Queer Film Culture:
Performative Aspects of LGBT/Q Film Festivals

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Skadi Loist

aus Schwerin

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Gutachter_innen:

Prof. Dr. Joan Kristin Bleicher

Prof. Dr. Malte Hagener

Prof. Dr. Martin Jörg Schäfer

To my patient grandmother,

Charlotte Loist (*23.10.1924)

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Introduction

Performing Queer Film Culture

Queer film culture has a long history, which directly links queer cinema and its specific aesthetics and politics to the performative model of the film festival, in which a specific audience and community experience evolve. The oldest lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans*[1], queer (LGBT/Q)[2] film festival started in San Francisco in 1977. In the early years, LGBT/Q film festivals served as safe havens for queers. They offered a counterpublic space to come together to celebrate and discuss LGBT/Q representation and art when few, often negative images were available in the mainstream. Since then LGBT/Q film festivals have widely proliferated. The 1980s saw a first wave of festivals starting up, predominantly in North America and Western Europe. The late 1980s brought about many changes: the AIDS crisis spurred queer activism, and the fall of the Berlin wall 1989 marked global political change with the crumbling of the Soviet bloc. In this time, a flock of successful arthouse films featuring unapologetic LGBT/Q stories in a new aesthetic and with new politics, which film critic B. Ruby Rich labelled "New Queer Cinema" (Rich 1992), was emerging. Since then LGBT/Q film and media representation has come a long way. The cross-over success of New Queer Cinema paved the way for careers of *auteur* filmmakers such as Todd Haynes, and the development of a niche market. In the 1990s and 2000s the LGBT/Q film festival scene has grown exponentially, covering most regions of the globe with about 230 active events on the circuit today. LGBT/Q representation seems to be ubiquitous now—at least in the West—reaching mainstream audiences via multiplex cinemas, streaming platforms, cable network series, etc.

Despite this seemingly positive narrative, B. Ruby Rich recently painted a rather skeptical picture of the state of queer film culture in a keynote address at the "Queer

[1] Trans* with an asterisk is a way to denote the widest possible meaning of who is included under the "trans" banner. It stems from search engine functionality, in which the wildcard * placed after a word will show everything related to it. While this is somewhat specialized knowledge, only noted in writing or code, it has been taken up fairly widely in scholarly writing and by activists. Otherwise, when spoken, "trans" is still heard. Both seek to include all non-cisgender gender identities, such as transgender, transsexual, transvestite, genderqueer, genderfluid, non-binary, genderless, non-gendered, third gendered, trans man, trans woman. (Loist/De Valck 2013: 587)

[2] Throughout this study I use the abbreviation LGBT/Q, which is a combination of the commonly used "LGBT" for "lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans*" and "Q" for "queer;" whenever referring to the overall development of LGBT/queer movements and events. By combining as well as separating these terms using a slash, I aim to visualize the complex history and account for the at times opposing, yet interconnected development of these terms and the politics they stand for (see also Wiesnerová 2012). Issues of terminology are discussed in more detail below.

Film Culture: Queer Cinema and Film Festivals" conference at the University of Hamburg, which took place in conjunction with the 25th anniversary of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage | International Queer Film Festival in October 2014 (Rich 2014a).[3] After discussing a number of recent queer movies, such as *The Kids Are All Right* (2010), *Concussion* (2013), *Love Is Strange* (2014) and TV series like *Looking* (HBO 2014–) she diagnosed that there is no sense of community left, the films instead "target individuals with no group to which they belong, no world outside of the couple, the workplace, or some version of a family." Although she does mention a few encouraging signs of work that operates differently (she mentions *La Vie d'Adèle*, 2013, and *Transparent*, Amazon 2014–), she does wonder whether

> the shift to cloistered individual tales has become an inevitability, given the steady growth in viewing at home, individually, through downloads or iTunes or mobile YouTube capture. Has the technology begun to shape the stories it is willing to tell? (Rich 2014a)

Rich emphasizes that the original New Queer Cinema was based in a "system of exchange between filmmaker and audiences," namely in the "shared circus of the film festivals." She praises the "magic of gathering in the sacred site of the movie theater with kindred souls to share the communion of film," and sees it threatened in "a new world of downloads stripped of public space, where queer cinema unspools in a world without audiences and individual viewers with headphones replace publics" (Rich 2014a). Instead of this space of new media consumption she wishes for a different kind of queer film culture:

> I still count on the queer film festivals to keep it alive. To do that in a productive way, though, to respect the full potential of liveness in collective space, means paying attention. "Audience" implies a plural. It means showing films that can help a public constitute itself in a time of fragmentation and date overload, to access together emotional experiences that can suggest alternative modes of expression, that can inspire … (Rich 2014a)

Although I do not fully share the skepticism towards the new ways in which (LGBT/Q) media images circulate and are consumed, I will take up the cues provided. Some of the keywords that Rich mentions—for instance: community, audience, collective experience, liveness, publics, etc.—form the very basis for the investigation presented

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[3] The program of the conference can be found online: www.queerfilmculture.org (16 Dec. 2014), the keynote has been translated into German and published on *Spiegel Online* (Rich 2014b), for a review of the conference see Künemund 2014.

in this study. The question I will address is how the formation of queer film culture occurs at LGBT/Q film festivals. What all these keywords have in common is that they relate to a notion of performativity and performance. Film festivals are events, in a sense a live performance of film culture as well as LGBT/Q identities and community. As Rich reminds the reader, film festivals act as public spheres, as spaces where audiences appear and they do this in response to a specific address by the festival in form of publicity material and film programs. If the address succeeds, queer film culture is performed in a communal experience.

Beyond Rich's concern of individualization and isolation, the present study will take a concerned look at the extension of this trend, which is connected to a form of privatization, and often linked to a form of homonormativity and neoliberal politics. Looking at the growth of the festival circuit and the seemingly ubiquitous circulation of LGBT/Q images suggesting a positive development for global LGBT/Q rights, the concrete examples of programming and political community negotiations presented in this study will also shed a light on the ambivalent position that LGBT/Q film festivals inhabit. Operating at the intersection of evolving LGBT/Q politics, human rights activism, global film markets and local politics, these festivals need to navigate between the diverging directions of continued activist queer politics and integration into market logic. Paradoxically, I would suggest that LGBT/Q film festivals run the risk of becoming victims of their own success: the appropriation into the mainstream logics runs counter to their original ideals while at the same time securing their (organizational) survival. These ambivalent positions will become apparent in the discussions of programming, audience address, and organization alike.

1. Objective and Research Question

The objective of this research is to investigate the complex structure of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit by mapping its position within the field of grassroots activism intersecting with the film industry, and analyze its performative construction. In this study, I will approach the question of the performative formation of queer film culture through the LGBT/Q film festival from different angles: 1) I will map the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit in relation to historical discourses of identity politics and representation, globalization and the ambiguous navigation of diverging objectives of activism and neoliberal, creative-industries oriented professionalization, 2) I will show the performative nature of LGBT/Q film festivals in

aspects of audience address, community building and genre definition, and 3) I aim to provide insight into an alternative festival circuit by situating LGBT/Q film festivals within the queer film ecosystem[4] of an established niche market and vis-à-vis a larger arthouse circuit that relies on film festival circulation.

The hypothesis of this research is that LGBT/Q film festivals play an integral part in the definition and dissemination of LGBT/Q images and identities in a global network. On a local level, LGBT/Q film festivals create counterpublic spheres (or as I will argue in chapter 3, "intervention publics") in which the LGBT/Q community is addressed and attends as an audience, where individual and collective identities are negotiated, and festival communities formed (cf. Loist 2008; Ommert/Loist 2008; Diepenbroick/Loist 2009). While festivals have specific local inflections, they are also connected to a larger global network of queer cinema, identities and the politics of gender and sexuality (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012; Loist 2013a).

In this research I set the stage for the analysis of LGBT/Q film festivals by giving an overview of historical cultural development of Queer Film Culture. LGBT/Q film festivals are part of a larger cultural setting of the arts and culture, festival culture and film festivals as well as political and activist shifts in society. These range from the gay liberation movement, with its concerns of identity and representation to queer radical alternative politics, pride events, queer arts and film culture. LGBT/Q film festivals have always been part of both the historical formations of the LGBT/Q community and its subculture, and the development in the mainstream/general public sphere. In fact, LGBT/Q culture—especially in the radical queer activist variant—has developed in reaction and contradistinction to mainstream culture and its heteronormative and homophobic tendencies (Warner 1993; Jagose 1996). In an increasingly commodified cultural sphere, which operates on individualization, diversification and niche marketing, LGBT/Q culture also needs to navigate trends of mainstream appropriation and usurpation, which adds another layer of continued reactive re-definition against various norms (cf. Duggan 2003).

This project is concerned with the larger frame of queer film culture, without primarily focusing on queer cinema in terms of textual and aesthetic analysis that film studies

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[4] Film historian Jenni Olson first termed the queer cinema industry with its niche distributors, producers and film festivals an ecosystem (Olson 2002). See also Henderson 2008.

amply provides[5]. Instead, this study takes the performative nature of queer film culture as its premise, which connects representation, production and reception in an analysis of a performative culture. The queer film culture crystallizes in LGBT/Q film festivals, which are organized as subcultural spaces and intervention public spheres for the negotiations of LGBT/Q identities and representations in moving images. This study, thus, fills a research gap by providing a larger analysis of queer film culture as a social practice (Turner 1988). In order to do so, this current project harks back to earlier research concerned with the development of the New Queer Cinema (cf. Loist 2004), and an interest in the contexts and social practices of queer cinema and LGBT/Q film culture, including film production, exhibition and distribution as part of the queer film ecosystem. This project grew out of a wish to correlate developments in representation of queer film (aesthetics and narrative) with political activism that this film production is based in and addresses. In LGBT/Q film festivals films are selected to represent a community, audiences come to see themselves on screen or protest issues raised on and off screen, politics and identities are negotiated, and the ecosystem itself encourages films to be produced for the festival circuit and its correlated audience. Thus, film festivals are where practices of queer film culture culminate and crystallize. LGBT/Q film festivals perform queer film culture; in their actualization as an event, queer film, film culture and their related LGBT/Q (cinephile) community emerges.

The history of the film festival phenomenon began in Europe in the 1930s and has developed in three distinct phases as described by Marijke de Valck (2007). While the first phase is characterized by national film exhibition marked by geopolitical and diplomatic interests (1932–1968), in the second phase the festival model changed and festival practices shifted to highlight alternative political and aesthetic ideas that are expressed in social movements and through film (1968–1980s), and the phase since the 1980s has so far been characterized by a global proliferation and professionalization of the festival network (cf. De Valck 2007: 19–20). The vast proliferation of film festivals and the differentiation of film markets contribute to the development of specialized film festivals. Festivals dedicated to specific genres—for feature or short films, for fiction or documentaries, for animation or experimental films—have developed alongside international generalist film festivals since the 1950s. Festivals with a special programming profile regarding theme or context also proliferate as part of an era of

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[5] See for instance: Bad Object Choices 1991; Gever/Parmar/Greyson 1993; Creekmuir/Doty 1995; Doty 2000; Aaron 2004; Benshoff/Griffin 2004; Juett/Jones 2010.

social movements and political cinephilia since the 1970s (feminist, gay, Black, Jewish, environmental film festivals etc.)[6]. Due to their activist background and representational agenda they develop special characteristics and peculiarities. They follow different politics: identity or politics-based festivals did not develop as prestige projects of local government officials, but based in community politics (even if these differences might become blurred in the successful mainstreaming of LGBT/Q culture). This means usually that these festivals operate differently; either by conscious decision or out of (financial) necessity (cf. Loist 2011a). Identity-based film festivals focus on politics and representation, and deal with issues of inclusion—via negotiation of representation, visibility, seeing oneself on the screen and one's own experiences represented, ideals of multicultural society—and come with differences in community building, programming, organization.

LGBT/Q film festivals, thus, by and large follow a different history: there is no top-down national political drive behind the establishment of these festivals but a community-oriented, activist agenda (although globalized LGBT/Q human rights advocacy also leaves marks of trans/national politics on the festival development (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012; Rhyne 2007). This can also be felt in the different organizational set-ups, which follow a bottom-up approach rather than the official top-down approach found in cultural national/urban policies that often regulate international film festivals. From the different beginnings and agendas follows a whole set of differences in festival performance, as in address, selection, programming, organizing, funding etc. (cf. Loist 2011a, 2012). Thus, LGBT/Q film festivals serve as an insightful example for the study of film festivals as a whole as well as for the specifics of identity-based film festivals (cf. Loist 2013 b).

The LGBT/Q film festival network presents a specific case as it has developed a networked structure unlike most other sub-circuits of thematic festivals. Women's film festivals, for instance, have not established the same niche industry as the queer cinema ecosystem that the LGBT/Q film festival circuit is closely connected to. LGBT/Q film festivals resemble in this respect other established sub-circuits, such as documentary film festivals (see Vallejo 2014), short film festivals (see Vannucci 2014), children's film festivals or the more recent network of human rights film festivals (see Bowles 2013).

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[6] A more detailed discussion of these historical developments is part of chapter 2.

The scope of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit is big and the overarching question of the formation of queer film culture broad. In this study I will, thus, shift back and forth between a more general film festival studies perspective, specific facets of LGBT/Q film festival analysis and detailed accounts of individual case studies. Out of the 5,000 estimated film festivals currently operating worldwide,[7] roughly 230 festivals specialize in LGBT/Q film and audiences.[8] The festival landscape at large and also the LGBT/Q film festival landscape in particular is in constant flux. There is a substantial number of newly founded festivals every year while several festivals falter after a few editions due to burnout of organizers, lack of funding, or changing legal regulations; even older festivals go into hibernation or skip editions to re-structure.[9] Due to this changing nature, I have chosen established festivals as case studies, going as far back as the late 1970s, such as the oldest running festival of this kind, the Frameline: San Francisco LGBT Film Festival (1977–). As further case studies serve MIX NYC: NY Experimental Queer Film Festival (1987–), NewFest: The New York LGBT Film Festival (1989–), the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival (1990–), Verzaubert Queer Film Festival (1991–2009), identities. Queer Film Festival Vienna (1994–), and the Teddy Award (1987–), the queer film award of the Berlin International Film Festival, which is not a LGBT/Q film festival in its own right, but serves as an essential node in the LGBT/Q film festival network.

My focus will rest on a comparison of these festivals based in the US, Germany and Austria, although I do discuss global developments—especially in chapter 2 (and in the outlook)—and will mention several other festivals along the way to provide specific contexts and raise larger issues. This choice has a dual background: First, as a German media scholar with training in American studies I have a long-standing interest in comparative perspective on the US and Germany and had sufficient access to both cultures and festival spheres. Second, both in the US and Germany, queer film culture, activism and theory have a long tradition. Thus, festivals in both regions have similarly long histories and can thus adequately be compared. In addition to the similarities, festivals in Germany and the US serve as useful examples when trying to tackle the

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[7] Festival industry portals such as Withoutabox.com boast a number of 5,000 festivals that are being serviced (http://www.withoutabox.com, last seen 13 August 2014).

[8] Chapter 2 will provide a detailed overview of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit, which is based on a research list containing collated and controlled data from several festival listings and written sources. The list currently contains more than 340 festivals that have been recorded, of which are about 230 still in active operation (see appendix).

[9] For a more detailed account of these mechanisms see chapter 2.

regional differences that become apparent when inspecting issues of LGBT/Q activism, cultural policy, funding structures and film industry ideals. It would be too simple to boil down these differences to a distinction of (Western) European ideals of public art culture vs. US-American ideals of individuality and the market (De Valck 2007: 14); nevertheless different regional discourses on activism, culture and commerce and their influence on film festival performance will become obvious.

In chapter 1, I will give an overview of the field of film festival studies with its key concepts, theories and methods, and point out differences between generalist and LGBT/Q film festivals. In the course of the study I will consider different dimensions of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. In chapter 2, I will provide the necessary background and context for the further in-depth analyses of issues of programming, the formation of a festival community and intervention public sphere (Ommert/Loist 2008) that will follow in chapter 3. First, I will map the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. This mapping will show the global spread as well as the increasing move from small individual activist events to larger organizations and their performance according to surrounding demands, couched in larger discourses mirroring neoliberal creative industry ideals as well as the change from radical activism to niche marketing.

In chapter 3, I will consider the performative nature of LGBT/Q film festivals in different aspects and take a look at the performative architecture of an LGBT/Q film festival by shedding light on the event with its interlocking elements of selection, exhibition, and reception. Here the performative formation of queer film culture by way of selection, framing and exhibition will be addressed from various angles. I will look at the various processes involved in programming, ranging from pre-selection, to screening committees to programming strategies. From there I will turn to the corresponding side of this process and look at the audience, considering the form of address, reception context, audience interaction and elements of community-building. While the programming process happens much earlier and over an extended period of time, the program itself (through promotional materials such as brochures and websites) addresses an audience and only then comes into existence: comes "alive," actualizes in the act of attendance and reception by an audience. Thus, these two sides (program and audience) are inextricably linked in fact, to represent two sides of the coin that is the festival.

In the concluding outlook, then, I will zoom out and propose two further strategies on how to expand the analysis of LGBT/Q film festivals from a performative perspective in future research. The first strategy proposes to turn the concept of performance around and use its economic incarnation (McKenzie 2001). While chapter 3 makes use of discursive and phenomenological conceptions of performativity and performance to analyze mechanisms of a festival, the shift to an economic understanding of performance will change the perspective from the unfolding event to the organizational structure of the festival. Film festivals are not autonomous entities operating according to their own rules and preconceptions. Instead, they are specific organizational formations that are part of the larger cultural sector and respond to a number of stakeholder demands and expectations (cf. Rhyne 2009, Gamson 1996). Festivals are performative organizations in that they repeat earlier structures of the festival model that have developed since the 19th century (cf. Giorgi/Sassatelli/Delanty 2011; Fléchet et al. 2013), as well as earlier editions of themselves. The network can be said to follow this performative repetition when festivals copy each other in the ways of organization and event structure in an attempt to adapt to the constantly changing technical, cultural and social demands and continue to stay relevant (cf. Elsaesser 2005: 86). After all, the ability for constant adaptation is what Marijke de Valck proposes to be the recipe of success of the film festival circuit (2007). The second strategy proposes to consider the larger frame of the festival circuit in more detail. The focus here would be on the connections between festivals as they form a networked circuit. By outlining an analysis of the circulation of LGBT/Q films through the global festival network, I propose to attend to discussions of the festival circuits as an alternative distribution system. Here, film festivals are considered in their capacity as agents in the larger film industry, i.e. film production, exhibition and distribution. These two steps will move the study of LGBT/Q film festivals closer towards media industries studies and provide another productive angle for film festival studies.

Along with these trajectories outlined above—historical context and global spread, programming and reception (as well as interspersed takes on organization, and circulation) on the circuit—there are three threads running throughout the analysis in this study: 1) the concept of the performative/performance and its various shapes in the film festival, 2) the internal contradictions between assimilationist tendencies in LGBT identity politics and radical queer activism, i.e., the "queer dilemma" (Gamson 1995), and 3) the neoliberal market logic and its impact on the festivals.

The first continuous thread is the performative nature of the film festival. Philosopher J. L. Austin (1975) sought the term "performative" to account for the fact that certain utterances not only describe acts but actually accomplish them and thus bring about a specific reality. Within a "performative turn" in cultural studies the concept has since been developed further in several ways, e.g., in gender/queer studies, ethnography or performance studies (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2006). In this project I address the versatility and productivity of the concept when applied to the study of LGBT/Q film festivals, since the performative nature of these events can be felt in the formation of identities, queer cinema, and communities, as well as in the organization itself. Thus, in this study I consider different aspects of the performative nature of the film festival event. In chapter 3, I will mobilize the terms performativity and the performative as they are used in cultural studies, with an emphasis on their deployment in performance studies (e.g. Fischer-Lichte 2008), ethnography (Dayan 2000), and in the deconstructionist sense that can be found in the concept of gender performativity as proposed by Judith Butler (1989, 1993) and which links to conception of a queer counterpublic sphere (Warner 2002). In the outlook, I will shift gears to mobilize the performative rather in an economically-oriented understanding of performance, still relying mostly on social sciences and cultural studies rather than pure business theory (cf. McKenzie 2001).

In the second thread running through the analysis the internal contradictions of the LGBT/Q community, which Joshua Gamson has termed the "queer dilemma" (1995), will become apparent. As the gay liberation movement, queer activism, social inclusion of LGBT/Q people have evolved over roughly four decades, the stakes in political advocacy, representation, identity politics and festival culture have changed. Thus, tensions arise between competing definitions of "queer" as these definitions vary across time and space, denoting something else in the early 1990s than during the 2010s, and in the US, Germany, Russia, Hong Kong or Uganda. Gamson identifies the "queer dilemma" as the clash of deconstructionist queer theory with LGBT advocacy by way of lobby politics. Queer theory and early queer politics aimed at deconstructing identities, especially collective identities built through ethnic models of boundary policing. Much policy-making—also gay and lesbian rights advocacy—however, is based on lobby politics which relies on identity groups fighting for particular rights of their group. This "queer dilemma" affects not only political activism, but also cultural events like film festivals more generally. When LGBT/Q film festivals started out as gay and lesbian

counterpublic spheres where gays and lesbians could meet and form a community, these festivals provided a platform for (self-)representation of a specific group identity. To question or even deconstruct the identity that is the very basis of these festivals poses a potential threat to the festivals and their legitimacy as specialized festivals when these identities and the relating core constituencies have been contested (cf. Searle 1996). Thus, it is crucial to consider specific socio-historical contexts in the analysis of LGBT/Q film festivals. This will become obvious in chapter 3, where I present various incidents in which LGBT/Q community and politics have been contested and renegotiated in boycotts or vocal discussion in the context of festivals.

The third thread of neoliberal negotiations takes up from where the second leaves off. Just as the "queer dilemma" points to the diverging concepts of fluid categories and identities to constantly challenge the status (queer) vs. fixed identities that aim for inclusion (LGBT), the neoliberal agenda that LGBT/Q film festivals find themselves facing points to the need to navigate between ambivalent positions of precarious, vanguard practices of activism that brought about these alternative spaces in the first place, and the successful integration into mainstream cultural and industrial contexts. Thus, paradoxically, LGBT/Q film festivals seem to become victims of their own success: the appropriation into the mainstream logics runs counter to their original ideals while at the same time securing their (organizational) survival. These ambivalent positions will become apparent in the discussions of programming, audience address, and organization alike.

2. Academic and Social Relevance

This study is situated at the intersection of film and media studies, sociology and queer theory. It is firmly based in the new interdisciplinary field of film festival studies[10] and has close connections to the young field of media industries studies[11], while drawing on established fields as cultural studies, anthropology, and especially performance studies. With this positioning the academic relevance of this study is threefold:

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[10] As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 1, film festival studies is by no means an established field, much less an institutionalized one. Nevertheless, a strong interest in film festivals has become apparent within media studies, but also adjoining interdisciplinary fields such as anthropology, cultural management, media sociology, event and tourism studies, which Marijke de Valck and I have tried to map in "Film Festival Studies: An Overview of a Burgeoning Field" (De Valck/Loist 2009).

[11] For an overview of current media industries studies see Holt/Perren 2009; McDonald 2013; and the inaugural issue of the *Media Industries* journal (2014) (www.mediaindustriesjournal.org), e.g. Schatz 2014, Acland 2014.

First, this study contributes to the understanding of film festivals as essential elements in a larger film culture, considering film as social practice (Turner 1988) and placing it in a historical dimension. In this way this research follows the tradition of New Film Historicism (Allen/Gomery 1985), which moved away from the narrow concern of the filmic text by raising issues of socio-economic, political and cultural factors and also addressed production, exhibition and distribution. Thus, this study focuses on film culture with all its processes from film production, exhibition and distribution as they crystallize at the specific discursive and real sites of film festivals.

Second, this study contributes to the ongoing developments in film festival studies (see De Valck/Loist 2009; Loist/De Valck 2010), in two ways: first, by attending to a neglected sub-circuit and second, by suggesting a paradigmatic shift by proposing the new analytic focus on the performative. While building on and synergizing existent research in the field, this study hopes to give new impulses to the field by adopting the versatile concept of the performative for film festival studies. Film festivals are a ubiquitous phenomenon; with around 5,000 film festivals occuring yearly (cf. Loist forthcoming b). Film festival studies have emerged as a new interdisciplinary field since the late 1990s and have especially grown since the mid-2000s. The main research object has been the model film festival, usually envisioned as an A-list festival (cf. Evans 2007). This study builds on the work that is coming out of this vibrant field and sets out to expand on it. While there have been recent forays into the wider range of festivals, such as documentary, human rights or thematic festivals (cf. Vallejo 2012, Bowles 2013), this study will provide a contribution to the field with a detailed, multi-leveled analysis of LGBT/Q film festivals. The earliest research on specialized film festivals, which was incidentally among the first academic studies about film festivals in general, was dedicated to identity-based film festivals with a focus on the LGBT/Q community (cf. Gamson 1996, Searle 1997, White 1999). This is not surprising considering the concurrent debates about identity politics in feminist and queer activism, cultural practices as well as cultural theory of the 1990s. LGBT/Q film festivals are a compelling object of study not only within their subcultural sphere, but they are also excellent examples to highlight findings for the general festival field. By building on insights gained by studies on LGBT/Q festivals, considering the differences and similarities between generalist film festivals and identity-based festivals, this study sets out to contribute to general discussions of the relationships between film festivals and their cinephile communities, between reception contexts and programming, and

thus account for the convergence not only of general and specialized festivals on the circuit, but also a convergence in the analysis of general and specialized festivals (cf. Loist 2013b). Showing new, queer-festival specific aspects such as programming, political aspects that are not only visible in programming, but also in the spread of festivals (Loist/Zielinski 2012, Loist 2013a) and the forms of organization (Loist 2011), looking at the particular parallel circuit of LGBT/Q film festival and highlighting the differences and similarities with other circuits and festivals helps sharpen the analysis of festival studies in general: which assumptions hold true across the board, where is not only locale and time of interest but also more fine-tuning of the analysis necessary, such as paying attention to specific (niche) industry und community contexts? These specificities are not just peculiarities, but are of interest for their applicability to other niche festivals and circuits—such as feminist/women's film festivals, human rights film festivals, eco film festivals, etc. (cf. Loist 2013b). By bringing these two streams of film festival studies—the performative and LGBT/Q film festival culture—together, this study is able to present a rounded analysis of film festivals which combines various levels and angles of the film festival event that are usually only addressed separately. Instead the present study will show the interconnection of aspects of the event dimension, reception and community aspects, organizational and media industry through the employment of the performative.

