also held in March (est. in 1975 in San Diego; moved to Las Vegas in 1979). But this is the motion picture industry convention and, as such, focused on commercial cinema and not at art films, which Donner considered as the main focus of the Filmmesse in Berlin.
26. Among others: Flora, P., D. Urwin, and S. Kuhnle, eds. *State formation, Nation-building, and Mass Politics in Europe: The Theory of Stein Rokkan*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999; Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1983; Hagedoorn, Louk, et al. *European Nations and Nationalism: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives*. Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate, 2000; Hardt, Michael, and Antonio Negri. *Empire*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2000.
27. Hardt, and Negri. *Empire*: 101-105.

28. The early festivals took place in Marienbad (Mariánské Lázn). The festival eventually moved to Karlovy Vary in 1950.
29. Nowell-Smith. Geoffrey. "Introduction." *Hollywood & Europe: Economy, Culture, National Identity 1945-1995*. Eds. Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey, and Steven Ricci. London: BFI Publishing, 1998: 1-16; 3.
30. That Hollywood was seen as the universal standard requires a twofold explanation. On the one hand, it refers to the economic reality of Hollywood's worldwide domination in exhibition venues. The mere fact that Hollywood films are omnipresent and watched almost everywhere, renders these products universal. On the other hand, Hollywood has proven capable of addressing a global audience, even with national-specific genres such as the Western. Thus, Hollywood films are also universal, because of their universal appeal. In other words, Hollywood's universal success should be seen as both a top-down and a bottom-up process; top-down, since the penetration of the global market by Hollywood products is reached by means of effective business strategies; and bottom-up, because audiences worldwide have been thoroughly and genuinely enchanted by these products and often cherish a strong preference for Hollywood films over their own national or other foreign cinemas.
31. Crofts, Stephan. "Concepts of National Cinema." *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 385-394; 385.
32. For recent studies regarding European cinema see, for example: Ezra, Elizabeth, ed. *European Cinema*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004; Forbes, Jill and Sarah Street. *European Cinema: An Introduction*, Houndmills [etc.]: Palgrave, 2000; Fowler, Catherine, ed. *The European Cinema Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002; Hill, John, and Pamela Church Gibson, eds. *World Cinema: Critical Approaches*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000; Mazierska, Ewa, and Laura Rascaroli. *From Moscow to Madrid: Postmodern Cities, European Cinema*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003; and Wayne, Mike. *The Politics of Contemporary European Cinema: Histories, Borders and Diasporas*. Bristol and Portland: Intellect Books, 2002.
33. Higson, Andrew. "The Concept of National Cinema." *Screen*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1989): 36-46; 44.
34. Ibid.: 39.
35. These studies include: Elwood, David, and Rob Kroes, eds. *Hollywood in Europe*. Amsterdam: VU, 1994; De Grazia, Victoria. "Mass Culture and Sovereignty: American Challenge to European Cinema." *Journal of Modern History*, no. 61 (March 1989): 53-87; Elsaesser, Thomas. "Two Decades in another Country: Hollywood and the Cinephiles." *Superculture: American Popular Culture in Europe*. Ed. Bigsby, Christopher. London: Elek, 1975; and Leve, Peter. *The Euro-American Cinema*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
36. Elsaesser, Thomas. *New German Cinema: A History*. London: BFI/Macmillan, 1989.
37. Eleftheriotis, Dimitris. *Popular Cinemas of Europe: Studies of Texts, Contexts, and Frameworks*. London and New York Continuum, 2001: 34.
38. Dyer, Richard, and Ginette Vincendeau. *Popular European Cinema*. London: Routledge, 1992: 8.
39. Godard, Truffaut, Chabrol, Rohmer and Rivette met in the late 1940s at the Cinémathèque Française, established by Henry Langlois. They began their careers by working as film critics for *Cahier du Cinéma*, founded by André Bazin in 1950.

40. Beauchamp, Cari, and Henri Béhar. *Hollywood on the Riviera: The Inside Story of the Cannes Film Festival*. New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1992: 71.
41. See "L'Affaire Langlois." *Cahiers du Cinema*, no. 199 (March 1968): 31-46.
42. The Motion Picture Association of America sent a representative to Malraux to discuss matters diplomatically and quietly. Both public and private pressure forced the French government to reinstate Langlois. However, state funding was withdrawn. Ibid.: 75.
43. Stapleton, John, and David Robinson. "All the Fun of the Festivals." *Films & Filming*, no. 345 (June 1983): 14-16; 16.
44. Ulrich Gregor quoted from Schröder, Nicholaus, ed. *Zwischen Barrikade und Elfenbeinturm: Zur Geschichte des unabhängigen Kinos. 30 Jahre Internationales Forum des Jungen Films*. Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek. Berlin: Henschel Verlag, 2000: 25 [translated from the German].
45. The Museum of Modern Art. *Cannes 45 Years: Festival International du Film*. New York: MoMA, 1992: 11-12.
46. For a history of the *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* see: Deleau, Pierre-Henri, ed. *La Quinzaine des Réalisateurs à Cannes: Cinéma en Liberté (1969-1993)*. Paris: Èditions de la Martinière, 1993.
47. For a historical account of the scandal round Michael Verhoeven's film *O.K.* see Wolfgang Jacobsen, *50 Jahre Berlinale: Internationale Filmfestspiele Berlin*, Nicolai: Berlin, 2000.
48. Ibid.: 118.
49. Ibid.: 166.
50. Ibid.: 173, as quoted from a steno message on the 78th session of the Parliament, 9 July 1970.
51. Ibid.: 174-175.
52. Schröder. *Zwischen Barrikade und Elfenbeinturm*: 8.
53. Ibid.. From the 13 November 1963 declaration of Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek.
54. Jacobsen. *50 Jahre Berlinale*: 181.
55. Schröder. *Zwischen Barrikade und Elfenbeinturm*: 36.
56. Ibid.: 44.
57. The description of the Forum as both revolutionary (barricades) and elitist (ivory tower) was first used by Bern Plagemann and subsequently adopted for the publication dedicated to the thirtieth anniversary of the Forum.
58. Schröder. *Zwischen Barrikade und Elfenbeinturm*: 20.
59. Hardt, and Negri. *Empire*: 142.
60. For a similar argument on the potentially harmful effect of globalization see: Cower, Tyler. *Creative Destruction: How Globalization is Changing the World's Culture*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002.
61. Stringer, Julian. "Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy" *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context*. Eds. Shiel, M. and T. Fitzmaurice, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001: 134-144; 138.
62. Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam, Robert. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. London and New York: Routledge 2000:, 260.
63. Gregor, Ulrich. Personal interview. 14 February 2003.

64. For an account of the reception of Iranian Cinema see: Nichols, Bill. "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit." *Film Quarterly*, vol. XLVII, no. 31 (Spring 1994): 16-30.
65. Shohat, and Stam. *Unthinking Eurocentrism*; 248. Havana, Cuba is dedicated to New Latin American cinema; Carthage, Tunisia to Arab and African cinemas; and Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso to the African and Afro-diasporic cinemas.
66. Ibid.: 134.
67. Another problematic aspect of the term "national cinema" in the age of globalization concerns the increasingly international funding of films. In particular, films from developing countries depend on foreign investments. The critique on "successful" film festivals, in this respect, is that they do not contribute to the national film industry. FESPACO, for example, has not contributed to the development of national African film industries. One week every two years the rue Marchande is bursting with activity, business and discussions on the future of African cinema, only to return to its normal quiet state and Western and Kung Fu movies in the cinemas when the festival has finished. The festival in Ouagadougou is funded by the French government and the Francophone organisation Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique (ACCT), with some additional help from UNESCO, the EC and other European countries. In addition, it is the French government and Francophone organisations that together produce ninety percent of African films. Manthia Diawara comments: "Some critics say that FESPACO is a European festival organized in Africa. Diawara, Manthia. "New York and Ouagadougou: The Homes of African Cinema." *Sight & Sound*, vol. III, no. 11 (November 1993): 24-26; 24.
68. Ibid.: 24.
69. Gregor, Ulrich. Personal interview. 14 February 2003.
70. On May 23rd 1949 a new constitution came into force for the Bundes Republik Deutschland – the constitution of 1949 was intended to be temporary until the reunification of Germany. With the reunification of West and East Germany in 1990, however, the Western constitution was instituted with a few amendments, making the "temporary" constitution a permanent one after all. With the Nazi past still fresh in mind, the constitution was specifically designed to prevent a situation in which too much power could be exercised by a small group of people or the German national government. Modeled on the Weimar Republic, the chosen structure was federal. The division of power between a central government and federal states was, however, stronger and more balanced than during the Weimar period. After reunification, the BRD model was maintained. The central government was in Bonn (since 2000 in Berlin) and sixteen federal states, which had a large degree of autonomy. The federal states formed their own government that made independent policy decisions involving education, milieu, water, health, culture, and media. Thus, the cultural policy (*Kulturpolitik*) which included the regulations regarding the International Film Festival Berlin, has always been a federal issue in Germany. The city of Berlin formed and forms a separate federal government, which means that most of the decisions regarding the Berlin Film Festival are taken on a local rather than a national level. Throughout the Berlinale's history, state interest in the festival, however, has been steady due to the festival's importance regarding its Cold War agenda.
71. Ibid.: 139.

