



Stories and Films Have [no] Boundaries

Study on the Programme Diversity
of the Berlin International Film Festival
from 1980 to 2016

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The Research Project

This study was conducted as a collaboration between Tanja C. Krainhöfer (Grad. Media Studies), Konrad Schreiber (M. Sc.) and Dr. Thomas Wiedemann, and was carried out in the Department of Media Studies of the Academy of Film and TV Munich, as well as at the Department of Communication Studies and Media Research of the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich.

Succeeding the study *Women Show their Faces, Men their Films!* on the representation of film works by women in German film festival programming (Krainhöfer & Schreiber 2016), it is a further contribution on gender studies in the department of Professor Dr. Michaela Krützen of the HFF Munich.

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The Research Team

Tanja C. Krainhöfer studied production and media science at the HFF (Munich Academy of Film and TV). After various activities in the strategic development of companies and non-profit organisations in the film and cultural sectors, she turned to market-oriented, empirical research in 2011. Today, her focus lies on explorative and descriptive research, specialising in film festivals. This includes the examination of success factors, quantitative market and competition analysis, as well as diversity studies of individual as well as co-operative film festivals.

Konrad Schreiber is a bioinformatics specialist with degrees from the LMU and TU in Munich. Parallel to his scientific activities at the Institute for Informatics at the LMU, Munich, he assumed his role of IT consultant. His expertise lies in software development, project management and methodology in the area of data analysis and statistics. This focus led him to quantitative market and competitive analyses in the areas of culture and media.

Dr. Thomas Wiedemann studied communication and political science, French, and Spanish philology and, since 2010, has been a research associate at the Department of Communication Studies and Media Research at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. There he is currently heading the project "Making of" on Germany's feature film production, sponsored by the German Research Foundation.

1 Preamble

"It began in 1951. ... Its foundation dates back to a cultural-political initiative of the Americans, in the broadest sense, of the three western Allies. Berlin saw itself as the 'showcase of the free world'. That was six years after war's end. ... Apart from the Competition, the International Forum for New Films is established in 1971. New cinematography is introduced, independent film makers find an attentive and curious audience in Berlin, as well as competent critique. 1974: For the first time, a Soviet film takes part in the film festival. ... A good fifteen years later, the film festivals are positioned at the junction of East and West. Films from the Soviet Union and other socialist states celebrate international premieres in Berlin. US-American cinema participates with huge studio productions and independent films; films from Latin America, Australia, Africa, Asia and Western Europe are screened." (Jacobsen 1990, p. 8)

This describes the self-perception as well as countless achievements of the Berlin International Film Festival (Berlinale) in terms of diversity, and the associated recognition, esteem and social inclusion in its first 40 years. Big strides have been made since then, most noteworthy of which is the dialogue revolving around the equality of women in film. For the first time in 1983 with the programme of female film technicians; the introduction of the gay-lesbian film prize over 30 years ago, honouring productions dealing thematically with sexual orientation and gender identity (LGBT/Q themes; cf. Loist 2014, pp. 114-115); the "pioneering work in the Asian countries" (Ciment 2010, p. 11); and the opening up of Asian cinema to the western world under the artistic direction of Moritz de Hadeln (Lee & Stringer 2012, p. 244), as well as the nurturing of new talent and the countries or regions underdeveloped in regard to film infrastructure, through such initiatives as Berlinale Talents and the World Cinema Fund initiated by Hadeln's successor Dieter Kosslick.

Looking at cultural institutions with international flair, the Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, Monika Grütters, emphasises "the role of culture in processes of social change and the new self-perception of the united Germany as partner of Europe and the world" (2015, p. 28). This holds a great responsibility for the International Film Festival as one of the most significant worldwide. For "the Berlinale ... today, is not only the capital's greatest cultural event, but also a major event of the international film industry itself. Almost 20,000 trade visitors from over 100 countries, among them approx. 4,000 journalists, are accredited each year at the Berlin International Film Festival. With over 335,000 annual tickets sold, Berlin is not only an industry get-together, but also one of the world's largest public film festivals" (Berlin International Film Festival n.y.).

2 Major Research Questions

Film, major medium of the 20th and 21st centuries, in its function as cultural heritage and economic asset, represents one of the most significant and effective systems of reference for social plurality and cultural diversity. For it succeeds in transporting variety and diversity on various levels in all their complexity, and making them tangible (see: UNESCO Convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions of 20 October 2005).

Thereby, it is especially those known as A-list film festivals which “emerged as a significant force in defining film culture on local and global scales, by cultivating public notions of quality and taste” (Rastegar 2012, p. 1). Yet their influence is not purely limited to the national market. Their programming policy and thereby the decision of which films are included in the programme and which are not, likewise means that such film festivals as the Berlinale “determine the films that distributors see, and possibly buy, for theatrical, DVD, or online release. The film industry relies on festivals as a necessary curatorial mechanism for managing the exponential increase in annual film production” (Rastegar 2012, p. 1).

“It’s all about diversity ... We do this festival because of diversity,” Berlinale director Dieter Kosslick stressed in a 2016 interview with Leo Barraclough of *Variety*, referring to the 77 countries of origin represented by the festival entries, as well as the numerous guests and trade visitors from all over the world. And, following his term as director, Moritz de Hadeln, too, emphasised that his task was “expressly” aimed at “encouraging cultural dialogue between the systems” (Cowie 2010, p. 40), which he admirably fulfilled with a clear strategy of inviting productions from Eastern Europe and supporting them with staunch competition nominations.

The following study focuses on the claims of diversity in programming policy by those in charge of the Berlinale. In a wider context, the study also follows on from the gender study *Women Show their Faces, Men their Films!* on the representation of film works by women in German film festival programming (Krainhöfer & Schreiber 2016).

The underlying question in this study: To what extent does the Berlinale programming from 1980 to 2016 reflect a balanced ratio of programmed festival entries by male and female film makers, with regards to gender, age and origin, or, respectively, socialisation from the new and old federal states? The chosen time period of 37 years thereby encompasses the complete era of festival director Moritz de Hadeln (1980–2001), as well as the succeeding (and current) directorship of Dieter Kosslick. This study is prefixed by a descriptive analysis of the defining programme content over the years, relating to the balance of national and international festival entries, as well as the representation of the various productions and their differing countries of origin.

3 Data Basis and Method

The present study seeks to illuminate the **diversity of the programming of the Berlinale under three chronologically differing aspects**: Firstly, it focuses on the **current trend** in the expression of individual programme aspects. Secondly, it aims at tracing **the development** of such individual programming aspects over **more than 35 years**. And thirdly, by comparing the average frequency of such aspects, it looks at the **differences in the programming policies of both festival directors Moritz de Hadeln and Dieter Kosslick**.

On this basis, a **deliberate sampling** method was selected, covering Berlinale entries from **1980 to 2001**, as well as from **2002 to 2016**. With reference to the research questions, programme entries were then limited to the following festival sections: **Competition, Panorama, Forum (including Forum Expanded), Generation, Perspektive Deutsches Kino and German Cinema**; Whereby the predecessors of certain sections were also taken into account, such as the Info-Schau, which became the Panorama post-1985. Likewise, such new features as the Perspektive Deutsches Kino section introduced by Dieter Kosslick were also included in the sampling, as well as the series Lola@Berlinale, which joined the programme in 2011 (a pre-selection of films nominated for the German Film Prize for the previous year; cf. German Film Academy n.y.), replaced the curated German Cinema section, and is likewise reserved for trade visitors. The Berlinale Shorts section, an amalgamation of the Competition and Panorama short films, introduced in 2007, and the current section for the Short Film Competition, along with their entries, were also included in the analysis of the Competition section.

The sample of the sections selected also included all audiovisual program submissions from 1980 to 2016. Only excluded were purely verbal contributions, (such as *Made in Germany – Reden über Film*), such formats as discussions with film excerpts (e.g. *What if? Revisiting Images 1*, Forum Expanded 2015) or exhibitions (e.g. *Fictions and Futures #1 – Happiness in the Abstract*, Forum Expanded 2014). There were no restrictions, however, in the sampling of productions regarding the aspects of running time (from the German one-minute *Covered With Chocolate* by director Ansgar Ahlers in competition in 2000, up to the 999 minute Canadian entry *Perdre et retrouver le Nord* by directrice Marie-Hélène Cousineau in the section Forum Expanded 2012), production year, solo, co-, or group directors, respectively, country of origin, or international co-production by two or more partners.

For the analysis, the entire data pool from 1951 to 2016, with a **total of 13,528 data sets**, was accessed from the Berlinale archives, which were made available online. These were adjusted by the data on festival entries prior to 1980, as well as such excluded sections as the Retrospective, Culinary Cinema, or certain special series (e.g. 2012 Happy Birthday, Studio Babelsberg). Subsequently, such programme data from 1980 and 1981 missing from the Panorama, Forum, Children's Film Festival (Generation) and German Cinema sections were supplemented. Follow-up research was likewise conducted by evaluating data on running time, production year and country of origin for individual productions. This was based on information found in the two volumes of the *International Film Festival Berlin 1951–1990. Film. Title. Statistics* by Axel Marquardt (1990), as well as the Berlinale's festival catalogue and the International Forum des Jungen Films (International Forum of New Cinema) for specific years. Data gaps were primarily filled with information available in the three online data bases IMDB.com, mediabiz.de, filmportal.de, as well as the programme archive of films from the Forum section, and the Forum sheets available online for 1971–2002.

A sampling of 10,024 film entries was collected according to the following aspects: festival edition, festival section, original name of the section, original title, translated title, first-named director and co-director(s), if any, first-named country of origin and/ or co-production country/ countries, production year and running time.

Based on the data of the **country of origin, or, in the case of co-productions, the first-named country of origin**, a **regional coding** was implemented **to distinguish between national and international productions**. Based on the **country codes** in accordance with ISO-3166 (International Organisation for Standardisation), a coding was then conducted to analyse the spread of countries among the international programme entries. Films from the former Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, etc. were taken into account, parallel to their corresponding successor states. Productions from the former GDR alone were, apart from individual review, also included in the pool of German and, thus, national films.

By ascertaining **the first and family names of the first-named directors**, their **gender** was coded. Co-directors or group directors, respectively, were not labelled with any specific gender coding. In addition, the first-named director's year and place of birth of all festival entries included in the **German part of the programme** were researched and, as far as could be determined, their **year of birth** as well as their **origin** from the new or old federal states were likewise coded.

The study provides a **survey of the programming diversity** of one of the world's most significant film festivals and is, thus, a catalyst and stimulus in an emerging and ever-more market relevant, national and international film festival landscape. It also presents a **distinct overview of the gender balance** in the overall programming of those sections examined, as well as the **age and regional distribution of film makers** of the German festival entries, respectively, from 1980 to 2016. The analysis also offers comprehensive findings on the **share of German vs. international festival programmes**, as well as detailed information on the specific **priorities among the productions' countries of origin** in a 10-year comparison.

Also relevant in this context were findings on the individual aspects of the film pools of the corresponding sections available, in order to observe the dynamics in a more differentiated manner and to study the disparities. However this was difficult to achieve, due as much to a lack of information in the documentation of films mainly submitted in the 1980s, as well as to the volume of data itself.

In view of the enormous significance attributed to such A-list festivals as the Berlinale as a promoter for the marketing and distribution of selected national and international film works, a continuance of this analysis in the form of a longitudinal study would be desirable, with regards to future strategies, in order to identify, evaluate, develop, and fully implement the respective findings. Moreover, last but not least, further comparative studies on the programming of such international film festivals as Cannes and Venice would be informative and valuable for a strengthening of the European film industry.

4 Summary

Share of National and International Productions

Based on the five sections studied, an **enormous increase of programme volume** took place between 1980 and 2016: from 163 productions to 340 productions (209 percent).

The **share of national productions** in the overall programme (all film lengths) **during the period 1980–2001 is statistically significantly greater** than during the period of 2002–2016. Limited to feature length films, the share of national productions at 28.60 and 28.64 percent, respectively, amounts to virtually the same result.