Third, with an interest in economic and processual dimensions of film festivals and the circuit, this study also places festivals strongly within current developments in media industries studies. The dynamic field of media industries studies has mainly focused on traditional media and industrial processes in film production and distribution, format development and sales in television, or convergence culture in cross-media and conglomeration environments (cf. McDonald 2013). Yet if we follow the changing nature of the film festival circuit, which along with the diagnosed expansion and professionalization since the 1980s (De Valck 2007) has in the last decade developed its own substantial sub-industry ranging from the growing pool of professional consultants and workshop organizers to the development of ancillary online festival platforms[12] serving to connect various actors in the field—producers, filmmakers (sellers), distributors (buyers) and programmers (exhibitors)—this field can be regarded as a media industries sector in its own right. Due to the limited scope of this study, I can

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[12] Examples of such festival platforms range from B2B-platforms such as Cinando, FestivalScope connecting festival programmers with producers to Withoutabox or Reelport providing submission platforms for filmmakers and festival (see also Iordanova/Cunningham 2012).

only hint at two specific strands in media industries research throughout the following chapters: first, organizational structures and labor issues (cf. Loist 2011; Rüling/Strandgaard Pedersen 2010) and second, distribution (cf. Loist forthcoming c; Andrews 2013).[13] The historical development of LGBT/Q film festivals throughout nearly four decades shows a move from ad-hoc countercultural alternative events to incorporated year-round institutions ranging from all-volunteer labor to full-time professionals. This span provides interesting insights into the work structures of film festivals and how they influence not only the organizational layout but fundamentally the performative unfolding of the events. The film festival circuit has been theorized as an alternative distribution system for arthouse and world cinema (de Valck 2007). Considering the discussion about the dimension of the festival circuit as true distribution versus a mere exhibition outlet (Iordanova 2009) further research should take a closer look at the dissemination of queer images on the global circuit. Along with the political and aesthetic repercussions that such a global movement entail, this study proposes to consider the specific case of the LGBT/Q niche market to gain insight into the circulation of film on the international circuit at large.

In addition to the academic relevance, this study has social relevance in a number of ways. First, this study on LGBT/Q film festivals adds to the understanding of LGBT/Q film culture in terms of representation politics in an era of globalization. The mapping of the historical development in chapter 2 offers explanations for the global spread of festivals, while chapter 3 offers detailed discussions of local festival incidents in the form of activist boycotts that relate to larger global (LGBT/Q) politics. Thus, it is of interest to LGBT/Q communities, filmmakers and festival organizers aiming to understand the historical and performative dimension of LGBT/Q film festivals as this study places their practices in a history of festival development spanning four decades.

Second, this study aims to return knowledge to film festival practice. The surge in the discussions on the futures of film festivals attests to the relevance of the field (cf. e.g. Gass 2009; Porton 2009). Within the festival industry there is visceral interest. As several scholars have pointed out there has long been a significant overlap between festivals and academia: many festival programmers and directors have a background in formal film theory training and/or are still actively connected to academia and higher education (cf. Loist forthcoming a; Iordanova 2013: 4; De Cuir 2014). Festival studies

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[13] From a general media industries perspective Caldwell 2008 and Hesmondhalgh/Baker 2011 would be relevant for issues around labor, and Lobato 2012a for issues of distribution.

can offer long-view, slow analyses that quick journalism cannot provide and that festivals have no resources to pursue (De Valck/Loist 2009: 180; Loist forthcoming a). If it is the task of film critics to visit festivals in order to report on recent trends, point the public to great new films and write thoughtful reviews, film festival scholars instead work out-of-sync with the imposing festival rhythm and offer meta-views and frameworks for understanding festivals in broader and more specific contexts. Bringing to bear different approaches and methods—such as network theory, film analysis, discourse analysis, history of institutions, history of film industry and distribution, national cinema etc.,—academics play a key part in clarifying the formative yet complex role of film festivals in our cultures, industries and societies. Here festival research, which to some degree relies on the collaboration with festivals to gain access to research material, can give back to the field.

Third, as the field is growing and articles are appearing in various academic outlets[14] the incorporation of festival scholarship into teaching becomes visible. Festivals are increasingly covered within academic teaching and in doing so broaden the view in film studies. With a leaning towards media studies, production and media industry studies, they go beyond mere textual analysis. Several institutions, such as media studies departments at universities or festival talent campuses, host specialized festival classes with varying emphases on theorizations or practice-based approaches to film festivals (cf. Zielinski 2014)[15]. Specific issues such as programming and curating have even become part of specialized new master degree programs. Thus, festival research feeds back into the next generation of festival organizing.

3. Chapter Layout

Chapter One: The Performative Nature of Film Festivals: Theories and Methods

In chapter 1, I will outline the theories and methods used for the present study on LGBT/Q film festivals. After an introduction to film festival studies as a new research field, I will delve into the theoretical framework underlying the following chapters. Starting out from Austin's concept of the performative, I will sketch out how the

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[14] Academic pieces on film festivals are increasingly moving from specialized into high-ranked journals constituting the mainstream of the academic field, while book series are being launched (St. Andrews, Palgrave), and a textbook is underway (De Valck/Kredell/Loist forthcoming).

[15] The *Scope* dossier on Film Festival Pedagogy edited by Ger Zielinski (2014) discusses a number of different university courses, which include film festivals as research objects or hands-on practice contexts.

concept travelled further and was taken up in ethnography (by Erving Goffmann, Victor Turner, Daniel Dayan), in gender studies (by Judith Butler) and performance/theater studies (by Erika Fischer-Lichte, Jon McKenzie). In the next step, I will demonstrate how these theorizations of the performative and performance relate to (LGBT/Q) film festivals. Finally, I will show how these theorizations link up to other already existing film festival theorizations, such as the transformative processes taking place at festival, such as value addition (Marijke de Valck), the festival as public sphere (Michael Warner, Cindy Wong) and economic performance and social entrepreneurship (Jon McKenzie, Stuart Richards).

Chapter Two: Historical Development of the Festival Circuit

In chapter 2, I will cover the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival framed in a larger social, political context. This chapter combines the two proposed axes of film festival study "Axis Five—Politics of Place" and "Axis Six—The Film Festival Circuit and History" (De Valck/Loist 2009: 186–188). In the first section, I will provide an account of the larger general film festival circuit and its historical evolution in relation to political, social and economic developments. In the narration the historical phases, I largely follow Marijke de Valck's periodization of the circuit that has passed from national showcases to programmed cinephilia to a professionalized and diversified network (De Valck 2007). This general overview of the film festival model will be accompanied by a breakdown of the historical phases of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit, where I follow Ragan Rhyne's periodization (2008). The third section will map the global spread and growth pattern of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit and provide a detailed breakdown based on empirical historiography. The last section of the chapter provides a detailed narrative account of the LGBT/Q festival circuit, which considers global influences in LGBT/Q rights policy, shifts in independent and LGBT/Q filmmaking. Along with the global perspective, a discussion of US-American, German and Austrian case studies provides further background in understanding the evolution of the festivals and the circuit. This chapter will show that LGBT/Q film festivals are not just representatives of a certain offering of queer film, but are fundamentally performative formations. These are performative events where discourses on LGBT/Q activism, community debates, identity formation and legislation, cultural policy and city development intersect and crystallize. Only the particular interplay of these discourses in a specific time and place brings about these events.

Chapter Three: Performing Festival Culture: Selection, Exhibition and Reception

In chapter 3, I unravel the different layers in which LGBT/Q film festival culture is performed. Here I rely on a number of specific incidents of disruption and boycotts as case studies to bring out the performative formation of queer film culture in the festival setting. In a combination of "Axis One—Film as Work of Art" (De Valck/Loist 2009: 182–183) and "Axis Four—Reception: Audiences and Exhibition" (185–186) of the proposed axes of film festival study, this chapter is structured in three steps centered on the keywords selection, exhibition, and reception. Under the heading of selection, I will discuss the performance of queer cinema as it becomes visible in the practices of selection of films and their programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. Two historical incidents from the history of Frameline, the Lesbian Riot (1986) and the *Genderator* incident (2007), will serve as detailed examples of the way in which programming strategies directly interrelate with identity negotiations. The discussion of programs proposing queer programming strategies at festivals in Hamburg, Bremen, and Vienna serve as counterexamples for programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. In the section focusing on exhibition, I will turn to the performative nature of the festival as event, following specific scripts and rituals. In the section titled reception, I will discuss the formation of a counterpublic sphere, audience address, and the specific reception context of a festival. Here, two further examples of festival boycotts, one relating to "pinkwashing" discussions on the international festival circuit as well as Frameline, and one relating to queer local politics in Hamburg, are used to analyze how LGBT/Q film festivals operate as queer counterpublic spheres that activists utilize for political intervention. The last section of this chapter will discuss the communal experience of collective viewing and this return to the questions raised in this introduction.

Chapter One

The Performative Nature of Film Festivals: Theories and Methods

Film festivals are very complex entities that can and need to be approached in various ways. Thus, in the next sections of this chapter I want to provide a general introduction to film festival research. I will launch into the vibrant new field of film festival studies with a brief recounting of the developments of this field in the last decade and then move on to some basic definitions of the research object: the film festival and the festival circuit. In a second step I want to propose a model of how to approach the study of film festival by reviewing the six-axes analysis model that Marijke de Valck and I developed in 2009. Thirdly, I want to take a look at the theories and methods that have thus far been employed in this field.[1] Following this survey of the field, I want to end this chapter with a launch into the specific analysis I want to venture into in the rest of this study. While the larger project will shed light on various angles of the specific case of LGBT/Q film festivals and their corresponding circuit, I want to spell out the central aspect of the performative nature of film festivals before launching into the following chapters. There I want to highlight the particular usefulness of the terms performative, performance and performativity for film festival studies in general and the specific case of LGBT/Q film festivals in particular. This concept will provide the cohering thread throughout the remainder of this study.

1. A New Research Field

Drawing on different research traditions and methodologies, film festival studies is an inherently interdisciplinary field. In this way the new field is emblematic for the move made by film studies towards the more broadly defined media studies in the last two decades. Film festival studies, then, sits somewhere halfway between these institutionalized fields. In a clear departure from film studies, the field of film festival research takes a cultural studies approach, reframing interests in film aesthetics, art and the role of national and festivals as sites of self-identification and community building. It acknowledges above all the political and economic context of film production and

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[1] Parts of this Introduction present considerably reworked sections of De Valck/Loist 2009 and De Valck/Loist 2013.

distribution and understands film festivals both as players in the film industry and, conversely, as events in which various stakeholders are involved. Not surprisingly, film festival research is conducted in the humanities as well as social sciences, most notably by film and media scholars but also as part of organizational studies and business schools, gender studies, history, anthropology, urban and tourism studies and various regional studies (e.g. Asian studies). As the diversity of these researchers bring their own toolbox to the study of film festivals, the field boasts a remarkable variety of resources—from speech-act theory to system theory, from historical archive material to hard business data.

This broad array of disciplinary, theoretical and methodological approaches has brought some to doubt that film festival studies are a "field" at all. Dina Iordanova, herself a prominent figure in film festival research laments the lack of a cohesive field and calls for "some applied streamlining" in the wide field that in her view yields "too many tenuous, speculative and fragile lines of inquiry". She goes on to state that she is still coming across "new addition[s] to film festival research that ha[ve] picked up another new line of investigation and references another new range of possible theoretical influences whilst at the same time failing to show basic familiarity with the existing writing" (Iordanova 2013b: 12). While the present study also aims to present a new pathway— namely that of the productivity of "the performative"—it simultaneously exactly aims to incorporate various approaches that have previously been presented by scholars in the field. The following subchapters will, thus, first provide some definitions of key concepts, attempt an integrated methodological model for festival analysis, and follow up with a brief survey of the current theories and methods in this interdisciplinary field.

Film festival studies as an emerging field is really only a decade old (cf. De Valck/Loist 2009). There were a few single publications discussing film festivals as objects of research in the 1980s and 1990s (cf. Willemen 1981; Diawara 1993, 1994; Nichols 1994a, b; Gamson 1996; Searle 1996). The first publications in form of articles, special journal issues or first monographs paying more detailed attention to the subject, however, only appeared in the last decade (Stringer 2001, 2003a, b, c; Harbord 2002; Marks 2004; Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007, Reichel-Heldt 2007). However, the field was not yet connected; thus, many articles started out by saying there was no work that had been done to build on. This failure to easily locate material and to communicate

between scholars working on festivals was sought to be amended by the establishment of a loose connection of festival scholars through the Film Festival Research Network (FFRN)[2], which met for the first time as a workgroup of the European Network for Cinema and Media Studies (NECS) at the annual conference in June 2008, organized by Marijke de Valck and myself. Since then, the network has grown to encompass more than 500 members[3]. In this time has not only the number of scholars working on the topic multiplied, but also the output of scholarly articles has grown exponentially.

A literature review per se would not be very productive in this prolific and fast changing new field of study. However, its development can easily be traced by comparing the successive annotated bibliographies that Marijke de Valck and I have compiled almost yearly since 2008. The first bibliography was made available as an open-access online publication to help bring researchers and material into dialog. The annotated bibliography (Loist/De Valck 2008, 2010b) was organized to map the existing material in a coherent accessible manner—highlighting different approaches and key issues. In a reworked and updated version, we included a scheme for an approach to study film festivals along six research axes (De Valck/Loist 2009).[4] The subsequent growth of the field has been documented in various installments of bibliography updates in the *Film Festival Yearbook* series (Loist/De Valck 2010a, 2012; De Valck/Loist 2011). In an attempt to account for the changes in the rapidly growing field we offered a newly structured annotated overview as part of *Oxford Bibliographies Online* (De Valck/Loist 2013). Most of the numerous additions to the field have been documented in frequent updates on the Film Festival Research Network website, which houses the extensive bibliography.[5] Instead of attempting the futile task of giving a comprehensive overview of this vastly fluctuating field, let me instead give a brief overview of some milestones in the development and establishment of the field before later moving on to survey significant key concepts, theories, and methods.

In 2008 and 2009 discussions on the future of film festivals were seemingly happening everywhere: in the film business, at festivals, and in academia simultaneously. This marks also a rare occasion in academic study, namely the corresponding height of academic and practice discussions. While festival discussions become visible in film

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[2] For more information see the Website of the Film Festival Research Network: www.filmfestivalresearch.org.
[3] This number refers to a count from Dec. 2014.
[4] A reworked version is presented below.
[5] http://www.filmfestivalresearch.org/index.php/ffrn-bibliography/

criticism journals (Gass 2009, Porton 2009), the founding of academic workgroups (FFRN) and the hosting of workshops (cf. Ostrowska 2010) as well as starting a book series (*Film Festival Yearbook*) attest to the beginning of the attempted consolidation of a field. The proliferation of discourse on film festivals can be understood, on the one hand, as a response to the changes in the media production and exhibition landscape that forced professionals to develop new financial models, and, on the other, as part of a growing interest in the creative industry and cultural events landscape on the part of politicians and tourism officials. Thus, a high volume of publications marks these years (Iordanova 2008; Iordanova/Rhyne 2009; Jungen 2009 [translated 2014]).

The research on film festivals has picked up immensely after having neglected as research objects for decades since the development of the circuit. Researchers from different disciplines started tackling the new field, applying their disciplinary angles and methods: rituals and mechanisms from the anthropological side, the influence of festivals on aesthetics of the so-called festival film, and festival operations from management studies. A trend became visible: research was being done in the USA and the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland—in different settings: film studies, media studies, cultural management. The output of work on film festival has remained steady. And soon after further book-length studies and anthologies appeared (Iordanova/Cheung 2010, 2011; Ahn 2011; Giorgi/Sassatelli/Delanty 2011; Wong 2011; Iordanova/Torchin 2012; Fischer 2013; Marlow-Mann 2013; Teissl 2013; Iordanova/Van de Peer 2014).

Despite the surge in publications, the field of film festival studies is still developing.[6] There are not many books that deliver an overview of the field or a comprehensive approach to study festivals; for example, there are currently no textbooks or reference works available.[7] With *The Film Festival Reader* (2013) Dina Iordanova has recently published a collection bringing together the foundational pieces of the young field (Iordanova 2013b: 2). The streamlining of film festival research that Iordanova is calling for in her introduction to the *Reader* seems to be mostly interested in the

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[6] The vibrant research energy of the field is especially visceral at conferences such as SCMS, NECS or ECREA where enough conference panels focusing on film festival research were presented in recent years to form separate conference strands (cf. www.filmfestivalresearch.org). Here many published scholars are present, but also a high number of PhD candidates whose work has not yet been published. Due to the time-lag of publishing cycles a large number of monographs and articles is about to appear in the next few years.

[7] Although there is a textbook in production to amend this gap: De Valck/Kredell/Loist 2015. In addition Dina Iordanova has published a compilation of foundational texts (Iordanova 2013).

network culture of the circuit.[8] In addition to plenty of journalistic writing on film festivals, as well as anniversary editions published or sponsored by the festivals themselves (cf. De Valck/Loist 2013), now a good number of book-length academic case studies on single festivals have appeared (e.g. Busan: Ahn 2011; Cannes: Jungen 2009/2014; Edinburgh: Lloyd 2011; Leipzig: Kötzing 2013a, Martini 2007, Moine 2014; Oberhausen: Kötzing 2013a; Venice: Pisu 2013).[9]

2. Theoretical Frameworks

A variety of theories and methods has been applied in the interdisciplinary field of film festival studies. Especially when considering the angle of film and media studies, much of the work on film festivals has been done from a theoretical perspective, while relatively little work has appeared that is grounded in empirical data using quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, the field is marked by theorizations and only relatively little discussion of methods (Loist forthcoming a). In the following section I aim to give a brief overview of the applied theories and methods, with a focus on work done in media studies or closely related fields, such as visual anthropology[10].

Film studies moved away from text-based analysis a while ago; shifting from the single focus on film texts to include their exhibition and circulation. In this context media studies-based film festival research finds a good home. This move is part of the larger ongoing trend in film and media studies since the 1970s and 1980s, away from text to context, such as production, reception and distribution; cultural practices have come into focus, as highlighted in the cultural studies turn, for instance in Graeme Turner's *Film as Social Practice* (1988) or the work done under the label of New Film Historicism in the 1980s, which combined theory with a historical practice (with key figures such as Richard Allen, Douglas Gomery, Tom Gunning, Thomas Elsaesser, Janet Staiger, Kristin Thompson),[11] or more recent work under the similar heading of New Cinema History, which focuses on cinema culture beyond film text (cf. Maltby/Bilterest/Meers 2011).

From this focus shift in film and media studies on practices it is only a small step to highlight rituals, processes and flows that are part of film festivals and to turn to the

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[8] Thus, the book could actually be called the *Film Festival* Circuit *Reader*.
[9] For a comprehensive listing of literature on film festivals, see the bibliography of the FFRN at www.filmfestivalresearch.org.
[10] Cf. Vallejo/Peirano (forthcoming).
[11] See for instance Elsaesser (1986, 2004), Allen/Gomery 1985 and for an overview Kuster 1996.

concept of the performative. In fact, the concepts of performance and performativity have already been alluded to, or mentioned in passing in previous theorizations of film festivals, but they have seldom been made explicit and elaborated further.[12] Before discussing the existing theorizations in film festival studies, let me first give a brief overview of the conceptual framing of the performative, performativity and performance.

2.1 Performative, Performativity, Performance

The discussion of the notions of the performative, performativity and performance goes back to the J. L. Austin's concept of "performative utterances," which he developed in a lecture series in 1955, which was later published in the book *How to Do Things with Words* (1975). Austin sought the term "performative" to account for the fact that certain utterances not only describe acts but actually accomplish them and thus bring about a specific reality, thus they are self-referential and constituting reality (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 27). Starting from linguistic discussions initiated by Austin and the development of speech act theory by John Searle in the 1960s, the concept has then travelled back and forth between philosophy, literary theory and linguistics and saw a number of qualifications, expansions and changes. From there, the concept has been taken up in a larger cultural turn and resulted in a "performative turn" in cultural studies in the 1990s, where it was developed further in several ways—of which the renditions of the term found in gender/queer studies (prominently by Judith Butler), ethnography or performance studies (in the theorizations of Erika Fischer-Lichte or Jon McKenzie) are especially of interest to this study (cf. Bachmann-Medick 2006; Bal 2002; Butler 1990, 1993a, b; Culler 2000; McKenzie 2001; Fischer-Lichte 2008, 2012b; Wirth 2002).

Among the most important changes of the originally narrow concept of performative utterances by Austin is the deconstructionist intervention by Jacques Derrida. Austin

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[12] Cindy Wong, for instance, briefly introduces Ferdinand de Saussure's theorizations of the "social fact of language […] by dividing language (langue) from speaking (parole)" (Wong 2011: 224). Wong uses Saussure's system of language "in which 'difference is everything' but where the very systematization remained implicit, unconscious, and shared" and goes on to state that "one can compare distinctions among festivals by the systemic constraints that allow us to compare and distinguish them" (ibid.). Considering the second part of Saussure's distinction, which remained unelaborated by him, Wong proposes that "we can […] play with the analogy to understand a syntax of performative events (openings, sections, fora) that produce unique pronouncements: screenings, readings, contexts" (Wong 2011: 225). Here, Wong is already alluding to the performative nature of these events, but does not go into it further. From de Saussure's theorizations of language it is a very small step to speech act theory and the coining of "the performative" by philosopher J. L. Austin.

distinguished "performatives," as utterances which change the reality in the act of uttering, from "constatives" as statements that describe reality or state facts and are thus true or false. Following the true/false distinction of constative utterances, he qualified that performatives belong to a different category. The essential difference is that performative utterances do not describe, but perform—successfully or unsuccessfully— the action they designate (Culler 2000: 504–505). Literary theorists have taken up the performative for its quality to highlight the active use of language and its world-making quality (Culler 2000: 507). Ironically, however, Austin had explicitly excluded literature in his description of performatives, since he based his definition of the success or failure of a performative utterance on the context, which should follow "ordinary circumstances", otherwise it will "be in peculiar way hollow or void if said by an actor on stage, or introduced in a poem, or spoken in a soliloquy" (Austin 1975 in Culler 2000: 507).

In the essay "Signature Event Context" (1988 [1972]), Derrida argues that language is necessarily a set of iterable marks and insists that citationality is the most general condition of possibility for performative utterances (cf. Derrida 1988: 18). The notion of citationality is significant when Judith Butler takes up the concept of performativity within feminist and gay and lesbian studies to develop her performative theory of gender and sexuality. Butler proposes that we consider gender as performative, in the sense that it is not what one is but what ones does, a condition one enacts. Taking the concept from Austin and Derrida, she asserts that one becomes a man or a woman by repeated acts, which like performative utterances, depend on social conventions (cf. Culler 2000: 513). In *Gender Trouble* (1990), Butler used examples of subcultural drag to point to the constructedness of gender and its performative qualities. Her book met much criticism as it was read to link gender as performative to a simplistic notion of theatrical performance, of role-playing. This has often been misinterpreted as Butler suggesting that one could choose and perform gender at free will. In an attempt to clarify her position, Butler further expands and unpacks the notion of performativity in *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (1993). Tackling the criticism of the image that a person could willfully chose and perform a gender, she makes two fundamental claims: first, that there is no subject, already constituted, prior to gender, who chooses and second, it is not about choice—on the contrary the subjectivation only happens with a successful performing of gender:

> [G]ender performativity is not a matter of choosing which gender one will
> be today. Performativity is a matter of repeating the norms by which one
> is constituted […]. It is a compulsory repetition of prior and subjectivating
> norms, ones which cannot be thrown off at will but which work, animate
> and constrain the gendered subject, and which are also the resources from
> which resistance, subversion, displacement are forged. (Butler 1993a: 22).

The notion of the citation of norms which has been developed by Derrida to apply to a performative notion of language in general (not just the Austinian special case of performatives), is important for Butler's conception of performativity, which brings together the performative utterance and gender performativity (cf. Culler 2000: 514).

Butler connects the discourse of language with authoritative speech and the norms and regulations of gender in an account of naming (Butler 1993b). She uses the example of the exclamation "It's a girl!" and states that this not merely a constative utterance (true/false), but in fact an utterance that ushers in a long series of performatives that will create the subject that is said to already have arrived (Culler 2000: 514). Butler, thus insists on the importance of repetition of obligatory norms and the production of performative effects. Again, Butler asserts that there is no prior subject which performs intentionally. On the contrary, the gendered subject identity is an effect of the regulated, naturalized repetition of ideal norms. Importantly this process is regulated by power, it is a compulsory repetition:

> […] performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of
> iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms. And this
> repetition is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a
> subject and constitutes the temporal condition for the subject. This
> iterability implies that 'performance' is not a singular 'act' or event, but a
> ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint,
> under and through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of
> ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the
> production, but not, I will insist, determining it fully in advance. (Butler
> 1993a: 95)

Another fundamental aspect in the repetitive process of the discursive formation of gender, or of gendered subjects, is the temporal frame of performativity. Considering the force of authoritative speech, Butler (following Derrida) highlights that the authority of a mode of speaking is generated by the repeated citation of norms (cf. Culler 2000: 514). For gender norms, Butler describes how permanent unquestioned repetition results in the naturalization of cultural norms, thus their construction is made invisible.