72. The airport is the embodiment of Virilio's concept of speed distance. In the airport metaphor, two technologies come together: air traffic and advanced surveillance technologies. These transportation and telecommunication technologies alter the perception of space and time. They cause a new configuration of space-time, which Virilio calls speed distance. Speed distance means that the distinction between "here" and "there" is surpassed by the speed of transportation and transmission. For Virilio the temporal element in speed distance is more important than the spatial element. Thus, he sees urban development as highly influenced by imperceptible organisation of time. Imperceptible organisation of time is linked to the overexposure of screens: computer consoles, video monitors, cinema screens etc. In the article "The Overexposed City," Virilio argues that the physical city disappears into the aesthetics and temporality of these advanced technologies. They control time through three logistics of perception: military, cinematic and techno-scientific. Virilio, Paul. "The Overexposed City." *Rethinking Architecture. A Reader in Cultural Theory.* Ed. Leach, Neil. New York: Routledge, 1997: 381-390.
73. For a photocopy of this letter see: Ibid., 390-391.
74. Jacobsen. *50 Jahre Berlinale*: 393.
75. Friedmann, J. "The World City Hypothesis." *Development and Change*, no. 17 (1986): 69-83; Sassen, S. *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001; and Sassen, S. *Losing Control? Sovereignty in an Age of Globalization*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
76. Consider, for example, publications such as: Bridge, Gary, and Sophie Watson. "Retext(ur)ing the City." *City,* vol. 5, no. 3 (November 2001): 350-362; Chatterton, Paul. "Will the Real Creative City Please Stand up?" *City,* vol. 4, no.3 (November 2000): 390-397; Graham. Stephen. "The City as Sociotechnical Process: Networked Mobilities and Urban Social Inequalities." *City,* vol. 5, no. 3 (November 2001): 339-349; Parker, Simon F. "Community, Social Identity and the Structuration of Power in the Contemporary European City. Part One: Towards a Theory of Urban Structuration." *City,* vol. 5, no. 2 (July 2001): 189-202; Parker, Simon F. "Community, Social Identity and the Structuration of Power in the Contemporary European City. Part Two: Power and Identity in the Urban Community: a Comparative Analysis." *City,* vol. 5, no. 3 (November 2001): 281-309; and Parker, Simon F. "Tales of the City: Situating Urban Discourse in Place and Time." *City,* vol. 4, no. 2 (July 2000): 233-246.
77. For more information on Seattle, Havana, Prague, and other case studies see: Short, J.R., et al. "From World Cities to Gateway Cities: Extending the Boundaries of Globalization Theory." *City,* vol. 4, no. 3 (November 2000): 317-331.
78. Jacobsen. *50 Jahre Berlinale*: 173, as quoted from a steno message on the 78th session of the Parliament, 9 July 1970.
79. For more information on the evens running up to Berlin's election as the new capital, see: Richie, A. "The New Capital." *Faust's Metropolis. A History of Berlin*. New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1998: 813-858.
80. Jacobsen. *50 Jahre Berlinale*: 535.
81. Ibid.: 536.

Notes Chapter 2

1. Michael Moore in: Sontinel, Thomas. "Michael Moore, réalisateur: 'Je veux qu'on me rende mon pays'." *Le Monde*, 24 May 2004.
2. The continuing influence of politics in Cannes became visible in another way in 2004. The French government regards the Festival de Cannes as a highly prestigious cultural event that must be protected from disruption by dissonant forces at all costs. Since the successful 1968 upheaval and the foundation of the parallel *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs*, strikers have realized that protests in Cannes are a guarantee of both media and government attention. In 2004, a disgruntled group of employees with a temporary contract in the cultural sector sought to undermine the festival in response to various economic measures. The government engaged in negotiations to prevent even worse disruptions and allowed the *intermittents* some exposure. However, when they threatened to occupy the *Palais du Cinéma*, the French government drew the line and sent in troops to protect the festival's central icon, which, coincidentally or not, already had the nickname of "bunker," because of its uninviting architecture.
3. Ibid..
4. Ibid.: 50.
5. The transition in America was initiated several years earlier, in around 1902-03.
6. Kreimeier, Klaus. *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company 1918-1945*. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1999: 4.
7. Ibid.: 363.
8. Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey. "Introduction." *Hollywood & Europe: Economy, Culture, National Identity 1945-1995*. Eds. Nowell-Smith, Geoffrey, and Steven Ricci. London: BFI Publishing, 1998: 1-16; 4.
9. For an anthropological discussion of "festival," see: Dayan, Daniel and Elihu Katz. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge [etc.]: Harvard University Press, 1992.
10. Turan, Kenneth. *Sundance to Sarajevo: Film Festivals and the World They Made*. Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002: 23.
11. Invented in 1959 by the Radio Corporation of America (RCA), the new technology of video was not successfully launched for the consumer market until 1975, when Sony introduced its Betamax system as *the* solution for time-shifting television broadcasts. A couple of years later, JVC (Japan Victor Company) entered the market with the alternative system VHS. VHS became the standard for video.
12. The 1976 revision of the Copyright Act offered four tests for fair use: 1) the purpose and character of the use; 2) the nature of the copyrighted work; 3) the amount of the work that was copied; and 4) the economic impact of copying. See Wasser, Frederick. *Veni, Vidi, Video: The Hollywood Empire and the VCR*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001: 85.
13. Ibid.: 91.
14. Michel. *Cannes. Cris et Chuchotements*. Paris: NiL éditions, 1997: 187.
15. See table 3.3 "Origin of Major Home Video (HV) Distribution Divisions." Wasser. *Veni, Vidi, Video*: 98.

16. For an accurate (though fictional) example of such business practices, see Festival de Cannes (USA: Henry Jaglom 2001).
17. Pascal. *Cannes. Cris et Chuchotements*: 178.
18. Perry, Simon. "Cannes, Festivals and the Movie Business." *Sight & Sound*, vol. L, no. 4. (Autumn 1981): 226-232; 228.
19. For more theoretical reflection and historical detail on the contemporary cinema economy, see, for example: Creton, Lauren. *Cinéma et Marché*. Paris: Armand Colin / Masson, 1997; and Kindem, Gorham, ed., *The International Movie Industry*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000.
20. Wyatt, Justin. *High Concept. Movies and Marketing in Hollywood*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994: 13.
21. Wasser. *Veni, Vidi, Video*: 159.
22. Perren, Alisa. "Sex, Lies and Marketing: Miramax and the Development of the Quality Indie Blockbuster." *Film Quarterly*, vol. 55, issue 2: 30-35; 30.
23. Ibid.: 33.
24. In 1990 the film was nominated, among others, for the Academy Awards, the BAFTA's, the Golden Globde and the César. It won four Independent Spirit Awards, two Chicago Film Critics Association Awards and a Los Angeles Film Critics Association Award.
25. For an extensive overview of Miramax's history, see Biskind, Peter. *Down and Dirty Pictures: Miramax, Sundance, and the Rise of the Independent Film*. New York [etc.]: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2004.
26. For its influence on film marketing see, for example, the following articles: Jones, Amorette. "The Blair Witch Project." *Advertising Age*, 26 June 2000, vol. 71, issue 27: 22; Lyman, Rick. "Old-Style Sundance vs. Star-Studded Premières." *New York Times*, 23 January 2003; Markus, Stuart. "Everything is Kosher in a Good Marketing Niche." *Long Island Business News*, 11 May 2001, vol. 48, issue 19: 15A; and Schamus, James. "The Pursuit of Happiness: Making an Art of Marketing an Explosive Film." *Nation*, 5-12 April 1999, vol. 269, issue 13, 34-35.
27. Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism & Schizophrenia*. London and New York: Continuum, 2002: 9.
28. London Economics. *The Competitive Position of the European and US Film Industries*. Report for the Media Business School. An initiative of the MEDIA programme of the European Community, London: London Economics, 1992: 19.
29. Dale, Martin. *The Movie Game: The Film Business in Britain, Europe and America*. London: Cassell, 1997: 219.
30. Ibid.: 221.
31. London Economics. *Retailing European Films: The case of the European Exhibition Industry*. Report for the Media Business School. An initiative of the MEDIA programme of the European Community, London: London Economics, 1993: 104.
32. Perry. "Cannes, Festivals and the Movie Business:" 229.
33. Mysterious Object at Noon was nominated for the Dragons and Tigers Award and won the Dragons and Tigers Award – Special Citation at the Vancouver International Film Festival in 2000.
34. Blissfully Yours subsequently won the Un Certain Regard Award at the Cannes Film Festival in May 2002; the Golden Alexander at the Thessaloniki International Film Festival in November 2002; the KNF awards (Association of Dutch Film

Critics) at the International Rotterdam Film Festival in February 2003; Best Director and FIPRESCI Prize at the Buenos Aires International Film Festival in April 2003; and the Young Cinema Award at the Singapore International Film Festival in May 2003. The film was, moreover, nominated for the Grand Jury Prize of the AFI Fest – The Annual AFI Los Angeles International Film Festival – in November 2002.