Despite the introduction of the Perspektive Deutsches Kino and an expansion of German programme entries with the Lola@Berlinale series, a quantitative equality of the national portion of the programme in both periods is offset by a **decline of German entries in the Children’s Film Festival (Generation) and in the Panorama**.

The **share of German festival entries** including the programming of special screenings and entries “out of competition” lies at an average of **4.73 percent between 1980 and 2001**, and **3.67 percent between 2002 and 2016**. Limited to the 24 entries of the regulated original competition, the first period shows an average of 2.73 German entries (without GDR: 2.14), while the second period shows an average of 2.93 German entries.

The **increase of German production output** measured against the number of annual theatrical releases is **not reflected by an increase of programmed German productions**.

Diversity of International Productions

The worldwide growth of production volume resulting from digitalisation, as well as eased distribution conditions, has led to an increase of the **countries of origin represented in the programme: from 1980 with 40 film countries, to 2016 with 66**.

The **principal countries** (Top 25) in the Berlinale programme in the 10-year comparison from 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2016 prove a **consistent flanking to current world political affairs**. Developments such as the end of the Cold War, expansion of the EU, and globalisation, with strong topical references are finding expression in the programme.

A **desideratum** in the image of Germany’s meanwhile **multi-cultural society should**, however, be noted (especially with regard to the part of Berlin’s population with a Turkish migration background).

Gender Balance in the Programme

Out of **10,024** festival entries, **9,076** films were directed by a single director, 948 productions by co-directors or director teams. Altogether in the case of **9,947 film works**, the **gender** of the director could be identified. Among

these, **2,276** were directed by a woman and **7,671** by a man, which corresponds to a ratio of 22.88 percent to 77.19 percent.

Women were significantly under-represented in the national as well as in the international overall programme throughout the entire period studied. While the female share in the German programme in the early-1980s already lay at 22 percent compared to a share of approx. 15 percent in the international programme, by 2016, the female share in the national programme had risen (to 27.78 percent) and, for the first time, was exceeded by the female share in the international programme (28.69 percent).

At the same time, the share of film works by women in the period from 2002 to 2016 rose markedly by 27.5 percent compared to the 24.06 percent during the period from 1980 to 2001 in the national overall programme (all film lengths), as well as by 27.38 percent in the national plus the international overall programme from 2002 to 2016, compared to 19.53 percent from 1980 to 2001.

Looking at the gender balance in the individual sections with focus on the programmed feature films, it is clear that, among the festival entries in the **Competition**, a rise in the female share has occurred. On the other hand, the programming in the **Panorama and Forum** show a consistent downward trend.

While the study on gender balance in the 2015 programmes of 19 German festivals revealed that the share of films by women in both national/ international competitions was significantly greater than their share in the overall programme, this ratio was not reflected in the programme of the Berlinale.

Age Distribution in German Programming

Out of 2,671 German festival entries, **2,584** were by film makers whose year of birth could be determined and were thereby used in the study of age distribution in the Berlinale programming from 1980 to 2016. Included were the works by directors from East as well as from West Germany.

A comparison of the average age of film makers invited to the festival editions from 1980 to 2001 vs. those invited in the period between 2002 and 2016 – at 43.03 years to 43.75 – showed no major deviation. Looking at the **Competition** section, on the other hand, the film makers of the first period, at 48.30 years of age, were significantly older than those in the second period (45.38 years).

The average directors' age of **43.44** in the section **German Cinema** in the period from 2002 to 2016 (at an age span of 26 to 82), however, is considerably higher than that of the period from 1980 to 2001 (40.81 at an age span of 22 to 78 years). This result is most likely due to restructuring in the form of the series **Lola@Berlinale** and the corresponding entries by the respective directors, and can also be traced to the fusion of the "young or new directors" in the section **Perspektive Deutsches Kino**. But even in the **Perspektive**, from 2002–2016, the age of the presented directors ranges from 22 to 54 (!), resulting in an average age of just 35.

A glance at the individual sections reveals the following: while from 1980 to 2001, a higher age structure could especially be noted in the **Competition** and **Children's Film Festival** sections, over the last decade, it is primarily the

German Cinema and Panorama sections that seem to have led to a **higher average age** over all sections. Although the respective value in 1980 amounted to an average age of 38.42, in 2016 this had risen to an average age of 46.54.

Balance of East German and West German Backgrounds in the German Programme

Pursuant to the appeal to culture in the context of the reunification, and participation in actively shaping a pluralistic society, the ratio of origin among the directors of film works programmed by the Berlinale was examined. To this effect, a **sample of 2,034 films** was included in the study, **363 of which were by directors from the new federal states and 1,671 by directors from the old federal states.**

The analysis covered three phases in the balance of directors with an eastern background between 1980 and 2016. In efforts to promote rapprochements between the USA and the USSR, **1980 to 1990 saw a growing platform for the presentation of East German films** in the national part of the programme, supplemented by film works produced in the West by directors who, following infancy and youth in the GDR, had relocated to West Germany.

The second phase from **1991 to 2003 symbolises attempts to continue presenting Eastern Bloc film makers in the programme.** The diminishing number of new productions by directors with an East German background was initially offset by films from the pre-reunification era, until eventually only a few isolated examples became available.

By 2004, the share of directors of East German origin had sunk to an all-time low (one single production) which, likewise in the years to follow, especially in the feature film sector of the programme and despite the growing presence of film makers with East German roots, was only marginally expanded.

Only Andreas Dresen, first invited in 1991 with his graduate film *So schnell geht es nach Istanbul* (1990) and, by 2015, invited fifteen times by various sections of the Berlinale (including three times in Competition), seems to be among the few post-reunification directors from East Germany to achieve attention and positive awareness among the programming heads.

5 Conclusion

Balance of National and International Productions

"It is true that we've always had problems with the German film. The prophet has no honour in his own country, as the saying goes, and many German film makers felt better off and more at home at foreign festivals." (de Hadeln quoted by Baer 2001, p. 17) Not surprising that great hopes were placed on Dieter Kosslick, former managing director of the Film Foundation of North Rhine-Westphalia, and familiar with the German film landscape, which were seemingly fulfilled. "Among the winners, without doubt, is the German film industry: It was strongly represented as never before, with the Perspektive Deutsches Kino, a section was dedicated (again) specifically to new German film

and in Competition, too, four German directors of the younger generation were represented" (Berlin International Film Festival n.y.). The greater presence that was awarded to the German film with the arrival of Dieter Kosslick, however, apparently owed more to programmatic reorganisation and a more offensive communication strategy. For the results of the study demonstrate that the volume of German productions with the directorship in 2002 did not increase and the share of German festival entries in Competition only found a marginally greater presence.

And even though the introduction of the Perspektive Deutsches Kino and the associated fusion of German Films into one section generated greater awareness for national productions on the one hand (cf. Kosslick quoted by Finger 2012, p. 142). On the other, this bundling of current, next-generation German films led to a divide in the new international programme, which is more than questionable, particularly in view of the growing number of multi-national co-productions.

Likewise the transition of the German Cinema section into the current Lola@Berlinale proved to be a two-edged sword. Formerly a separately-curated section, today it serves the representative function of pre-selecting nominees for the German Film Prize which, due to the defined selection guidelines, can only fulfil the Berlinale's artistic and diversity demands to a limited degree.

Undisputed, however, is the role of the Berlinale as regards commitment on an international level. Even if a number of smaller festivals have demonstrably succeeded in presenting a greater film variation in their programme on the basis of different countries of origin, it is more than impressive how those in charge of the Berlinale, over the decades, and with the aid of systematic expansion and cultivation of relationships, have managed to achieve access to formerly lesser-known film nations, likewise to other European festivals, and to cinema-goers and trade visitors, alike.

Their service has been admirable to date, through a commitment to reflect current political events in their programming, as well as supporting cohesion of the European Union on the basis of the maxim "united in diversity".

Major shortcomings are, nonetheless, to be perceived, when it comes to reflecting the diversity of German society in the programme. This applies to the representation of film makers with a migrant background, but also to the right of participation on the part of individual groups of German immigration society. Thus, despite such large-scale initiatives in the area of "audience development" – with measures like "Kiez-Kino" (Neighbourhood Cinema), "Culinary Cinema" and "Summer Berlinale" – film works from countries from which a large part of German migrants originate are presented to a far lesser extent (e.g. Berlin's large Turkish community).

Gender Balance in the Programme

With the programme's maximum share of up to 30 percent of film works by women, the Berlinale regrettably manifests the same picture as the overall German film festival programming (cf. Krainhöfer & Schreiber 2016). The basic difference here, however, is represented by better female access to the national and international programme. Despite the fact that German female directors have succeeded in securing a greater presence in the programme of

German film festivals (apparently on the basis of informal networking; cf. Apitzsch 2010), the Berlinale seems to prefer featuring female directors from abroad.

This result is all the more debatable, considering the fact that German female-directed film works were already represented with an approx. 30 percent share in the Berlinale programme of the 1980s, and that they were unable to increase their average share in 37 years. Inexplicable too is that the female directors of the German festival entries, seen quantitatively, were overtaken by their colleagues from abroad.

It should however be noted that under the directorship of Dieter Kosslick, a significant rise in the female quota in competition has occurred. A development that is sure to continue under the former women's representative of the Hanseatic City of Hamburg, a great advocate of the Initiative Pro Quote Regie.

Another positive note is that the executive positions of the six sections examined are composed equally of three women and three men. Due to the limited information available, an in-depth study of the gender balance of the individual selection panels was unfortunately not possible. In view of the proven correlation between gender parity in the selection panels and the ultimate programme selection (cf. Krainhöfer & Schreiber: 2016) and, not least, in compliance with the amendment to the Film Funding Act relating to parity in the composition of panels or committees (c.f. n.a. 2016), which became effective January 1st, 2017, parity should be an imperative in appointing curators and composing such panels, particularly when it comes to one of the country's major cultural events.

Age Distribution in German Programming

The significant rise in the average age of the film makers of the German festival entries in the last ten years might well be based on a social change, described by the term "(down)aging". For no matter how much the current reality of the late mid-agers (35 to 49) deviates from that of the 1980s, an article on the contemporary era of the German film by Wolfram Schütte in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* of February 25th, 1982 explains: "A generation communicates with itself: that of the mid-30s with the mid-40s. Often it is a common link, which has arrived in their bitter years, disintegrating with and among themselves, loss of identity as mal-de-siècle, the first abrasions of age" (quoted by Jacobsen 1990, p. 297).

This effect has a decisive impact when associated with the introduction of the Lola@Berlinale and the augmented programming of film works by prestigious and established directors of more advanced age (birthdays in the 1940s are not uncommon). At the same time, the age structure of directors in the Perspektive is shifting more strongly from a former mid-20s to early-40s, towards late-20s to early-50s.

Nevertheless, the increase in the average age also seems to have specific structural causes in the Berlinale programme. For the concept imposed with the section Perspektive Deutsches Kino (also in 2017 with only nine new full-length feature and documentary films) and the Lola@Berlinale (with about 40 entries), as well as the occasional programming of German films in other sections, nevertheless offers German film makers, who have already proved their talent but are still far from having achieved a position of prestige, no place in any section that corresponds to their profile.

Apart from such singular director talents as Anne Zohra Berrached who, following a screening of her debut film in the Perspektive, was directly nominated for the Competition with her second, this structure stands in the way of a sophisticated presentation of the diversity and variety of the booming contemporary German cinema. No less problematic is the fact that, parallel to this, the Berlinale is missing out on a great chance, namely that of discovering, promoting and supporting, young, up-and-coming directors, and winning their loyalty in the long term.

Balance of East German and West German Backgrounds in the German Programme

"Far more difficult than securing our common cultural heritage was the knitting together of two societies," Monika Grütters (2015, p. 29) summarised, when speaking of the German Reunification. "This is where 40 years of different socialisations collide." And this situation has still clearly left its mark.