Using the example of hate speech, for instance the insult "Queer!", she asserts that the force of the insult does not come from the intention or authority of the speaker but rather from the accumulation of shouted insults in the past, which result in the production of the homosexual object through reiterated shaming. Here, the temporal aspect and repetition produce a social bond among homophobic communities. Thus, it is not the singular repetition of the insult, but the recognition of it as conforming to a norm, linked with a history of exclusion, that gives the insult its force (Culler 2000: 514–515).

As history has shown, this temporal/historical dimension of performatives also allows for the possibility of deflecting oppressive signification and the redeployment of terminology and practices, as can be seen in the reappropriation of the term "queer" by gay, lesbian and trans* activists; where it connotes a pride in difference rather than taking on the intended shaming. While highlighting the potential for agency and political change that the conception of performativity brings with it, Butler also cautions that one does not become autonomous by choosing a name, since names and terms always carry historical weight, but the performative process creates the possibility of political struggle and agency (cf. Butler 1993b).

Considering the differences in the conceptions of the performative and performativity by Austin, Derrida and Butler, Jonathan Culler emphasizes the concept of iterability and what this means for the conception of literary events: "As Derrida shows in his reading of Austin, the iterability that is the condition of possibility of performatives introduces a gap that puts in question a rigorous distinction between singular events and repetition." (2000: 516). From this, he proposes, follows that a literary work can accomplish a singular specific act, it creates a reality, which is the work and a reality in that work. Adding Butler's conception of iteration and performativity foregrounding the effect, Culler goes on to propose that a work succeeds in becoming an event by massive repetition taking up norms and potentially changing things. Applying this to literary works, he explains that a novel or poem can inspire in its singularity, in acts of reading and recollection, repeating its inflection of conventions and potentially effect alteration in the norms or forms (Culler 2000: 517).

This turn of Butler's concept of performativity will be useful in the following study on LGBT/Q film festivals, not only because it has been a foundational term in Queer Studies for the conceptions of gender and sexual identity as well as queer political

strategies of subversion. In addition, its foregrounding of the elements of repetition, external expectation or norms, the marking of a subject's becoming as a discursive effect rather than being the result of a conscious acting out of intentionality will be useful configurations to think through performative processes of audience constitution and festival organizations (cf. Butler 1993b, 2010).

Another strand, in which Austin's concept of the performative and the resulting speech act theory has been taken up, are the various conceptions of "performance" that have developed in (exchange between) ethnography, theater and performance studies[13] (McKenzie 2001; Bachmann-Medick 2006; Fischer-Lichte 2008, 2012b). In contrast to the first strand, which is based on the authority of language and discourse, the second is part of a larger shift from a text-based understanding of cultural phenomena that need to be read and decoded as signs, to a performative understanding which is interested in culture as performance in the form of cultural acts, rituals, and events (cf. Wirth 2002: 35; Bachmann-Medick 2006; Fischer-Lichte 2008: 26).

Anthropologists such as Clifford Geertz or Erving Goffman developed performance in which the concept of "social drama" was used to explain social interaction, which are based on cultural scripts, i.e. norms which determine actions.[14] One of the most important concepts for our purposes is the discussion of rituals. Victor Turner has differentiated ceremonies from rituals. While ceremonies are events that indicate for instance cultural identities or social status, and thus act as signs, rituals are events that have transformative power, regulate transformative stages, and bring about permanent change (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 112). Building on the rites-of-passage model by Belgium anthropologist Arnold van Gennep—consisting of three different phases of a ritual: separation, transition, and incorporation –, Turner develops the concept of "liminality" in which he highlights the transformative nature of the "betwixt-and-between" state of the liminal phase (115–116). Analyzing the liminal phase of rituals offers the possibility of a looking-glass effect, breaking down culture and analyzing its constituting factors. It is not seen as stabilizing culture or society, instead the potential for change is significant (117–118). This view of performance has great currency in performance studies, which is interested in political change and its forms of activism, political theater and performance art (McKenzie 2001).

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[13] For a discussion of the nuances between the historical developments of the German *Theaterwissenschaft* vs. Anglophone performance studies and the repercussions this has had for the disciplines and concepts, see Carlson (2008, 2012).

[14] For instance in Goffman's *Frame Analysis* (1974) or Geertz's *Interpretation of Cultures* (1973).

Beyond the transformative aspect of performances, theater and performance studies offer useful tools for the analysis of events. Building on the history of theater studies, Fischer-Lichte develops an aesthetics of the performative (2008). In her analytical model she distinguishes four aspects for investigating performances (*Aufführungen*): mediality, materiality, semioticity/aestheticity and event character (*Ereignishaftigkeit*) (Fischer-Lichte 2012b: 222). 1) The mediality is characterized by a co-presence of actors and viewers. Their interaction and mutual influence only brings about the performance as it unfolds, in a way that cannot be fully controlled, but is contingent. In this way, performances are always social processes where different groups come together and negotiate their relationship. (223). 2) Performances have a performative materiality. Unlike artifacts or texts, performances are events and, thus, transient and ephemeral (224). An important aspect of the materiality lies in the embodiment through the participants, which affect body, voice, spatiality of the event (225). 3) Following the performative turn, replacing the textual premise, Fischer-Lichte asserts that performance does not represent fixed preconceived meaning, but actually produces meaning only in the performance itself. She argues that semioticity is constituted in the perception (*Wahrnehmung*) of a) self-referential phenomena, b) differing symbolic systems and c) the oscillation between a) and b). (Ibid.) Thus, meaning is always constituted in the unfolding of the event individually (and differently) by each participant. 4) Performances can only be seen as events, not works (*Werke*) as they only exist as and in the moment of the process of the performance. Fischer-Lichte differentiates here between performance, the singular event as it unfolds, and its intentional conception (*Inszenierung*), which can be repeated (227).[15] Another aspect stressed by Fischer-Lichte is the participatory nature of events, in which participants are subject who are equally influencing the actions as well as driven by them. Furthermore, she asserts that various dichotomies of an either/or, such as autonomous/externally determined, aesthetic/social-political, presence/representation collapse into a co-presence, a situation in which the participants find themselves between rules and norms, in a liminal state, which can bring about transformation (ibid.).

Although film festivals function in many ways quite differently than (theater) performances, several of Fischer-Lichte's analytical conceptions will be useful figures of thought for consideration in the investigation of film festivals as events and the

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[15] This is a distinction that might be of interest when considering the event dimension of film festivals and differentiate it from other cinema screenings.

processes taking place in their unfolding. In the next section I will turn to a more detailed discussion of the ways in which the presented theorizations of performance and performativity can be applied to film festivals.

2.2 Performing Film Festivals / Film Festival Performance

Film festivals, I want to argue, lend themselves to be studied under the perspective of performance, the performative, and performativity.[16] Festivals are entities where performative forces are in play on a number of levels: on the one hand, the festival is a performance, in the anthropological sense of a ritual, following rules, norms and scripts; or an act or performance in the theatrical sense of the term with a focus on the transient, ephemeral, live event, which hinges on bodily presence of various actors. On another level, the festival is a performative event in Butler's sense of performativity, in that it is an effect of repetition. In this sense, the festival always refers back to previous festivals, to norms and regulations, to the "festival model," such as described in the definition of a film festival below (in chapter 3.3.1).

In the anthropological view of performance, the event is determined by its underlying implicit and explicit scripts. In 1955, when the festival circuit was still fairly young, André Bazin writes about Cannes and witnessing "the Festival [!] phenomenon, the practical creation of its *rituals* and its inevitable establishment of hierarchies" (2009: 15, emphasis in the original). He goes on to liken the rituals to the "foundation of a religious Order" (Bazin 2009: 15), where the "main feature of festival life lies in its moral obligations and the regularity of all its activities" (16). Similarly, media anthropologist Daniel Dayan sees "the very existence of the festival as a collective performance" when studying the social construction of the Sundance film festival "as an ensemble of behaviours that were referred to norms, watched as spectacles, and submitted to critical evaluation" (Dayan 2000: 44). When trying to describe the underlying scripts of Sundance, he writes: "You are supposed to act in a manner both pleasurable for you, and congruent with the setting; to enact the script of 'what attending a festival means'" (Dayan 2000: 44).

In the theatrical sense of performance, the festival can be described as a single, unique event: an individual, temporally-specific festival edition unfolding. It is self-referential

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[16] I would like to thank the organizers of the lecture series "que(e)r_einsteigen" at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg for inviting me to present some preliminary ideas on the relation between performativity and film festival in the talk "Raum für Visionen: Queere Filmfestivals zwischen Gegenöffentlichkeit, Performativität und Heterotopie," 15 December 2011.

and constituting a reality. To succeed as performative, the film festival needs to fulfill a number of conditions as prerequisite: a venue has been booked, a film program has been curated, and audiences have been summoned by promotional material and advertisement. Only in the act of people appearing and fulfilling the scripts is a festival performed.

The festival is a repetitive model by nature: Each year a new edition unfolds. Thus, the festival follows its own formula and institutional rules, repeating most aspects while also allowing change to evolve. In Fischer-Lichte's conception, the individual festival's concept could be described as the *Inszenierung*, the preparation and template of the performance. The performance (*Aufführung*) then is the actual festival edition in progress.

Switching the lens from the performance to the repetitiveness of performativity as Butler has shown, one of the key tenets of performative theory is the idea that no *a priori* original exists as an essence that will then be expressed. Instead, as we have seen in the discussion of literary performativity above, the performative always refers back to prior norms and rules. The formal repetition ensures both recognition and generic stabilization, the stabilization of the festival model. The success or failure of the festival as performative depends on meeting the context and conditions. Thus, film festivals can be described as effects of repetitive processes and external demands. Here, demands from various stakeholders, for instance public funders, sponsors and audience constituency, need to be adhered to or negotiated for a successful performance (cf. Gamson 1996). This echoes Thomas Elsaesser's assessment that film festivals constantly copy each other and add to a homogenized format on the festival circuit (Elsaesser 2005: 86–87).

Elsaesser points out that "the international film festival must be seen as a network (with nodes, flows and exchanges) if its importance is to be grasped" (Elsaesser 2005: 84) and goes on to highlight the network character of the festivals, both in terms of the single festival on the micro-level and the larger circuit on the macro-level (103). By calling attention to the network character of festivals, or as I would like to rephrase it, the discursive, performative character of film festivals, two dimensions unfold. On the one hand, festivals are themselves fluid entities that are made up of or come into existence through the convergences/interaction of flows and discourses, which crystallize in the

event. On the other hand, they are nodes in a wide net of flows and exchanges that is the film festival circuit.

What Elsaesser describes here lends itself to a performative reading of the festival—both as single events and the circuit. The repetitive nature that is characteristic of performativity becomes visible on several levels. Beyond the performative nature of the event on a macro level of the institution and the circuit, there are a number of layers where a performance-oriented view also proves useful at the micro level of the event.[17] When we zoom in to the analysis of festivals several further layers of the performative aspect of film festivals unfold: for instance in programming and practices of exhibition and reception.

The programming of a festival is a performative act in itself. The programmer's curatorial concept materializes in the performance (cf. Marks 2004 et al.). The program can reflect a contemporary position vis-à-vis film trends or make a cinephile, aesthetic or political statement. In the case of LGBT/Q film festivals, the programming also essentially reflects thoughts on politics of identity, community and activism. We can even go as far as stating that the programming of LGBT/Q film festivals with its inscribed decisions about films "for, by, about and of interest to" LGBT/Q audiences is a performative act that brings about what is seen as queer cinema.[18]

Another aspect of the festival performance is the actualization through an *audience*. Only when people show up, buy tickets, and sit in front of a screen does the festival come into existence. Here, following Fischer-Lichte, the bodily co-presence of all elements is essential to form a performance.[19]

By showing up to an event, the individuals come together following an appellation (Althusser). They have been summoned by an address and respond to it, thus claiming a subject position and identity. The proposed subject positions can be those of a "classic" or "festival-oriented cinephile" (cf. De Valck 2005: 103)[20]. Especially film festivals with a strong connection to subcultures, identity-based or "imagined"

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[17] This will also be the main focus of chapter 3.
[18] This argument will be taken up in more detail in chapter 3.
[19] While Fischer-Lichte speaks of actors and spectators when elaborating on the aspect of co-presence, for a film festival one could adopt the conception of "actor" from Actor-Network-Theory (ANT), i.e. actor could stand in for people, such as festival organizers, filmmakers, festival guests, as well as inanimate objects, such as the film projection.
[20] For an attempt to categorize the audience cf. also Bories (2013).

communities[21], such as cult genre festivals (Stringer 2008) or LGBT/Q film festivals, are intricately entwined with various forms of identity-formation. Here the appellation of the audience is intractably linked with the identity of the festival. The identity of their constituency, the individual and collective identities of their audiences, but also the identity of the event itself. Just as the identity of an individual is brought about performatively, so is the identity of the event.

In respect to identity politics in LGBT/Q communities and festivals catering to them, this response to an appellation is more complex: Who is addressed and who responds— a queer, a LGBT person, an ally, a straight, or a cinephile regardless of sexual orientation? (Cf. Damiens 2012) For an LGBT/Q film festival this oftentimes means individuals have been interpellated by a specific festival address, most often addressing LGBT/Q individuals. Yet, over time and with changing politics and address a transformation has begun: festivals not only serve an inward-oriented "movement public" (*Bewegungsöffentlichkeit*) (cf. Wischermann 2003; Ommert/Loist 2008), but also seek inclusion in social and cultural terms by addressing straight audiences. Thus, the address might shift to an invitation to a cinephile event or a "postgay," (supposedly) gender-neutral, inclusive space (cf. Damiens 2012).

In the early years of LGBT/Q film festival development, the recognition of LGBT/Q human rights were far from today's stage. This clear antagonistic positioning towards heteronormative culture made for a more focused address and purpose, which in turn made the definition of a festival community much easier. Here, the audience of a film festival, the festival community and the LGBT community could be equated more easily than today. As identity claims and political demands differentiated within the movement, the interrelation of concepts such as audience, festival community, and LGBT community need to be considered in more nuance.[22]

In the differentiation of a festival audience and the formation of a festival community, the tools presented by performance analysis may be useful. Here a community is created by mutual participation in the event. Fischer-Lichte stresses the significance of bodily co-presence for the performance and especially refers to the feedback loop between actor and spectator (with potential role reversal) (2008: 38–74). Echoing

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[21] For an assessment of Benedict Anderson's 1983 concept of "imagined communities" (1991) in relation to film festivals, see *Film Festival Yearbook 2: Film Festivals and Imagined Communities* (Iordanova/Cheung 2010).

[22] I will come back to this in more detail in chapter 2.

Fischer-Lichte's conception of the role reversal between spectator and actors in (theater) performance, Dayan notes for Sundance: "the festival stresses the equality of those present, whether they come as players of the enacted drama (actors, directors, producers, writers, organizers, jury members) or as the audience of this drama. […] In fact, until prizes are announced, viewers and players are often impossible to distinguish from each other" (Dayan 2000: 51).

While there is no such feedback-loop based on role-reversal between spectator and (on-screen) actor in the cinematic context, the co-presence and feedback loop in the festival (cinema) context can be located in a different way. Fischer-Lichte discusses the switch of perception processes during the feedback loop and when differentiating contemplative aesthetics and perception (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 59–60). Even when the film audience cannot influence the screening itself, unlike at a live theater performance, the act of perception in a collective setting is still an essential part of festival performance. The performative notion of common perception connects to the theorizations of "collective viewing" and the processes of "watching a film with others" as developed by Julian Hanich (2010, 2014a, b). Here, thee feedback loop does not occur between actor and spectator but between spectators watching a film together.

Another performative aspect of film festivals concerns the festival as *organization*. In the organizational sense, festival performance evokes notions of organizational success. Did the festival perform well? From an economic standpoint, this concerns the performance of festival staff, the board and stakeholders. Public funders, for instance, are interested whether their invested tax money have been put to good use: did the festival reach sizable audiences, was there a successful seat capacity/ticket sale balance (*Auslastung*), did the public acknowledge the festival, which is usually measured by press coverage (Reichel-Heldt 2007).

While all festivals are organizations that need to respond to economic realities, LGBT/Q film festivals are in addition foremost community organizations that need to respond to demands from their constituency. More specifically, most of these festivals have had a strong connection to the political and social movement behind the LGBT/Q agenda and try to maintain this relationship between cultural event and political framework (Jusick 2004; Stryker 1996; Ommert/Loist 2008). Because of this history, LGBT/Q film festivals have a strong tradition of a nuanced critical inquiry into the interconnections of cultural event management, community politics, nation state politics, funding and

marketing strategies, organisational structures (cf. Rhyne 2007, Zielinski 2008). The majority of the film festivals on the vast LGBT/Q festival circuit are politicized, volunteer-, community-oriented non-profit organizations, that are often driven by an anti-capitalist, anti-expansion agenda, and which is often also critical of traditional organizational structures modeled with the primacy of efficiency and profit. These non-profit organizations with a background in LGBT/Q politics, on the contrary often perform with alternative structures which are less hierarchical, aim for inclusivity and use collective decision-making processes (cf. Loist 2011, Loist/Zielinski 2012).

Yet, as we have seen above, the festival institution needs to stay within the limits of the festival model, on the one hand, to be recognized as a distinct format of cultural institution by funders and stakeholders. On the other hand, they are bound and held responsible by their constituency, who would otherwise stop feeling represented and thus would stop supporting "their" festival[23].

2.3 Connecting Film Festival Theorizations

A number of theoretical concepts from sociology, philosophy or anthropology have been employed in an attempt to tackle the complex, ubiquitous phenomenon of film festivals. Among the prolific concepts employed in film festival studies are those that deal with the network character and flow of the circuit following theorists like Manuel Castells and Bruno Latour (see Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007), the hierarchies that are part of the field of art marked by strategies of taste and distinction as theorized by Pierre Bourdieu (see De Valck 2014a, b, forthcoming; Burgess 2014), the formations of public spheres as proposed by Jürgen Habermas and Michael Warner (see Wong 2011, forthcoming), individual and collective identities and imagined communities following theories by Judith Butler and Benedict Anderson (see Gamson 1995, Iordanova/Cheung 2010), and those that employ management theories and the open system paradigm (see Rüling 2011; Fischer 2013). Since my focus in this study lies on the performative nature of film festivals I will not discuss all of these approaches, instead I will focus on those concepts and theories that are directly related to the approach of festival performativity and discuss how they are relevant for the present study of LGBT/Q film festivals.

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[23] I will discuss several instances of audience/community boycott as a result of their feeling wrongly represented by "their" community festival in chapter 3.

Transformations

Daniel Dayan's approach to film festivals as socially constructed performances has already been mentioned. As an anthropologist he is interested "through what decisions and what improvisations would this aggregation of people turn into a festival" (Dayan 2000: 44). He describes his observations of the festival as "a fragile equilibrium, an encounter between competing definitions; a moment of unison between various solo performances" (45). Hence, in his analysis he stresses the "processual nature, explore rival scripts" in a "perspectivist view" (45). Similar to the complex structure we have discussed above in the six analytical axes of film festival studies (chapter 3.3.3), Dayan stresses the various angles that needed to be taken to account for the various processes, depending on the specific groups and activities. This present study will also adopt various perspectives in the different chapters in order to follow different strands and flows.

Dayan also stresses the notion of "transformative power" that a performance or festival unfolds, a notion developed by Victor Turner and also emphasized by Fischer-Lichte. For LGBT/Q audiences the "transformative power" can be located rather in two other aspects: the negotiation and creation of identity and community, through recognition and identification through acts of representation and communal practices such as viewing with others.

Dayan considers another aspect of transformation. Speaking about filmmakers and the awards ceremonies of festivals, Dayan writes: "for some of the festival participants, the event takes the form of transfiguration. What now starts for them is a professional curriculum. They have changed essence, moved inside the screen. Their transformation is irreversible" (Dayan 2000: 51). Dayan here primarily refers to the professional aspect of festival attendees.

Referring to similar concepts, Marijke de Valck sets out to explain how the performances at film festivals "are structured by and structure the value-adding process" (2007: 131), which she describes as essential element of the success and self-sustainability of the festival circuit. The value-adding process could be described as the transformative power of the festival performances for non-animate actors at the heart of the festivals, i.e., the films. In her ground-breaking formulation of film festivals as "sites of passage" (2007: 36–37), De Valck mobilizes the concept of festivals as events, that offer a "liminal space" and act as transformative motor for films to pass on into

another stage of distribution or exhibition. Film festivals do not fit neatly anthropological definitions of spectacle, ceremony and festival, instead De Valck asserts, "film festivals are dynamic hybrids" (132). She then sets out to explain the complex, interlocking processes that occur in the phenomenon of value addition as "hybridized performativity" (131). De Valck combines a number of concepts to explain the hybrid dynamics in value addition, such as the "liminal phase" (Turner) in "rites of passages" (Gennep), the spatial condensation in "sites" as well as the "obligatory points of passage" (Actor-Network-Theory, ANT) and finally the flow within the "personal micro-networks" and "functional macro-networks" (Castells) (cf. De Valck 2007: 29–41, 130–137).

Another theorization that has been part of De Valck's puzzle to solve the issue of value addition on the festival circuit, has been provided by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the form the concept of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986). De Valck uses the network to account for a translation from symbolic value into economic value (2007: 37).

Taking a broader look at film festivals studies, one realizes that Bourdieu's conceptions have widely been applied to the study of the cultural sector. Among Bourdieu's prolific work, especially concepts such as "taste," "cultural/symbolic capital," and "distinction" (see Bourdieu 1986, 2007) have been brought to bear on film festivals (see e.g. De Valck 2014 a, b; Burgess 2014). In his influential studies of the art world, Bourdieu has defined art as a specific "field," which develops its own rules and structures. Within film festival studies, the film festival sector can also be seen as a specific field with in the larger art world or the more current notion of creative industries (cf. Ramey 2010; De Valck 2014). The accumulation of cultural capital has been highlighted in de Valck's theorization of "value addition" on the film festival network (De Valck 2007). The conceptions of "taste" and "distinction" have been theorized especially in relation to programming of film festivals and the address of cinephile audiences (Zielinski 2009).

Public Sphere

One concept that is closely linked to a variety of festival theorizations is the public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) as it has been framed by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1989 [1962]). The basic model that has been developed by Habermas as the traditional bourgeois public sphere has subsequently been criticized by a number of scholars for its

elitism, who in turn proposed various concepts of alternative or counter publics. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge (1993 [1986]) argued for a proletarian public sphere, Nancy Fraser developed the idea of several competing public spheres: subaltern counterpublics (1992) and discussed feminist and transnational public spheres (2007), while Michael Warner (2002) developed the notion of a queer counter public sphere.[24]

Public spheres have a number of discursive layers, which Michael Warner (2002) has characterized as follows: a public is self-organized (67); a public is a relation among strangers (74); the address of public speech is both personal and impersonal (76); a public is constituted through mere attention (87); a public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse (90); publics act historically according to temporality of their circulation (96); a public is poetic world making (114). These characteristics come very close to the previous descriptions of the performative notion of film festivals. The interlocking connection of these concepts, therefore, seems rather obvious.

Film festivals as public spheres have a number of discursive layers: there is the performative aspect of occupying public space with screenings, discussions and parties. Thus, the aspects of space[25] and embodiment are important for the formation of the event and the public sphere. Here, the actors come together to discuss political, social and cultural ideas through the medium of film as well as the nature of the medium itself (Wong 2011: 163). Beyond the embodied, live discourse, Daniel Dayan has pointed to the significance of written discourse, which turns the film festival into a "double festival: the visual festival of films and […] the written festival" (2000: 52).

Early discussions of film festivals as public spheres have strikingly focused on LGBT/Q film festivals (Rich 1993, 1999; S. Kim 1998, 2003; White 1999a; Perspex 2006; Gorfinkel 2006; J. Kim 2007). Julian Stringer has taken up the concept of the public sphere for other forms of themed festivals (2008). This connection can be attributed to the activist dimension of counter-public spheres and the urge to change the world through film (Wong 2011: 160). Such themed/activist festivals have been discussed

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[24] For a detailed discussion of the concept of the public sphere in film festival studies see also Wong (forthcoming).

[25] Michel Foucault's influential theories on social formations, normative discourses and power structures have been very influential in cultural studies. His concept of "heterotopias" (Foucault 1986) has been mobilized for the discussion of spatial configurations of film festivals as alternative spaces by a number of scholars (cf. Dovey/McNamara/Olivieri 2013). Ger Zielinski has given an analysis of LGBT/Q film festivals as heterotopias (2009, 2012).

mostly as these kinds of counterpublics, which might overlap with the hegemonic public, but are seldom heard as ongoing discussions about the impact of women's film festivals attest.

Activist and identity-based film festivals are spaces where people can come together and meet in person and create community. This is the place to start negotiations, build personal networks and, thus, extend to networks that are LGBT/Q film and other festivals (Ommert/Loist 2008: 132–134; Loist/Yun 2009). In this way, LGBT/Q film festivals serve as "social movement public spheres" (*Bewegungsöffentlichkeiten*) (Wischermann 2003). In this sense, LGBT/Q film festivals as public spheres are essential to the performative formation of community and collective identity. Beyond the aspect of internal self-creation and the performative formation of a community/movement, these alternative public spheres strive for an intervention in the larger (hegemonic) public sphere. In order to stress the communicative goal and aim of social change rather than their hermetic closure and counter position, Alek Ommert and I have proposed to think of LGBT/Q film festivals and DIY Ladyfest festivals as "intervention publics" (*Interventionsöffentlichkeiten*) rather than counterpublics (Ommert/Loist 2008: 134).

This idea of a communicative public sphere is always part of a mediation process. Small activist festivals might have more impact in terms of direct influence and transformation of local audiences and discourses. However, large international festivals also function as public spheres with the potential to have an impact on a national or international scale (Wong 2011: 160). One example of this are orchestrated boycotts and scandals which are picked up for wider discourse thanks to the concentrated press presence at a film festival. Film festivals have, in fact, long been used to stage protests: think of various forms of censorship debates, the launch of manifestos (e.g. Oberhausen 1962) or the use of media attention to create political pressure (as with the repeated invitation of Jafar Panahi to protest his ban on leaving the country, or the anti-pinkwashing discourse in relation to Brand Israel) (Renninger 2010; Siemes 2010; Archibald/Miller 2011; Wong 2011: 163–179; Eue/Gass 2012; Eue et al. 2012).[26]

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[26] These forms of intervention through staged protests at a film festival will be taken up in chapter 3.