35. The other jury prize was given to actress Irma P. Hall for her performance in The Ladykillers by Joel & Ethan Coen (USA: 2004).
36. Shackleton, Liz. "Back to the Future." *Screen International at Cannes*. 20 May 2004: 10.
37. For a discussion of the relationship between Hollywood and European cinema, film policy, and the effect of globalization see, for example: Elsaesser, Thomas. "Hyper-Retro- or Counter-: European Cinema." *Mediating Two Worlds: The Americanas and Europe 1492-1992*. Eds. King, J., A. Lopez, and M. Alvarado. London: BFI Publishing, 1992: 119-135; Mattelart, A. "European Film Policy and the Response to Hollywood." *Oxford Guide to Film Studies*. Eds. Hill, John, and Pamela Church Gibson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 478-485. Moran, Albert, ed. *Film Policy: International, National and Regional Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 1996; Uricchio, William. "Displacing Culture: Trans-National Culture, Regional Elites, and the Challenge to National cinema." *Trading Culture: GATT, European Cultural Policies and the Transatlantic Market*. Eds. Van Hemel, A., H. Mommas, and C. Smithuijsen. Amsterdam: Boekmanstichting, 1996: 67-82.
38. François Mitterand, speech in Gdansk, Poland, 21 September 1993 as quoted in: Jeancolas, Jean-Pierre. "From the Blum-Byrnes Agreement to the GATT affair." *Hollywood & Europe*. Nowell-Smith and Ricci: 47-60; 57-58.
39. Chanan, Michael. "What was GATT about?" *Vertigo*, (spring 1994) as quoted in: Finney, Angus. *The State of European Cinema: A Dose of Reality*. London: Cassell, 1996: 7.
40. Finney. *The State of European Cinema*: 47.
41. Ibid.: 36.
42. For a history of the Sundance Film Festival, see Smith, Lory. *Party in a Box. The Story of the Sundance Film Festival*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher: 1999. For a critical account of Sundance (and Telluride), see Rosenbaum, Jonathan. "Trafficking in Movies (Festival-hopping in the Nineties)." *Movie Wars: How Hollywood and the Media Limit What Films We Can see*. London: Wallflower Press, 2000: 143-173.
43. Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam. *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*. London: Routledge, 2001: 29.
44. See also the festival publication on the Hubert Bals Fund: Fallaux, Emile, Malu Halasa, and Nupu Press, eds. *True Variety: Funding the Art of World Cinema*. Rotterdam: International Film Festival Rotterdam, 2003.
45. La Niña Santa (Argentina/IT/NL/ES: Lucrecia Martel 2004), Cronicas (Mexico/Ecuador: Sebastián Cordero 2004), Los Muertos (Argentina/FR/NL/CH: Lisandro Alonso 2004), and Thrist (Palestine/Israel: Tawfik Abu Wael Alonso 2004).
46. The other CineMart projects in Cannes 2004 were: La Niña Santa (AR/IT/NL/ES: Lucrecia Martel 2004), Nobody Knows (JP: Kore-Eda Hirokazu 2004), Cronicas (MX/EC: Sebastián Cordero 2004), Hotel (AT/DE: Jessica Hausner 2004), Whiskey (UY/AR/DE/ES: Juan-Pablo Rebella, Pablo Stoll 2004), and Los Muertos (AR/FR/NL/CH: Lisandro Alonso 2004).
47. Filmmakers from Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Fyrom, Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Slovenia, and Turkey can apply with a full fiction film project to the

Balkan Fund. *City and Festival Guide*, Thessaloniki International Film Festival 2003: 18.

48. Lange, André. "Laughter and Torture." *Focus 2004: World Film Market Trends*. The European Audiovisual Observatory Cannes: *Marché du Film*, 2004: 4-6.
49. Minns, Adam. "Croisette Witnesses the Rebirth of the Salesman." *Screen International*. 20 May 2004: 1.
50. Hans Weingartner was born in Austria, but lives in Germany. Consequently, Germans and Austrians ended up quarrelling over the "ownership" of the production and the nationality of the competing film.
51. More information on the Cannes Market see www.festival-cannes.org.
52. Festival de Cannes. *Producers Network 2004*. Festival de Cannes 2004: 1.
53. Paillard, Jérôme. Personal interview. 19 May 2004.
54. Museum of Modern Art. Published on the occasion of the exhibition *Cannes 45 Years: Festival International du Film*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1992: 11.
55. The Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), led by president Will H. Hays, handled the film industry's domestic and foreign policies from Manhattan from 1922 to 1945, maintaining close contacts with the federal government.
56. The godfather of film theory, André Bazin, also dedicated an article to the festival. Bazin, André. "La Foi Qui Sauve: Cannes 1952. "*Cahiers du Cinéma*, no. 12 (May 1952): 4-11.
57. See for example: Bart, Peter. *Cannes: Fifty Years of Sun, Sex & Celluloid: Behind the Scenes at the World's Most Famous Film Festival*. New York: Hyperion, 1997; Beauchamp, Cari, and Henri Béhar. *Hollywood on the Riviera: The Inside Story of the Cannes Film Festival*. New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1992; and Billard, Pierre. *Festival de Cannes: d'Or et de Palmes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1997.
58. Sklar, Robert. "Beyond Hoopla: The Cannes Film Festival and Cultural Significance." *Cineaste*, vol. XXII, no. 3 (December 1996): 18-20; 18.
59. Sarris, Andrew. "The Last Word on Cannes." *American Film*, vol. VII, no. 7 (May 1982): 26, 29-30; 28, 30.
60. For photographic impressions of the festival see: Mirkine, Leo. *Festival de Cannes: 30 Ans de Photographie*. Paris: Contrejour, 1981; and Romer, Jean-Claude. *Cannes Memories 1932-2002: La Grande Histoire du Festival*. Montreuil: Media Business & Partners, 2002.
61. Billard, Pierre. *Festival de Cannes: d'Or et de Palmes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1997: 24-25.
62. Sarris. "The Last Word on Cannes: 29.
63. As quoted by Gardner Chris, and Ian Mohr. "Party Politics." *The Hollywood Reporter Cannes Edition*. 13 May 2004: 21.
64. *The Hollywood Reporter Cannes Edition*, 19 May 2004: 19.
65. This first *Palais des Festival*, also known as *Palais Croisette* was demolished in 1989.
66. The festival was rescheduled from autumn to spring in 1951.
67. Six luxurious hotels in Cannes are specifically linked to the festival: the Carlton, Grand Hotel, Gray d'Albion, Majestic, Martinez and the Noga Hilton. Many film stars stay in these hotels or, if they need more privacy, withdraw to the Hotel du Cap at the Cap D'Antibes, from where they can take a speedboat to ceremonies and parties without having to mingle with the masses on the Croissette.

68. Alternatively, you can secure a personalized Kodak moment by using the services of the commercial photographers that, also dressed in black tie, re-enact the ritual and give you star treatment.
69. Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. New York: Zone Books, 2002: 30.
70. Kill Bill, Vol. 2 was screened out of competition at the 2004 Cannes Film Festival. In the film, Carradine's character, Bill, replies to the Bride when she asks him how he found her with a simple "I'm the man."
71. In terms of a geopolitical perspective, Cannes can also be argued to resemble the Bride in Tarantino's Kill Bill, standing up against Venice. The initiative to found a festival in Cannes in 1939 was an act of revenge by the French, Americans and British to counter the Fascist hegemony at the *Mostra* in Venice, the only international film festival at the time. The outbreak of World War II meant that this act of revenge remained dormant until the Allied victory allowed the festival to re-emerge in 1946.
72. See for example Douhaire, Samuel. "Le vrai héros, c'est lui." *Libération*, 24 May 2004.