Looking at the diversity of the compilation of Berlinale entries for one year, with a view to the social diversity of a formerly divided Germany, it goes without saying that, just as aspects of gender, age (as well as sexual orientation, disability and religion or ideology) the selection of film works decisively depends on the pool of current productions available. The significance of this entry barrier exists, despite the fact that a series of film festivals are becoming active in film production as part of a vertical diversification. Nonetheless, with just 20 feature-length productions by film makers of East German origin between 2002 and 2017, the apparent failure of a balanced consideration of directors from the new federal states is not merely the fault of the German incentive or production landscape, and should be examined more closely.

In this regard, the location of the Berlin Film Festival has a favourable starting position (just as the background of the director of the Perspektive Deutsches Kino, as well as the expertise of Dr. Ralf Schenk, Chairman of the DEFA Foundation, as part of the Berlinale Selection panel).

Since the mid-20th century, audiovisual media content has ranked among the most significant means of defining our world view and thus decisively contributes to the construction of reality. This is why it is important in German film to encourage perspectives from the new as well as from the old federal states, as well as from creative people with and without a migration background, and to promote young and talented directors, as well as those older and more prestigious, as well as to support men and women equally, and generally improve opportunities for access to the theatrical and TV markets and, likewise, to film festivals. That the Berlin International Film Festival should serve as a role model, especially in times when the "world of film production and distribution are drastically and fundamentally" being transformed (Holighaus 2016), should go without saying.

6 Findings

As opposed to other such international film festivals as the Venice International Film Festival, or Cannes, the Berlinale, has a **commercial as well as an artistic “responsibility of directorship”** (Kosslick quoted by Finger 2012, p. 139). Whereby the festival directors have great freedom of choice in the positioning, as well as in the strategic development of the film festival and, with that, **great autonomy in setting programme guidelines**. The history of the Berlinale, however, has always dictated that the Forum and Panorama sections have largely acted independently in their programming and the other sections, too, when not supported by a committee, are also broadly autonomous (cf. Jacobsen 1990, p. 279; Söffker quoted by Finger 2012, p. 136).

This situation makes it necessary to study the Berlinale programming overall, as well as to analyse each section separately: i.e. Competition, Panorama, Forum, Children’s Film Festival, Perspektive Deutsches Kino and German Cinema (as well as their predecessors and successors).

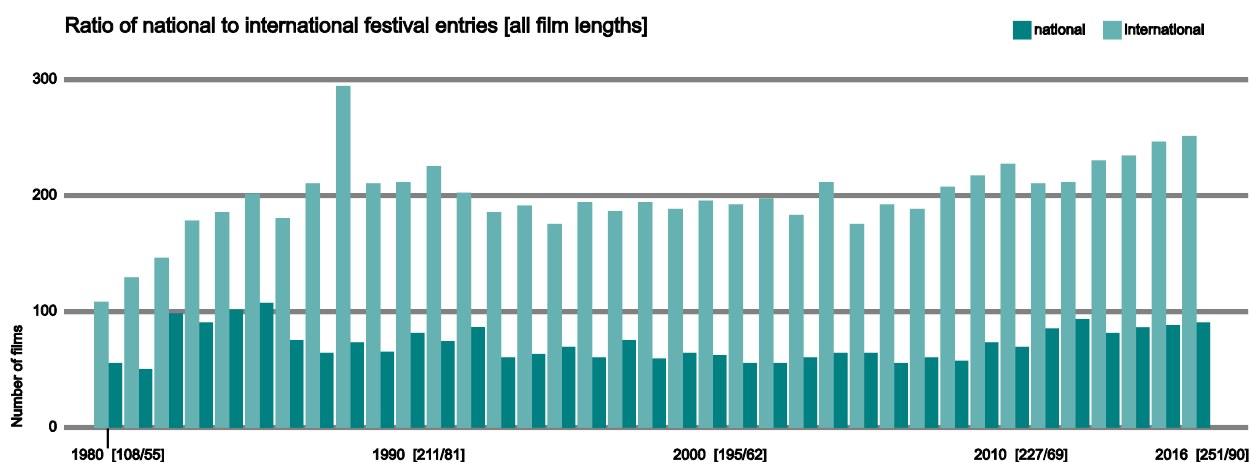
6.1 Films

Included in the analysis were festival entries from the studied sections over a timeframe of 37 years. These comprise **10,024** films, which can be subdivided into **2,666 German and 7,358 foreign productions**. To facilitate a better comparison of the findings of this study with those of the previous study on the representation of film works by women in the programming of German film festivals (Krainhöfer & Schreiber: 2016), the analyses of all productions were conducted irrespective of their running times (all film lengths), and were also limited to feature film productions with a minimum running time of 60 minutes (feature films).

6.1.1 Share of National and International Productions

Observing the early years of the research period, a significant expansion of programme volume stands out. This development continues well into the 1990s, and ultimately reverts to an average of 250 festival entries for the five sections studied. Only in 2008, parallel to a sweeping expansion of the main programme with various specials (or special series), can a renewed growth-trend be observed which, up to 2016, entails an **increase of more than 340 productions** in the five sections alone.

With 55 national festival entries as opposed to 108 international productions in **1980**, Moritz de Hadeln’s first year in office, German films reached a programme share of **33.74 percent**. This percentage was exceeded in the following years with **35.31 percent (1984)** and **34.74 percent (1985)**, as well as in **1982** with **40.16 percent**, which remains unparalleled.



Between 2002 and 2016, 2012 stands out in particular, with a 30.59 percent share of German productions in the overall programme. In the following years until 2016, the German share of the programme amounted to about 26 percent.

Comparison of Share of National to International Productions from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016 in the Overall Programme (all Film Lengths)

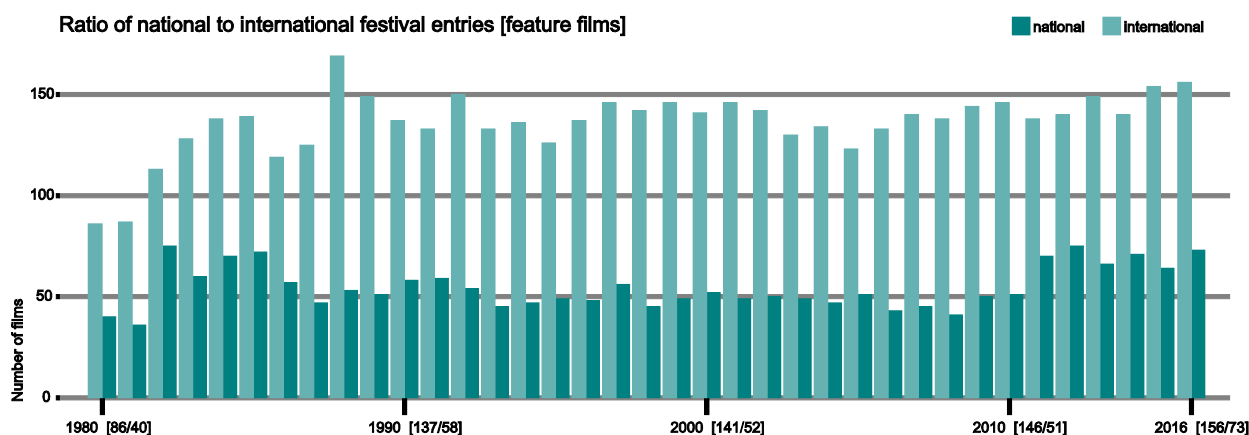
	national	international	Share of national productions
1980–2001	1,586	4,179	27.51 percent
2002–2016	1,080	3,179	25.36 percent

In the above comparison, the first study period shows an average increase of 2.15 percent national entries in the festival programme over the second period. Discrepancies arising from the differing length of the periods of 22 and 15 years were adjusted accordingly.

Likewise the corresponding hypothesis test shows that, in comparison, the proportion of national films in the time frame 2002 to 2016 shows a statistically and significantly lesser percentage as the proportion of national films in the period from 1980 to 2001 (Fisher’s exact test, p = 0.01636).

Limiting the analysis to feature-length films, i.e. to festival entries with a running time of at least 60 minutes, a slightly different picture emerges. Comparable with the evaluation of the entire programme, even after the initial programme expansion in the 1980s, German feature film productions are represented by an almost constant share of approx. 30 percent. This trend is likewise to be seen among the programmed German feature films as of 2011.

Maximum values for the share of German feature films are as follows: 1982 at 39.90 percent, 1984 at 33.65 percent and 1985 at 34.12 percent, as well as 2011 at 33.65 percent, 2012 at 34.72 percent and 2014 at 33.65 percent.



In evaluating the values shown, it should be noted that they likewise include entries screened in those sections solely accessible to trade visitors, known in recent years as German Cinema or Lola@Berlinale. The Neue Deutsche Filme (New German Films) section, curated by Heinz Badewitz since 1977, a marketing platform for 20 exceptional productions of the previous year, was expanded under the direction of Moritz de Hadeln by an extra 30 films (cf. Cowie 2010, p. 89). With the 2011 transition into the collaborative project with the German Film Academy, Lola@Berlinale, the series included 38 to 41 productions (except 2011: 33 films). In recent years, this increase affected the proportion of German to foreign productions and, with 40 submissions, will also have a corresponding impact in 2017 (Germany Film Academy 2017), especially in the feature film segment.

Comparison of Share of National and International Productions from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016 (Feature Film Programme)

	national	international	Share of national productions
1980–2001	1,177	2,926	28.60 percent
2002–2016	846	2,108	28.64 percent

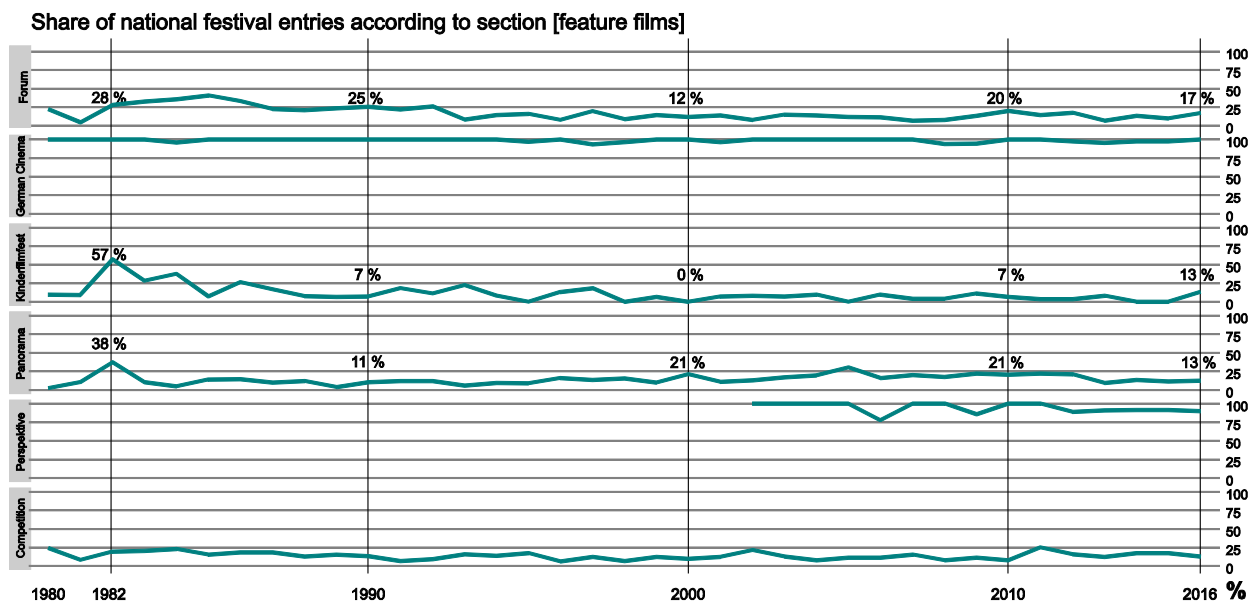
In the above comparison, the first study period shows an average increase of 2.5 percent national entries in the festival programme over the second period. Although the discrepancies between the study periods of 22 and 15 years, respectively, have been adjusted accordingly, the two average values are practically the same.