3. Methodology

This study is building on material and discourses in a field that I have followed closely and been part of, both in terms of academic as well as organizational practice of film festivals and their study for about a decade. The following will detail the methodological background of this research.

3.1 Positionality, Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

As the overview of existing film festival research and employed theories discussed above might already signal, qualitative and ethnographic methods have predominantly been applied thus far. Beyond ethnographic accounts, theorizations of single case studies or the network-based theorizations of festival flow, there are hardly any quantitative data and empirical methods to draw on. Even an estimate of how many film festivals there are on the circuit is guesswork as there are no overarching regulating institutions that oversee film festivals. Niels Klever Aas, then Executive Director of the European Audiovisual Observatory and former Program Director of the Norwegian Film Festival in Haugesund already lamented the lack of "'hard' and analytical data and information on film festivals" in 1997 (Aas 1997). Despite the existence of a number of regional, thematic or national festival networks and associations, there are no available comparative data on festivals. Due to the dispersed funding and support structure in the arts, which is either locally oriented (through city tourism funds, regional and national arts funds) or aiming for cultural exchange and international film export (EU MEDIA or Creative Europe initiatives, national film institutes), there are only very specific listings available.[27] The service industry, as a subfield of the festival landscape has grown significantly in recent years. A number of business-to-business platforms like Cinando, FestivalScope, web portals such as FilmFestivals.com or FilmFestivalLife.com, and submission platforms like WithoutABox or Reelport have sprung up and provide some overview of the international film festival phenomenon. But as it is a self-organized network, there is no official authorized institution gathering reliable data (cf. Lang/Clode/Vogel 2006). This lack of available data thus calls for an approach that relies on different sources or needs to gather its own.[28]

The present study, thus, predominantly relies on material that has been collected in archival research, using ethno-methodologies such as participant observation and semi-

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[27] Cf. the references in chapter 3.3.2 "The Film Festival Circuit" below.
[28] See also the interview between Dina Iordanova and Jindřiška Bláhová (Bláhová 2014).

structured interviews, and collecting empirical data, through surveys studying audiences or film circulation on the festival circuit. In order to study the complexity of festivals as performative events and organizations, both performing in the presence and with a historical dimension, a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods has been combined in a triangulated method mix (cf. Treumann 2005).

For the analysis of the spatio-temporal expansion of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit in Chapter One data on historical (now extinct) and currently active film festivals has been collected via archives, monitoring online databases and consulting festival networks. Basic data, such as location and founding year have been used to construct a mapping of the international circuit (Loist 2013a, 2014c). This data set serves for the discussion of the global spread of festivals detailed in a historical, political and discursive narrative rather than a strict quantitative analysis. The analysis of festival programming, exhibition and reception practices in Chapter Two is based on textual and discourse analysis of both films and festival catalogs, combined with ethnographic and qualitative methods, such as participant observation as a programmer, screening committee member, conducting expert interviews and having informal conversations with programmers, and rounded off by the experience as active audience member at a number of the festivals discussed. Some quantitative data has been gathered in empirical audience research based on conducting an on-site survey at the 24th edition of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival[29], which will complement an ethnography- and discourse-based discussion of reception and community. For the discussion of film circulation on the international film festival circuit in the outlook, a pilot study conducted with Ann Vogel (2013–2014) using a large sample of LGBT/Q-themed films that screened at the Berlinale as part of the Teddy award competition provides empirical data about festival runs, the festival and awards effects and will this complement the previous discussion of festival mapping by adding the performative layer of business performance to the circuit.

In existing film festival research a split between two approaches, or rather research positions, has frequently been discussed at workshops, conference and in writing: namely the split between insiders and outsiders (cf. Loist forthcoming a). Already in the first book-length study (PhD) devoted solely to the film festival phenomenon, Julian Stringer brought up this distinction, discussing the "level of engagement" from the thick

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[29] The data collection was done in a BA thesis project supervised by me at the University of Hamburg, Institute for Media and Communication, by Dobrin Tomov in October 2013 (Tomov 2014).

of action versus a position as "interested yet detached observer" (Stringer 2013 [2003]: 60–62). Stringer rightly points to the futility of any idea of a purely detached academic position, stating that all "scholars write from *situated* and *contingent* positions of knowledge" (62; emphasis in original). Taking this position seriously, it seems more sensible to state my own position within the field of festival practice and research than trying to take sides or further list the potential advantages and limitations of dichotomous positioning.[30]

The insider/outsider debate could be potentially also reframed through what Tom Boellstorff (2010) calls "surfing binarisms" (2010: 222–223). In an attempt to propose a queer(ed) methodology[31] by theorizing the approaches taken in his ethnographic fieldwork in the *gay* and *lesbi* communities in Indonesia or virtual realities of Second Life, he suggests that binaries such as sameness/difference or virtual/real life are neither sufficient paradigms to grasp the experiences described and identities negotiated in his study nor can they easily be collapsed or converged. Similarly the binary differentiation between insider practitioner and outsider academic seem indeed unhelpful. Instead, the proposed study on LGBT/Q film festivals from within and outside might be conceptualized more in line with "surfing" the binarism of theory and practice.

My sense of festival practice has developed since my first contact with film festivals was as a teenager attending my hometown's festival, the FilmKunstFest Schwerin and delving into the history of former East German film with the retrospective on formerly banned "DEFA shelf films" in the 1990s. My active involvement with film festivals reaches back to the early 2000s as an intern at the NewFest: New York Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in 2001. Since 2002, I have been involved with the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival in various capacities ranging from archivist, film scout, screening committee member to becoming a member of the board of the legal organization. In my day job, I have taught film festival studies as well as queer film and media studies at the Universities of Hamburg and Rostock (cf. Loist 2014a). Thus, my festival and academic practices have long been entwined. During the early stages of this research I made the effort to attend all festivals which

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[30] Interestingly, this dichotomy keeps being repeated in publications of film festival research when sections are specifically marked off as "interviews with practitioners" or the like to signal either practice-based or academic authenticity, credibility and distinction in terms of cultural capital. See for instance the structuring of *The Film Festival Reader* into pieces by "Festival Observers" and "Festival Insiders" (Iordanova 2013).
[31] For a discussion of queer media studies as specific subset of media studies using queer methodology see Loist/Pinseler 2010; Kannengießer/Loist/Bleicher 2013.

serve as my main case studies when they were in full swing (San Francisco, New York, Hamburg, Verzaubert, identities). I met current and former staff of these festivals during their events or at other times, at festivals and conferences. People know me as academic, queer film historian and film festival researcher and many international connections have been built over time as programmers and filmmakers have visited our festival in Hamburg, and I have traveled to their festivals as a speaker or a film scout. Thus, I have been an active member of the network of LGBT/Q film festivals and their research for many years. This has enabled me to witness long-term developments, changing personnel and festival organizations.

Being part of the circuit has had an impact on methodology and theorizing in the process of researching. For one, I followed the approach of ethnographic fieldwork[32] as it has been conducted by cultural studies scholars and sociologists such as Joshua Gamson and Jane Ward, who also focused on queer arts organizations. Joshua Gamson has provided a ground-breaking study on the organizational operations behind the scenes of LGBT/Q film festivals (Gamson 1996). He took the approach of a participant observer, becoming part of the programming team of the New York-based LGBT/Q film festivals NewFest and MIX NYC in the mid-1990s. Jane Ward took a similar approach, becoming part of the board organizing the Pride event in Los Angeles (Ward 2003, 2008a). By becoming part of the institutions under study, both unearthed insights into mechanisms of decision-making processes of activist organizations and the various stakeholders influencing decisions. While I will not engage in thick descriptions of festival operations in a strict ethnographic sense as Gamson and Ward do, this approach and the inside knowledge resulting from direct involvement in the circuit has definitely shaped my understanding of festival operations and trained my analytical eye for discursive and cultural flows on the circuit and in policy (cf. Loist 2011a). While I enjoy the advantages of being an insider to some degrees, I am well aware of the potential problems such a position can pose. While enjoying the thick relations of the festival practice I am also aware of the pitfalls and am careful to maintain critical distance that informs both analytical decision-making processes in the festival work and critical queer politics, and a critical distance in academic analysis. Therefore, I strictly honor any applying confidentiality restrictions and ethics of methodology, and only use publicly accessible material to back up my arguments (cf. Rhyne 2007: 54).

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[32] For further discussions on the use of ethnographic fieldwork within film festival studies cf. Vallejo 2014b and Lee (forthcoming).

Second, being an archivist put me in the fortunate position to have access to a wealth of material in two ways. On the one hand, I had access to detailed records of festival operations, film catalogs and twenty years' worth of film submission tapes, and on the other, to material that had been collected at international festivals by festival delegates attending other events abroad. Thus, this archive provided invaluable material also at a time when past festival programs and ephemera were not accessible online or had not yet been remediated in digital archives and platforms like Issuu, Facebook or Flickr.[33] Even though this research focuses on the festival rather than textual analysis of a corpus of festival films, the knowledge and overview of the last decades of films that have been in circulation provided much needed context for evaluating developments in terms of trends in queer cinema, activist discussions and developments of personal and professional networks. The active attendance of festivals, the experience and witnessing of various festival performances and being part of this culture added another layer to the archive that this study draws on (cf. Morris 1998).

This study can in part be seen as belonging to the field of media industries studies, or more precisely to what John T. Caldwell calls an "integrated cultural-industry study" in "cultural studies of film/television production" (Caldwell 2010: 199–200). Caldwell stresses the need to combine political economy approaches with ethnographic fieldwork in order to understand the impact of larger shifts in technology and culture on the product and production culture of media texts. He emphasizes the significance of from-the-ground-up ethnography and the inclusion of below-the-line workers. The study of "work worlds," which he argues are "important cultural expressions and sociological activities in their own right," is needed to understand the working conditions and their impact on the product (Caldwell 2010: 200).[34] This approach, he argues, enables one to balance the self-imaging, self-fashioning and self-theorizing of the "industry" as it appears in practitioner interviews or other publicly available material. In terms of film festival studies, this approach will be significant for the discussion of the organizational set-up and performance of LGBT/Q film festivals. Here, ethnographic methods complement available discursive material, which produce what Dayan has called the "written festival" (Dayan 2000: 52), and "hard data" as they can be gleaned from

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[33] On the significance of archival material and ephemera in film festival studies, see Barlow 2003 and Zielinski (forthcoming).
[34] Lisa Henderson has made the case for a specific practice in queer filmmaking, which she calls "Queer Relay" (Henderson 2008, 2013 b).

funding reports (Loist 2011), and will then add to the discussion of the layered performative formation of a festival organization.

3.2 Queer Studies: Notes on Terminology

Throughout this study I use the abbreviation LGBT/Q, which is a combination of the commonly used "LGBT" for "lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans*" and "Q" for "queer," whenever referring to the overall development of LGBT/queer movements and events. By combining as well as separating these terms by using a slash, I aim to visualize the complex historical development of these terms, which account for the at times opposing, yet interconnected development of these terms and the politics they stand for.[35] When referring to specific historical phases I use the then appropriate terminology (for instance, "gay," "gay & lesbian," etc.). Especially when discussing historical shifts in community politics and film culture the usage follows the (contemporary) use of the festivals and groups referred to. While this aim for accurate terminology will seem confusing at times and does not always make for easy writing and reading, these discursive and performative identity markers and their changes are at least one significant layer in the complex discussion of LGBT/Q film festivals.

Judith Butler as well as many other theorists and activists have discussed the importance of naming and other forms of representation for the formation of individual and collective identity (Butler 1991, 1993b; Gamson 1995). Thus, both the naming of the festival as well as the framing of their content is significant. Or, as Martha Gever has put it in her discussion of "The Names We Give Ourselves":

> Because self-identified lesbians approach these places with a presumption
> of community, no matter how fictional, these become cultural spaces that
> can change our relationship to the screen. Our identities are constituted as
> much in the event as in the images we watch. Reciprocally, what is on
> screen will propose the lesbian public that it attracts—or doesn't. (Gever
> 1990: 200–201)

Thus, the waves of name changes on the festival landscape from "gay" to "gay and lesbian" (or "lesbian and gay") to "LGBT" or "queer" are of significance for the discursive and performative positioning and mapping of the practices of LGBT/Q film festivals—in time and space (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012: 51–52).

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[35] Cf. Wiesnerová (2012), who proposes a similar approach by using the partially italicized LGBT*Q*.

As community politics and mainstream culture evolve, a differentiation and fragmentation into further subcultures and counterpublics is occurring, and discontinuous as well as simultaneous developments of queer movements can be found globally, where new terms are appearing. US-American liberal mainstream culture, exemplified for instance by the *New York Times*, has recently discovered the acronym LGBTQIA—an abbreviation that had been in circulation on progressive college campuses for at least a decade. According to this author the term was used by the young generation of LGBTQIA in 2013, living in a post-gay era, which is broader than LGBT (and doesn't want to be called queer). They suggest a more fluid identity, one where gender and sexuality are not connected (cf. M. Schulman 2013). Other, more inclusive acronyms haven't yet made it into the mainstream, but are slowly gaining wider circulation. The acronym QUILTBAG[36] has recently been in use in more activist circles, such as LaDIYfest[37] events, which wish to use a more inclusive term than LGBT. In QUILTBAG the letters sometimes stand in for multiple meanings: Queer/Questioning, Undecided, Intersex, Lesbian, Trans* (Transgender/Transexual)/Two-spirit, Bisexual, Asexual, Gay/Genderqueer. In the discussion of the global spread of LGBT/Q film festivals of Chapter One we will come back to the contradictory terminology of what "LGBT," "queer" or "LGBT/Q" means—depending on specific point in time and geographic/geo-politic location.

While the terms are already contested within their English native language realm, the transportation of these terms, especially the global travel of "queer" has its own repercussions for the concept and the discussion of LGBT/Q culture. As most of my references, examples and case studies stem from North American and European contexts, the diverging meanings need to be considered.

The term "queer" has been adopted and integrated as an untranslated "Anglicism" into the German language and LGBT/Q academic and everyday culture. Since "queer" does not have the same historical connotations in the German language, the transfer of the concept and the idea of reclaiming a derogatory term (from US history) came with a few complications. As in the USA, in Germany the term "queer" currently carries different meanings that exist alongside each other, depending on time frame and context.

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[36] According to Wiktionary, the acronym QUILTBAG goes back to an article in the British lesbian magazine DIVA (Lee 2006).
[37] http://ladyfesthamburg.blogsport.de/ (7.9.2014)

It might be used in the "original" meaning of its inception as a counter-cultural term reappropriated by LGBT/Q persons who had to endure the term to insult them as sexual deviants. The term was mostly a political term used often in contexts of radical AIDS activism around organizations such as ACT UP and Queer Nation. Queer activism in Germany (and other European countries) has been fueled and influenced by academic discourse. Oftentimes activists were part of anglophone gender studies or cultural studies courses, following the poststructuralist, postcolonial turn in the Humanities.

German queer theorist Volker Woltersdorff explains that in the late 1990s/early 2000s the term "queer" came to stand for a new trendy generation within the LGBT/Q subculture. This generation wanted to distinguish itself from old gay and lesbian separatist activism (Woltersdorff 2003: 920). It characterized mostly trendy, commercial and entertaining events, partly due to the fact that the term does not carry any immediate negative connotations in German, unless people do know about the specific US-American etymology. This turn of meaning of "queer" to an unassuming, hip umbrella term could not have happened in the USA, where it in fact still largely retains the radical negative connotation that corporate sponsors shy away from.

The tensions that arise between the moniker LGBT and the term queer on a political level take a specific form within the US-American context. Nevertheless in other international contexts, the usage of "queer"—especially in the academically inflected usage—can be seen to differentiate an assimilationist stance associated with "LGBT" while "queer" stands for a short-hand of more radical politics that embrace differences and aim to change society rather than being comfortably integrated into it.

Therefore, the "hip" usage for "queer" has been contested in recent years by a new generation of queer activism in which homonormative and neoliberal politics are being criticized. Especially around the Pride Parades, in Germany called CSD (short for Christopher Street Day), yearly discussions erupt inside and around the community about the need and usefulness of activism and the goals and aims of queer vs. LGBT activism.[38] One very prominent debate ensued around Judith Butler, who has been a very prominent icon for Queer Theory in academia and activism in Germany since the 1990s, when she rejected a life-time achievement award from the commercial CSD Berlin in 2010 (Butler 2010b). These brief examples point to the necessity of a nuanced

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[38] For a detailed analysis of the problems of the Pride/CSD concept in the Austrian context see Huber 2013, for recent debates in Germany see: Huber 2014, Kay 2014, Kraushaar 2014.

discussion of the given concepts and local discourses in order to reflect the international inconsistency of this traveling concept (cf. Mesquita et al. 2012).[39]

Before delving into the detailed analysis of several aspects of LGBT/Q film festivals, I will provide a last part for the arsenal of theories, methods and analytical tools that will equip the analysis in the following chapters.

3.3 Film Festivals as Research Objects

The long and various history of roots of (European) festival culture at large—going back to music and theater festivals or the world expositions in the 19th century—has been traced elsewhere (cf. Autissier 2009; Giorgi/Sassatelli/Delanty 2011; Poirrier 2012; Fléchet et al. 2013; Teissl 2013). While in the current event culture film festivals might seem to be just another part of the discourse of cultural policy and city marketing, in the present study the specificity of film festivals in distinction to other cultural festivals is of interest.

3.3.1 Film Festival—a Definition

What defines a film festival is not self-evident. Film festivals have been described as alternative exhibition sites—alternative to regular cinemas and permanent art houses— and are typically conceived of as medium-length events taking place over the course of a couple of days. While there are examples of travelling festivals, most display an intimate relation to one location, returning annually or biannually to a host city. Within these parameters there remains plenty of space for variation, however, in types of films being screened, in audiences that are served, in outreach to industry, in funding, and in other aspects. (De Valck/Loist 2013)

Before delving into the analysis and theorization of film festivals it seems helpful to define the object of study further. Film festivals are very complex, ubiquitous phenomena, yet they seem seldom clearly defined as research objects. The attempt to define the object here is not meant to pin it down in order to fixate and hinder the analysis. On the contrary, for the purposes of a detailed analysis, defining common characteristics and delineating the fuzzy edges is meant to draw attention to the differences in the form of the film festival model. Here, I also want to highlight the need to allow for differences and nuances, especially since most of the early scholarship

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[39] For further detailed discussion I refer the reader to Genschel et al. 2001; Downing/Gillett 2011; Kalender 2011; Haschemi Yekani/Kilian/Michaelis 2012; Michaelis/Dietze/Haschemi 2012,

in film festival studies had a narrow focus on what was studied: namely the high-profile
A-list festivals, with a Eurocentric emphasis on Cannes, Venice and Berlin (see the
emphasis in Elsaesser 2005, De Valck 2007, Jungen 2009). It proves problematic for
theorizations on film festivals, when the underlying assumptions derive only from
observations that hold true for the big A-list festivals. The majority of festivals on the
circuit actually are much smaller organizations, operating in different ways.[40] Thus, the
view needs to broaden. Only more recently has the field broadened to encompass
studies which take a closer look at specific subcircuits and social concern festivals.[41]

Various scholars have attempted to classify film festivals (cf. Elsaesser 2005, De Valck
2007, Reichel-Heldt 2007, Iordanova 2009). In his study on film festivals in Germany,
Kai Reichel-Heldt emphasizes a distinction between film festivals as culturally oriented
institutions and other "events" which focus on the event *experience*. In his view, events
such as trade fairs (such as film and television markets, which also screen films) or fan
conventions differ from film festivals in that the latter focus on the presentation of art,
cultural artifacts and cultural values while the former tend to focus more on experience
economies and brand marketing (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 20–21).

Reichel-Heldt then turns to the International Federation of Film Producers Associations
(FIAPF), based in Paris, which in its accreditation system offers an important,
recognized set of internationally known rules for a film festival definition. The FIAPF
stresses the presentation of world premieres and a festival section featuring an
international competition as essential marker for a (accredited) festival. Pointing to the
very narrow pool of festivals that are actually accredited by the FIAPF vis-à-vis the
majority of festivals on the vast circuit that do not conform to these criteria, Reichel-
Heldt argues for a more inclusive definition. He proposes a comprehensive definition
of a film festival which encompasses the following criteria and dimensions (Reichel-
Heldt 2007: 23–24):

- temporality – frequency (annual, biannual)
- duration – a couple of days to two weeks

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[40] Cf. also Loist 2013.

[41] The *Film Festival Yearbook* series has tried to broaden the scope by looking at transnational and
diasporic film festivals (Iordanova/Cheung 2010), specific regions, such as East Asia (Iordanova/Cheung
2011) or the Middle East (Iordanova/Van de Peer 2014), or themes such as activism (Iordanova/Torchin
2012) or issues such as the archive (Marlow-Mann 2013). Research on documentary film festivals
(Vallejo 2012), human rights film festivals (Bowles 2013) or short film festivals (Vannucci 2014) is in
progress, but not yet available in published form.

- simultaneity – several films are screened at the same time at different venues

- selection – (regional/local) premieres or films that are not currently in release, selection is done by the festival organizers autonomously and independent of sponsoring goals, submission is open and publicly announced

- programming in sections; audience or jury awards are possible

- regular and professional audiences are present

- information about the festival, organization, programming and screenings are freely available (potentially with a fee)

- festival organizers are autonomous vis-à-vis the sponsors

- the primary goal is cultural not commercial

The above-stated characteristics to define film festivals, aim at the differentiation between film festivals and other film events, such as for instance film series or other film exhibition formats that increasingly make use of an event mode in order to gain attention from potential audiences as well as sponsors and funders. This economically driven context—both in terms of an attention economy and direct financial impact—leads Reichel-Heldt in his definition. However, these delineations become potentially problematic for some festivals. When considering the criterion of screening several films simultaneously at different venues—a characteristic sought to differentiate a festival from a film series—on encounters a number of long-standing established festivals that have specifically sought to avoid simultaneous screenings. Festivals such as Pesaro, Udine, or CineFest Hamburg have a long tradition in cultivating communal viewing and an after-screening discussion culture which is based on the successive screening of films so that the curatorial thread cannot be missed and a mutual experience guides the discussions. It is surely no coincidence that these festivals stand outside the usual festival business of chasing premieres, showcasing new waves (although Pesaro and Udine actually did play a big part in making Latin American or Asian popular cinema known to European audiences), achieving industry deals. CineFest, a festival for film heritage[42] could be questioned as to whether it actually in a strict sense can be defined as a film festival or rather a hybrid of conference and film series. CineFest is traveling with their curated program to other annual events, such as the German Historical Museum in Berlin, Friedrich-Wilhelm-Murnau-Stiftung in

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[42] For a detailed discussion of the rise of the archival film festival phenomenon, see Marlow-Mann 2013a.

Wiesbaden, Národní Filmový Archiv in Prague, FilmForum in Udine/Gorizia, Filmarchiv Austria in Vienna and Filmpodium Zürich and Cinémathèque Suisse[43]. For them eventization of the conference-film series hybrid creates more press and impact, and optimizes scholarly attention as well. What could be a defining characteristic for these film festivals is the focused reception and community feeling for attending audiences, which differs from loose single film screenings.

Within the definition of a film festival, several differentiations and specializations can be made out. While "generalist festivals" or "survey festivals," have no specific programming focus to differentiate, they can be categorized by their size or impact. Often, these are called "city festivals" as they are usually denoted by the host city's name and the addition "International Film Festival" (IFF) and part of local cultural policy and city image campaigns (Elsaesser 2005; Ooi/Strandgard Pederson 2010). Depending on their reach and impact, these IFFs can be categorized as first, second or third-tier festivals (De Valck 2014b: 47). In De Valck's use of the tier hierarchy, these tiers essentially apply to a previous distinction, in which festivals are differentiated according to their position in terms of (film) industry relations and function on the circuit. Mark Peranson has proposed to distinguish between "business festivals" and "audience festivals" (2008).[44] This distinction (indirectly) ranks festivals with impact in terms of film industry relations higher than those that offer primarily cultural experiences and (world cinema) education and focus on audiences.

Film festivals can further be categorized according to their focus, theme or context. Festivals can be sorted according to their selection along formal criteria (film modes [*Gattungen*], genres, length), as there are festivals for long or short films, for narrative features or documentaries, animation or experimental film. Furthermore, there are festivals specialized on showcasing certain film-producing nations or regions, such as French, Canadian, Turkish or African film festivals; targeting a specific audience, such as children's film festivals; identity-based film festivals, such as LGBT/Q, festivals, women's, Jewish, or Black film festivals; as well as other "social concern film festivals" such as disability, ecological, human rights film festivals among many others (cf. De Valck/Loist 2009; Iordanova 2009: 31–32; Loist/De Valck 2014).

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[43] Cf. http://www.cinefest.de/e/home.php (20.11.2014).
[44] I will come back the distinction of business vs. audience festivals in more detail below (section 3.3.2).

As the study will show, the nuanced definition and differentiation of film festivals is important when we try to understand the performed festival identity. Characteristics such as size, profile and focus of the festival are mirrored not only in programming and audience address, but usually also in organizational layout and funding opportunities.

Another factor for the study of film festivals is the position of an individual festival within the larger festival circuit. Thus, let us turn to the definition of the film festival circuit before moving on to the analytical axes in film festival studies.