Notes Chapter 3

1. *The Times*, 5 September 2003: 1.
2. For a discussion of the image of *The Times*, see, for example, Wikipedia: "Long considered the UK's newspaper of record, *The Times* is generally seen as a serious publication with high standards of journalism. However, some, including employees of *The Times*, feel it has gone down market since being acquired by [Rupert] Murdoch [in 1981]; they cite its coverage of celebrities as evidence, although this increased coverage of and emphasis on celebrity- and sports-related news is rarely given prominence on the front page." *Wikipedia*. 17 June 2007. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times>.
3. For an analysis of the postmodern paradigm in film, see Thanouli, Elefteria. *Post-classical Narration: A New Paradigm in Contemporary World Cinema*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 2005.
4. A precondition for being allowed into one of these interview junkets is typically that the movie concerned must have distribution in the country where the applying journalist will publish his/her report.
5. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003: 170.
6. Shrum, Wesley Monroe Jr. *Fringe and Fortune: The Role of Critics in High and Popular Art*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996: 40.
7. The idea of art and the idea of a hierarchy among the arts are relatively new. It was in the seventeenth century, that the French educational system first separated art and science. In the mid-eighteenth century, Abbé Batteau presented a system of the arts, in which he defined the fine arts by their communal goal of pleasure: music, poetry, painting, sculpture, and dance.
8. Dayan, Daniel, and Elihu Katz. *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History*. Cambridge [etc.]: Harvard University Press, 1992. Dayan and Katz define media events

as a television genre characterized by an extensive list of elements: 1) monopolistic interruptions of daily life; 2) live broadcasting; 3) organization outside the media; 4) pre-planning by the media; 5) presentation with reverence and ceremony; 6) hegemonic and historic; 7) "electrification" of very large audiences; and 8) norms of viewing.

9. Dayan, Daniel. "Looking for Sundance: The Social Construction of a Film Festival." *Moving Images, Culture and the Mind*. Ed. Bondebjerg, Ib. London: University of Luton Press, 2000: 43-52; 45.
10. Ibid.
11. It was only in 2001 that the British Academy Film Awards moved its date to before the Oscars. The rescheduling of the Oscars prior to the early BAFTA's should be placed in relation to this earlier move. Likewise, the rescheduling of the American Film Market from late February and early March to November is not only related to competition with MIFED, but also with the Academy Awards.
12. On the distinction between place and non-place, Marc Augé writes: "[B]y place and non-place I mean to designate both real spaces and the relations that their users have with them. A place is defined as identitary, in the sense that a certain number of individuals recognize themselves in it and define themselves by means of it; relational, in the sense that the same individuals read within that space the relation that unites them with each other; and historical, in the sense that the occupants of the place find in it various traces of an old, former presence, the sign of affiliation. Place, then, is triply symbolic (in the sense that the symbol establishes a tradition of complementarity between two beings or realities): it symbolizes the relation that each of its inhabitants has to him – or herself, to the other occupants, and to their common history. A space where neither identity, relation, or history are symbolized is a non-place … They are spaces where people coexist or cohabit without living together, where the status of consumer or solitary passenger implies a contractual relation with society. These empirical non-places, and the mental attitudes and relations to the world that they give rise to, are characteristic of the state of supermodernity, defined in opposition to modernity. As explained, supermodernity corresponds to an acceleration of history, a shrinking of space, and an individualizing of references, all of which subvert the cumulative processes of modernity." In: Augé, Marc. *An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999: 109-110.
13. Castells, Manuel. *The Rise of the Network Society.* Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002: 442.
14. Ibid.: 444.
15. For an historical and insider overview of the Sundance Film Festival, see, among others, Smith, Lory. *Party in a Box: The Story of the Sundance Film Festival*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith Publisher, 2001.
16. For more information on the recent success of South Korean cinema and festivals see, for example, the following articles by Chris Berry: "Full Service Cinema: The South Korean Cinema Success Story (So Far). " *George Washington University Website*. 28 April 2004. <http://www.gwu.edu/~eall/special/berry-hms02.htm>; and "My Queer Korea: Identity, Space, and the 1998 Queer Film & Video Festival. " *Murdoch University Website*. 28 April 2004. <http://wwwsshe.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue2/Berry.html>.

17. Castells's theory of spaces shows similarities with Hardt and Negri's concept of non-place. In *Empire* they explain how the space of Empire is characterized by an absence of a place for power. Power is both everywhere and nowhere. Empire is a non-place. After the continuous dialectics between outside and inside during Imperialism, there is no outside left in Empire. There are no more borders, as everything has been included in the global arena. Moreover, there is no more nature. The modern dialectics of outside and inside have been replaced by a postmodern play with hybridity and artificiality. Guy Debord's society of the spectacle is an early concept for the virtual place that cannot be divided into inside/outside or private/public. According to Hardt and Negri, the Leftist localist position and resistance against globalization should be rejected, because the local/global dichotomy is fallacious. The important element in the distinction between the local and the global for Hardt and Negri is the notion that locality is produced. "[T]he social machines … create and recreate the identities and differences that are understood as the local. The differences of locality are neither preexisting nor natural but rather the effects of a regime of production" (Hardt, and Negri, 2000: 45). City marketing is a good example of the production of locality. For Hardt and Negri, production is the key to understanding the move from modernity to postmodernity. Networks of production, the transnational corporations, undermined the role of the nation-state. Production also offers the opportunity for resisting and creating a Counter-Empire.
18. *The Midnight Sun Film Festival Website*. 8 March 2004, <http:www.msfilmfestival.fi>.
19. *The Sarajevo Film Festival Website*. 8 March 2004, ,http:www.sff.ba>.
20. Another early example of a festival that changes locations to influence its position on the circuit is the Atlanta International Film Festival. See the article "Atlanta International Film Festival Transfers its Total Operation to the U.S. Virgin Islands." *American Cinematographer*, vol. LVI, no. 7 (July 1975): 822-823.
21. Poirier, Agnes Catherine. "Cutting to the Chase." *Screen International*. 29 August 2003: 10.
22. See Nora, Pierre. "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire." *Representations*, no. 26, special issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 7-24.
23. Whereby the organisation of *Open* makes an explicit statement against the closed structure of national pavilions that continues to dominate the Biennale.
24. Bono, Francesco. "La Mostra del Cinema di Venezia: Nascita e Sviluppo nell'Anteguerra (1932-1039)." *Storia Contemporanea*, vol. XXII, no. 3 (August 1991): 513-549; 539-540. Original Italian: "*Fu solemente nell'inverno 1936/1937 che la Biennale avviò fattivamente i lavori di construzione per un palazzo del cinema – comprensivo di una grande sala di 2.500 posti e altre minori, oltre agli uffici della Mostra – per il quale il 18 novembre la commisione esecutiva aveva scelto il progetto dell'ingegnere Luigi Quagliata. All'opposto di quanto prospettato da Maraini nel 1932, quale ubicazione del palazzo fu individuata l'area occupata dall'ex forte Quattro Fontane al Lido, a pochi passi dall'albergo Elxelsior: scelta che fu il risultato di un intrecciarsi di interessi tra il commune di Venezia e la Compagnia italiana grandi alberghi*."
25. See also chapter 1: 27.
26. The cinema theatre Palagalileo has been erected as a permanent building in-between the Casino and the Palazzo del Cinema and offers 1299 seats. The building is used for press screenings. The only other large permanent cinema theatre is the Sala Grande in the palace, which may contain 1016 viewers and is used for the official

premiers as well as for its opening and closing ceremonies. Smaller cinemas are Sala Perla (451 seats), Sala Volpi (161 seats), Sala Pasenetti (128 seats), Sala Astra 1 (225 seats) and Sala Astra 2 (136 seats).

27. For the rules for foreign press accreditation, see the Biennale website.
28. Lazzarin, Michela. Personal interview, 1 September 2003.
29. Conway Morris, Roderick. "Venice Film Fest Living up to Projections." *International Herald Tribune*, 3 September 2003: 7.
30. These awards are: Competition: Golden Lion for Best Film, Jury Grand Prix, Special Prize for Best Director, Outstanding individual contribution Award, Coppa Volpi for Best Actor, Coppa Volpi for Best Actress, Marcello Mastroianni Award for Best Young Actor or Actress; Upstream: San Marco Award for the director of Best Film (50.000,00 Euro), Jury Grand Prix, Controcorrente Award for Best Actor, Controcorrente Award for Best Actress; Luigi de Laurentiis Competition (first features): Lion of the Future (100,000 euros, donated by Filmauro), 20,000 meters of film (donated by Kodak); and Short Competition: Silver Lion, Award UIP for Best European Short Film, One special mention. See the festival catalogue: *60. Mostra Internazaionale d'Arte Cinematografica*. La Biennale di Venezia. Milano: Mondadori Electa, S.p.A, 2003: 26.
31. The list of allotted awards is distributed among press and media representatives during a press conference in the morning/early afternoon of the day of the closing ceremonies to give them the opportunity to write their final reports with information regarding the official winners.
32. As quoted in: Protess, D.L., M. and McCombs, eds. *Agenda Setting: Readings on Media, Public Opinion and Policymaking*. Hillsdale [etc.]: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1991: 3. Original source: Cohen, B.C. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963: 13.
33. Shrum. *Fringe and Fortune*: 117.
34. Besides Shrum, see also: Wyatt, Robert O., and David P. Badger. "What Newspaper Film Critics Value in Film and Film Criticism: A National Survey." *Current Research in Film: Audiences, Economics and Law*: 54-71; Scott, Robert Dawson. "Bridging the Cultural Gap: How Arts Journalists Decide What Gets onto the Arts and Entertainment Page." *Critical Quarterly*, vol. 41, issue 1 (Spring 1999): 46-56; and Winch, Samuel P. *Mapping the Cultural Space of Journalism: How Journalists Distinguish News from Entertainment*. Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 1997.
35. The other jury members for Venezia 60 were: Stefano Accorsi (actor, Italy), Michael Ballahaus (cinematographer, Germany/USA), Ann Hui (director, Hong Kong), Pierre Jolivet (director, France), Monty Montgomery (director, scriptwriter, producer, USA) and Assumpta Serna (actress, Spain).
36. *60. Mostra Internazaionale d'Arte Cinematografica*: 16.
37. The complete selection of the Competition Venezia 60 is:
    - Marco Bellocchio, Buongiorno, notte (Goodmorning, Night)
    - Paolo Benvenuti, Segreti di Stato (Secret File)
    - Randa Chahal Sabbag, Le Cerf-Volant (The Kite)
    - Jacques Doillon, Raja
    - Bruno Dumont, Twenty-nine Palms
    - Amos Gitai, Alila
    - Alejandro Gonzaláles Iñárritu, 21 Grams