In the **comparison focused on the share of national films** in the period 2002 to 2016, and partly in the period from 1980 to 2001, **the hypothesis test shows no statistically significant difference** in the ratio between the two periods (Fisher’s exact test, $p = 0.9787$).

Despite the fact that the aforementioned transition into the current Lola@Berlinale series shows that the introduction of the section Perspektive Deutsches Kino in 2002 (with 11 to 15 productions, including a maximum of 11 feature films) generated significantly greater attention for new German films, qualitatively viewed, it could not match the former level of the German production share in the overall festival programme.

6.1.2 Share of National and International Productions according to Sections

During analysis of the share of German and foreign productions over time, subdivided according to the individual sections, specific reasons for the above-described developments in the overall programme can be identified.



*The proportion of foreign productions in sections with national programming focus, as well as deviations from a 100 percent German programme in these sections, are due to co-productions attributed to a foreign country of origin, based on the majority co-production share.

It can be seen that, despite measures taken to increase the presence of German productions in the programme, especially by introducing the section Perspektive Deutsches Kino, no proportional expansion of the German programme resulted. This is mainly due to the fact that, already by the late-1990s, a decline in German production had already begun, predominantly in the Forum and Children’s Film Festival sections.

Share of National and International Festival Entries according to Sections

	Absolute number of international productions			
	Overall programme		Feature film programme	
	1980–2001	2002–2016	1980–2001	2002–2016
FORUM	1,349	1,026	1,087	760
GERMAN CINEMA*	6	7	6	7
CHILDREN'S FILM FESTIVAL	427	725	252	343
PANORAMA	1,578	789	979	655
PERSPEKTIVE*	-	8	-	8
COMPETITION	819	624	602	334
	Absolute number of national productions			
	Overall programme		Feature film programme	
	1980–2001	2002–2016	1980–2001	2002–2016
FORUM	404	173	301	109
GERMAN CINEMA*	613	338	585	388
CHILDREN'S FILM FESTIVAL	81	56	49	21
PANORAMA	311	164	134	141
PERSPEKTIVE*	-	197	-	133
COMPETITION	177	102	103	54

	Percentage of German Productions			
	Overall programme		Feature film programme	
	1980–2001	2002–2016	1980–2001	2002–2016
FORUM	23,05	14,43	21,69	12,54
GERMAN CINEMA*	99,03	98,23	98,98	98,23
CHILDREN'S FILM	15,94	7,17	16,28	5,77
FESTIVAL				
PANORAMA	16,46	17,21	12,04	17,71
PERSPEKTIVE*	-	96,10	-	94,33
WETTBEWERB	17,77	14,05	14,61	13,88

*The share of foreign productions in sections with a national focus, as well as deviations from a 100 percent German programme in these sections are due to co-productions which, based on a majority co-production share, are attributed to a foreign country of origin.

6.1.3 Share of German Competition Entries

A series of factors are generally involved when interesting films are invited to take part in a festival, which is not only an expression of preferences on the part of selection committees, section heads, or festival directors. Nomination for the Competition represents a scenario with numerous, often even diverging, dependencies and interdependencies (cf. Cowie 2010, p. 68).

Apart from the requirement for quality, the demand to screen topical world cinema in its diversity and likewise steer attention onto outstanding film works from the domestic production landscape, it is important to present works by prestigious directors, introduce new talent and – likewise with the invitation – to guarantee the presence of stars. And so it is not seldom that film makers, producers, or distributors, respectively, retreat before the fierce rivalry in a competition, shy away from German film critique (cf. Husmann 2016), or hope for other festival invitations (cf. Kosslick quoted by Cowie 2010, p. 69).

At the same time, history shows that bold decisions by Berlinale directors can go hand in hand with far-reaching consequences. As in 1981, when a number of German directors declared a boycott against Moritz de Hadeln for inviting Herbert Achternbusch's *Der Neger Erwin* to take part in the Competition, justifying it "with the poor quality of entries submitted" and also talking of a "crisis in German film" (Jacobsen 1990, p. 284). And when not quite so radical, in 2016, when the audience as well as the media decried the fact that not a single German film was to be seen in the awards section of the 66th Berlinale (Peitz 2016), i.e. in Competition.

As opposed to that is the **expansive competition policy of the 1980s**, with a maximum of 70 Competition entries in 1984, and thereby 46 productions subject to the selection policy of the FIAPF (International Federation of Film Producers), which, already in the 1950s, had defined the basis of a catalogue of criteria evaluating the quality of a festival and sent films directly to those that met those standards (cf. Jacobsen 1990, p. 65) – and likewise limited the maximum admissible number of regular competition entries to 24. Hence the comparatively high share of national competition entries between 1980 and 2001.

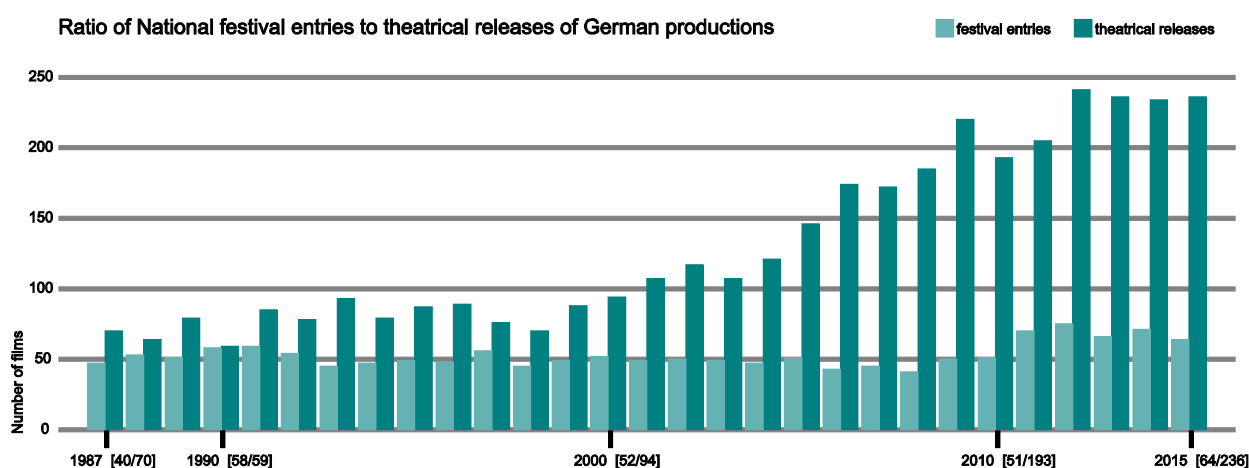
Taking into account entries from the former GDR (1982 to 1990), as well as the “out of competition” or “special screening” programmed festival entries, the Berlinale era under the leadership of Moritz de Hadeln exceeds that of Dieter Kosslick by an average of **4.73** German productions against **3.67**. Limited to the original Competition, from 1980 to 2001, it amounts to an average of **2.73** German festival entries (without GDR: 2.14) and from 2002 to 2016, an average of **2.93**.

As similar as the results appear, so contradictory does the selection procedure of the two festival directors seem to be. For while **Moritz de Hadeln** was known for a **distinctive style**, although he always kept in mind, that “a festival of the magnitude of the Berlinale stands in the service of the film industry” (de Hadeln quoted by Baer 2001, p. 15), **Dieter Kosslick** works “with a **selection committee of about 15 experienced colleagues** – heads of the individual sections, as well as a series of respected celebrities” (Cowie 2010, p. 68).

6.1.4 Share of German Productions Programmed in Proportion to German Theatrical Releases in the Same Year (SPIO)

With progressive digitisation and its associated, simplified production conditions, the annual volume of theatrical productions, on both a national and international scale, increased at a rapid pace. Since the beginning of documentation recorded by the Head Organisation of the German Film Industry (SPIO) in 1987, the **theatrical releases of German productions increased more than threefold, from 70 films up to 236 films in 2015**.

This growth, however, runs parallel to persistent cinema demise, particularly in the art house sector. If art house cinemas at the turn of the millennium were still numbered among the “major guarantors of diversity” (German Federal Film Board 2004), this task had to be assumed increasingly by the meanwhile over 400 festivals held throughout Germany (cf. Krainhöfer 2014).



(Theatrical releases from 1987 to 2015: Berauer 2016; number of national feature-length festival entries: own source)

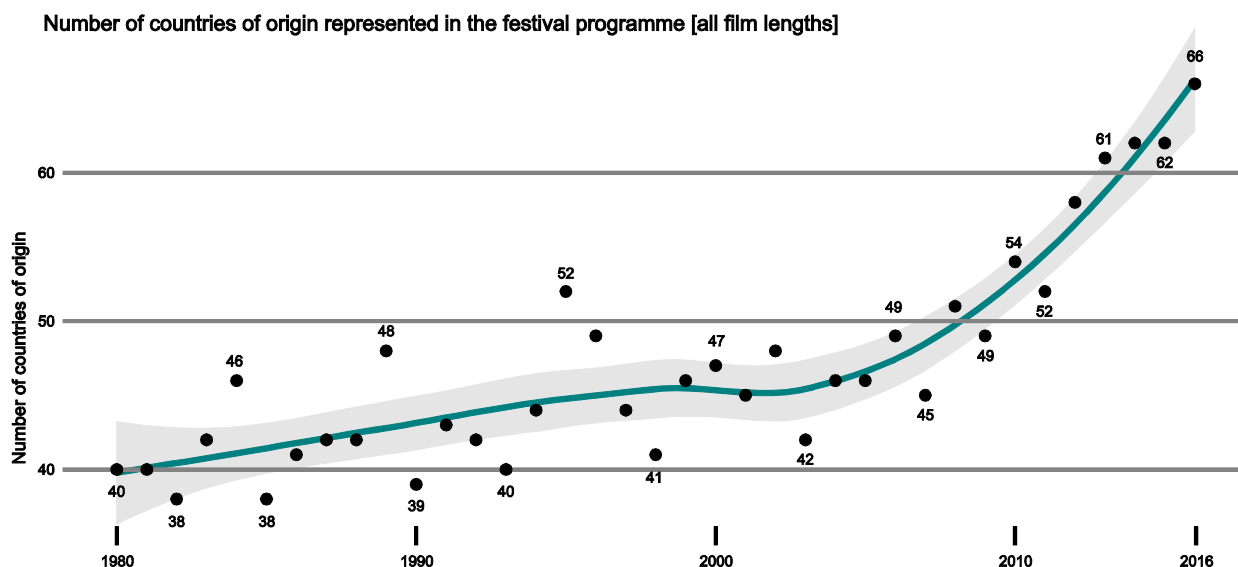
Observing the graph of feature-length German productions in the Berlinale programme from **1987 to 2015**, by and large, the **balance appears stable**. Likewise without any major swings is the graph of annual theatrical film releases

until the end of the last century. With the **production boom that began in 2000, however, the gap widens year by year.** In positive terms, the figures indicate that the market – despite the rapidly developing competitive situation (cf. Kosslick quoted by Cowie 2010, p. 69) among international as well as domestic film festivals, is at least partially compensated by the continuous annual increase of film productions.

This gives credibility to statements made by the Panorama and the Perspektive section heads. Accordingly, the 50 films included in the Panorama programme of 2011 were selected from approx. 3,000 festival entries (cf. Finger 2012, p. 153), as well as 350 submissions for the Perspektive Deutsches Kino, which is normally limited to 15 entries (cf. Finger 2012, p. 130).

6.1.5 Diversity of International Productions (Number of Countries of Origin)

Apart from content-related and artistic aspects, as well as programme topicality (the premiere status of individual festival entries), the variety of international countries of origin of film works and the associated access to other cultures serve as indicators for a festival’s quality. For several years, unrestricted access to world cinema, even to cinematographically new regions, is considered a cornerstone of international festival programming (even far removed from so-called “A-list” status).