3.3.2 The Film Festival Circuit

The term "film festival circuit" is a concept that aims to account for the various connections between festivals. Here, several hierarchies between festivals become visible in terms of geo-spatial, temporal and industry dimensions, which play out in competition over premieres, films, guests, sponsors etc. Film professionals refer to the circuit when talking about a certain set of festivals which are of relevance to the industry. When looking in closer from an industry angle, professionals and festival veterans such as Sydney Levine use the term to refer to the yearly calendar of festivals, which are considered relevant on the market and dictate temporal determinants such as premiere date, etc.[45] In another approach, the circuit is not seen as a sequence or pool of festivals, but actually rather a virtual connection or a path created by people working in the field, who are traveling from one festival to the next (Iordanova 2009: 32; Wong 2011). In this view, the circuit is created by the individual aims and interests of particular players on the field.

"Film festival circuit" is a term commonly used in trade jargon.[46] Yet, the term is hardly defined when used. The widest meaning of "film festival circuit" seems to refer the larger film festival landscape as a whole, to the overall number of active film festivals on the globe; or what Elsaesser (2005) and de Valck (2007) call the "film festival network." Several thousand festivals exist globally.[47] However, as was

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[45] In conversation, film festival and industry expert Sydney Levine, author of *Sydney's Buzz*, a franchise blog of *indieWire.com*, commented on the notion of the circuit and its relevance to the industry (personal communication, Dec. 2013).

[46] The term is used by veteran film critics like Kenneth Turan (2002), by film professionals such as Sydney Levine and Peter Belsito, producers, sales agents, trade press such as *indieWire* (Brooks 2009), *Variety* (Pratley/Klady 1998), by consultants such as Chris Gore (1999) and programmers (Rastegar 2013, Lauer 2013).

[47] Industry-driven platforms, such as filmfestivals.com, festivalfocus.org or filmfestivallife.com, which are essentially web-based portals for film professionals, filmmakers and programmers, aim to provide comprehensive lists, listing between 1,300 and 5,000 entries.

discussed above, not all of those operate in the same way. While all festivals might be linked to the network via the films and people flowing through them, not all of them enter into an exchange with the whole network, much less become relevant nodal points in its makeup.

Some specialized festivals, such as short film, documentary or LGBT/Q film festivals, for instance, did create their own networks and flows of films and people. These parallel circuits operate independently but are also interconnected with the general network of film festivals (Iordanova 2009: 31–32). These parallel networks function similarly to the general circuit, developing hierarchies, tiers and subcircuits within their own parallel circuit.

While arts festivals in general might equally build networks and flows of people and projects (cf. Greer 2012: 192–193), the circulation of film on a global festival network poses a different question as it sets up an alternative to classic film distribution patterns. Marijke de Valck proposed that the larger film festival network forms an "'alternative' cinema network […] 'alternative' in the sense that it sustains different models for economic sustainability and thereby complements the dominant model of Hollywood media conglomerates" (2007: 101). This functioning of the circuit as an alternative distribution network has been contested by Dina Iordanova, who argues that it is "essential to scrutinise the business logic of the 'festival-circuit-as-distribution' proposition" as "seeing festivals as an alternative distribution circuit is unlikely to withstand rigorous economic appraisal" (Iordanova 2009: 24).

In contrast to Dina Iordanova's estimation, several scholars discussing "minor" forms of film and their correlating parallel festival circuits have argued in favor of the alternative distribution network—often as a response to neglect in the main film distribution business, which focuses on narrative features. Especially since the proliferation and professionalization of the festival circuit(s) in the 1990s, specialized / niche festivals

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Since film festivals are acknowledged as international platforms to promote national cinemas, a number of national film agencies list their own festival directories. However, these institutions provide highly selective listings—usually limited to a number of international festivals which could be categorized as festivals with international impact (A-list and 2nd tier festivals), or top-tier festivals of specialized circuits, such as short film, documentary, animation or children's film festivals. Thus these lists seldom cover more than 200 festivals. See for instance the list of 195 festivals by Telefilm Canada: http://www.telefilm.ca/en/festivals-and-markets/festivals-directory; the search list of festivals provided by German Films: http://www.german-films.de/festivalguides/; the Festival Directory provided by the British Council lists 1,300 festivals: http://film.britishcouncil.org/festivals-directory/about-the-directory (29 Nov. 2013).

have developed their own networks for production and distribution.[48] At this point it shall suffice to mention this debate over whether the festival circuit is an alternative cinema network—think of the circulation of otherwise unavailable "world cinema" titles to audiences around the globe—or distribution system—which some independent film producers have argued for a while. We will come back to this discussion in more detail when considering the interaction of LGBT/Q film festivals with the larger film festival circuit, the queer film ecosystem and the larger film (distribution) industry.

The film festival circuit is thus a hierarchical and contingent scheme in which festivals relate to each other in terms of geographic-spatial and temporal dimensions, which reflect their ranking, position, industry clout, economic background, etc.[49]

3.3.3 Six Axes in the Study of Film Festivals

When mapping film festival studies first in 2009, Marijke de Valck and I asserted film festivals are "sites of intersecting discourses and practices" (De Valck/Loist 2009: 180) and proposed six axes, which might help to break down the complexity and allow for focused approaches to the study of film festivals (De Valck/Loist 2009: 182–188).[50] First there is the aesthetic discourse, which treats film as an art work; second, there is the economic continuum from production to distribution, which is organized along flows of capital; third, there is the very heart of a festival which, rather than being a void space for the display of films, represents the institution of the festival itself, which is operated by people, in need of funding, and functioning according to certain mechanisms; fourth comes the axis of reception, which includes audiences, exhibitions, and the construction of specialized public spheres; and fifth, the politics of place, in which the festival's meaningful and often strategic relation to local or national parties is defined. Each of these separate five axes provides ample research opportunities and challenges for these complex entities. Beyond the study of an individual festival, there is another level of analysis, which we called the sixth axis. In axis six, we aimed to take into account the temporal and spatial dimensions of a festival: a) the way festivals are connected with each other in the network of festivals that is the international film

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[48] See the German short film association AG Kurzfilm, the human rights film festival network around One World or the establishment of the Doc network, which also helps create documentary films (AG Kurzfilm 2006; Loist/Zielinski 2012; Bowles 2013; Vallejo 2012, 2014; Vannucci 2014).

[49] For a more detailed discussion of the film festival circuit, see Loist (forthcoming b).

[50] The following section of this chapter is a reworked and updated version of De Valck/Loist 2009: 182–188.

festival circuit with its constant flow of culture and capital; and b) the time frame of historical development and change taking place in the festivals and on the circuit.

Several of these axes of film festival research will be applied in the course of this study within the following chapters. But first let us take a closer look at the individual axes.

Axis One—Film as Work of Art

The first axis, or the first way to approach film festival research, is using a film as the focus lens. Highlighting the film as the element that guides the study of film festivals reveals a variety of processes taking place around film festivals that do not only occur during the festival time but also before and after the festival is happening.

When using the film as the focal point for the study of film festivals, it becomes apparent very quickly that film festivals are marked by a number of selection processes that a film has to pass on its way through a festival or the festival circuit (see Fig. 1) (cf. De Valck 2007: 126ff.; De Valck/Soetemann 2010). The film is subjected to rigid agenda-setting processes even before the festival. From the perspective of the film, the first process is its entrance into the festival.[51] The film can be submitted by filmmakers or producers according to the festival regulations or be solicited by programmers. Next, the film has to pass the first selection process, i.e., pass through screening committees, previewers or programmers (cf. Gann 2012; Czach forthcoming; Rastegar forthcoming). If the film fits the profile and programming criteria of the festival it will be placed in the program. The placement within the program—itself created in an intricate process underlying different agendas—has an effect on reception, reviewing and the future of the film after the festival.

The way a festival program is curated depends on the programmer and their ideas and ideals.[52] Equally, programming depends on the kind of festival in question. For instance, LGBT/Q film festivals need to consider more identity-based criteria such as "a film made by, for, about, or of interest to" the queer community (June 2004), whereas a "universal survey festival" will focus on world premieres and other criteria (Klippel 2008b). Apart from describing the creative aspect, the analysis of programming concepts gives insights into (economic) exploitation strategies by industry and festivals,

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[51] As film festivals become increasingly involved in the pre-production and production stages via script labs, co-production markets and as financiers, further selection stages are added on even before the submission of a film.

[52] For a discussion of programming see also Axis Four below. A detailed discussion of programming choices in the LGBT/Q film festival context is central in chapter 3 of this book.

such as presenting Hollywood classics in a retrospective in corollary with a DVD release or the transnational cross-over marketing of blockbusters (Stringer 2003a, b). It should also be taken into consideration the extent to which festival programming influences film criticism, scholarship, canons and genre formations (Stringer 2003c; Wong 2011).
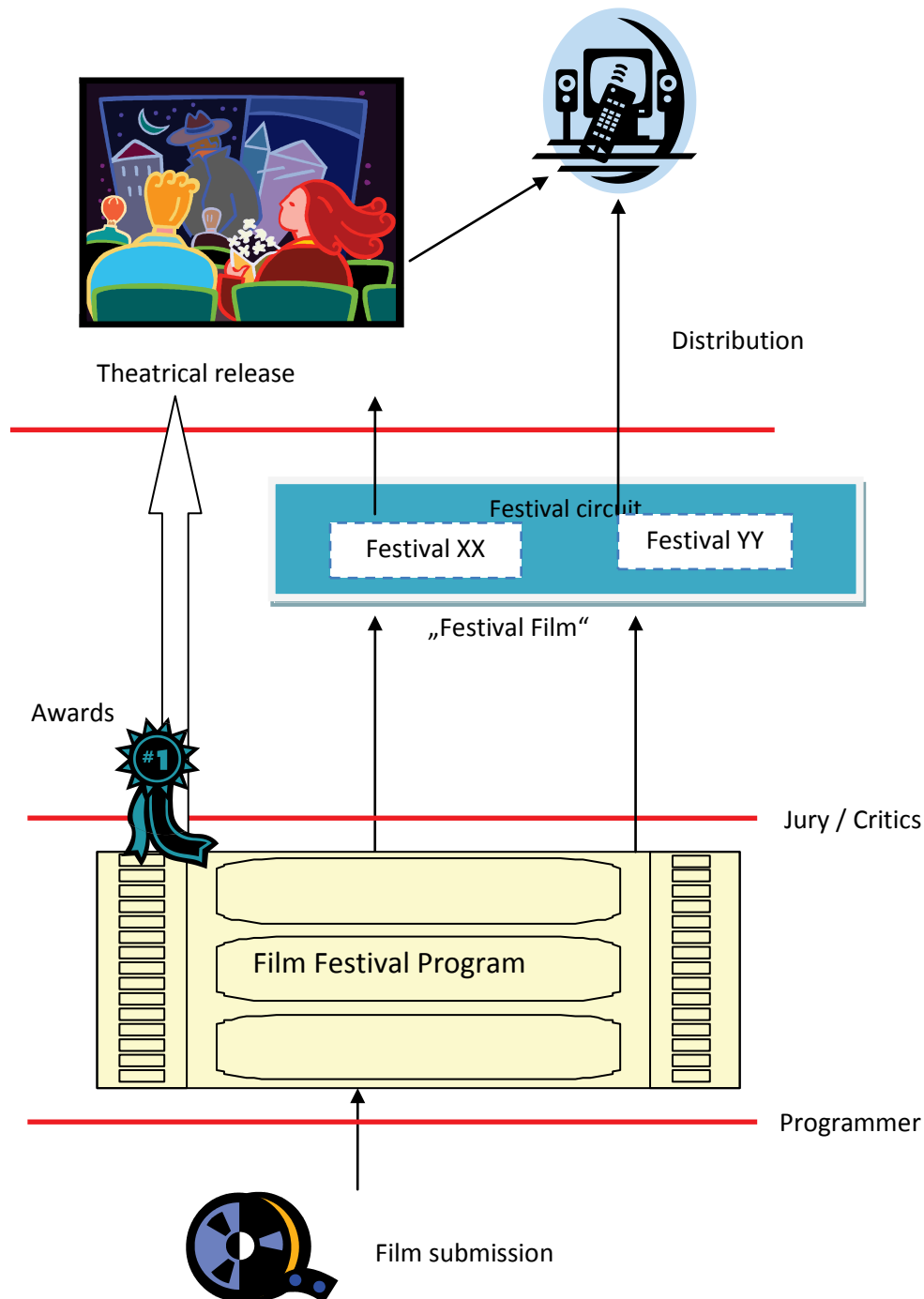
Figure 1.1: Passage of a film through various selection stages on its way through the festival (circuit) to distribution

The last selection process a film might pass at a festival is a competition. Either the festival audience or a jury of film professionals will bestow prestige on a film by awarding a prize.[53] Film festival studies have pointed out some of the concerns regarding awards and juries, such as the subjective nature of evaluations (Turan 2002, Helmke 2005), the effects of festival screenings and awards on distribution (Dodds/Holbrook 1998, Mezias et al. 2011; Vogel/Jackson forthcoming), the correlation between taste and mediation in high art (De Valck 2014b).

Thus, the selection and agenda setting processes at film festivals and their effects on film performance are one of the ongoing concerns of film festival studies, not only from a media studies perspective, but equally in film sociology and marketing. That these processes of selection translate into the accumulation of cultural and social capital has been detailed by Marijke de Valck and others. How these processes are related to financial capital and mechanisms of the film industry is an issue tackled in the next axis.

Axis Two—Economic Continuum: From Production to Distribution

While the first axis of festival analysis focuses on film as art and the festival's core task of screening them, the second axis focuses on film as product and the way festivals facilitate "the business" of cinema. The spotlight is on the direct economic context of the film.

Film festivals are a platform for and of the film industry. This becomes very obvious when considering one of the organizations with a very strong influence on the festival circuit: the International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF). Since 1933 the FIAPF has represented the economic, legal and regulatory interests of film and TV production industries that are part of the organization. FIAPF also regulates (accredited) film festivals and the business conducted there. FIAPF decides about the status of major festivals, keeping the number of so-called A-level festivals limited to assure the hierarchy on the circuit (cf. Fehrenbach 1995; De Valck 2007; Moine 2011). The business conducted at their adjoined markets is a significant part of A-list festivals (e.g. Berlin: European Film Market, Cannes: Marché du Film). Thus, on the business side, festivals are measured by their industry attendees at the market, the sales rates and production deals closed.

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[53] Marijke de Valck and Mimi Soetemann have analysed this process in detail discussing the award practice of the International Documentary Film Festival Amsterdam (IDFA) (De Valck/Soetemann 2010).

When attempting to answer the question as to why film festivals exist, discussions tend to gravitate to the problem of distribution. Film festivals provide several "answers" to this problem. Gideon Bachmann (2000) distinguishes between "wholesale" and "retail" events: the former act primarily as markets where sales agents sell films, the latter are essentially exhibitors—correspondingly Mark Peranson distinguishes two models: "business festivals" and "audience festivals" (Peranson 2008). With the increasing pressure on art house exhibition and a simultaneous boom in mid-size and smaller film festivals, festivals themselves have become an alternative distribution method.[54]

While festivals function as an alternative distribution circuit, they are also part of the marketing strategies for traditional distribution. In the era of the "attention economy," film festivals are increasingly used by the industry as platforms to create buzz, i.e. media discourse, around films which helps their box office in theatrical release. Daniel Dayan pointed out that film festivals exist in at least two versions: the visual festival of films and the "written festival" created by print material produced by and about the festival (Dayan 2000: 51). The strategy of creating attention, for instance, is used for blockbuster premieres at big festivals, which serves both the festival and the (Hollywood) producer: the festival gets attention for premiering the film, preferably in attendance of stars, while the film gets a stamp of artistic approval for being shown at a festival—often out of competition and thus without running the risk of bad reviews (Stringer 2003a, c). Smaller films, without theatrical release lined up, can raise their cultural capital through the value-adding process at festivals (De Valck 2007: 123–161). Each selection process (mentioned above) adds value to a film. This way a small film might be able to cross over from the alternative (yet closed) distribution network that is the festival circuit into (theatrical) distribution. If one festival is not enough, a chain of screenings at festivals might be used to build up momentum slowly (depending on marketing strategy and regional market characteristics).

Festivals have been expanding their operations constantly from exhibition to distribution, facilitating sales and networking. In the last decades, festivals have moved even further into the film business; now they also provide training for filmmakers (e.g. Berlinale Talents) and production funds (e.g. Frameline's Completion Fund wants to "bring new work to under-served audiences" in the LGBT community and "especially encourage[s] applications by women, people of color and transgender persons";

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[54] For a discussion of this notion refer to Chapter 3.3.2 "Film Festival Circuit."

Rotterdam's Hubert Bals Fund for young filmmakers in disadvantaged countries [cf. Loist 2008; Steinhart 2006; Falicov forthcoming]). This way festivals stop being mere exhibitors of current productions, they become themselves active players in the film industry.

Axis Three—Festival as Organization

While axis two considers the film industry as a part of the festival (business), axis three looks at the festival as an institution. As the business side has already made clear, the festival is not a disinterested void space for the display of films, but rather an organization with its own (business) agenda. At the same time there are a number of interest groups or stakeholders (e.g. film professionals, sponsors, politicians) whose various demands and expectations the festival has to meet. Thus, in axis three the festival is approached on the level of people/actors.

On an interpersonal level, festivals are especially meeting spaces: different groups, such as for instance film professionals, stars and everyday cineastes, can meet and talk about film in a way not possible anywhere else. Focusing on the interest groups or attendees of a festival, one can distinguish groups involved with and interested in the festival: 1) industry representatives of various fields such as a) film production, b) press, c) distribution, d) unions and professional associations, e) exhibition, f) training and education; 2) festival guests; 3) event and festival organizers; 4) regular audience members (cf. Reichel-Heldt 2007: 55–65). These groups already represent a wide range of interests and demands toward the festival.

In addition to the various subgroups of people attending festivals, there are also the people working in various positions at the festivals in question: festival directors, programmers, selection committee members, events managers, development and press people are "specialized intermediaries," to borrow a term from museum studies (Stringer 2013: 64). Analysis of long-term developments and movements of people between festivals shows the significance of individual careers as well as historical shifts in the professional history of the circuit, such as the rise of the programmer in the 1960s (De Valck 2007: 167–170) or star directors[55].

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[55] Giacomo Di Foggia (2014) urges to study the personalities of festival founders and directors to account for the cinephilic motivations of film festivals.

While the development of major festivals is closely linked to geopolitics (Turan 2002), one should not forget that only a very small fraction of the approximately 5,000 operating festivals are FIAPF-accredited A-list festivals. Thus, the analysis of festivals as institutions needs to consider a variety of festivals and their specific contexts (Evans 2007; Loist 2011a). The founding strategy of the Berlinale as a cultural bastion and market hub of the West in Cold War climate in 1951, for instance, is quite different from the dedication of ciné clubs and adult education centers (*Volkshochschulen*) from the 1960s onward, which resulted in the founding of festivals such as the Northern German regional festival Emden–Aurich–Norderney with a small team of part-time staff, or the background of the gay and lesbian movement resulting in an all-volunteer festival structure of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival (Reichel-Heldt 2007; Diepenbroick/Loist 2009).

Lay audience

- cinephiles
- event-oriented attendees
- accidental film goers

Professional audience

Film industry profesionals
- Filmmakers
- Producers
- Distributors
- Actors

Press
- Film critics
- Boulevard journalists (TV & print)

Festival professionals
- Festival directors
- Programmers
- Cinema programmers

Educational
- Universities
- Film Schools
- Highschools
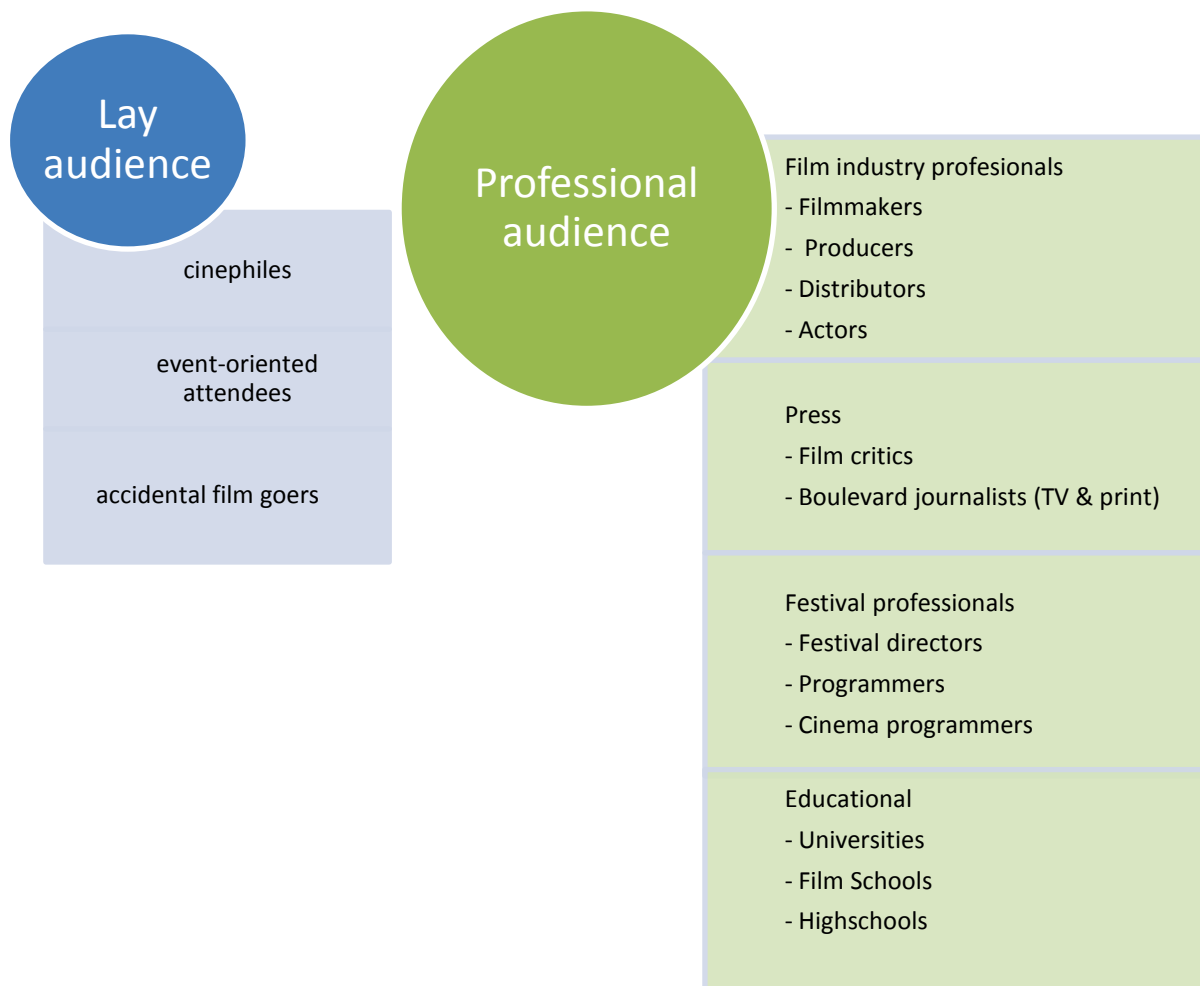
Figure 1.2: Chart of festival attendees

The variety of organizational structures (volunteer, paid and various hybrid forms) and cultural/political contexts also results in different expectations from actors in the field (industry, state/city funders, etc.), and a variety of funding strategies in a climate of declining resources (state-funding of arts or regional economics, private sponsorship, community-funding) (Gamson 1996; Reichel-Heldt 2007; Rhyne 2007; Cheung 2010; Loist 2011a).

The relationship between festivals and the film industry is only *one* specific link between festivals and their many different stakeholders. Therefore, it is quite hard to point out and study the functions of festivals and relations between festivals and industry from a neutral perspective. There are a number of valid arguments for or against certain strategies and trends—however, they always depend on the specific perspective of each stakeholder. The stakeholders of film festivals encompass various entities and constituencies which provide funding for the operation or have other connections to the festival: there are of course policy-makers, public funders, corporate and private sponsors, participants such as filmmakers and distributors, but also journalists, programmers from other festivals, suppliers and venues, and last but not least the audience.[56]

When looking at relationships between festivals and stakeholders it is necessary to keep in mind the diverging and sometimes conflicting demands put on festivals. A politician, a public funder, a film studio, a cinema owner or a festival programmer will necessarily have different views and follow different agendas. The interest of a public funder will likely be a festival with maximum publicity with minimum costs from the public side, while the industry is looking for a strong showcase, and audiences are interested in accessible screenings of a wide range of interesting films. Festivals need to accommodate and balance those different stakeholder demands without losing sight of their own agenda and long-term goals to keep their own position within the festival circuit. Thus, the festival organization itself needs to balance financing on its organizational side as much as a balance between a unique program and mainstream appeal to be able to sustain its organization and cultural workers and stay afloat within the competitive field.

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[56] For an in-depth discussion of festival stakeholder roles see Getz/Andersson/Larson (2007); for an example of the diverging interests between stakeholders and festivals see Ooi/Strandgaard Pedersen (2010).

Axis Four—Reception: Audiences and Exhibition

The approach of the fourth axis centers on reception. Although various actors have already been mentioned in axis three (understanding festivals as meeting places for various stakeholders and interest groups), the primary activity and function of film festivals is to exhibit films—targeted specifically at professionals in press screenings and private video booths as well as to the general public—and therefore *all* festival visitors are constituted as members of an audience (see also Fig. 1 above). Several important issues are foregrounded when we approach the international film festival circuit as a network of exhibition.

Firstly, the specific reception environment created by film festivals is largely defined by the event nature of the festival. While cinema attendance is often bemoaned as declining, festival attendances across-the-board are reported as going up (cf. Bruins 2011). The possibility to see something first, or something one cannot see elsewhere, something unexpected, maybe even with the added potential to see or meet a film star, brings people to the festival (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 66–71; De Valck 2005). Likewise, the spectacular setting of the festival is believed to be beneficial to the buying-and-selling of films and festival buzz is a key ingredient in the production of festival hits and discovery of noteworthy films (see axis two).