- Christopher Hampton, Imagining Argentina
- Im Sangsoo, Baram-Nan Gajok (A Good Lawyer's Wife)
- Srdjan Karanovic, Sjaj u Ocima (Loving Glances)
- Takeshi Kitano, Zatoichi
- Jan Jaco Kolski, Pornografia (Pornography)
- Carol Lai Miu Suet, The Floating Landscape
- Noémie Lvosky, Les sentiments (Feelings)
- Manoel de Oliviera, Un film falado (A talking picture)
- Margarethe von Trotta, Rosenstrasse
- Tsai Ming-Liang, Bu-San (Good Bye, Dragon Inn)
- Edoardo Winspeare, Il miracolo (The Miracle)
- Michael Winterbottom, Code 46
- Andrey Zvyagintsev, Vosvrachenie (The Return)

38. *60. Mostra Internazaionale d'Arte Cinematografica*: 74.
39. Zander, Peter. "Der Zuschaure als Mittäter." *Die Welt*, 6 September 2003. Original German: "*Es gab auf der 60. Mostra internazionale d'arte cinematografica nicht, wie in Cannes oder jingst in Locarno, das eine große Werk, das ale anderen überragte (und dennoch unterlag). Wenn heute Abend die Löwen vergeben werden, ist im Grunde alles offen. Die Frage wird nur sein, an welche der beide P-Fraktionen sie wanderen: an die private oder die politische. Es gäbe natürlich auch nog eine dirtte Variante: die eine große Ausnahme auszuziechnen, die ein keine der Schubladen passt – Takeshi Kitanos ironischer Samurai-Film "Zatoichi". Oder aber die Kompromisslösung: ein Werk, das beide Fractionen gleichermaßen abdeckt. Das wäre dann* Manoel Oliveiras 'A Talking Picture'."
40. Conway Morris, Roderick. "Vodka' with a Tryst, in Venice." *International Herald Tribune*, 10 September 2003: 10.
41. Pierluigi Celli was head of the Rai, the Italian state network (1998-2001). Piera Detassis was also the editor-in-chief of a cinema magazine published by Berlusconi's publishing company.
42. Stigter, Bianca. "Nieuwe Baas Past Beter bij Berlusconi." *NRC Handelsblad*. 28 August 2002. Original Dutch: "*De Hadeln is de opvolger van Alberto Barbera, die vorig jaar werd ontslagen en moest worden opgevolgd door iemand die beter past bij wat de regering Berlusconi onder cultuur verstaan. Onder Barbera zou het festival niet genoeg glamour geleverd hebben. De benoeming van De Hadeln was een meesterzet. De Hadeln was juist ontslagen bij het filmfestival van Berlijn, dat hij 22 jaar leidde. De Hadeln werd juist verweten dat hij teveel Amerikaanse glamour naar het festival haalde*."
43. In reaction FIPRESCI indignantly sent an email of disapproval. Ciment, Michael and Klaus Eder. E-mail to the FIPRESCI mailing list. 22 December 2003: "FIPRESCI Deplores the Failure to Appoint Moritz De Hadeln to the Direction of the Venice Film Festival. FIPRESCI (the International Federation of Film Critics), which includes thousands of film critics from 62 countries all over the world, expresses its strongest disapproval of the recent developments which led to the dismissal, by the Minister of Culture Giuliano Urbani, of the President Franco Bernabé and of the directorial board of the Biennale of Venice, which were about to confirm Moritz de Hadeln as head of the Venice Film Festival for 2004 in a meeting set for today (December 22nd) and then cancelled. FIPRESCI, through its President, the celebrated French film critic Michel Ciment, and its General Secretary Klaus Eder, stated – even though it does not wish to intervene in the internal affairs of the Italian govern-

ment – that it deplores that political reasons have intervened once more in the cultural and administrative autonomy of one of the most important and prestigious cultural bodies in the world, which international critics have always considered very highly. FIPRESCI indicates its total support of Carlo Lizzani, Gillo Pontecorvo, Felice Laudadio and Alberto Barbera, past directors of the Mostra Internazionale d'Arte Cinematografica of the Biennale di Venezia. They declared their availability to direct an alternative event jointly during the Mostra, on the model of the 1972-73 'Giornate del Cinema,' in case the current director Moritz de Hadeln would not be confirmed in his position, or a new director would not possess the professional and cultural attributes required for such an important and prestigious festival. The alternative event, which will be organized only if the situation makes it necessary, will take place at the exact same dates as the Mostra, with the support of the major national and international bodies representing filmmakers, film critics and all the categories involved in cinema throughout the world." Munich/Paris, December 22, 2003. Michel Ciment, President & Klaus Eder, General Secretary. FIPRESCI (Federation Internationale de la Presse Cinématographique).

44. The list of festivals visited by *Buongiorno, notte* in non-chronological order is: (2003) New York FF, Toronto IFF, Gala, London IFF, Thessaloniki IFF, Venice Mostra special prize for an individual contribution (screenplay), European Film Awards: European Film Award of the Critics, awarded on December 6, 2003 in Berlin, Rio de Janeiro IFF and (2004) Copenhagen NAT, Istanbul IFF, Berlin IFF, Market, Hong Kong IFF, Belgrade IFF, Buenos Aires IFF. *Celluloid Dreams*. 17 March 2004, <http://www.celluloid-dreams.com/celluloiddreams.htm>.

45. Ibid. The complete list of distributors per country is: Belgium: Les Films de l'Elysee, 25/02/2004, Croatia: Megacom D.O.O., France: Ocean Films, Israel: United King Video Ltd., Italy: Orion, Japan: Bitters End, Inc., Luxembourg, Les Film de l'Elysee, 04/02/2004, Mexico: Constellation Pictures Inc., Poland: Gutek Film Ltd., Portugal: Atalanta Filmes Lda, Russia & CIS: Maywin Media AB, Spain: Vertigo Filmes, Sweden: Folkets Bio A.B., Switzerland: Agora Films 10/03/2004, Yugoslavia: Megacom D.O.O.

46. The Return is nominated for the Academy Award in the Best Foreign Language Film category by the Russian Film Academy's Oscar Committee. *Intercinema Art Agency*. 17 March 2003,
<http://www.intercinema.ru/eng/catalog/index.php?id=108>.
The awards and nominations for The Return:
60th Venice IFF, Italy
Golden Lion for Best Film
Golden Lion for Best Debut (Lion of the Future)
SIGNIS – Catholic Jury Prize
Students' Jury Prize for Best Debut
Prize of Revista del Cinematografo – Sergio Trasatti – Venezia Cinema
Cottbus IFF, Germany
Best Director
Ljubljana IFF, Slovenia
Grand Prix
Zagreb IFF, Croatia
Grand Prix

Gijon IFF, Spain
Best Actors, Best Script, Special Jury Prize
Thessaloniki IFF, Greece
FIPRESCI Special Mention
"For its delicate balance between subject and style, its excellence in the direction of the actors and for telling a strong story without special effects and with minimal means."
Belgrade IFF, Serbia
Best Film (Alexandre Sasha Petrovich Award)
Best Cinematographer (Alexandre Petrovich Award)
Moscow, Russia
Russian Film Press Awards "Taurus" for 2003 – Best Film, Best Debut, Best Cinematographer
Stalker FF – Best Debut
Berlin
European Film Academy Discovery 2003 – Prix Fassbinder
Riga, Latvia
Don Quijote Prize – Award of FICC (Federation International de Cine Clubs)
USA
Nomination for HFPA Prix "Golden Globe" in the category "Best Foreign Film"
Palm Springs IFF
FIPRESCI Award for Best Official Foreign Language Film of 2003
France
Nomination for Cesar in the category "Best Foreign Film"
Fajr IFF, Iran
Crystal Simorgh – Best Film Award