This development could likewise only first be established with the digitalisation and the associated new production and distribution opportunities and thereby also ensured that “a new geography of international film production has formed and continues to take shape” (World Cinema Fund 2016, p. 5), which opened new options for film festivals, particularly as a result of growing competition and the ensuing need for developing a distinctive profile and gaining importance.

This can also be clearly read from the graph displayed: during the period **from 1980 until well into the new millennium**, the programming of the Berlinale – apart from those years excluded – always represented **about 40 to 45 different countries of origin**. But from around 2005, suddenly and **within eleven years**, this number rose to **66**.

That this is not only a characteristic phenomenon for large and significant film festivals is evident when comparing the programmes from 19 German film festivals, analysed in the course of the previous gender study. There, in 2015, 89 countries of origin were represented in the programme pool, as opposed to the 62 countries included in the Berlinale programme. The difference, once again, of over 40 percent, can possibly be attributed to the strong networking strategy adopted by the smaller as well as the larger festivals, which enhances the appeal of their programmes by the exchange of certain selected festival entries, curated series with partner festivals, and offering placement at several festivals, which serves to enhance their own importance to popular and celebrated film makers.

6.1.6 Distribution of Production Countries according to Overall Programme Share

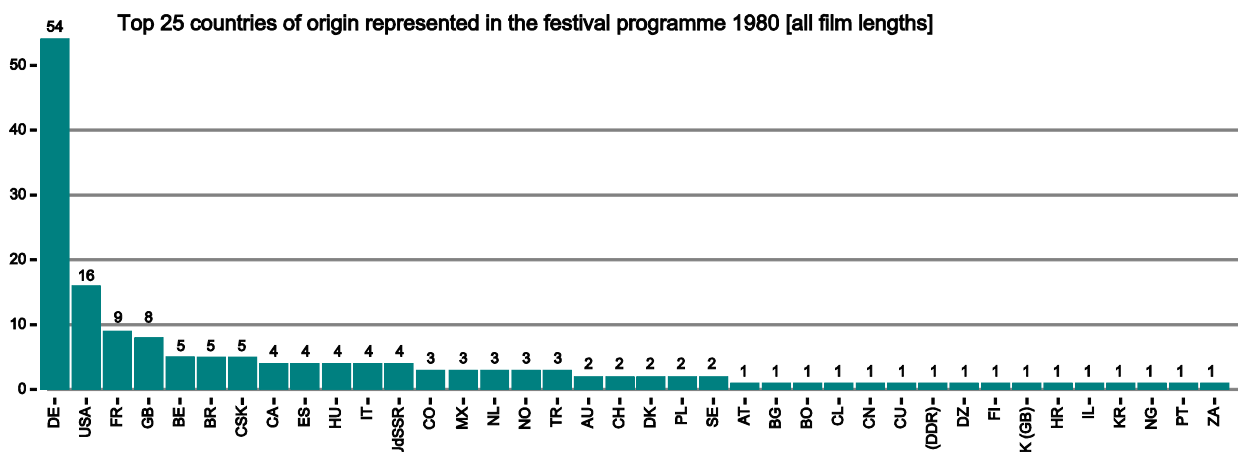
The programming of an international film festival like the Berlinale, which functions as an "open window for the production world at a particular season" (de Hadeln quoted by Baer 2001, p. 15), was, over time, decisively influenced by political events and developments, such as, e.g. the gradual consolidation of the European Community, the collapse of socialism, migration flows and globalisation processes. An equally great impact is exerted by constant changes in the domestic as well as the international film and media industry. And last but not least, strategies follow personal interests, preferences, and the corresponding commitment of those in charge.

The following analysis provides a detailed insight on the programmatic development, as well as the focus of the individual states among the producing countries of origin in a 10-year comparison of the Berlinale, thereby showing the periodic shifts of emphasis in programming from the 1980s until today.

Distribution of the Programme-Defining Top 25+ Countries of Origin

Study of the programmatic aspects relates to the overall programme and is conducted on two levels. For one, trends with a **geopolitical focus** are examined in more detail and for another, focus is placed on **individual film nations**.

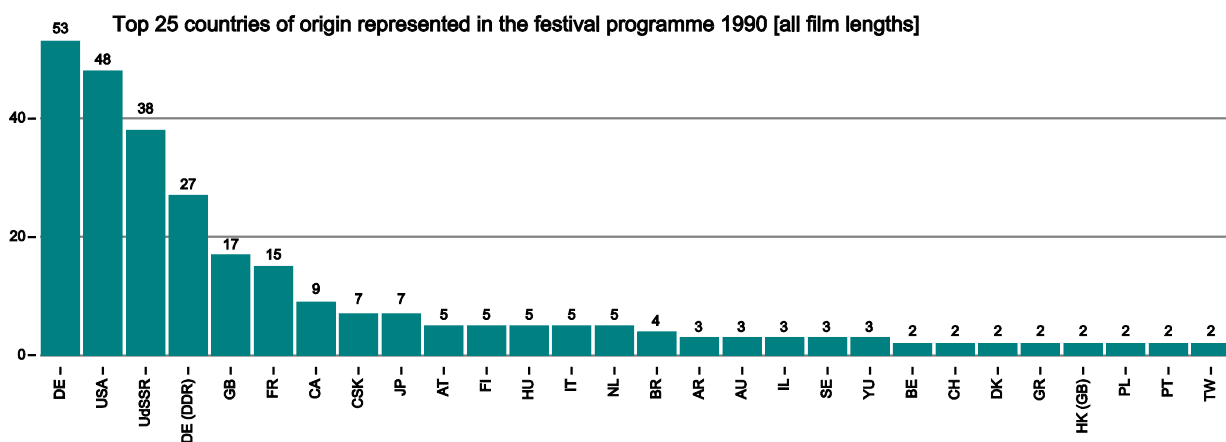
The evaluations refer to the **25 countries of origin which appear most frequently in the programming of a festival edition**. In cases where several countries of origin are equally represented in 25th place, they were included collectively.



With the 1975 announcement “All socialist nations are invited to and (to) participate in the festival” (Mezias et al. 2008, p. 12), a cornerstone of programming policy for Moritz de Hadeln’s arrival in 1980 had already been laid. “**The East European states and the Soviet Union** regularly came to the Competition with their works, until the end of the respective dictatorships” (Baer 2001, p. 20), and were, as the analysis shows, equally present in the other sections.

With 48 productions from 14 different countries of origin, **Western Europe** (excluding the Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR) significantly shaped the programme of the 1980 Berlinale. At the same time, the programme convincingly demonstrated its function as a **bridge between East and West**. Thus, 16 productions from the USA and four from Canada were up against **18 Eastern Bloc productions**. More astonishing is also the presence of 14 productions from **five South American nations**, among them Brazil (5), Colombia (3), Bolivia (1), Chile (1) and Cuba (1), as well as from Mexico (3); and equally surprising, one production each from South Africa, Nigeria and Algeria. Nor did the programme neglect the **Asian territory**, if only with one production each from China, South Korea and Hong Kong (at the time, a British crown colony).

That Moritz de Hadeln after his first festival had already decided, “personally and systematically to discover all the countries of South East Asia” (de Hadeln quoted by Baer 2001, p. 21), later attributed to the Berlinale the role of trendsetter and stimulus of a “**raised Chinese cinema’s international reputation** and profit-making potential by attracting the interest and excitement of diverse overseas stakeholders – including producers, distributors, critics, and audiences” (Lee & Stringer 2012, p. 239).

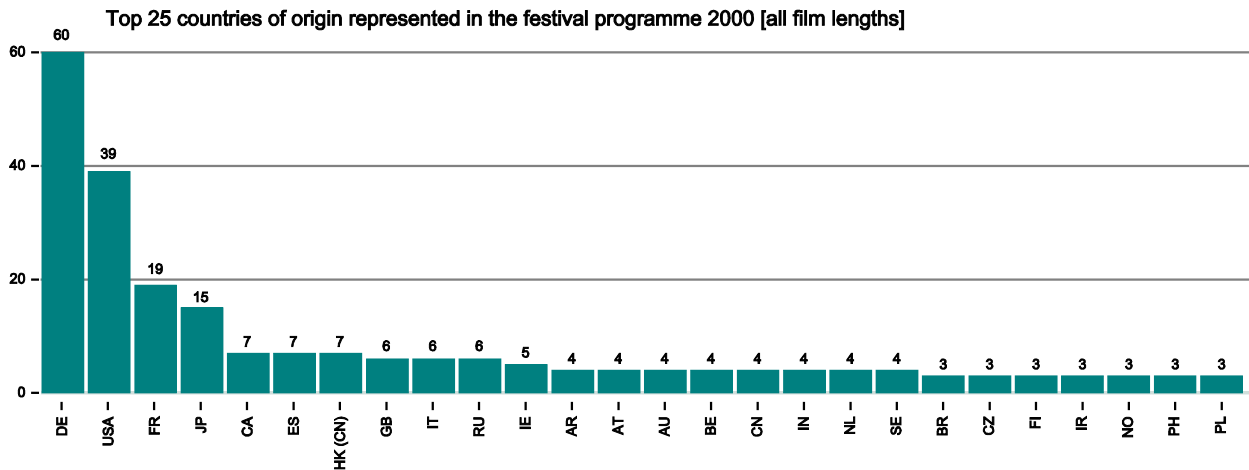


Following the admission of Greece (1981) and Spain, as well as Portugal (1985) into the erstwhile **12 EC member states**, ten years later, without Germany, the festival programme included **51 productions from eight member states**, as well as an additional 15 productions from four further West European nations.

The **significant programme expansion**, begun in 1980, is clear to see with **48 productions from the USA and nine from Canada** which, together with **82 productions from the Eastern Bloc countries**, were included in the programme, among them **27 from the GDR** alone. In this connection it should be pointed out that the programme for the 40th Berlinale had already been largely determined on 9 November 1989 with the fall of the Berlin Wall.

During those years, **Asian cinema** had already made significant strides. Even “in the Forum programme, films were screened from Korea, China, Hong Kong, Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam” (Jacobsen 1990, p. 347). During the

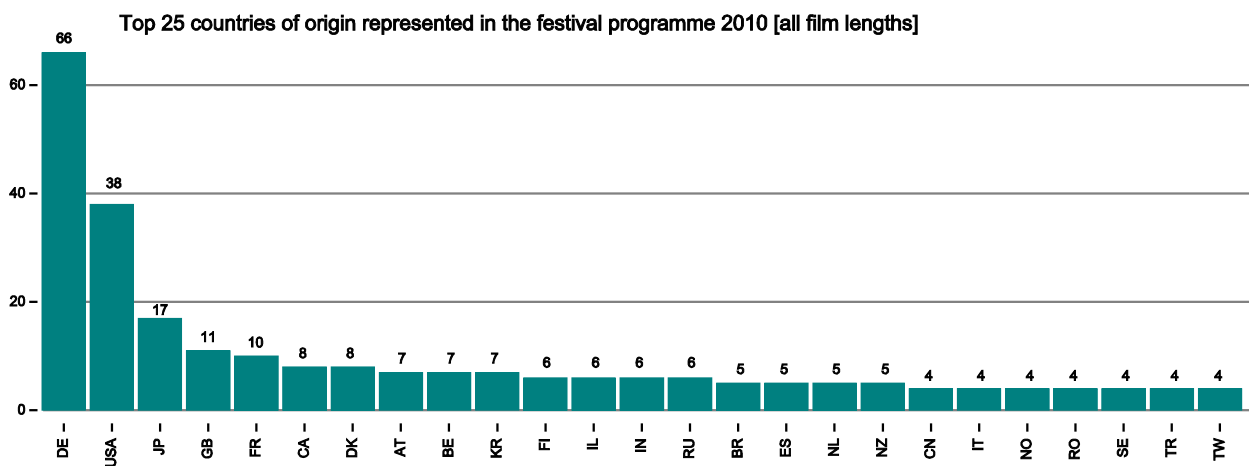
1990 festival, at least seven Japanese, as well as two Taiwanese and two productions from Hong Kong were represented. Although Argentina achieved “the second focus of the Forum programme” (Jacobsen1990, p. 330) in 1986, over the following years, South America continuously forfeited its prominent position and, in 1990, only Brazil (4) and Argentina (3) were represented in the programme.