Secondly, for specialized festivals, the general feeling of belonging to a group, a cinephile community, is heightened by identity cues. Audience members of horror genre festivals (Stringer 2008) or LGBT/Q film festivals, to name just two examples, share a common interest that goes beyond film (or even a film genre) in general. They meet with like-minded viewers, sometimes a subcultural community, when congregating at a festival screening. Such a specific context adds to the special nature of the reception setting. In a LGBT/Q film festival, this might even result in critical, communal counter-readings of films (Searle 1996: 51f.). In a general sense, setting and programming structure of the event can induce a focused form of reception— "discovering form, inferring meaning" as Bill Nichols put it—which brings about "new cinemas" (Nichols 1994), or at least the acknowledgment of specific films and film-producing regions, often then celebrated as "new waves."

Thirdly, the issue of programming, already discussed under axis one, is also intimately connected to the issue of reception. Curators imagine a certain program and by so doing they also envision a way to highlight, promote and contextualize a film. The

program, however, depends on the audience and its actual reception. Film festivals offer a framework which generates certain audience expectations; with their program festival curators (often) try to encourage the active reception of the audience (Klippel 2008: 10). Some scholars and curators would even go so far as to say that programming means not (only) programming films but "programming the public" (Fung 1999). They point to the fact that programming directly influences the constituency of the audience—although no one can foresee what kind of audience reaction and outcome a certain program will actually elicit.

Most studies thus far, have considered audience address in terms of programming and promotion (Stringer 2008, White 1999). However, studies focussing on audience experience and reception practices, either from an empirical or phenomenological angle have largely been missing.[57]

Finally, a whole different angle on reception issues concerns the analysis of the spatial aspects of film reception at festivals. What are we to make of exhibition practices at festivals that move beyond the traditional cinema and expand to include multi-screen installations, gallery screenings or online streams?

Axis Five—Politics of Place

Related to the spatial configuration of exhibition contexts is the broader range of spatial aspects of film festivals. Space and place are so important in festivals' functioning that they form a separate axis of the academic framing of festivals. This approach is borrowing from work done in social geography and follows the "spatial turn" in the humanities. Janet Harbord, for example, looks at festivals as "spaces of flow" and asserts that "the film festival is a particular manifestation of the way that space is produced as practice." She goes on to explain that "film festivals have since their inception […] entwined film culture within the organization and materialization of national and regional space" (Harbord 2002: 61). More specifically, we should understand festival space as made up of complex dynamics of local and global forces, always being defined by the physical place in which the event is organized, but at the same time embedded in an international circuit. Building on insights from globalization theory, this interplay is understood as a public arena in which uneven power relations in

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[57] Quantitative and qualitative empirical studies with festival audiences have been done either as Thesis projects or as business / marketing studies at festivals (for the Hamburg-based festivals there have been, for instance, Peleikis/Rasch 2007; Bruins 2011; Bories 2012; Tomov 2013), but their findings are seldom accessible or available in print.

a postcolonial globalized world are acted out (Stringer 2001). For example, international film festivals in developing countries are criticized for marketing (exotic) national cinemas to Western audiences, while neglecting to support local industries (Diawara 1993, 1994).

Another research focus that follows from globalization theory in general and tourism/urban studies in particular is film festivals' relation to the city. Spatial aspects such as city planning and city policies concerned with tourism-related sponsorship are scrutinized in relation to festivals (Stringer 2001; Ooi/Strandgaard Pedersen 2010; Kredell 2012). The city, then, is the spatial entity that has come to define festivals' identity and functional logics much more than the nation, in particular since the 1980s. A question that is often posed in relation to festivals' contemporary spatial configuration is whether it is possible to strengthen community cultural development and cultural tourism simultaneously (Derrett 2000, 2003). In other words, can festivals be tailored to local community interests while stimulating urban development at the same time? In particular at the large film festivals programs tend to have a strong international character and therefore attract cosmopolitan visitors who want to celebrate and consume world/art cinema, rather than screen programs that express regional distinctiveness and cater to the local population.

Finally, looking at how space is used on a smallest level of the festival organization can shed light on the ways film festivals foster an atmosphere of exclusivity and staged rituals that add value to films and filmmakers (De Valck 2007: 77–80, 141–143). From a different vantage point a detailed look at the spatial configuration of a festival on the ground can give insights into festival atmosphere, audience address and community building as Ger Zielinski has pointed out when discussing LGBT/Q film festivals as heterotopias (Zielinski 2012).

Axis Six—The Film Festival Circuit and History

Moving beyond the level of individual festivals, the phenomenon of film festivals can be approached as an interconnected network with specific historical developments. If one wants to understand any single festival organization or edition, it is essential to frame its functioning in connection to the logics of the international film festival circuit, since no festival can exist outside the influence sphere of the festival network and this network is more than the sum of its parts. Topics that come to the fore when looking at festivals from the angle of a cultural network/system include the existence of a festival

calendar, the flows of capital and culture through the circuit, the task division between different (types of) festivals, mutual relations of competition and emulations as well as rankings of prestige and influence.

Finally, any theorization of film festivals needs to be contextualized. The international film festival circuit is in constant transformation, responding and adapting to developments in aligned areas, such as the film industry, as well as to larger trends like globalization, digitization and commercialization today.

4. Conclusion

The versatile theoretical notion of the performative, performativity and performance proves to be a productive focus for the analysis of film festivals. With the conceptualization of identity as gender performativity commonly used in gender and queer theory, this notion lends itself to be employed in the context of LGBT/Q film culture and film festivals. Here, there performative acts found in film festival structure, event and processes mesh well with the discussions of LGBT/Q identity formation, representation and politics. The next chapters will employ the described concepts in a detailed discussion of concrete case studies.

Chapter Two
Historical Development of the Festival Circuit

1. Introduction

In 2009, after the 20th anniversary of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg had been celebrated with many extra events and the publication of a book about the history of the festival and two decades of queer cinema (Diepenboick/Loist 2009) an old discussion rekindled: wasn't it time to change the old-fashioned name? Did the name conceived in 1990, in the literal translation the "Lesbian and Gay Film Days Hamburg," really capture the nature, identity and agenda of this festival that saw itself as political, activist and inclusive? Even though it has carried the seemingly old-fashioned and narrow terms "lesbian and gay" in its title since its inception, the festival has never actually made a strict distinction in terms of identity categories and representation. The discussion of gender and sexuality between or beyond the binary has always been an integral part of the understanding and programming (cf. Kui 2009; Diepenboick/Loist 2009). As LGBT/Q politics have changed in the last two decades, the festival team thought it needed to come up with a more "peppy" name, to address the old-fashioned "lesbian and gay" and also the distinctively German 1980s "Filmtage" (cf. Reichel-Heldt 2007: 22). The organizing team looked to other festivals in the LGBT/Q circuit for comparison: One idea was to come up with a distinctive name to serve as the main title, with "Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg" as a subtitle. This is a common strategy visible in a number of festival names, the most prominent example being the oldest LGBT/Q film festival, "Frameline: The San Francisco International LGBT Film Festival." Following this example, one strategy could be for Hamburg to use its organization's title (*Querbild*)[1] in a similar way that Frameline does. (Frameline is the name of the non-profit media organization that runs the festival amongst other operations.) This was, however, rejected by the team. Other names were hard to find.

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[1] *Querbild* is a compound word combining the directional term "quer," which means across or lateral and also evokes associations of the English "queer," while "Bild" means picture or image. As compound the German meaning and association of this made-up word would oscillate between "horizontal format" and "queer images."

One of the favorites of earlier ideas was "*Bildschön*"[2] (Loist/Diepenbroick 2009d). Eventually, after surveying further opinions from the festival audience, the team opted to keep the original name. One reason was that the name works as a recognizable "brand name" after 20 years of use. Another reason was that the terms "lesbisch" (lesbian) and "schwul" (gay) are still contentious terms, which carry the homophobic stigma that the festival wants to help rally against (cf. Querbild 2010: 7). Replacing these with the word "queer" was rejected since the term has a less political connotation in the German mainstream usage of the word.[3] Another argument was to come up with a recognizable English name for the festival for international usage. Thus, the extension "International Queer Film Festival" was added to the original German name. In this way, the full name became both updated as well as internationalized with the addition of "queer" (Querbild 2010: 7). Here, the team was fully aware of the differing meanings of the terms "lesbisch-schwul" and "gay & lesbian," the more common usage of "LGBT" in an international/US context and "queer"—depending on when and where it is used.

This brief anecdote already hints at the significance and burden of names and terminology in relation to LGBT/Q film festival history. Hamburg is not alone: the long-running London Lesbian and Gay Film Festival also invited its audience to a similar debate in their "What's in a Name?" campaign in their 2013 festival trailer[4], which culminated in them changing their name to BFI Flare: London LGBT Film Festival in 2014 (Rosser 2014; Galt/Schoonover 2014). As community-based film festivals, LGBT/Q film festivals are fundamentally linked to their constituencies, the activist politics they have grown out of and the local community they are situated in. These local and group-specific discussions are then also linked to larger discourses of film (festival) culture and industry, global politics and representation. Film festivals are not just representatives of a certain offering of queer film: tracing their development with a view on wider developments shows their performative nature. They are events where discourses on LGBT/Q activism, community debates, identity formation and

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[2] *Bildschön* is an adjective which combines the words *Bild* (image) and *schön* (pretty) meaning "picturesque." The term was a contender to become a new festival title in discussions some years earlier. However, it had not been adopted. During the research of the festival anniversary book, it came up again and was thus used for the book (Diepenbroick/Loist 2009).

[3] In mainstream LGBT/Q club culture "queer" tends to be used as umbrella for LGBT rather than denoting a critical political stance, which is the connotation "queer" has in academic and activist circles.

[4] See the 2013 London Lesbian and Gay Film Festival trailer "What's in a Name?" by Aleem Khan and Faryal on Vimeo: http://vimeo.com/60210799.

legislation, cultural policy and city development intersect and crystallize. Only the particular interplay of these discourses in a specific time and place brings about the event performatively. Thus, the negotiations of community identity and group representation are an integral part of the performativity and performance of LGBT/Q film festivals.

This stresses again the relevance of the concept of performance and performativity for film festival studies. While some might dismiss such festivals as mere arbiters of representation politics, a complication and contextualization of concepts such as representation and performativity are necessary here. In recent years "representation politics" have become a contested notion in cultural studies, especially from a queer theory perspective. Here, representation is seen as a fixed category connected to a fixed notion of identity (Engel 2002). Identity categories like LGBT and a paradigm of visibility connected to the rhetoric of coming out have been lauded for advocacy—for instance in campaigns, such as the US-based Human Rights Campaign or the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD) media awards. But from a queer theory perspective these categories and identities have been labeled simplistic. Arguing for visibility based on sexuality can be seen as a single-issue cause that neglects the complexitites of power structures that pervade everyday lives, for example in relation to intersections of sexuality and gender.

A number of approaches and theories have tried to account for these complexitites, for instance queer theory (Butler 1993b), Black feminism (Audre Lorde; Alice Walker), queer of color critique (Ferguson 2004), queer postcolonial studies (Cruz-Malavé/Manalansan 2002; Gopinath 2005) and intersectionality studies (Crenshaw 1989; Haschemi Yekani/Michaelis/Dietze 2011). Such theories and approaches criticize simplistic notions of activism and politics, yet would not replace representation (Engel 2002; Schaffer 2008). Rather identity categories such as LGBT/Q are constantly contested and representation is negotiated. LGBT/Q film festivals are prominent places where these kinds of negotiations become visible, both, in the naming of events and their programming (cf. Gever 1990). I would therefore argue that concepts such as performativity and performance do not replace representation. Instead they are brought into play together, linked by active negotiations and the performance of representation in the festival, on screen and off. The continuation, repetition and mutation of terms

like "queer" and related politics within these community and activist negotiations reflect the historical performative dimension of these events.

While LGBT/Q film festivals were the first ones to be analyzed in more detail at the advent of film festival studies (Loist 2013b)[5], LGBT/Q film festivals are a much younger phenomenon than the film festival phenomenon as a whole, which dates back to the 1930s. With their distinctly political focus on community and representation, LGBT/Q film festivals have developed with a special agenda, characteristics and peculiarities. These specialized identity-based film festivals have formed since the 1970s in wake of the new social movements of the 1960s onwards along with women's film festivals spawned by the second wave feminism, Black film festivals corresponding to the Civil Rights movement, Jewish film festivals etc. (cf. De Valck/Loist 2009: 204–211; Zielinski 2008: 66–111). LGBT/Q film festivals started out as places where independent community films could be shown and the negative portrayal of homosexuality in the mainstream, i.e., in Hollywood films, countered.

Currently, more than 260 LGBT/Q film festivals are in active operation worldwide.[6] They exist on all continents of the globe and are set up to showcase independent film by, for and about lesbians, gays, bisexuals, trans* persons, and queers. They aim to create global visibility of LGBT/Q issues and provide community spaces and counterpublics for numerous individuals worldwide, while at the same time being entertainment events. In 2014, at the current height of the circuit a variety of agendas and formats are present: festivals focusing on artist support founded by filmmakers, festivals with a specific focus on representing minorities within the LGBT/Q community, such as trans* festivals (Amsterdam, Netherlands; Kiel, Germany; Seattle, WA, USA), queers of color (San Francisco, Brooklyn, Glasgow), Latin@ (in Los Angeles), Black LGBT/Q film festivals; festivals catering to the specifics of rural areas and their LGBT/Q communities, such as the Queer Fruits Film Festival in the Northern Rivers area in Australia (Ford 2014) or the Appalachian Queer Film Festival in West Virginia, USA; festivals growing out of college communities; special series or festivals produced by local film societies (as part of a bouquet of niche festivals put on by these organizations); and faith-based LGBT/Q film festivals, such as Level Ground in

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[5] See also the Introduction.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the data collection for the LGBT/Q film festival sample, which this study discusses, see section 3 "Mapping the Circuit".

Pasadena, California, USA. This breadth of festivals and new specializations within the LGBT/Q festival circuit represent new frontiers in the current ongoing discussions of LGBT advocacy. Beyond identitarian specialization we aso find genre specialization: LGBT/Q film festivals focusing on the short format (The Iris Prize), on documentary (Sydney, Seattle), animation (Rio di Janiero) or horror films (Fears for Queers in Dallas, TX).

In the last decade, a few major established LGBT/Q film festivals in North America and Europe began to become big players in the larger festival circuit and cultural industry sector. In their beginning stages, LGBT/Q festivals were primarily concerned with representation, activism and community building. As the festivals have matured, concerns have shifted from DIY politics to polished professionalism, organizational structures, lobbying and professional marketing. Tracing four decades of LGBT media activism and festival growth, this chapter will show how the focus has shifted from counterpublic representation to industry concerns, from political community programming to foregrounding the artistic, cinephilic aspect and film industry. While doing so, tensions which these festivals have to navigate between political aspirations such as inclusion and equality as well as survival in the market logic of the cultural industry will be discussed. At the same time, however, new smaller festivals are established constantly to provide basic representation and community space, be it in a college town in the US or a new festival in Eastern Europe or Latin America.

The spread and evolution of LGBT/Q film festivals has followed a similar trajectory to the evolution of the gay liberation movement since the 1960s, its differentiation in the AIDS crisis and emergence of queer theory since the 1980s, the global spread of LGBT advocacy (Kollman/Waites 2009) and gay marketing since the late 1990s (Sender 2004). In view of the complexities of globalization, when looking at the global development of LGBT activism and film festivals we need to keep in mind numerous factors, such as simultaneously divergent and disparate timelines, different stages of activism, differing national economies and political agendas, etc. (cf. Mizielińska/Kulpa 2011).

As is true for historical research in general,[7] the history of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit is not a linear story of progression, neither in terms of an imagined unified LGBT/Q activism sweeping the globe nor in terms of individual festival developments. Instead, the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit is closely intertwined with politics, which follow simultaneously parallel and divergent developments in LGBT activism. This makes it hard to present a chronological or even progressional narrative. Instead, mapping the global spread of LGBT/Q film festivals necessarily involves meandering between various diverging and locally significant discourses. Not all festivals go though the same phases: some early festivals in the 1980s started out as small countercultural volunteer endeavors and have developed into large organizations with large-scale funding in place that make their business a profession, while others have largely kept the same volunteer agenda. Newer additions to the circuit can benefit from the experience of the field: copying, cross-pollination, and the adaptation of existing models to local and political contexts is very common.

This chapter will show how the LGBT/Q film festival phenomenon evolved and consider broader issues such as local community politics, representation and festival histories while also considering the performative aspects of these festivals with their specificities in programming, LGBT funding, organizational developments, and so on. As long as LGBT/Q film festivals have existed they have had to answer questions about their relevance, their aims and their continued necessity. This historical overview, then, will address these questions and trace the changes in the aims and functions of LGBT/Q film festivals over the decades. How did festivals and their agendas change? What are the local challenges? What is the changing relevance of LGBT/Q film festivals? How do LGBT/Q film festivals negotiate and perform identities through representation and organization? This chaper provides a historical overview of the development of the global LGBT/Q film festival phenomenon and offers contextual background for the following chapters, which delve into more detailed analyses of specific practices such as programming, audience address, reception and organizing. The first part of this chapter

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[7] Within historiography the concept of an entangled history or *histoire croisée* has been developed as a relational approach to examine links between various historically constituted formations and to add another dimension that traditional comparative approaches fall short from (cf. Werner/Zimmermann 2006). Malte Hagener is arguing for the employment of such an approach also in the study of an emerging film culture, thereby stressing transational flows and connections (Hagener 2014a: 3–4). Andreas Kötzing suggests a similar approach for the study of the interconnected histories of the two post-war German states, and applies the method of an "asymmetrically interwoven parallel historiography" of the FRG and GDR (cf. Kötzing 2013c: 77–78; see also Loist 2014d).

will take a step back, both in focus and time, and offer a framing by briefly summarizing the general history of the film festival model since the 1930s. This will be followed by section 3 "Mapping the Circuit" which offers quantitative data, followed by a detailed account of the developmental phases of the LGBT/Q circuit in section 4.

2. The Contextual Frame: Film Festival History

In order to place the development of LGBT/Q film festivals within the historical development of the larger circuit it is useful to consider the phases that the model of the international film festival has passed through. Comprehensive models of historiography on the general film festival circuit have been proposed by Marijke de Valck (2007) and Cindy Wong (2011). Section 2.1, "The Rise of the Film Festival Model", will briefly trace these historical phases. Before delving into the detailed account of how the small countercultural events of the 1970s called gay film festivals became large non-profit organizations running several LGBT/Q-themed film festivals, I will then briefly discuss phases in the LGBT/Q film festival history put forward by Ragan Rhyne (2007) in section 2.2.

2.1 The Rise of the Film Festival Model

Film has always been a medium that is oscillating between the poles of spectacle, mainstream entertainment and serious cultural object, between industry commodity and artistic expression. Accordingly, the model and function of film festivals has changed over time along with film culture and cultural policies. Marijke de Valck explains in her ground-breaking study *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* that the film festival model was successful precisely because festivals were able to adapt to these changes and varying demands from society, culture and film industry (cf. 2007: 35–36). This ability for constant adaptation and renewal has helped the film festival model to survive, self-sustain itself and thrive to this day. De Valck proposes three main phases in the development of the European film festival circuit, which she relates to major shifts in the circuit and industry:

> 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. (2007: 19–20)

Cindy Wong (2011) offers a more global view of the film festival spread and narrates its history by decades rather than watershed events. For the brief history that serves as a contextual backdrop to the more detailed LGBT/Q festival development, I will largely follow the phases as proposed by De Valck.

Film Culture before Festivals

The model of a film festival as an annual event which prevails today was only established after film itself had existed for nearly 40 years, when the first Venice Film Festival was staged in 1932. In the decades between the first film presentations in various European locations—by the Brothers Skladanowsky on 1 November 1895 with the Wintergarten program in Berlin or by the Lumière Brothers at the Grand Café in Paris on 28 December of that year (cf. Barber 2010, Musser 1999)—and the establishment of the stable film festival model in the early 1930s, film had to struggle to become regarded as an art form of its own. During this time a few one-off events showcasing film art took place, such as the once-only festival of first films held in Monaco as early as New Year's Day in 1898, followed by festivals in Torino, Milan, Palermo, Hamburg or Prague. The first prize-awarding festival is said to be a movie contest, which was organized by the Lumière brothers taking place in Rome 1907 (cf. Pratley/Klady 1998: 1; de Valck 2007: 47).

Despite the existence of these festival forerunners, film was generally part of a larger negotiation process between mass consumption and art. Cindy Wong, therefore, places the establishment of the early film festivals in the context of developing a high-brow film culture, which favored serious film and championed cinephilia over film fare with mass appeal. After market exchanges between Europe and North America were cut off during World War I, Hollywood became a self-sustainable market, also dominating South America and soon the global film market. Hollywood fare started to become a norm, in terms of narrative as well as aesthetics. However, alongside the mass entertainment market focussing on stars and spectacle, several groups were founded by people devoted to studying, discussing and promoting the new art form. Along with first serious film criticism, middle-class cinephiles and intellectuals elevated the new

medium to a new level of film culture that developed in ciné clubs, film societies, small theaters for avant-garde film and the first film archives in the 1920s and 1930s (Wong 2011: 31–36). Malte Hagener stresses that the avant-garde movement of the 1920s had a significant influence on the development of the film festival format (2014b: 284). He discusses a number of events and exhibition contexts, such as trade fairs, ciné clubs, conferences, and art exhibitions which were an integral part of the emerging film culture, and proposes that all these forms can be seen as proto-festivals. All of them contributed certain characteristics that were later taken up and combined in the film festival model as it has taken shape in first in Venice and later in Cannes, Berlin and travelled the world (Hagener 2014b: 291).

Phase One: National Cinemas and Geopolitics

De Valck dates the first phase from the successful establishment of the "first film festival" in Venice in 1932. This time was marked by a number of larger shifts in film culture, such as the crisis of film during the change from silent to sound technology, and the failure of the avant-garde as a wider film movement (De Valck 2007: 23–24; Hagener 2014b). The film festival model put forward by the Venice Biennial mastered the crisis experienced by the European film industry by turning the disadvantages of the language barrier that appeared with the use of sound, and the onset of nationalistic sentiments into advantages, by offering national cultural pride an international platform. In this phase, the festival invited nations to submit their own best films produced in that year (24). Hence, the model of national selection and competitions, a sort of "Olympics of film" (53) was born, which was later adopted by other festivals and prevailed through the late 1960s.

Another characteristic of the European film festival model from the very beginning was its double-bind relationship to Hollywood. Film festivals embraced Hollywood for its glamor while at the same time shunning it ideologically for its economic rather than cultural imperatives. Hollywood stars were eagerly invited in full calculation of the

glamor, scandals and paparazzi that came with them, which ensured media attention for the festival.[8]

The establishment of the European film festivals before and more importantly after the World War II was strongly influenced by geopolitical factors on different levels: nationalistic, ideological, touristic. An obvious example here is the *Mostra Cinematograpica di Venezia*: The creation of the Venice film festival was deeply rooted in Mussolini's Fascist politics that utilized film for its potential as propaganda tool. After a dramatic decline in Italian film production in the 1920s, the government stepped in to promote and support film, and to position the nation as a cultural bastion holding up against the dominance of Hollywood. The Cinecittà studios were built, and several film-related institutions—those ideologically consistent with Mussolini's politics—were set up or financially supported. Thus, the government and its politics were strongly woven into the fabric of public film culture and provided the climate in which the film festival in Venice thrived (cf. Wong 2011: 38). Blatantly nationalistic and ideological decisions by Venice officials during film awards deliberations resulted in the international demand for the establishment of a counter-festival, and the French cultural delegates seized the moment to position France as another great film nation.

Various founding myths around the first French film festival exist, which came to take place in Cannes. According to long-time Cannes president Gilles Jacob,[9] film critic René Jeanne and civil servant Philippe Erlanger hatched a plan on the train back from Venice to Paris to organize a truly international film exhibition independent of propaganda for dictators, a Festival of the Free World (cf. Wong 2011: 39, De Valck 2007: 48). Alongside geopolitics, tourist interests played a large part: Cannes, an elite tourist destination, was selected after the hotel owners on the Côte d'Azur pointed out the regional benefits of prolonging the tourist season to September and promised to build a cinema palace (Jungen 2009: 24). Furthermore, Cannes was located in a traditional are of film production, including Nice (cf. Moine 2012). For the festival in 1939 films from nine countries were selected. However, on 1 September the Nazis invaded Poland, leading to World War II, and the festival was cancelled.

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[8] For a detailed historical account of the relationship between Hollywood and Cannes as arguably the most important film festival see Christian Jungen's monograph *Hollywood in Canne$: Die Geschichte einer Hassliebe, 1939–2008* (2009), translated 2014.

[9] Gilles Jacob recalls the history of Cannes in an interview for the MoMA exhibition „Cannes 45 Years: Festival International du Film" (cf. De Valck 2007: 48).

The first full edition of the Cannes film festival started on 20 September 1946, 16 months after the end of World War II, when the continent was in shambles and had been divided into two blocks, representing two different ideologies: democracy and belief in a free market in the West and communist state economy in the East. At this time, the European film industry tried to establish a format which could counter the mass of Hollywood films produced during the war, which were now flooding the European entertainment market. Thus, the new challenge was not primarily fighting political propaganda but to revive the film economy. Nevertheless, the Cannes film festival provided a powerful platform for European film, but only with the help of Hollywood.

In 1951, the next specifically geopolitically designed festival was founded in the divided Berlin as a direct result of the emerging Cold War climate. Following the suggestion of the American film officer Oscar Martey, the Western Allies decided to revive the former European center of culture, art and film, and to create a "Western cultural showcase in the East" (Fehrenbach 1995: 236). The first International Film Festival Berlin, soon nicknamed *Berlinale*, took place in June 1951 in the Western sectors of Berlin (Jacobsen 2000: 21).