47. Dodds, John C., and Morris B. Holbrook. "What's An Oscar Worth? An Empirical Estimation of the Effects of Nominations and Awards on Movie Distribution and Revenues." *Current Research in Film: Audiences, Economics and Law*, vol. 4. Ed. Austin, Bruce, E. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1988: 73.
48. Vahabzadeh, Suzan. "Standardsituationen." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*. 1 September 2003. Original German: "*Das Schönste an Filmfestivals ist vielleicht, dass die Filme, die man dort zu sehen bekommt, noch rein und unbefleckt sind – wie eine Schneekugel, die einen Berg hinunterrollt, und bei jeder Vorführung bleibt ein wenig haften, Erwartungen, Sehnsüchte, erfüllte und unerfüllte Hoffnungen. Bei den großen Festivals aber treffen sie noch in Stand der Unschuld auf ihr Publikum, können Emotionen wecken, die keiner im Saal erwartet hat.*"
49. The other participant in the 60th *Mostra* with famous family ties was the fourteen-year-old Hana Makhmalbaf. Her Joy of Madness is a remake of her older sister Samira's At Five in the Afternoon, which was presented and in Cannes a couple of months earlier and received an award. Hana is the daughter of acclaimed Iranian director Mohsen Makhmalbaf and Marzieh Meshini (The Day I Became A Woman). Hana was the youngest filmmaker ever to enter the Venice International Film Festival.
50. Gibbons, Fiachra. "Woody Attacks America's Shrink Culture." *Guardian*. 29 August 2003. The other four films listed were 21 Grams, 29 Palms, Code 46 (UK: Michael Winterbottom 2003) and Casa De Los Babys (USA/MX: John Sayles 2003).

51. Danese, Silvio, and Oscar Iarussi. "Controcorrente." *60. Mostra Internazaionale d'Arte Cinematografica*: 141.
52. De Hadeln even changed the program to mix Upstream and Competition and stimulate press coverage for both sections. Journalists complained about these changes, because it disturbed their normal rhythms.
53. According to the distinctions of the Venice Film Festival, reviews and reports in major national newspapers are considered the most important press coverage. I followed this distinction and selected a number of major European newspapers to analyze their festival reportage during the 60th *Mostra*, namely: *NRC Handelsblad, De Volkskrant, Trouw,* (The Netherlands); *Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt* (Germany); *Le Monde, Libération* (France); *The Times, The Guardian* (UK), *The International Herald Tribune* (USA); *The Independent* (Ireland); *Corriere della Serra* (Italy); and *El Pais* (Spain). The aim of this selection is clearly not to form a representative selection of the sum of press and media coverage of the 60th Venice film festival, but to zoom in on the reviews and reports that were considered the most valuable to the festival. The concentration on European newspapers is not only based on practical limitations, but also is in keeping with the focus of my research on European film festivals in general.
54. Sotinel, Thomas. "Quelques Héros Ambigus Croisés aux Marges de la Mostra de Venise." *Le Monde*, 5 September 2003: 30. Original French: "*Quelques héros ambigus croisés aux marges de la Mostra de Venise. A l'écart de la compétition officielle, de bonnes surprises hantent les sections parallèles. Rendez-vous avec un quinquagénaire argentin, un officier allemande et un policier russe du FSB.*"
55. See also Vahabzadeh, Suzan. "Niemand Bewegt Auf einer Fläche Nichts." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 8 September 2003.
56. See for example Sontinel, Thomas. "Trois Histoires de Couples, Graves ou Légères." *Le Monde*, 3 September 2003. See also Gansera, Rainer. "Paschas, Pappas, Pantoffelhelden." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 4 September 2003.
57. Bradshaw, Peter. "Heat and Dust." *Guardian*, 1 September 2003.
58. See appendix I.
59. See, for example, the interviews by Susan Vahabzadeh: "Ich Versuche, Meine Sache so Durchzuziehen, Wie es ein Mann Tun Würde." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 January 2004; and by Ella Taylor: "I Don't Like Being Told What to Do." *The Guardian*, 13 October 2003.
60. See, for example, the interview by Polly Vernon: "Scarlett Fever." *The Observer*, 28 December 2003.
61. For example the series in *The Guardian*: Potter, Cherry. "And the Winner is … Another Man." *The Guardian*, 5 February 2004; Walter, Natasha. "A Bigger Slice of the Action." *The Guardian*, 23 February 2004; and Haskel, Molly. "Has Film Come to Terms with Feminism?" *The Guardian*, 5 March 2004.
62. Stigter, Bianca. "Clooney en Zeta Jones Flossen Elke Dag." *NRC Handelsblad*, 4 September 2003. Original Dutch: "*Ook het schokvermogen van verkrachtingen en vreugdeloze seks is aan inflatie onderhevig.*"
63. Polese, Ranieri. "Da "Irreversible" a "Guardami", Tutti i Flop al Botteghino." *Corriere della Serra*, 4 September 2003: 27.
64. Gibbons, Fiachra. "Candidates for Lions…and Dogs." *The Guardian*, 6 September 2003: 8.

65. During the Viennale, a retrospective was dedicated to Vincent Gallo.
66. *Filmkrant*, January 30, 2004: 7; Jos van der Burg (*Het Parool,* Netherlands*)* – 4 stars; Matthieu Darras (*Positif,* France) – 4 stars; Pieter van Lierop (*GPD,* Netherlands*)* – 2 stars; Dana Linssen (*Filmkrant,* Netherlands*)* – 3 stars; Ronald Ockhuysen (*de Volkskrant,* Netherlands*)* – 4 stars; Ruth Pombo (*Levante,* Spain) – 1 star; Jonathan Rosenbaum (*Chicago Reader,* USA) – 3 stars.
67. See for example "Io il Nuovo Cary Grant? Rubo un Po'da Tutti." *Corriere della Serra*, 4 September 2003: 28.
68. The reporters from the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* supported Salma Hayek, featuring in the out of competition *Once Upon A Time in Mexico* by Roberto Rodriguez and starring as protagonist in Julie Taymor's *Frida*, which opened the *Mostra* in 2002., Their coverage of the Mexian star was self-reflexively presented as a reoccurring gag. The article published after the opening of the festival prominently features a picture of Salma Hayek on the catwalk commenting: "*Das tun wir jetzt einfach: Wir zeigen nicht Woody Allen auf dem Catwalk in Venedig, obwohl sein Film das Festival eröffnete. Wir zeigen Salma Hayek auf dem Catwalk in Venedig, die sich den Eröffnungsfilm ansah. Sorry, Woody Allen-fans*." The next day, another photograph of Hayek appeared with the words: "*Das machen wir jetzt einfach noch einmal, obwohl es so aussehen könnte, als wolle sueddeutsche.de das Venedig-Filmfest zu Salma Hayek-Festwochen erklären: Wir zeigen also erneut die Mexikanerin auf dem Catwalk und nicht die Regisseure und Hauptdarsteller der hier bespochenen Filme. Warum wir das tun? Nur so.*" Vahabzadeh, Suzan. "Es-könnte-Liebe-sein-Filme." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 29 August 2003.
69. Gibbons, Fiachra. "Tears as Emma Thompson Comeback Bombs." *The Guardian*, 2 September 2003: 2.
70. Chrisafis, Angelique. "The Guardian Profile of Emma Thompson." *The Guardian*, 5 September 2003: 9.

Notes Chapter 4

1. Bob Bertina in *de Volkskrant* as quoted in Heijs, Jan, and Frans Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse: Huub Bals, een Biografie*. Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel Uitgever, 1996: 97.
2. Another big audience festival is the Berlinale.
3. The IFFR finished in first place as far as Top 100 national events (charging admission) and maintained its 15th place in the Top 100 for all events (free and admission charged).
4. This evaluation of the attendance figures by Ido Abram is recorded as expressed on the occasion of the 2004 Cannes Film Festival.
5. In 1983, a record attendance of 44,680 visitors was attained. By 1996, this number had exceeded the 200,000 mark. The exponential increase after 1996 is related to the new location – the Pathé Multiplex on the Schouwburgplein – that was inaugurated for festival purposes in 1997. See also 4.4.3 Debating the New Festival Audiences.
6. Peranson, Mark. "Nothing Sells Better Than Sex." *Filmkrant in Rotterdam*, 25 January 2004: 5. Also available online from *Fipresci.* .