In the 1990s, three further states were to join the EU. Thus, in the festival year 2000, the **European Union was represented with a total of 59 productions** (without the Federal Republic of Germany) from 11 member states.

The **collapse of communism** in Central and Eastern Europe went hand in hand with a **significant reduction of the programme share** to six Russian, as well as three Czech and Polish films. Parallel to this, however, was the **incipient end of the programme heyday of US-American productions**. With 39 films from the USA and seven from Canada, only 46 North American films participated in the Berlinale, instead of the 57 that took part in 1990.

These declines were offset by the **long-pursued shift of programming strategy towards Asia**. And thus in 2000, 33 Asian films found their way into the programme: 15 from Japan, seven from Hong Kong (now part of China), and four each from China and India, as well as three from the Philippines.



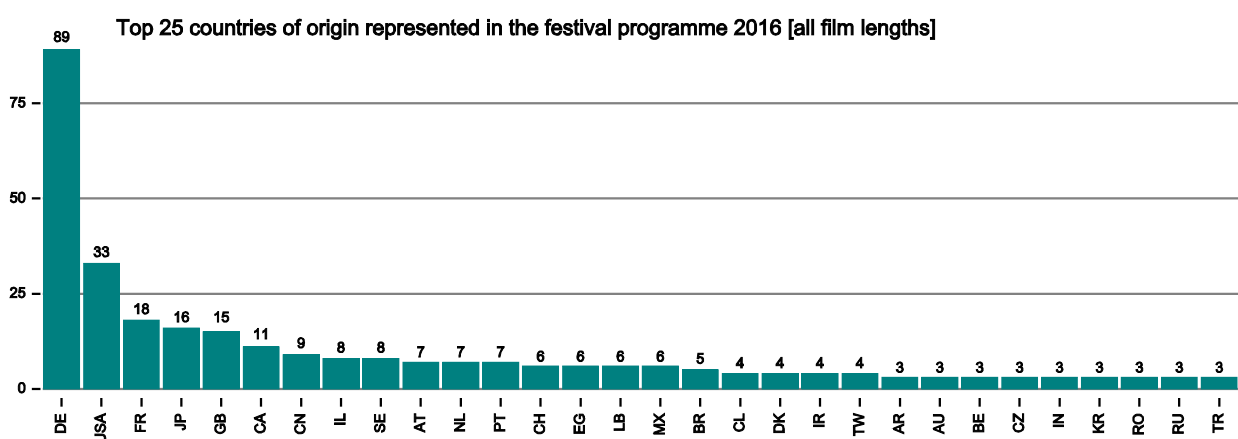
In 2001, overshadowed by the events of 9/11 and in advance of his first Berlinale, Dieter Kosslick emphasised: “Movies cannot save the world, but it is a medium that seeks to provide understanding. Between people from

different cultural, political and religious backgrounds: ‘Accept diversity’ and ‘Towards tolerance’ are Berlinale claims.” (Meza 2015)

The EU likewise closed ranks and was successively extended by the addition of ten further states (2004), as well as two more in 2007. In the tradition of the Berlin International Film Festival, the 2010 programme also sought to unite European diversity with 68 entries from 12 member states, together with (as in 2000) three entries from Norway.

The USA, with 38 programme entries that year, virtually reached its peak over the previous decade. As ever, the Russian Federation was also represented, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale. Asian cinema also continued to strongly influence the programme with 38 entries: from Japan (17), South Korea (7), India (6), China (4) and Taiwan (4).

Had Moritz de Hadeln conquered Asiatic cinema for the West, so did Dieter Kosslick – almost upon his arrival – dedicate himself to opening up and promoting regions with a weak film infrastructure, focusing on Latin and Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, the Near and Middle East, as well as Central and South East Asia. “Helping give shape and visibility to largely unseen cinema – by supporting film production in countries that lack a constructive film industry and by giving talented filmmakers the opportunity to gain or improve international awareness and reach a global audience.” (Kosslick & Bugno 2016, p. 8) With this goal, the Berlin International Film Festival, together with the German Federal Cultural Foundation, initiated the World Cinema Fund in 2004. A subsidy or incentive programme which, from 2004 to 2015, supported more than 120 successful projects and films, numerous competition entries among them, such as the Palestinian film *Paradise Now* by director Hany Abu-Assad (Berlinale 2005), or the Argentinean film *El Custodio* by Rodrigo Moreno (Berlinale 2006).



Even though 11 EU member states were represented with 81 productions in the Berlinale programme of 2016, and the European Union has meanwhile grown to 28 members, only 40 percent of the programme was dedicated to its productions. Entries, especially from the Baltic countries, are occasionally to be found in certain years. But southern European countries (such as Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece), were scarcely represented at all, with an average of only 2.6 films in the years between 2011 and 2016. This trend is contrary to the representation of two other European cinema nations, France and Great Britain, which participate in every Berlinale with about ten to 15 entries.

As opposed to the **continuous decline of US American festival entries**, between 2011 and 2016, Canada has, slowly but surely, been participating in the Berlinale (once with five and again with 11 films). Yet it is predominantly **Asian cinema with 35 film works** that has meanwhile secured a fixed place in today's programming. Leader for the past three decades is Japan, with about 15 films per year, followed by China, India and South Korea and more recently, Taiwan.

Although on the one hand, the **commitment of the World Cinema Fund is ever more programmatically reflected** and has thereby ensured **South America** a greater presence after a long hiatus, in 2016, it was **Egypt, Lebanon and Iran**, with 16 productions collectively, that are coming **into focus**. On the other, the Near East and Israel, like Australia, are among those territories which have supplemented the programme without any great interruptions since the 1980s.

Even when the illustrated distribution is based on snapshots in a 10-year cycle, it nevertheless indicates trends identifiable by a targeted comparison of country representation in the individual festival programmes. On this basis, the **share of US American productions between 2002 and 2016** is examined in detail.

One would expect that a result of **bringing the Academy Awards Ceremony forward from March to February** in 2004 would logically result in a decline in Berlinale participation on the part of US American productions. Yet the share of US festival entries in Competition, as well as in the other sections, shows quite a different picture. From 2004, with a total of five US American Competition entries (plus three feature film entries "out of competition" and one entry in the Short Film Competition) up to 2008, with likewise five US American competition entries (plus five feature films "out of competition" and five entries in the short film competition), the programme share was constant. Only from 2009 onwards, did the number of films included in Competition considerably decline (in 2012 there were only two feature film entries "out of competition" and one production in the Short Film Competition). But also in the overall programme, the number of 38 majority US-American films in 2009 fell to 23 films in 2012 – a downturn, which seems to have meanwhile stabilised at a level of about two "original" feature-length and three short film competition entries (with a share of approx. 35 US productions in the overall programme).

Taking the Berlinale's international programme from 1980 to 2016, the strong influence of world political events are obvious; firstly as **illustration of the Cold War**, later as reflection of the free world. The **establishment and expansion of the European Union** and the dominant position of US American cinema permeate all decades. Moreover, the **Berlinale** proves itself to be a **trendsetter and driving force** in its commitment to providing access to distant cinema worlds.

Despite the statement "in view of the legitimate demand from those with **migration experience** for acceptance and participation in social and cultural life" in Germany (Terkessidis 2008, p. 47), the programming of the **Berlinale managed to adroitly sidestep the issue** for many years. Focusing on the population with Turkish migratory background, it is clear how little this community has been reflected in the Berlinale programme – with only 55 Turkish entries in the 37 years since 1989.

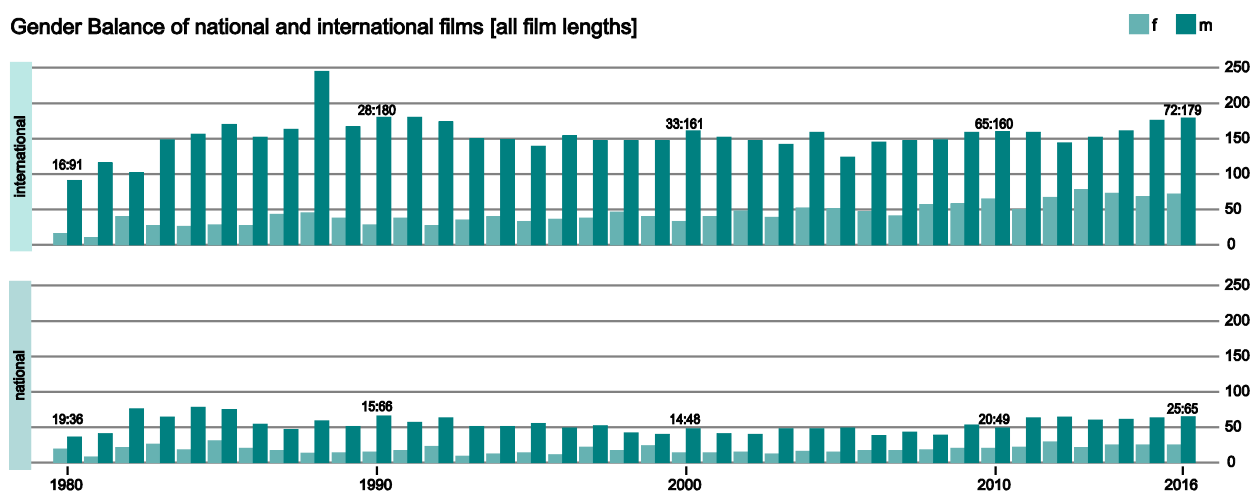
Even though “the Federal Republic in 1998 was acknowledged as an immigration country,” and since then “radical changes in citizenship law had been implemented” (Terkessidis 2008, p. 47) as a result, some slight programmatic course corrections took place. Even the Berlinale premiere of four German-Turkish films (interpreted as a “signal” for a new chapter in “cinematic diversity”; Reimann 2012, p. 548) in 1999, cannot obscure the fact that, apart from the regular invitation of specific German-Turkish directors (Fatih Akin, Thomas Arslan), the Turkish perspective, as that of other immigrant groups (hoping for a new life in multi-cultural Germany), found no reflection in multicultural Germany.

6.2 Film Makers

From the pool of 10,024 festival entries, 9,076 films were identified as having been directed by one individual; among them, 1,997 by women and 7,079 by men; 871 were made by directing teams. In 279 cases, the first-named director was female and in 592 cases, the first-named director was male. The data thus shows that approx. every 11th programmed film was realised in a co-directorial form. A further 40 productions made by director teams and, as in a further 37 films, the gender of the director could not be clearly determined. These were extracted from the sample. Films by directing teams were categorised by gender, depending on whether the first-named director was male or female. Respectively, a total of 9,947 festival entries (2,276 by women and 7,671 by men) was used as a basis.

6.2.1 Gender Balance in National and International Programming

Following the previous observations on the balance of national and international programme entries, is the analysis on gender balance based on the total of festival entries, limited to the feature film portion.