The festival model quickly went global post-World War II. Major festivals were founded in Karlovy Vary (1946), Locarno (1946), Bilbao (1946), Edinburgh (1947), Melbourne (1951), India (1952; moving from Mumbai via Dehli to Goa), San Sebastian (1953), Mar del Plata (1954), Sydney (1954), the Asia-Pacific region (1954, with rotating locations), London (1956), San Francisco (1957), and Moscow (1959). The FIAPF was concerned about the proliferation of the festival circuit and feared for the diminishing interest in and, thus, decreasing impact of the festivals. Therefore, it fostered and protected the status of Venice and Cannes (cf. Moine 2013). This decision was only overruled in the late 1950s, when Berlin and Karlovy Vary were awarded the A-list status for international premiere festivals in 1956, San Sebastian in 1957 and Locarno in 1958. Here again, Cold War politics played a significant role when the established Karlovy Vary Film Festival had to share its A-list status with Moscow and go biannual in 1959 (until 1994) as the FIAPF decided to only grant one festival in the Eastern bloc such privilege (Moine 2012). Festivals like London, Edinburgh, Melbourne, San Francisco, Vancouver and Leningrad were denied this recognition (Wong 2011: 44). These decisions mark the early influence of producers on the film

selection and film festival world, which continues to be strong to this day (cf. Peranson 2008).[10]

However, not all of the festivals founded in the 1950s and 1960s were conceived as international platforms for national cultural exhibition and competition striving for A-level status. A number of festivals with smaller reach were founded with a focus on local film or specific genres and techniques. Along with the hierarchies introduced by the FIAPF accreditation system, this marked the beginning of the differentiation of the film festival circuit into different tiers[11] and sub-circuits of specialized festivals.

As early as the 1950s, specialized festivals were founded that highlighted film as an art form, special techniques, and provided spaces as field-configuring trading events[12]. A number of specialized festivals, for instance, were founded in the 1950s in Germany (West and East respectively).[13] The specialized sub-circuits with festivals as national showcases for "minor film genres" slowly grew in the 1960s, and only proliferated substantially from the 1980s onwards. In 1954, the oldest International Short Film Festival was established in Oberhausen (Behnken 2004). Renowned short film festivals followed in Bilbao (1959), Tampere (1969), and Clermont-Ferrand (1979). The Edinburgh Film Festival originally started out in 1947 with a documentary focus and the support of John Grierson and Paul Rotha, but opened to fiction in 1950 (Llyod 2011). In 1955, the East German *Gesamtdeutsche Leipziger Woche für Kultur- und Dokumentarfilm* was established, which evolved into DOK Leipzig: International Leipzig Festival for Documentary and Animated Film (cf. Reichel-Heldt 2007: 33–34; Kötzing 2004, 2013; Martini 2007; Schenk 2007; Moine 2014). On the documentary

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[10] There is no comprehensive study available discussing the concrete impact of the FIAPF on the development of the film festival circuit, yet. Only selective periods or issues have been studied (cf. e.g. Moine 2011, 2013). Generally information on the FIAPF is hard to come by. The organization itself only provides very little information in its web presence, with many regulations and material only accessible to members.

[11] Regarding the notion of several tiers of festivals structuring the circuit, see Iordanova (2012: 16–17) and section 3.3.2 "Film Festival Circuit" in chapter 1.

[12] On the notion of film festivals as field-configuring events see Rüling 2009, 2011; Moeran/Strandgaard Pedersen 2011.

[13] This particular concentration on German territory was spawned by the particular historical context of Western post-war re-education initiatives that put high emphasis on media and film as mass culture as well as the cultural and ideological rivalry present in the devided country. Before the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961, many of these festivals located in both parts of the separated country were considered to be pan-German cultural platforms; after the permanent separation of the two German states had become manifest they continued to play an important role in the inter-German communication as well as larger negotiations of Cold War politics and cultural policy between East and West (cf. Kötzing 2007: 698, 2013a; Moine 2012).

circuit the Belgrade Documentary and Short Film Festival (1959), the Krakow Film Festival for Documentary, Animated and Short Fiction (1961) and the influential *Visions du réel* in Nyon (1969) followed (cf. Vallejo 2012, 2014a, forthcoming). In 1960, the first Animation Film Festival was held in Annecy, Switzerland, with festivals following in Mamaia, Romania (1966–1970), Cambridge/Cardiff (1968), Zagreb (1972), and Ottawa (1976) (cf. Rüling 2009: 53; 2011).

Marijke de Valck emphasizes the interrelation of avant-garde film and the development of the film festival model. After the war the center of the avant-garde had moved from Paris to New York and made an impact on film culture there (cf. De Valck 2007: 26–27). Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s the festival model also took hold in the US, where festivals were founded in San Francisco and New York (1963) (Wong 2011: 45; cf. Hamid 2009, Peña 2012). However, in the US the festival model did serve different purposes than in Europe. While these events also emphasized art film that countered the domestic mainstream fare of the Hollywood industry, the festivals served especially as audience events situated in cinephile and alternative communities. The first US-American film festival was established in San Francisco in 1954 by a theater owner, who had traveled to European film festivals and wanted to create an event to attract more audiences for arthouse film (Wong 2011: 45). The New York Film Festival founded in 1963 was essentially a platform for European arthouse film. New York is a tastemaker and due to its location an important launch pad for US distribution, while the deals are made in Cannes or Toronto (Wong 2011: 45).

The festival model spread across the whole globe rapidly. By the 1960s, all continents and regions featured major regional and international film festivals. Australia was among the first to establish major festivals in Melbourne (1951–) and Sydney (1954–), growing out of a cinephile community as well as cultural political interests (Hope/Dickerson 2006a, b, c, 2011; Stevens 2013, 2014). In the late 1960s, festivals also appeared in Africa, with the first editions of the *Journées Cinématographique de Carthage* in Tunisia and *Festival panafricain du cinéma et de la télévision de Ouagadougou* (FESPACO) in Burkina Faso in 1969 (cf. Ruoff 2008; Turan 2002: 65-80). After the first major festivals were founded in Asia in the 1950s, such as the itinerant Asia Pacific Film Festival (1954–), a steady number of festivals followed, for instance the Golden Horse Film Festival in Taipei (1962), the Hong Kong Film Festival (1977), and the Fajr International Film Festival in Tehran (1982–) (cf.

Iordanova/Cheung 2011). The oldest festival in Latin America goes back to 1954 with the Mar del Plate Film Festival (Argentina), followed by international festivals in São Paulo, Brazil, and Havana, Cuba (1976–) (cf. Gutiérrez/Wagenberg 2013).

Phase Two: Political Film and Programmed Cinephilia

The 1960s were a decade of major politicization: while the US was a center of crisis around the Vietnam War, this sentiment was shared by European artists and intellectuals. In Europe, the late 1960s were marked by a wave of political protests—in France as well as Germany or Czechoslovakia. 1968 was a watershed year for many reasons: in Prague protests were crushed by the Soviets in the Prague Spring; France saw a country-wide general strike; in Germany the student movement, which also collaborated with feminists and gay activists, peaked and escalated after the assassination of their leader Rudi Dutschke. Within these politicized times, film and filmmakers also often carried political messages and were an active part of social change. The vast political and social changes of the 1960s also left their mark on the cultural scene and the festival field, which was highly influenced by the emerging new social movements of the 1960s, such as the civil rights movement, the feminist and also the gay liberation movement. Activist movements often intersect with artist movements and communities and inform each other.

In this climate falls the second phase in film festival history, which De Valck dates from 1968 to the 1980s, and which marks a shift from national showcases to programmed cinephilia (cf. De Valck 2007: 19–20). While De Valck is mainly looking at Europe and the repositioning of the established European festivals, Cindy Wong summarizes the phase from the 1960s to the 1980s as a time of expansion and globalization of the film festival circuit as well as an era of challenge and controversy (2011: 46). This phase shows that new forms of festivals appeared in reaction to social needs and to insufficiencies of established festivals and their traditional formats. In the decades after the initial establishment of the film festival model, smaller festivals with a variety of agendas emerged. They started to make use of the festival format to present national cinemas on an international stage (see Tehran, Cuba etc.), they championed Third World Cinema to counter the (Western) European bias (Pesaro, Rotterdam), survey festivals (such as London, Toronto) countered the première hierarchies of the

competitive A-list festivals, and independent film festivals represented new filmmaking (Sundance).

But it was not only the addition of smaller festivals that changed the nature of the film festival circuit: the large A-list festivals also changed their model considerably in this period. An emblematic event symbolizing the changes that came about for the established model of A-list festivals on the international circuit was the disruption of the Cannes film festival in 1968. In the midst of the political upheavals surrounding May 1968, which coincided with the proposed dismissal of Henri Langlois, founding director of the *Cinémathèque française*, several renowned film critics and filmmakers used the Cannes Film Festival as their stage. In an act of solidarity with the general strike in Paris and as statement of their discontent with the organization of the festival, filmmakers of the *Nouvelle Vague* withdrew their films from the competition and, thus, brought about the premature ending of the festival (Jungen 2009: 152–153). The emblematic act of taking down the national flags in front of the festival palais after the disruption of the 1968 festival edition heralded the end of the era of national programming for the larger festival circuit (154).

Various big A-list festivals coped with the changing film culture and demands by critics and new generations of filmmakers (think of the *Nouvelle Vague* or the New German Cinema in the wake of the Oberhausener Manifest) in a very similar way. The Cannes film festival as institution broadened to include under its heading the *Semaine Internationale de la Critique* and the Director's Fortnight, founded in 1962 and 1969 respectively, as parallel selections along the official main competition.[14] The Berlinale similarly expanded and integrated the *Forum des Jungen Films* in 1970 into its fold as an independently curated section, which had started as a counterfestival in 1968 organized by the Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek around Erika and Ulrich Gregor. Later in 1980, the festival created the Infoschau (later renamed to Panorama) section to cover the middle ground between the main competition, which featured big productions from the arthouse or commercial film realm, and the Forum, which was leaning towards the avant-garde art film spectrum. These two histories show exemplarily how the big general festivals changed their formats by expansion to reconcile the diverging demands from cinephiles, critics, filmmakers and industry.

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[14] For a historical overview of the Cannes film festival in relation to the development of art cinema and the festival film, see Ostrowska (forthcoming).

Another response was the establishment of general showcases in the form of "festivals of festivals," which sidestepped the competition that comes with demands of premiere status. London had started this model in 1956 and when the Toronto International Film Festival was founded in 1976 it copied this model (cf. Wong 2011: 48). Along with the expansion of the established top-tier festivals and rise of politically oriented smaller curated festivals, the general film festival model further proliferated globally.

Where the independent European film festivals focused on political film and the discovery of new waves, one particular US-American festival was started to champion independently produced domestic work. The United States Film Festival was created in 1978 in Salt Lake City, Utah. In 1980 it relocated to the ski-resort town Park City, Utah. When the festival was taken over by Robert Redford's Sundance Institute in 1985 and changed its name to Sundance Film Festival it also started to collaborate with Hollywood industry executives and gained momentum to become the most influencial independent film hub for the US (Wong 2011: 49).

Thus far, the second phase in festival history can be summarized and characterized by the differentiation of the festival landscape and the shift towards political and cinephile programming. These trends further crystallize in the establishment of a number of smaller festivals revolving around genres and themes, most notably in the emergence of festivals devoted to social concerns and anchored in identity-based activism and their communities.

The generally politicized era of the 1960s and the various new social movements were a breeding ground and cultural context for the establishment of a variety of identity-based festivals in the 1970s: women's film festivals, indigenous, gay and lesbian, Black/African-American film festivals. Each struggle or movement used arts and culture as activist tools and film screenings in community settings were part of general awareness-raising endeavors. Small festivals acted as counterpublic spheres where issues could be discussed, identities negotiated and constituencies mobilized (cf. Ommert/Loist 2008).

Ger Zielinski charts the development of the socially-oriented film festivals since the 1960s in his PhD Thesis "Furtive, Steady Glances: On the Emergence and Cultural Politics of Lesbian and Gay Film Festivals" (2008). He points out that the Afrocentric turn in Black American cultural politics in the Civil Rights movement in the US in the

1960s as well as the slow decline of the alternative Black cinema theater circuits contributed to the creation of Black film festivals (Zielinksi 2008: 72–74). The first Black film festival was founded in New York in 1969; further festivals followed such as the Newark Black Film Festival founded in 1974 (75). As the positions in the Civil Rights movement shifted, the festivals have changed names and programming as is evident in names such as Afro-American, African-American or in more recent People of Color film festivals, which featured Black American independent productions but have also expanded to screen African or African diasporic films (76). Zielinski suggests that this ethnic model of festival formation has further informed ethnic regional festivals such as Asian, Italian, or Jewish film festivals. Furthermore, the LGBT/Q festivals have borrowed this model in their formation (76). As we have seen in the beginning of this chapter, the negotiation processes and performance of festival identities work in similar ways as well.

Similarly, women's film festivals have been part of the feminist movement since the early 1970s. B. Ruby Rich recounts the challenges of these early festivals due to the difficult recovery of old films and disparate aims and politics of groups and communities in her "Prologue: Angst and Joy on the Women's Film Festival Circuit" (1998: 29–32). Independently of the specifics of each individual women's film festival, they all came about because one woman, or a group of women, decided in a particular time and place to do something about the perceived and real inequality of the sexes, about the lack of representations, and the lack of films by and about women (Loist 2012b). The first women's film festivals started in the early 1970s, and many of them are now defunct, such as the Ann Arbor Women's Film Festival (1970–1974), New York (1972–1980), a Women's Cinema Event organized by Laura Mulvey for the Edinburgh film festival (1972), the Women's Video Festival at the Kitchen in New York (1972), Toronto (1973), and an event organized by feminist filmmakers Helke Sander and Claudia von Alemann in West Berlin (1973)[15] (cf. Armatage 2009; Barlow 2003; Holder 1972; Zielinski 2008: 77–81). The oldest still running is the *Festival International de Films de Femmes de Créteil* southeast of Paris (1979–). Cologne's former festival *Feminale* dates back to 1984, Dortmund's *Femme Total* to 1987—both have been joined to form the *International Women's Film Festival Dortmund|Köln* in

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[15] *Öffentliche Sichtung am 10. September 2013: "Year of the Women."* Berlin: Arsenal – Institut für Film und Videokunst e.V., http://www.arsenal-berlin.de/living-archive/news/einzelansicht/article/4361/3082.html. (9 Sep. 2013)

2005. Although many of the early festivals of the 1970s and 1980s have waned, the time of women's film festivals is far from over. Many festivals have been founded in the last few years, not only in Asia or South America, but also in North America and Europe.[16] Then and now, these festivals were started by filmmakers, students or critics trained in feminist film theory. They are fueled by a drive for social change; by an urge to create a counterpublic sphere, a place where women can meet, defy sexist (and heteronormative) social conventions, form a group or network, and mobilize around issues of feminism (cf. Loist 2012b).

Further specialized festivals with a base in activism and identity politics have followed. Based in the Native Rights movement Indigenous film festivals have also been established since the 1970s, with a focus on the North American experience (cf. Córdova 2012), for instance with the American Indian Film Festival (1975–) based in San Francisco, and have proliferated much more in the 1990s and 2000s (Tadeo Fuica/Córdova 2012; Zielinski 2008: 66–111). All of these festivals were first established as safe spaces and gathering spots for identity issues, to constitute and consolidate communities with specific causes. While they continue to be community spaces, they have oftentimes also gradually grown to become alternative distribution networks and brokers for specific themes, representation and filmmakers.

Phase Three: Proliferation, Professionalization and Diversification of the Circuit

In her periodization, Marijke de Valck characterizes the third phase starting in the 1980s with the creation of the international film festival circuit, and a sweeping professionalization and institutionalization of the festival phenomenon (De Valck 2007: 20). Cindy Wong (2011) emphazises the global spread and differentiation of the film festival circuit. Studies on the festival phenomenon in Europe show that since the 1980s onwards festivals have become a prominent form of event culture that is spread all over Europe (cf. Poirrier 2012). This includes all forms of festivals, starting from the early form of music festivals, which go back to the 19th century. The format also spread to other cultural forms: the arts, performing arts, and film among many other

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[16] For a list of active Women's film festivals see the website of the International Women's Film Festival Network: www.iwffn.com (9 Aug. 2013) as well as the comprehensive listing "Women's Film Festivals Around the World" on the *Wellywood Women* blog:
http://www.wellywoodwoman.blogspot.com/p/womens-film-festivals-around-world.html (9 Aug. 2013).

new forms (cf. Poirrier 2012; Teissl 2013). Generally, the 1980s and 1990s were a time of major proliferation of the festival model, for which different related terms—often with negative connotation—popped up in the festival literature: "eventization," "festivalomania," "festivalization," "festival epidemic" (Gregor 2001; Barber 2008; Burgos 2008; Kammermeier 2008; Stevens 2011; Poirrier 2012). This is a trend that is visible in the larger cultural field of festivals, but also pertinent for the film festival sector.

Whereas the first phase was majorly influenced by national diplomatic strategies, and the second influenced by new politics and social movements, this third era has been most impacted by a complex shift of several interlocking cultural and economic agendas. Two major trends arose in the 1980s: One, the neoliberal model pushed the welfare state to start using the business logic of privatization; this model also had a major impact on arts and culture (cf. Duggan 2003). Culture, which used to be a field that was supported with public funds because it was deemed important for the formation of a coherent national identy, has increasingly turned into a value-generating creative industry. This ideological shift in the funding landscape directly impacted festival organizations and developments (cf. Gamson 1995; Rhyne 2007; Poirrier 2012). The neoliberal turn in politics had already started well before, but it reached a new level in the 1980s when the neoliberal corporate business model spread into cultural institutions (Wong 2011: 61; Rhyne 2007). In the US, the decline of public arts funding has lead to a rise of third-sector philanthropy, which has resulted in a new dynamic of fundraising and sponsoring in the arts and necessitates a market-oriented strategy by media arts organizations (Rhyne 2007).

Such economic shifts have become visible all over the world in the last two decades. In Western Europe, similar trends are visible for instance in the recent dismantling of the Film Council in the UK and the subsequent shift in film culture. The breakdown of socialist structures in economy and culture also have a direct impact on the festival landscape when old established festivals such as the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival are challenged by newcomers such as the Prague Film Festival in a "showdown of festivals" with "clashing entrepreneurships and post-communist management of culture" (Iordanova 2006). In the wake of the handover of Hong Kong from the UK to China in 1997, the Hong Kong International Film Festival has seen many structural

changes including the incorporation of the festival (Cheung 2009; Wong 2011: 190–222).

It is not only changing economic systems that have influenced and test long-established festivals. New dynamics in the global city constellation have brought about new players with powerful funders backing them, so that newly founded festivals are challenging the established circuit. The global nature and breadth of the phenomenon is visible in the diversity of newcomers which range from the South Korean Busan International Film Festival and Market, which has risen to become a major player in the Asian market (Ahn 2009, 2011) to the star-backed Tribeca Film Festival, which set out to boost development in downtown New York after the trauma and destruction of 9/11, to newly founded festivals in European capitals such as Zurich, Rome, and Copenhagen, which challenge their longstanding, established national counterparts in Locarno, Venice, and Gothenburg (Jungen 2011; Strandgaard Pedersen/Mazza 2011). The proliferation, especially of well-funded new festivals, contributes to the sweeping professionalization and potential homogenization of the circuit that De Valck mentions (2007: 20).

However, globalization itself also goes hand in hand with a rising trend: that of regionalization. The global city paradigm ensures competition on both national and international levels. While for a long time the nation state had been the defining element in cultural identity and competing for cultural acknowledgements, transnational transactions of the regional or global city have supplanted the old model. Today, global cities compete for funds and economic gains, for tourism and what Richard Florida has termed the "creative class," and thus become the driving force for cultural development (Florida 2003; Elsaesser 2005; Poirrier 2012; Moine 2012). Public funders have become increasingly interested in tourist profits and elevating the public/cultural image of a city. Thus, festivals are increasingly funded with the logic of creative industries, with on eye on jobs for creative workers and their positive impact on the city image. These shifting interests are directly observable in changes to funding models, which have moved both money and focus from arts and culture to business development funds (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 36, Loist 2011a).

The new agenda of creative industries and city image also shifts the way in which public funders view and evaluate festivals. An increasing expectation of professionalization comes from funding mechanisms, which are based on business

logics rather than cultural imperatives. Thus, "success" or the festival performance is often evaluated based on festival growth, increasing relevance, development of new audience segments, and international impact, which are usually measured in hard numbers (attendance, revenue, media presence) rather than diversity of the represented aesthetics, topics, regions or guests. These external goals drive the festivals to expand their organizations to sustain staff and year-round continuation of work (cf. Reichel-Heldt 2007: 36–37).

However, it is not only the demands and aims of political stakeholders that have changed over time. The relationship to the film industry (producers, distributors, cinemas etc.) has also shifted in the last decades. Kai Reichel-Heldt positions the rise of smaller film festivals (second- or third-tier and specialized), especially the German festival boom in the 1970s and early 1980s, within the period of stagnating commercial film industry. Film festivals showcase a new kind of film; independent and arthouse film as opposed to commercial cinema (cf. Andrews 2010, 2013). They also go hand in hand with the rise of program/arthouse cinemas, which grant attention to new aesthetic and narrative film forms. In the German context, local and regional governments provided funding for these kinds of festivals and helped foster the social-aesthetic education of audiences rather than being primarily interested in representational (image) factors (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 36). With the rise of the global city paradigm, festivals serve the city's cosmopolitanism by inviting international films and guests. They both represent the host city as an interesting destination for guests and bring the world to local audiences (Wong 2011: 45, 60).

Festivals have always had to deal with the film industry, giving them a platform to meet and showcase work and to network. But from the 1980s onward festivals have moved from being platforms and facilitators to becoming active intermediaries and increasingly active players in all aspects of the film industry (cf. Rüling 2009; Falicov forthcoming). Some criticize that the cinephile attitudes of film festivals as last bastions of art film has changed with the "trend of increased industrial infiltration in film festivals in this new millennium" (Wong 2011: 56). Yet the move of festivals to active players also reflects the changing hierarchies and power dynamics. With a shifting film industry, the proliferation of the festival circuit and increasing film production (while the available screens for a theatrical release shrink), festivals jockey for a position on the circuit but also within the film exploitation chain. In a time of power play where festivals compete

for major premieres and it becomes increasingly difficult to tell whether the sales agent or the programmer has the upper hand in the programming choices of a festival premiere (cf. Peranson 2008), festivals strive to become independent of certain industry mechanisms by becoming active agents themselves. Thus, festivals have in the last decade moved increasingly into various segments of training and funding of all stages of film production and distribution by adding markets, talent campuses, script writing labs, facilitating co-production markets, giving out film funds, etc. (cf. Cheung 2011; De Valck 2013; Falicov 2010, 2013, forthcoming; Loist 2011b; Ostrowska 2010). By offering training opportunities, film festivals connect young filmmakers, bind them to a specific festival profile and also help to create a new kind of world cinema, which might not be able to find funding in the countries of origin.

In the era of vast proliferation of the film festival network, the established large international film festivals managed to keep center stage in the 1980s and onwards because of the sheer volume and variety of product presented in a number of different sidebars and sections and their adjunct markets. They are able to pay systematic attention to multiple audiences and professional expertise and thus continue to stay relevant on a variety of levels (cf. Wong 2011: 51).

In addition to the major proliferation of the festival circuit, which also includes the establishment of generalist city film festivals, we see the trend of a significant differentiation on the circuit. A vast number of specialized festivals has appeared since the 1980s. There are different models that reflect this development: For one, there are various kinds of what Dina Iordanova and Ruby Cheung call "diasporic film festivals" or what Cindy Wong calles "ethnic festivals" (Iordanova/Cheung 2010; Wong 2011: 52). Such festivals are catering to an "imagined community" (Anderson). Oftentimes they are started by diasporic or migrant cultural activists; they might create a nation without statehood, such as is the case with Jewish or Kurdish film festivals and can be tools of cultural policy and diplomacy promoting a national cinema, funded by the source country (cf. Iordanova 2010b: 264–265).

Secondly, thematic film festivals, with their specific subject matters and areas of debate reflect the differentiation of social culture into subcultures and audience segments in a similar way to the larger-scale mechanisms of independent film and television channels. These are for instance themes with less specific group interests than identity-based

festivals, but nevertheless associated with dedicated audience segments (mountain film, musicals, horror genre) (Wong 2011: 52).

Thirdly, there is a vast spectrum of more politically motivated issues festivals, or "social concern" film festivals. These operate similarly to the identity-based festivals that have proliferated since the 1970s parallel to new social movements; the new activist festivals focus on a number of newly discussed social causes such as disabilities, human rights, ecology, to name a few. Disability film festivals started to appear as early as the 1980s, and more followed in the 1990s, while the highest proliferation can be seen in the 2000s (cf. Tadeo Fuica 2012c; Snyder/Mitchell 2008). A further differentiation comes about with Deaf film festivals in the late 1990s and 2000s (cf. Tadeo Fuica 2012d). Human Rights film festivals similarly started from the late 1980s, early 1990s, and picked up considerably in the 2000s (Tadeo Fuica 2012a). Human Rights Film Festivals have been especially organized in creating a professional network of festivals, which also serves as an alternative distribution system (One World 2009; Blažević 2012; Bowles 2013). A further differentiation or a slight shift in emphasis is visible from the 200s onward, with in the establishment of film festivals dealing with issues of (involunatry) migration reflecting on the one hand the shift in global movement of people, but also the changing ways societies deal with this movement (Tadeo Fuica 2012b). Ecological film festivals got their start in the 1970s and proliferated mostly in the 1990s and 2000s (Monani 2012: 254–256). However, they have not built networks that are quite as large as for instance the Human Rights film festivals (in the 30-something range). Salma Monani suggests that a range of festivals exists, that can be categorized as official public, alternative public sphere festivals or trade show events, which aim to bring together communities to share common causes and feel inspired (Monani 2012: 257-263; Haslam 2004).