7. Linssen, Dana. "Beste Sandra." *Filmkrant in Rotterdam*. 31 January-1 February 2004: 5. Original Dutch: "*Ik maak me bijvoorbeeld grote zorgen over de grootte van het festival, als journalist én filmliefhebber…[D]e echte hoogtepunten uit de 'best of the fests' [komen] toch later in de Nederlandse bioscopen. Hoe trots je ook kunt zijn als festivals op die lieve gekke filmofielen die een week vrij nemen om hier 50 films te gaan zien, ik kan me voorstellen dat je het met me eens bent dat het voor de algehele cultuur van eigenwijze, uitgesproken en artistieke film beter is als die mensen de rest van het jaar ook nog eens naar filmtheater of bioscoop gaan…Het IFFR moet kleiner, opvallender en behapbaarder worden*."
8. Burton, Julianne. "The old and the new: Latin American cinema at the (last?) Pesaro Festival." *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media*, no. 9 (1975): 33-35. 28 July 2005. <http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/onlinessays/JC09folder/PesaroReport.html>.
9. In the original Dutch expression, the word used is "*buik*" (belly) which carries the connotation of "*onderbuik*" (gut) which, in its turn, is also used when referring to feelings of agitation emanating from within society and flourishing irrespective of empirical evidence or political correctness.
10. As quoted in: Heijs, Jan, and Frans Westra. *Que Le Tigre Danse: Huub Bals een Biografie*. Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel, 1996: 216. Original Dutch: "*Het opstaan van Huub uit een film was exemplarisch. Soms dacht ik wel, waarom blijf ik eigenlijk zitten, maar het heeft ook te met karakter te maken: ik kan mij niet zo snel een categorische mening vormen*."
11. Camera/Studio, City, Palace and Scala.
12. As quoted in: Heijs, and Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse*: 27-28. Original Dutch: "*Ik begon films te vreten, bij het leven! Nee, geen voorkeuren, dat heeft heel lang geduurd. Van mensen als Antonioni of Buñuel begreep ik nog niet veel, maar allengs ontstond er toch een bepaald gevoel. Zoiets van "joh, schakel je verstand maar uit en neem het maar in*."
13. The other Dutch film festival at the time was the film week organized in Arnhem. This event was also biannual, so, with the addition of the Cinemanifestatie in Utrecht, the Netherlands had at least one film festival annually.
14. For more names on the list, see Heijs, and Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse*: 93.
15. Ibid.: 63. Original Dutch: "*De pers is zeer kritisch ten opzichte van de filmvoorziening in Nederlands. Het filmklimaat wordt steeds armer, het aantal films voor de arthouses daalt sterk. Mede door de vele prolongaties komen vele arthousefilms niet naar Nederland. We missen dan het werk van de nieuwe jonge filmers. Rotterdam zal zich in 1973 richten tot de jonge filmmakers; deze films zullen hoofdzakelijk geschikt zijn om in de non-commerciële theaters te worden gedraaid*."
16. In 1340, the expanding settlement known as Rotterdam, located approximately forty kilometers inland on the waterside of the river Nieuwe Maas, received full city rights. The harbor activities played an important role in the urban development of Rotterdam throughout the centuries. At the end of the sixteenth century, Rotterdam was the first city in the Northern Netherlands to build an exchange. In the Dutch Golden Age (seventeenth century), both the national naval forces and the successful seafaring trade organisation "Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie" opened branch offices in Rotterdam. The city and its harbor consequently developed into the second most important center of the Dutch Batavian Republic (1795-1813). The city was relatively well off but did not experience a significant population growth until modern transport inventions, in particular the steam train, which opened the Dutch and German hinterland up to overland trade. By the end of the

nineteenth century, the transfer of goods such as coal, ore, and grain became a key activity in the Rotterdam harbor. The wide availability of jobs attracted labour to the city for which new residential districts were developed. At the same time, large communities (especially from Eastern Europe) used Rotterdam as a final stop on the European mainland before migrating to the United States. The Holland-America Line (HAL) transported approximately 400,000 immigrants from Rotterdam to New York in the last quarter of the nineteenth century alone.

17. Vermeer, Gerrit, and Ben Rebel. *Historische Gids van Rotterdam*. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgeverij Koniginnegracht, 1994: 9 [my translation from the Dutch].
18. "New" refers here to the modern and/or contemporary cultural practice. Thus, whereas Amsterdam was known for its historical buildings, Rotterdam would concentrate on modern and contemporary architecture.
19. Before the final film paper was completed, the first film festival in Rotterdam had already been held.
20. Heijs, and Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse*: 91. Original Dutch: "*Een lokaal of regionaal filmbeleid is een doorbreking van de landelijke monopolisering van het filmleven. Het is een eerste poging om – ditmaal in Rotterdam – het filmleven dichter bij de lokale samenleving te brengen. Als zodanig is de nota een oproep aan andere steden of regio's om te proberen een alternatief te scheppen waardoor de kwantitatief belangrijkste culturele uitgaansvorm zich ontworstelt aan het loutere winstoogmerk, en wordt wat het dient te zijn: bewuste cultuurparticipatie*."
21. *'t Hoogt* in Utrecht was the first art house to open its doors on 20 June 1973. Rotterdam followed with *Lantaren/Venster* on 1 March 1974, smartly coinciding with the opening of the third film festival. Additional art houses opened in Nijmegen, Amsterdam, Delft, Eindhoven, Groningen and finally The Hague in 1980.
22. At the time, the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Welfare – Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk werk (CRM).
23. The effect of the criticism was not just confined to France – marking the end of the tradition of quality in French cinema – but stretched across Europe and the Atlantic to America, where Andrew Sarris introduced "auteur theory" to the American public and provided a critical framework to revalue Hollywood studio productions through the concept of the genius-director. For Truffaut's seminal essay see: Truffaut, François. "A Certain Tendency of the French Cinema." *Movies and Methods: An Anthology* vol. I. Ed. Nichols, Bill. Berkeley [etc.]: University of California Press, 1976: 224-237.
24. Rosenbaum, Jonathan. *Essential Cinema: On the Necessity of Film Canons*. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 2003: xiii. Rosenbaum here explain howhe differs from Harold Bloom's *The Western Canon* (1994), a publication on the banishment of canons from the academic discipline of literary studies.
25. For example, by understanding his development as starting with a series of films that drew its inspiration from Hollywood genre movies, such as À Bout de Souffle (FR: 1960), moving to his "radical political period" in 1968, and towards an increasingly meta-cinematic and historical-reflexive style from there on.
26. See, for instance, Nichols, Bill. "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit" *Film Quarterly*, vol. XLVII no. 31 (spring 1994): 16-30.

27. Dudley Andrew raised this issue in his paper "Waves and Islands in the Seas of World Cinema" which he presented at the *Cinema in Europe: Networks in Progress Conference*. University of Amsterdam, 21 June 2005.
28. For an historical overview of the Edinburgh International Film Festival and a description of its strength "in the decade from about 1969 [onwards] its sense of purpose, its clear awareness of why it did what it did, its commitment to an explicit politics of cinema and culturally productive film work." see MacArther, Colin. "The Rises and Falls of the Edinburgh International Film Festival." Dick, Eddie (ed.). *From Limelight to Satellite: A Scottish Film Book*. Edinburgh: Scottish Film Council & British Film Institute, 1990: 91-102, 99.
29. For an analysis of the San Francisco International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival and the role of festival in the construction of gay and lesbian identity in general, see: Siegel, Marc. "Spilling Out Onto Castro Street." *Jump Cut*, no. 41 (May 1997): 131-136.
30. These seminars can be seen as Film Studies-in-the making. Consider, for example, the Psychoanalysis Event and Avant-Garde Event in Edinburgh in 1976, which collected papers by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith ("Note on Metz" "Histoire/Discours"), Stephen Heath ("Cinema and Fetishism"), Laura Mulvey ("Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema") and a reprint of Peter Wollen's "The Two Avant-Gardes." See the 1976 festival report: Croft, Stephen. "Edinburgh." *Framework*, no. 5 (winter 1976/1977): 36-38.
31. Don Ranvaud in particular continues to lament the competition structure in his festival reports in *Framework*. He writes, for example: "I would go as far as to argue that of the festivals retaining a competitive structure Locarno is, perhaps, the only one that may be compared to the much improved Edinburgh or the ailing Pesaro as one of the most important and stimulating cinematographic events of the year." And elsewhere: "Apart from the lamentable question of the prizes, which this year demonstrated the very serious reservation many people still feel about the purpose and value of preserving competitive structures…" Ranvaud, Don. "Berlin." *Framework*, no. 6 (Autumn, 1977): 34.
    Ranvaud, Don. "Locarno." *Framework*, no. 2 (Autumn 1975): 30-33, 30.
32. At the time the Ministry of Science, Leisure time and Culture – Wetenschap, Vrije tijd en Cultuur (WVC).
33. In the period 1973-1987 Bals and Film International collected 625 titles, of which, some had already been transferred to other distributors because of the insecure financial situation of the non-profit distributor. For a full list of acquisitions, see the appendix in Heijs and Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse*: 293-300.
34. Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. *33rd International Film Festival Rotterdam Jaarverslag 2003/4*. Rotterdam: International Film Festival Rotterdam, 2004: 33.
35. The films supported by the Hubert Bals Funds until 2004 appeared in the special program "Hubert Bals Fund Harvest," which disappeared as a separate program with the 2005 festival.
36. MacCabe, Colin. *The Eloquence of the Vulgar*. London: British Film Institute, 1999: 152-153.
37. Sontag, Susan. "The Decay of Cinema." *New York Times*, 25 February 1996, late ed.: section 6, 60; Willemen, Paul. "Through the Glass Darkly: Cinephilia Reconsidered." *Looks and Frictions: Essays in Cultural Studies and Film Theory*. Ed. Willemen,

Paul. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994: 223-257, 231-233.