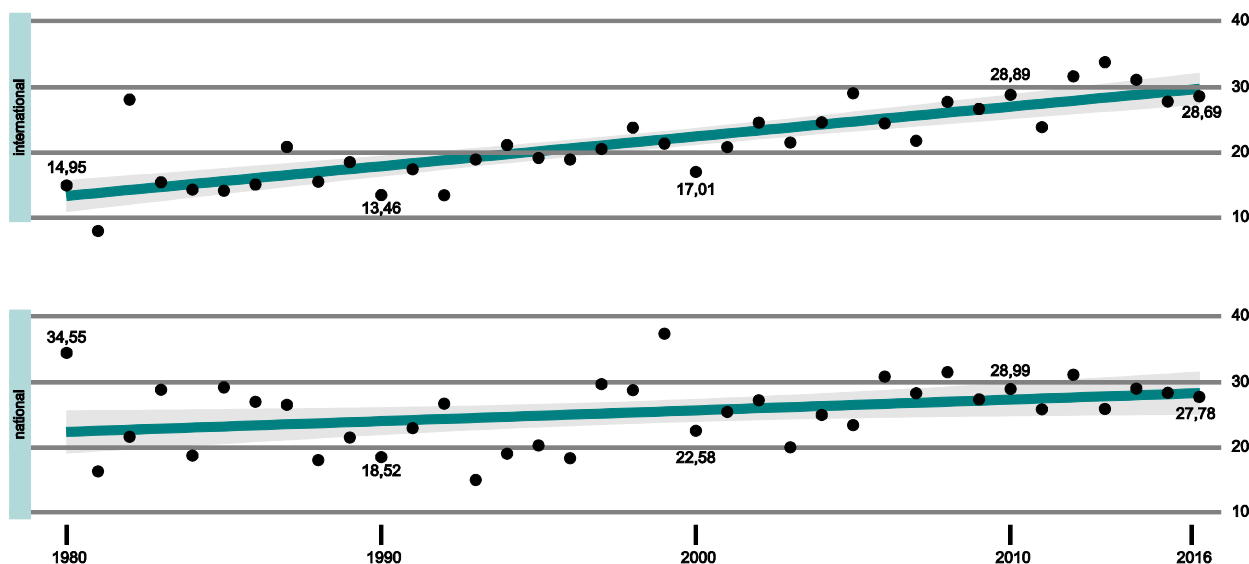


As far as gender balance in the overall programme of the Berlinale is concerned, the values from 1980 until today show a clear dominance of male-directed films in the national as well as the international festival programming. Hereby the following is noteworthy: While the representation of male directors with approx.150

international and approx. 50 national productions per festival remained largely consistent from the 1980s until the present, **women in the international programme needed over 30 years to be consistently represented with at least 50 festival entries.**

Focusing on the German programme share, an even greater discrepancy in the development can be observed.

Percentage of festival entries by women [all film lengths]



Although female-directed films started in 1980 with a share of 34.55 percent, it took 20 years (until 1999) for female film makers to rise above the 30 percent mark. And likewise, in the following years up to present day, a programme share of over 30 percent of films directed by women is the exception rather than the rule. On the contrary, the average values indicate that, although a gradual yet consistent upward trend for female-directed films is to be observed in international programming, this development has stagnated at below 30 percent for over 20 years in the German part of the programme.

This result is also confirmed by the comparison of gender balance in both periods studied (era de Hadeln, era Kosslick).

Comparison of Gender Balance (National, International) from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016 in Overall Programme (all Film Lengths)

	f	m	Share f/m productions national
1980–2001	379	1,196	24.06 percent
2002–2016	297	783	27.50 percent
			Share f/m productions nat/internat
1980–2001	1,113	4,586	19.53 percent
2002–2016	1,163	3,085	27.38 percent

6.2.2 Gender Balance in the Individual Sections

As can be seen by the strongly varying presence of German festival entries in the individual sections, the analysis on the balance of productions by men and women **divided by sections** reveals **very different trends**. Even more pronounced are the respective tendencies with regard to feature film programming.

Percentage of festival entries by women according to sections [feature films]



** The values of international productions in the sections German Cinema and Perspektive Deutsches Kino date back to co-productions where a foreign majority partner is involved.

It shows that not only the average share of female-directed festival entries varies from section to section in the defined time frame by sometimes over 20 percent, but the graphs also attest to very different developments. Most distinct is a rising share of films by women in the sections Children’s Films/ Children’s Film Festival/ Generation and Perspektive Deutsches Kino. Likewise, (albeit more weakly) indicated is a growth trend in the Competition as well as in the Forum section. In the Panorama section, on the other hand, the female share in the international programme has practically stagnated over the years, by more or less 25 percent, while the national programme, like the Forum, is characterised by a downward trend.

Percentage of Festival Entries by Woman according to Sections (National, International)

	Overall programme		Feature film programme	
	1980–2001	2002–2016	1980–2001	2002–2016
FORUM	19.09	30.06	17.91	26.19
GERMAN CINEMA*	21.32	20.76	20.81	20.76
CHILDREN’S FILM FESTIVAL	20.56	35.98	15.49	28.57
PANORAMA	22.68	23.24	17.99	21.79
PERSPEKTIVE*	-	34.63	-	32.62
COMPETITION	12.71	20.69	9.82	11.05

Gender Balance according to Competition Programming

For years, it has been primarily the competition policy of the three major A-list festivals (Cannes, Venice and Berlin) that has stood at the heart of the criticism of discrimination of film works by women. The above statistics justify this allegation.

The result of the analysis on the **competitive situation of 19 German film festivals** in 2015 was surprising. Although women were clearly under-represented in the overall programme of festival productions, **in relative terms, a significantly greater number of films by women were to be found in the competitions** (Fisher's exact test: $p = 0.0026$).

If one analyses the complete programme of the Berlinale focusing on this issue, it can be seen that film entries by women nominated for the Competition are significantly under-represented (Fisher's exact test: $p = 3.647e-14$). With regard to feature-length films, the analysis denotes an even greater statistical significance (Fisher's exact test, $p = 2.2e-16$).

Moreover, in comparing the two periods of analysis on gender balance in the feature film competition, from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016, a more positive trend can currently be seen. Notwithstanding the fact that female-directed films in competition in the era of Moritz de Hadeln (Fisher's exact test, $p = 7.617e-10$), as well as in that of Dieter Kosslick (Fisher's exact test, $p = 7.089e-06$) were significantly under-represented in comparison with the rest of the programme, **under Kosslick, a significant increase of the women's quota in Competition can be noted**, especially in the feature-length sector: Moritz de Hadeln (Fisher's exact test, $p = 1.282e-08$), Dieter Kosslick (Fisher's exact test, $p = 2.355e-10$).

6.2.3 Comparison of Gender Balance in the Programming of the Berlinale to that of a Selection of 19 German Film Festivals

In order to enable a comparison of the gender balance of the Berlinale with that of the previous study of 19 German film festivals, in accordance with the previously selected sample, it was necessary to limit the data pool to those festival entries which could be clearly assigned to a single male or female director of determinate gender. Thereby, based on all the Berlinale festival entries from 1980 to 2016, the number of cases totals 9,076 ($w = 1.997$, $m = 7.079$) and, based on the festival in the comparison year 2015, totals 304 ($w = 81$, $m = 223$).

Vis-à-vis the overall programmes of the 19 film festivals of 2015, from the total 1,833 programme entries identified, 448 films could be attributed to a woman and 1,342 films to a man.

The **gender balance of the national and international overall programmes for the 19 German film festivals** in 2015 showed a ratio of **26.67 percent** festival entries directed by women. In comparison, the **Berlinale programme** balances out at **26.64 percent** female and 73.36 percent male festival entries. Beside these almost equivalent values, a case to case comparison of the feature-length and short film programme entries for **2015 reveals a positive picture for the Berlinale**: Here the female share in the overall feature film programme of the festival pool

is **20.89 percent** against the Berlinale’s **21.20 percent**, while the female share in the festival pool’s overall short film programme is **30.43 percent** against the Berlinale’s **35.16 percent** and, limited to the female share of festival entries in the German feature film sector of the festival pools, a ratio of **24.18 percent** against the Berlinale’s share of **26.22 percent**.

6.2.4 Correlation between the Gender Balance of Curators to the Gender Balance of Film Works

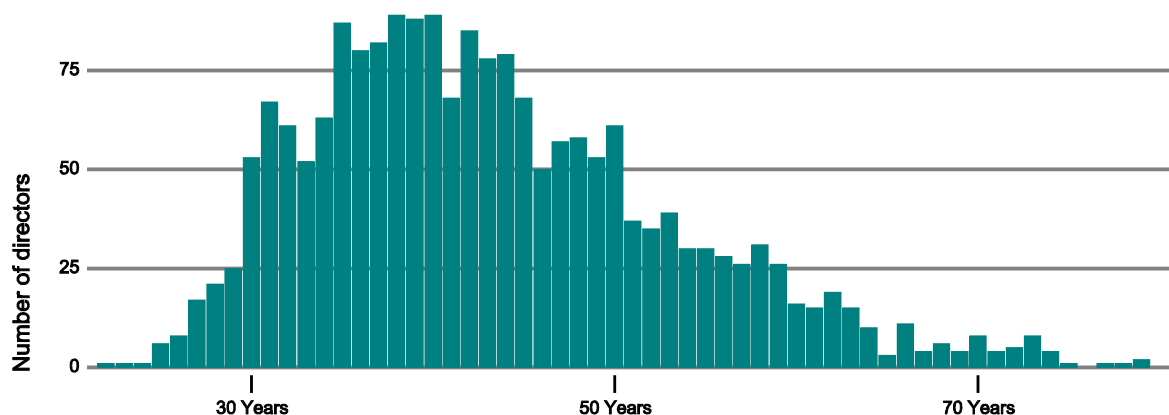
Even when analysis of the correlation between the gender balance of the curators and the gender balance among the programmes of the 19 film festivals examined resulted in no statistical significance, due to the small sample size, ($p = 0,0349$), the following trend could nevertheless be determined: **The more female festival curators deciding the programme selection, the greater the share of female film works** (Pearson correlation, $\rho = 0,486$).

Relating to the programming of the Berlinale, it can be clearly established that a **greater share of films by women** were to found in those **sections headed by women**. Yet for the study, only the gender ratio of the six programming heads was available (three female and three male) so that the result could be biased, reflecting a greater interest by woman for women in their section.

In order to define a trend or even a result with statistical significance, it would be desirable to gather information on the gender balance of the individual selection committees, consultants, as well as the international scouts for the respective sections.

6.2.5. Average Age of Directors in the National Programmes

Age distribution of directors of national festival entries [feature films]



The above graph shows the age distribution of German directors, whose feature films were programmed at the Berlinale in the entire period between 1980 and 2016 in the sections under examination. **2,584** Film makers were thereby considered, both before German reunification from the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as from the new and old federal states thereafter, to the extent that their age could be determined. 16 directors of

film historical works (such as Fritz Lang, born in 1890, *Metropolis*, 1927) on the other hand were removed from the sample.

Comparison of Average Age from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016 (Feature-Length Films)

Average Age in the overall programme		
1980–2001	43.03 years	
2002–2016	43.75 years	
Average Age in the Competition		At an age span of
1980–2001	48.30 years	from 23 to 71 years
2002–2016	45.38 years	from 26 to 70 years

These figures indicate that those **directors** invited to take part **in competition** during the period **from 1980 and 2001** were, on average, **considerably older** than those in the competition from 2002 to 2016. At the same time, the average age in the 2002 overall programme exceeds that of the period 1980 to 2001.

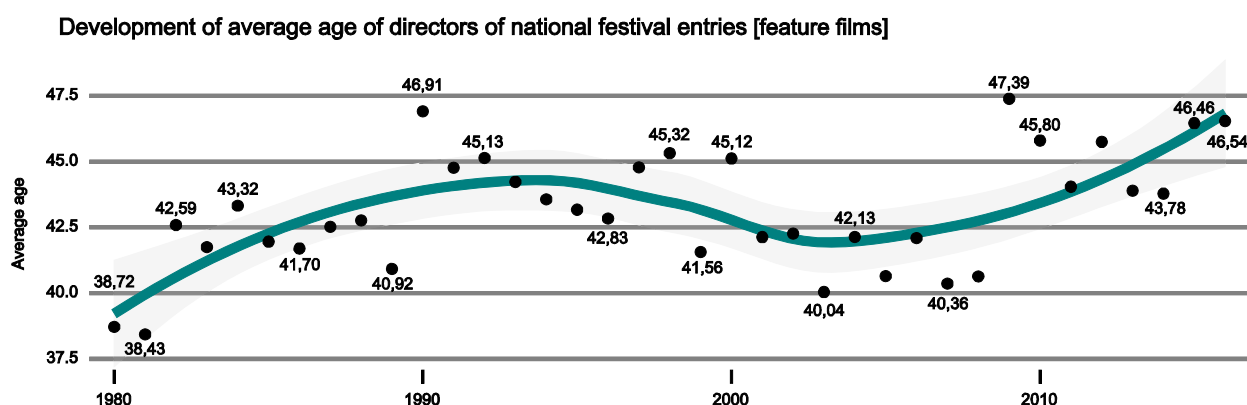
Programmatically new concepts and corresponding restructuring also led, in the individual sections, to a **shift in the age distribution**. Thus, for example, the **introduction of the Perspektive Deutsches Kino** in 2002 (the section for new German film making talent) involved a significant rise in the average age of the film makers of festival entries in the **section German Cinema**.

Comparison of Average Age from 1980–2001 and 2002–2016 (Feature-Length Films)

Average Age in the Section German Cinema		At an age span of
1980–2001	40.81 years	from 22 to 78 years
2002–2016	43.44 years	from 26 to 82 years
Average Age In The Section Perspektive		At an age span of
1980–2001		
2002–2016	34.38 years	from 22 to 54 years

Even when the age of a film maker, as one can see, does not correlate to his or her profile as a new or up-and-coming director, well-known talent, or prestigious director; and film academy graduates just as much as beginners and lateral entrants can emerge with prize-winning debuts or even competition entries in international festivals: In view of the limited opportunities of market access for countless first-time film makers, as well as the rare chance of presenting a work to a cinema audience, the result poses the question of whether such platforms as the **Perspektive Deutsches Kino** should not be reserved for emerging German films by up-and-coming film makers.

6.2.6 Age Distribution of Directors in the National Programme



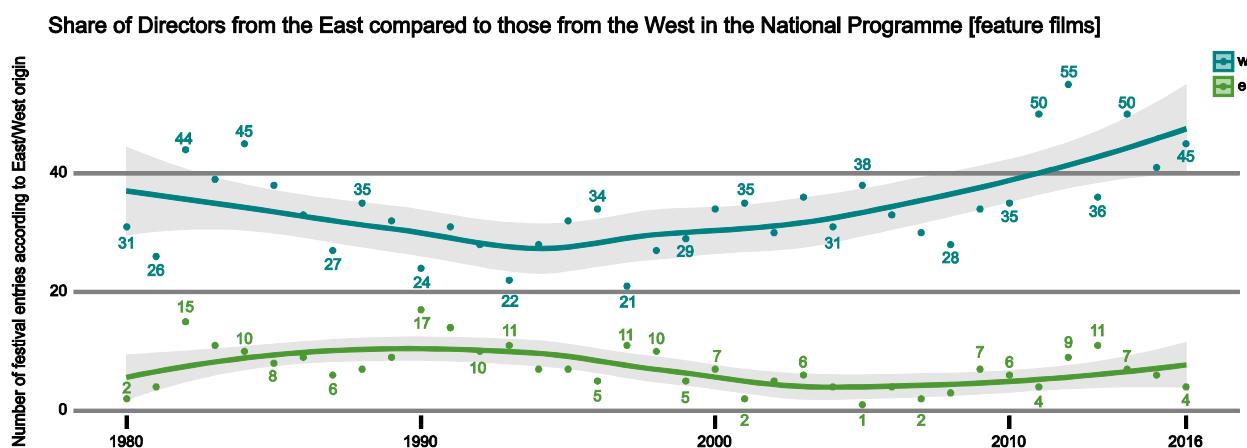
Looking at the development of the average age of German directors in the programming of all sections studied over the years, **three phases** can be seen. The first phase: **1980 and 1981 with 38.43**, is the lowest of all average ages until today, yet in the following years registers a continuous rise to a **maximum of 46.91**. This is followed by a second phase of **consolidation with a slight downward trend** at an approx. average of 44. Concluding with the third phase with the lowest value of 40.04 in 2003, in which the average age, after bottoming out for several years (at about 41), **unexpectedly rose from 2008** and, within half a decade, **climbed beyond the 46-year-old mark**.

A study of the individual sections regarding the respective age distribution also gives an insight into the reason for the high age increase in the overall programme. If the **high average age** values of 1980 to 2001 primarily determined the section **Children’s Film (Festival) and the Competition**, it is especially in recent years that the sections **Panorama and German Cinema, or Lola@Berlinale**, respectively, as well as the section **Perspektive Deutsches Kino**, are increasingly presenting feature-length films by directors significantly older than 40 (if not 50).

6.2.7 Ratio of Directors from East Germany and West Germany in the National Programme

“Since the German Unification Treaty was concluded, together we have been able to expand the cultural environment of our land. In my opinion, this is, and remains, the greatest challenge. For it has, for long, been less about ‘substance’, than about the structuring of German unity under the provisions of a culturally and ethnically heterogeneous, pluralistic society,” stressed Monika Grütter in her opening speech of 18 June 2015, at the 8th Federal Conference on Cultural Policy.

Consistent with appeal, this part of the diversity study examines and compares the proportion of Berlinale entries by directors whose origins are in the East, or West, respectively. For this purpose, **East and West are defined according to the place of birth and socialisation of the film maker**, not according to the productions’ country of origin. Despite the fact that, particularly before 1990, the country of origin of the production generally corresponded to the director’s place of birth, the analysis also evaluates film works by directors with an East German background which were produced in West Germany. Altogether 2,034 films were included in the study, **363 productions by directors from the new federal states and 1,671 by those from the old federal states**.

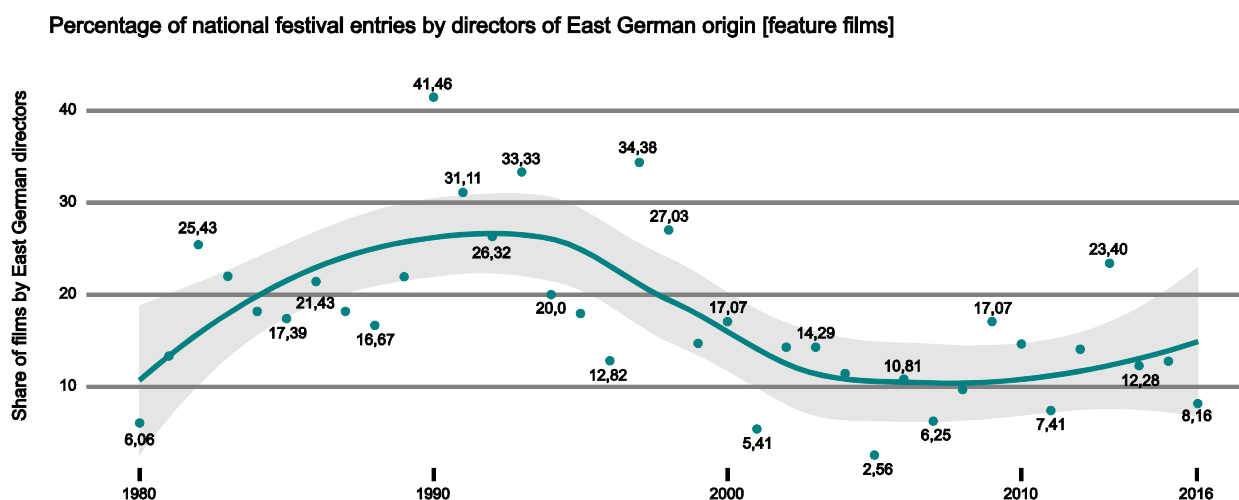


“Moritz de Hadeln’s start as new director of the Competition was not easy. Especially as the socialist countries had virtually withdrawn from film festivals just the previous year. ... Sensitivities were raw and the political situation was tense.” (Jacobsen 1990, p. 277) In the following years, Moritz de Hadeln was thus all the more intent on establishing “the position of the film festival as a junction for cultural exchange between East and West” (Jacobsen 1990, p. 294).

This situation explains the objective, year for year from 1982 until 1990 (excluding 1983), of nominating one, if not two, films from the GDR for the Competition. Out-of-Competition, **the GDR likewise had a firm place in the Berlinale programme**, especially in the Children’s Film Festival section, but also to a slightly lesser degree in the Panorama and Forum. Relating to all running times, between 1982 and 1990, **films by directors of East German origin were almost continuously represented in the programme in double-digit numbers**. Limited to the feature film programming, it amounted to between **four entries in 1985 and 27 in 1990**. These also included several works produced in West Germany by directors with an East German background, who had relocated from the GDR to the Federal Republic, either by expulsion (e.g. Peter Timm), ransom (e.g. Sybille Schönemann), or departure shortly before the building of the Wall (e.g. Ulf Mieke).

With 17 feature films in 1990, the Berlinale achieved an exhibition of East German directors still unparalleled today. A position which did not result from the fall of the Berlin Wall, as programme negotiations with the GDR and the corresponding programming had long since been concluded. Nevertheless, even during the Berlinale edition of 1992, it was still possible to present world premieres from the DEFA pool. Since, “by mid-1990, the DEFA had produced more films than ever before. For nothing was certain in times to come” (Dalichow 1994, p. 329). These screenings, however, went hand in hand with a successive disappearance of film works by East German directors, which reached an all-time low in **2005 with only one single production**, only recently doing an about-face in favour of film works by directors with an East German background.

This development was primarily due to the fact that such renowned DEFA directors as Frank Beyer, Heiner Carow, Herrmann Zschoche, Lothar Warneke, Rainer Simon, Ulrich Weiß, Roland Gräf and Hannelore Unterberg – all known from the Berlinale editions of the 1980s – had little opportunity to continue their work after the fall of the Wall. Unlike the “fourth generation”, a group surrounding Peter Kahane, Dietmar Hochmuth, Jörg Foth, Karl Heinz Lotz, Evelyln Schmidt, Herwig Kipping and Maxim Dessau, who all emerged as first-time directors after Reunification (cf. Wiermann 2016).



The graph showing the percentage of films by directors of East German origin among national festival entries, illustrates the following: After the **zenith of 1990**, and the **subsequent decline**, the low level which has persisted for over a decade corresponds to that of the early 1980s. That **films by East German directors are under-represented, predominantly since 2005**, becomes abundantly clear when one considers that the greater representation in certain, more recent years, was based only on the higher share of programming in the Lola@Berlinale – a series not curated by the Berlinale. Between 2011 and 2016, 19 of the 41 feature-length “East films” presented in the Berlinale programme were screened in the Lola@Berlinale programmes.

Even when **Andreas Dresen** was invited in 1990 with his graduate film *So schnell geht es nach Istanbul* and, since then, has been invited to the Berlinale a total of 15 times by various sections (including three times in Competition), he **appears to be one of the few post-reunification directors from East Germany** who has enjoyed any great attention or positive perception.

Other directors from the new federal states of this generation, or still younger representatives, such as Leander Haußmann, Karsten Laske, Sylke Enders, Christian Schwochow, Alexander Freydank, Christian Klandt and Axel Ranisch, on the other hand, are not in the programme at all, or, like Matthias Schweighöfer with his film *Schlussmacher* (2012), only screened in the Lola@Berlinale series.

That there is, in general, a **great desideratum**, is demonstrated by Grit Lemke, director of the film programme of the DOK Leipzig, in an interview of December 2016: “I have the impression that East German stories are not really welcome in Germany. For as soon as there is the slightest connection to the new federal states, Leipzig mentioned in the subtitles, the parentage or origin of the director, a story from Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, the film, regardless of its actual theme and content is stigmatised and – as I find – rejected outright. Even such great documentary films like *Alles andere zeigt die Zeit* by Andreas Voigt (opening film of the DOK Leipzig 2015), *Land am Wasser* by Tom Lemke (Goldene Taube 2015) and *Am Ende der Milchstraße* (winner of the Bavarian Film Prize, nominated for the German film prize) by Leopold Grün and Dirk Uhlig, attract no attention and generate little interest at other German film festivals or in the German movie theatres.”

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