38. Heijs, and Westra. *Que le Tigre Danse*: 97-98.
39. Willemen. "Through the Glass Darkly:" 225.
40. Panayides, Theo. "Permanent Ghosts: Cinephilia in the Age of the Internet and Video, Essay 2." *Senses of Cinema* 4. March 2000. 17 November 2004. <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/00/4/cine2.html>.
41. Erickson, Steve. "Permanent Ghosts: Cinephilia in the Age of the Internet and Video, Essay 1." *Senses of Cinema* 4. March 2000. 17 November 2004. <http://www.sensesofcinema.com/contents/00/4/cine1.html>. Although Erickson leaves no room for questioning the superiority of the cinematic medium, he also acknowledges the advantages of the new technologies and argues for a dialogue with the videophiles who share a serious interest in films with the old-school cinephiles.
42. Elsaesser, Thomas. "Specularity and Engulfment: Francis Ford Coppola and 'Bram Stoker's Dracula'." *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*. Eds. Neale, Steve, and Murray Smith. London and New York: Routledge, 1998: 191-208, 206.
43. Willemen. *Looks and Frictions*: 227.
44. Elsaesser, Thomas. "Digital Cinema: Delivery, Event, Time." Eds. Elsaesser, Thomas, and Kay Hoffmann. *Cinema Futures: Cain, Able or Cable? The Screen Arts in the Digital Age*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998: 201-222, 204.
45. See De Valck, Marijke and Malte Hagener. "Down With Cinephilia? Long Live Cinephilia: And Other Videosyncratic Pleasures." *Cinephilia: Movies, Love and Memory.* Eds. De Valck, Marijke, and Malte Hagener. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005: 11-24, 22.
46. Kim, Soyoung. "'Cine-mania' or Cinephilia: Film Festivals and the Identity Question." *UTS Review,* vol. 4, no. 2 (November 1998): 174-187, 177-178.
47. Hediger. Vinzenz. "The Original Is Always Lost. Film History, Copyright Industries and the Problem of Reconstruction." *Cinephilia*. Eds. De Valck, and Hagener: 135-149, 142-143.
48. Stringer, Julian. "Raiding the Archive: Film Festivals and the Revival of Classic Hollywood." *Memory and Popular Film*. Ed. Grainge, Paul. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2003: 81-96, 82.
49. Ibid.: 83.
50. Consider, for example, the nostalgic anecdotes with which Elsaesser recalls his mid-1960s cinephilia. Elsaesser, Thomas. "Cinephilia or the Uses of Disenchantment." *Cinephilia*. Eds. De Valck, and Hagener: 27-43, 29.
51. Stringer. "Raiding the Archive: Film Festivals and the Revival of Classic Hollywood:" 91.
52. Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. *33rd International Film Festival Rotterdam Jaarverslag 2003/4*: 22.
53. Den Hamer, Sandra. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
54. The 774 total screenings are divided as follows: 217 long films; 365 short films; 100 documentaries; 100 lectures, debates and talk shows; 40 performances and installations; and 22 websites and DVDs. Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. *33rd International Film Festival Rotterdam Jaarverslag 2003/4*: 15.

55. De Valck, Marijke. "Drowning in Popcorn at the International Film Festival Rotterdam? The Festival as Multiplex of Cinephilia." *Cinephilia*. Eds. De Valck, and Hagener: 95-109, 103-105.
56. Wemar Vrijetijds Onderzoek. *Internationaal FilmFestival Rotterdam: Onderzoek onder bezoekers*. Rotterdam (March 2001): 29-30.
57. Ibid.: 7.
58. These are days with pre-selected screenings for which subscribers to *De Volkskrant* (newspaper) and VPRO (television/radio broadcaster) can buy a ticket.
59. Peranson, Mark. "Nothing Sells Better Than Sex" 5. Consider for example 2004, when the public gave Tiger Award winner Kang-sheng Lee's (also known as Tsai Ming-liang's actor of choice) acclaimed debut Bu Jian / The Missing (Taiwan: 2003) an average score of 3.41 out of 5, not a bad score but one which nevertheless placed the film 109th out of 164.
60. Den Hamer, Sandra. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
61. Ockhuysen, Ronald. *De Volkskrant*, 4 February 2002. in: Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. *Jaarverslag 2001/2*. Rotterdam: International Film Festival Rotterdam, 2002: 2.
62. Den Hamer, Sandra. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
63. Van der Giessen, René. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
64. See, for example, the annual report 2001/2. Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. *Jaarverslag 2001/2*. Rotterdam: International Film Festival Rotterdam, 2002: 2.
65. See also the foreword in the catalogue to the 34th festival. Den Hamer, Sandra. "Visions and Vistas." *Catalogue 2005*. Stichting Film Festival Rotterdam. Rotterdam: International Film Festival Rotterdam, 2005: 16-18.
66. *International Film Festival Rotterdam Website*. November 2004, 22 November 2004, <http://www.filmfestivalrotterdam.com/en/aboutiffr/article/116085.html>.
67. Exploding Cinema received extra funding from the Fund for Dutch Cultural Television Productions (Stimuleringsfonds Nederlandse Culturele Omroepproducties) in December 1997.
68. The attention given to digital developments is also in line with the cultural strategy of the Rotterdam municipality to present the city as a center for the new arts.
69. Den Hamer, Sandra. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
70. Elsaesser, Thomas. "Film Festival Networks: The New Topographies of Cinema in Europe." *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005: 82-107, 86. See also 101-103.
71. The website of the online project "Paris: Invisible City" can be entered from Bruno Latour's Website: Latour, Bruno. 13 September 2005. <http://www.ensmp.fr/~latour/virtual/index.html#>.
72. Crary, Jonathan. *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture*. Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1999: 1.
73. 62% of the visitors to the IFFR belong to the higher social classes, 26% to the middle class and 6% to the lower social classes. However, only 17% of the middel and lower social classes considers the festival to be elitist. Wemar Vrijetijds Onderzoek: 9, 11.
74. Perron, Alisa. "Sex, Lies and Marketing: Miramax and the Development of the Quality Indie Blockbuster." *Film Quarterly*, vol. 55, Issue 2: 30-35, 30.
75. Rosenbaum. "Sampling in Rotterdam:" 54.
76. Barkey Wolf-Lambooij, Hester. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.

77. In correspondence to the IFFR by the Raad van Cultuur. "International Film Festival Rotterdam." *Advies Cultuurnota 2005-2008.* Original Dutch: "*Nederland mag zich gelukkig prijzen met het International Film Festival Rotterdam. Met een programmering die aldoor wordt vernieuwd en nog immer compromisloos is, heeft het festival ook de afgelopen jaren zijn waarde voor het Nederlandse filmklimaat onomstotelijk bewezen.*"
78. Barkey Wolf-Lambooij, Hester. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.
79. See, for example, Wemar Vrijetijds Onderzoek: 42.
80. Barkey Wolf-Lambooij, Hester. Personal interview. 23 August 2005.

Notes Conclusion

1. See Elsaesser, Thomas. *New German Cinema: A History.* London: BFI Publishing, 1989: 31. For more details on film subsidies, commerce and art cinema in New German Cinema see chap. 1: "Film Industry – Film Subsidy" and chap. 2: "The Old, the Young and the New: Commerce, Art Cinema and *Autorenfilm?"* Ibid.: 8-73.
2. Latour, Bruno. *The Pasteurization of France.* Trans. Sheridan, A., and John Law. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1988: 67.
3. "This notion of translation has been developed by M. Callon (1986). M. Callon, J. Law, and A. Rip, eds. (1986), and B. Latour (1987) and applied to the study of science and technology in order to fuse the notions of interest and research program in a more subtle way. Firstly, translation means drift, betrayal, ambiguity…. It thus means that we are starting from an *inequivalence* between interests or language games and that the aim of the translation is to render two propositions equivalent. Second, translation has a strategic meaning. It defines a stronghold established in such a way that, whatever people do and wherever they go, they have to pass through the contender's position and to help him further his own interests. Third, it has a linguistic sense, so that one version of the language game translates all the others, replacing them all with 'whatever you wish, this is what you really mean.'" Ibid.: 253n16.

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