A fourth specialization of festival appeared with the rise of a variety of film festivals that are dedicated to the history and study of film and are thus opposed to the premiere-driven logic that most festivals on the circuit follow. Nevertheless, as Julian Stringer has shown, the retrospective and archival side bars established at major festivals (Peirano 2013b) are not always free of market demands, when archival back catalogs of major distributors celebrate remastered reissuing of films on the big screen and further remediation in DVD collections (Stringer 2003b). Beyond those business agendas, most archival or silent film festivals (Peirano 2013a) have direct connections to the

study of film, and are therefore often connected to academic film conferences – see for instance the Hamburg-based CineFest as a festival of German film heritage (also discussed in the Introduction). These festivals and conferences are a place for negotiations of film culture, the film canon and ever more urgent discussions of restoration and preservation (cf. Cherchi Usai 2008; Marlow-Mann 2013a).

As a subcategory of the larger film festival circuit, LGBT/Q film festivals fall within the second and third models mentioned above. The upheaval in Cannes 1968 and elsewhere paved the way for a change in the film festival landscape from national festivals programmed by foreign politics and national film industry interests to the modernization of programming based on artistic merit and taste. This was also the time when the establishment of independent film festivals began. Festivals were created by the industry or social groups instead of government bodies.

The general change of the film festival circuit from the 1980s onward that De Valck identifies in the third phase also has an impact on the organizations of LGBT/Q film festivals. Just as the film festival model began to spread across the globe and festivals proliferated generally, the LGBT/Q film festival circuit also expanded. The biggest growth is visible in the 1990s, which was helped by the success of the New Queer Cinema in the early 1990s, the uptake of queer subject matter in Western mainstream media, and the change in world politics after the end of the Cold War. As these festivals matured to larger organizations they have had to conform to certain industry standards and follow the trend of professionalization on the festival circuit to keep functioning, and attract sponsors as well as films.

The brief historical account of the general film festival circuit above already points to the major shifts in the film festival landscape that have also had an impact on the workings of the LGBT/Q film festivals to be discussed in detail in the following section. Before delving into the detailed narrative of the LGBT/Q film festival history, I will turn to an existing historiographic model.

2.2 Historical Phases of the LGBT/Q Film Festival Circuit

A more detailed phase model specifically focusing on LGBT/Q film festivals has been developed by Ragan Rhyne in her PhD dissertation "Pink Dollars: Gay and Lesbian Film Festivals and the Economy of Visibility" (2007). Specifically looking at the US-

American context, Rhyne identifies four phases in the development of gay and lesbian film festivals, with an emphasis on the economy of such festivals:

> The first (1977–1990) represents a transition from the informal screenings of the very first festivals in the 1970s to incorporated and professionalized nonprofit organizations that relied upon earned income like ticket sales and state and federal arts grants. The second phase (1991–1996) is characterized by newly defined relationships between gay and lesbian film festivals and the commercial industry, as well as the appearance of new funding sources from individual philanthropic donations and private foundation grants. The third phase (1996–2001) is marked by the international proliferation of the gay and lesbian film festival model, particularly in the emerging markets of Eastern Europe and East Asia, and the fourth phase (2001–2006), by the introduction of cable and pay television as primary producers, distributors, and exhibitors of gay and lesbian film and video and significant corporate sponsors of film festivals. (Rhyne 2007: 4–5)

For the Western and especially North American festivals this arrangement in four phases is very insightful. For my purposes here, I will use this narrative and expand on it by considering larger global events that impacted on the LGBT/Q community, film production and the transport and transformation of the concept "queer."

When looking at the established first wave of gay and lesbian film festivals in North America and Western Europe one can see that the kind of activism they practice has changed over time. While their initial aim was to advocate visibility by way of showing films and bringing together a community, later festivals have become part of a film industry or ecosystem specializing in LGBT/Q film. The basic reasons and foundation for the expansion and growth of such festivals—and also the difference to the newer festivals elsewhere—can be found in the social and media context in which these festivals operate. A number of changes have taken place in the four decades in which the LGBT/Q film festival circuit has grown. First, since the basic activism of the 1970s, LGBT/Q rights have been secured through the struggles of the gay liberation movement and more recent LGBT human rights advocacy (Kollman/Waites 2009). Second, the success of the New Queer Cinema in the 1990s made films with a political and aesthetic edge visible and marketable. These films became part of a developing cross-over art house market and helped pave the way for a growing niche market for gay film. Third, mainstream visibility in Western societies has grown: gays and lesbians are frequently seen in ads, on network television and in mainstream film. Fourth, a "queer ecosystem"—a term coined by queer film historian Jenni Olson (2002)—of independent film has developed. The indie boom and affordable video technology enabled the

production of more independent queer film. At the same time distribution companies were founded that dealt solely with, or specialized in, LGBT/Q film.[17] Fifth, funding strategies have been developed for larger LGBT/Q film festivals that enable year-round work of the organization and at least partial compensation for the festival workers. These factors are the basic context in which LGBT/Q film festivals could grow and develop their agenda further. (Cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012: 52–53, passim)

While the development of LGBT/Q film festivals, both in terms of social/activist agendas and organizational development, is similar everywhere, there a number of slight differences between Europe and North America when considering Rhyne's phase model. Western European festivals established before 1990 also became nonprofit organizations and relied on ticket sales and grant applications, because in Europe more public funding was available. A decline in public funds for the arts has been visible in the last years, but not as early as the 1980s and 1990s and as dramatic as in the US during the so-called Culture Wars, which dismantled the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and other public arts funds.[18] Due to the different funding patterns, in Europe there is also a different understanding about the status of the arts discernible in society at large that there should be publicly funded festivals, which should be able to operate and show artistic film without an imperative for economic viability. While in the US a compensatory strategy based on philanthropy[19] and sponsoring was pursued for (LGBT/Q) arts festivals (cf. Rhyne 2007), Europe has not seen a development in philanthropy, private sector or corporate sponsorships in the arts to the same extent. In addition, a gay niche market has not developed in the same way, and even if corporate sponsorship is available several LGBT/Q activists involved in arts organizations seem more vary of the corresponding image transfer and reputation conflict. Within Europe different strategies developed depending on the regional funding policies. In addition to the developments on the general film festival circuits discussed above, LGBT/Q film festivals turned to various public gender equality and antidiscrimination funds, or have started increasing efforts to develop community-based support systems.

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[17] In Germany, the most prominent are Edition Salzgeber (founded 1984), ProFun (1993) and GMFilms (1995); in the US, they are Wolfe Video (founded 1985), Strand Releasing (1989) and TLA Releasing (2001); and in the UK, Tartan Films (1982–2008) and Peccadillo Pictures (2000).

[18] The Frameline festival, for instance, was directly impacted by the NEA discussions (Guthmann 1990, 1991; McGann 1992).

[19] Which hinges on a tax-relief system, providing incentives for private and corporate donations (Vogel 2006).

Rhyne's last phase dating 2001–2006 recounts the media market's move to dedicated LGBT/Q cable programming on networks such as Here! and Logo, founded 2002 and 2005 respectively. These networks continue to serve LGBT/Q audiences as pay-service entertainment. Even in Germany, TIMM, a dedicated gay (male) entertainment cable channel, started service in 2008 and has equally advertised at LGBT/Q film festivals. Dedicated TV programming continues to play a significant role for pushing boundaries in mainstream representation, as with the landmark series *The L-Word* (Showtime, 2004–2009), or more recently Netflix's self-produced groundbreaking LBT series *Orange Is the New Black* (2013–).

However, in relation to the LGBT/Q film festival circuit a new pattern is visible: that of increased convergence in the form of network-building and organizational clustering. Much like the film festival circuit in general, the larger, established festivals on the LGBT/Q subcircuit have started to branch out and become part of the industry, or the LGBT/Q film ecosystem by taking up industry tasks. For instance, the large US-based festivals in film centers such as New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco support filmmakers by providing training initiatives and funds. This dates back to Frameline starting its Completion Fund in 1990, in an attempt to help complete films by underresourced parts of the LGBT community (for instance, women and queers of color) (cf. Loist 2008: 169); the Los Angeles-based Outfest offers a Scriptwriting Lab; and on a smaller scale, the Tel Aviv International LGBT Film Festival, MIX NYC and the Hamburg International Queer Film Festival, have offered smaller film workshops, enabling participants to make films in a one-week hands-on workshop (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012: 55).

In order to grow their audience base and, thus, sustain the organization by optimizing seasonal workflow and providing year-round jobs and events, festivals have expanded their initiatives in three different ways. First, festivals add a best-of film tour to their event to cater to more rural areas, serving regions and providing national coverage (e.g. QueerScreen in Sydney developed screenings throughout Australia, cf. Ford 2014). The Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival have also screened best-of shorts programs at other smaller festivals or cinemateques. Second, organizations have started to develop a number of festival events, which are organized by the same staff. The Inside Out festival based in Toronto (1990–), for instance, also puts on a festival in Ottawa (2007–) (cf. Anderson 2012). Outfest (1984–) based in Los

Angeles has been producing Fusion (2004–), a dedicated Queer of Color film festival.[20] Another kind of expansion happened in 2012 when Outfest merged with NewFest in New York, because it had been struggling to sustain funding since the financial crisis (cf. Tsiokos 2012). In Germany, the Verzaubert Queer Film Festival (1991–2009) had strategically screened its program in several cities in order to strive for economically viable programming, yet could not sustain this strategy.[21] Oftentime these expansions also reflect a diversification of the circuit. QueerScreen in Sydney puts on the Mardi Gras Film Festival (1993–) as well as queerDoc (2001–). The Three Dollar Bill Cinema has organized the Seattle Lesbian and Gay Film Festival since 1996, and added Translations: Seattle Transgender Film Festival in 2006. Third, as funding schemes demand more efficiency and distributors have become weary by requests for festival screenings, smaller festivals have started to build networks to consolidate negotiations for screening fees, handling, and sharing costs for travel and guests. One example is the QueerScope network of German LGBT/Q festivals in the fall season encompassing seven festivals.[22]

3. Mapping the Circuit: Data Collection and Case Studies

There are 326 LGBT/Q film festivals at 345 locations documented in the compiled list that serves as basis for the empirical overview of this chapter (cf. Figure 1, 2).[23] The sample combines data from several festival listings and written sources (cf. Tadeo Fuica/Loist 2012), including a number of online platforms and queer cinema networks, such as the Big Queer Film Festival list (queerfilmfestivals.org), FilmFestivalLife.com and the PopCornQ professionals list.[24] At a recent count[25], the Big Queer Film Festival List, which serves as an authoritative list for festival programmers and filmmakers,

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[20] For a critique of the outsourcing of racial issues into a separate program and festival, see Rastegar 2009.

[21] The background of Verzaubert will be discussed in more detail below and in chapter 3.

[22] Among the QueerScope members are the following festivals: queerfilm festival Bremen; QueerFilmFestival Esslingen; Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival; Perlen: Queer Film Festival Hannover; lesbisch-schwule Filmtage Karlsruhe; Homochrom Köln/Dortmund; Queerstreifen Münster. Cf. www.QueerScope.de (11 Oct. 2014).

[23] A complete list of these 326 festivals in form of an Excell spreadsheet containing key information on each festival can be found in the Appendix.

[24] I want to thank Mel Pritchard, who is operating The Big Queer Film Festival list, as well as Chris Perriam for sending me additions for the festival list and map.

[25] Dating 18 Sep. 2014.

listed 225 active festivals, that is, contact details and the upcoming festival dates could be ascertained for these events (cf. Figure 3). This list includes stand-alone LGBT/Q film festivals, as well as women's or international film festivals with a dedicated LGBT/Q sidebar or film awards, which are significant for the LGBT/Q film circuit. Due to their precarious status as volunteer endeavors, new festivals frequently start up while other ones falter because of a lack of resources, sufficient funding or volunteer labor. In an attempt to include the historical dimension and account for this flux of festivals my own list includes several festivals that are long extinct, but have been documented in archival sources, academic research or on the internet. Furthermore, it also aims to represent all locations of itinerant or umbrella festivals.

The festival landscape at large and similarly the LGBT/Q festival landscape is in constant flux. The high number of festivals documented since 2000 can be explained by the general proliferation of the festival format globally. In terms of research methodology it needs to be noted that with arrival of the internet the documentation and traceability of festivals has vastly increased. The number of smaller short-lived festivals before the era of the internet was barely recorded, not easily traced and thus cannot be fully accounted for. Thus, especially the historical account of LGTB/Q film festivals before the mid-1990s relies on archival research, which is a spotty one, since festival archives – especially those of small underrecourced volunteer-events – are seldom, scattered and rely on ephemera (Zielinski forthcoming, Loist forthcoming).

Figure 2.1: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–2015

The recorded 326 LGBT/Q film festivals that have been founded globally since 1977 are visualized in an interactive map using the free Google Maps tool[26] (see Figure 1). A pin with a dot inside shows a currently-occuring festival, while an empty pin stands for a terminated festival. The historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit is represented by color-coding, each color indicating a specific time period. Here, I follow the four historical phases proposed by Rhyne (2007) as introduced and discussed above: In the first phase (blue: 1977–1990) festivals were established as organizations; the second phase (green: 1991–1996) was marked by building relationships between festivals and the commercial industry; in the third phase (yellow: 1996–2001) the LGBT/Q film festival model proliferated globally, and in the fourth (red: 2001–2006) major sponsorship links to television developed (cf. Rhyne 2007: 4–5). The current, final phase (violet: 2007–2013) is characterized by two diverging trends: a differentiation with the addition of smaller issue festivals and an increase in various network/cluster models.

Before delving into the larger historical narrative, in which the historical discourses of film festival development, LGBT/Q activist movement politics, queer cinema and creative industries converge, let us consider a few statistics from the LGBT/Q film festival data sample.
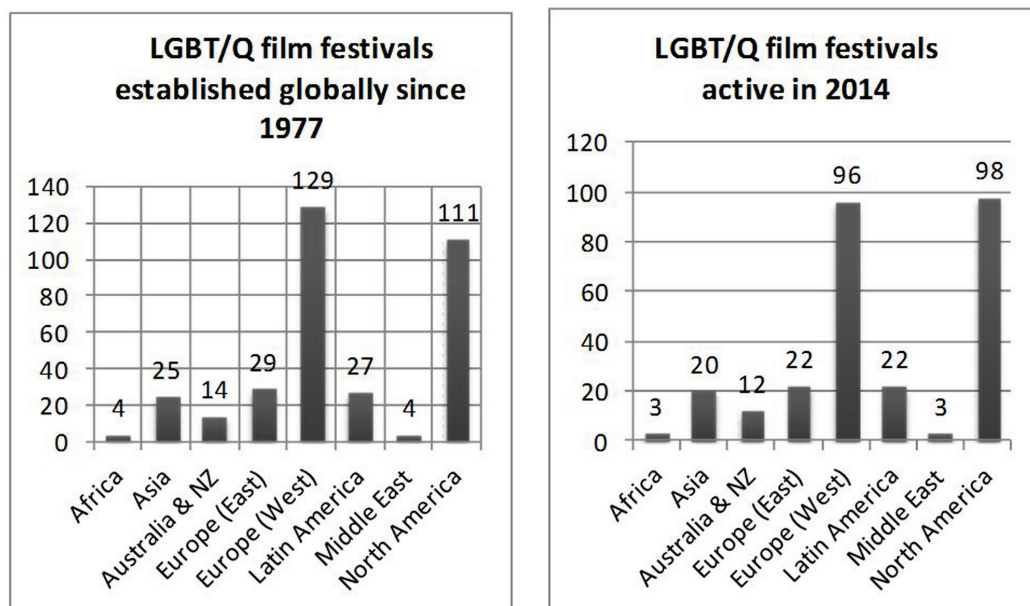
Figures 2.2 and 2.3: Amount of LGBT/Q film festivals (and film awards) established since 1977 and those still active in 2014.

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[26] https://mapsengine.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=zUo8fuQTvQHs.kVf_ZFrvaxCQ (18 Sep. 2014)

The list of LGBT/Q film festivals shows clearly that the circuit is not evenly spread around the globe (cf. Figures 2, 3; Table 1). By far the highest concentration of festivals can be found in North America and Europe. This is not surprising considering that the overall spread of film festivals around the world has the highest concentration in the same regions (cf. Vogel forthcoming). However, along with a correlation to general event concentration, factors such as social acceptance of, national and international legislation on LGBT/Q issues and availability and production of LGBT/Q media texts are crucial for the spread of LGBT/Q-themed film festivals. Keeping these factors in mind, the global spread and concentration in Western societies is not too surprising.

When considering the temporal breakdown for the establishment of LGBT/Q film festivals by historical phase (Table 1), the predominance of North American and (Western) European festivals is visible across all phases, attesting to the constant growth and renewal in these regions, and related to liberal attitudes towards LGBT/Q issues and constant activism. Kelly Kollman and Matthew Waites (2009) describe the vanguard position of Nordic and Western European as well as North American LGBT rights movements since the 1960s and 1970s. Since the 1990s a shift has occurred in LGBT advocacy towards a discourse with a human rights framework, which is targeted at international legislation rather than national liberation politics (Kollman/Waites 2009: 2). The strengthening of the global LGBT human rights movement has influenced politics in other non-Western countries, and while there are several examples with positive effects (e.g. in connection to European Union expansion negotiations), some countries have seen a "backlash" against the LGBT community, as a human rights discourse is perceived as a form of Western imperialism. Examples include former African colonies such as Nigeria and Zimbabwe or Muslim majority countries such as Iran (Kollman/Waites 2009: 7), and recent discussions in Russia also follow this strategy, where LGBT rights activism is defamed as European, and thus anti-Russian (cf. De Guerre/Sultanova 2014; Ponomareva 2014).[27]

A number of major political changes can be traced in the establishment of new festivals beyond North America and (Western) Europe. The end of the Cold War, with the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany, the disintegration of the

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[27] This has also been discussed in the Q&A session of the Filmfest Hamburg screening of the Russian documentary film *Children 404* on 2 Oct. 2014.

Soviet Union and the larger Eastern bloc, as well as the subsequent civil wars in Yugoslavia resulting in a restructuring of the Balkan region and South East Europe all had an impact on cultural life in general and the establishment of LGBT/Q film festivals in these regions. Within the period 1997–2014 29 festivals were founded of which 20 still operate (Table 1). Another major milestone was the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994, and the drafting of a new constitution, which was the most progressive constitution in terms of gender and sexual rights. This legal move enabled the establishment of the first and longest-running LGBT/Q film festival on the African continent based in South Africa. Similarly, section 377 of the Indian penal code, criminalising sexual activities "against the order of nature" was declared unconstitutional in 2009 and interpreted as the decriminalization of homosexuality, which enabled several newly founded festivals to operate.[28]

Region	Total number of festivals established since 1977 (active in 2014)	Establ. 1977–1990 (still active)	Establ. 1991–1996 (still active)	Establ. 1997–2001 (still active)	Establ. 2002–2006 (still active)	Establ. 2007–2015 (still active)
Global	327 (269)[29]	37 (31)	40 (36)	50 (35)	60 (41)	158 (136)
Africa (Botswana, Kenya, South Africa)	5 (2)	--	2 (0)	--	--	3 (2)
Asia (Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Myanmar, Pakistan, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand)	25 (20)	1	3 (2)	4 (3)	5 (4)	13 (10)
Australia/ New Zealand	15 (13)	1 (0)	3 (3)	2 (1)	1 (1)	8 (8)
Europe (East) (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Ukraine)	29 (22)	1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (3)	9 (3)	15 (14)
Europe (West) (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom)	129 (96)	15 (11)	19 (15)	18 (11)	26 (17)	51 (42)

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[28] In December 2013 that judgement was overturned by the Supreme Court of India, with the Court holding that amending or repealing Section 377 should be a matter left to Parliament, not the judiciary. This decision does not seem to have had any measurable impact on the number of LGBT/Q film festivals, though.

[29] As the list in the appendix shows, several of the festivals organize events in more than one location. For the discussion of the festival establishment, only the number of organizations has been included, not the number of locations.

Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico, Uruguay, Venezuela)	27 (22)	--	2 (2)	1 (1)	6 (4)	18 (15)
Middle East (Israel, Turkey)	4 (3)	--	--	--	2 (2)	2 (1)
North America (Canada, USA)	111 (98)	19 (18)	11 (11)	22 (16)	11 (10)	48 (43)

Table 1: Established and active LGBT/Q film festivals (and film awards) in breakdown by historical phase and region

These data show that the LGBT/Q film festival circuit has expanded substantially in the last decades. Since the early 1990s there has been constant, steady growth visible, with approximately 40–60 festivals being established per period, of which some 35–40 have become stable participants in the network. Since 2007 a further explosion of festivals can be plainly seen. In this time the circuit has almost doubled, with 157 new additions to the circuit. Since many festivals are indeed only one edition old (16 established in 2013, 14 established in 2014, and 2 new ones already announced for 2015), it is too early to estimate how many will survive at least three editions[30] and have the potential to become fixtures on the circuit.
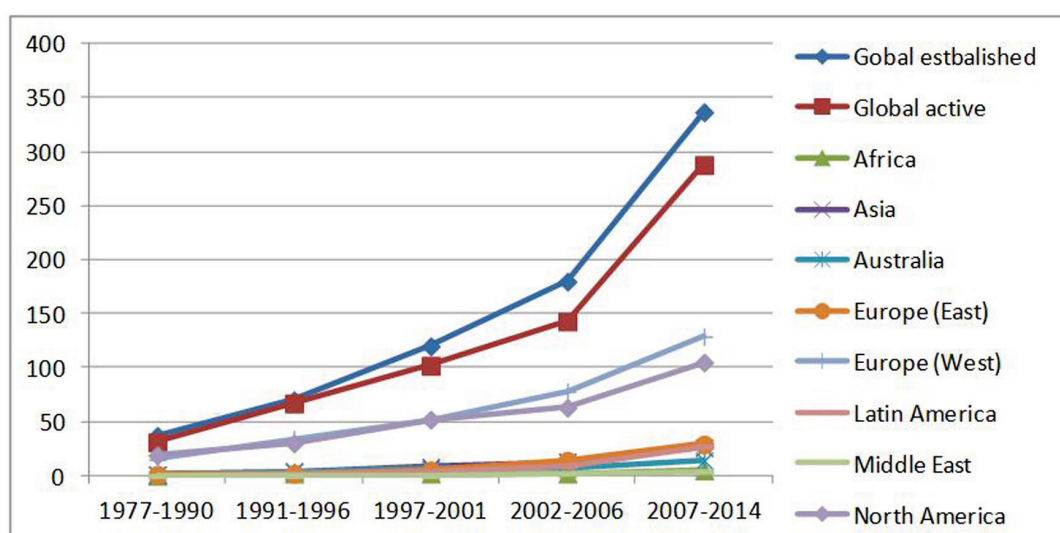
Figure 2.4: Growth of the festival circuit, in regional breakdown.

Yet the LGBT/Q film festival circuit has not only expanded in new territories. All regions have seen an increase in festival numbers and the expansion of the circuit.

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[30] Three festival editions is the rule of thumb to establish a festival (Ann Vogel), which is also applied by business platforms like Withoutabox.

Aside from the coverage of new territories within Eastern Europe and Latin America, there is also an increasing density visible in North America and Western Europe, especially in the larger European countries such as France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom (cf. Table 2, 3). These reflect changes in the festival and event culture and are a result of an increasing diversification and specialization. Among the 326 listed festivals, there are for instance several festivals focusing solely on gay (3), lesbian (11 [6]), bisexual (1), trans* (15 [10]) or queer of color films (7 [6]). There are furthermore several festivals focusing on specific themes, such as sexual diversity (7 [6]), erotica/porn (3) or genres such as documentary (3), animation (1) or horror film (1), while others include film as one art form among others in general LGBT/Q arts festivals (3) (cf. Greer 2013). This trend of differentiation and diversification will be discussed in more detail below in section 4.6.

Country	Total number of festivals established since 1977	Festivals active in 2014
North America	111	98
Canada	16	15
USA	95	83

Table 2: Breakdown of LBGT/Q film festivals by country in North America

Country	Total number of festivals established since 1984	Festivals active in 2014
Europe (West) total	129	96
France	17	15
Germany	36	23
Italy	14	13
Spain	25	14
United Kingdom	12	11

Table 3: Breakdown of LBGT/Q film festivals by country in Europe

Neverless, also considering the spread, it is obvious that a number of trends have fed into this surge of festival development. Among the most prominent: 1) the general trend of "festivalization", 2) the event cinema culture setting in to counter the decline in regular cinema practice, and 3) political and social change regarding LGBT/Q issues. We will return to these issues in more detail below.

The historical account of the LGTB/Q film festival circuit that will follow in the remainder of this chapter gives a broad overview referring to developments spanning four decades and the entire globe. Throughout this account I will refer to a number of case studies in more detail. My main case studies, which will also serve as key examples in the following chapters, include some of the oldest and largest LGBT/Q film festivals in the US, Germany and Austria. All of them were founded in the first two phases of global LGBT/Q film festival development. Thus, they have all long been part of the changes in the performances of LGBT/Q representation, naming and organizational structures on the larger circuit. By not only focusing on one single festival but instead considering several festivals, I want to emphasize the differences and specificities as well as the similarities that derive from locality, community, and personal/individual organization decisions in the strategies deployed on the circuit. Thus, I will come back to these case studies for exemplary illustrations of developments on the circuit that serve as specific accounts as well as generalizable examples for universal strategies. Among them are the Frameline: San Francisco LGBT Film Festival (1977–); MIX NYC: NY Experimental Queer Film Festival (1987–), NewFest: The New York LGBT Film Festival (1989–), the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival (1990–), Verzaubert Queer Film Festival (1991–2009), identities: Queer Film Festival Vienna (1994–), and the Teddy Award (1987–), the queer film award of the Berlin International Film Festival, which is not technically an LGBT/Q film festival in its own right, but serves as an essential node in the LGBT/Q film festival network.

4. A Global History of LGBT/Q Film Festivals

In the creation of early European film festivals geopolitics played an important role: dictator Mussolini had a strong connection to the Venice film festival, Cannes started as a counterfestival in response to Fascist Venice, and the Berlin film festival was founded by the Western Allies after World War II as showcase for the West and Window to the East. LGBT/Q film festivals are also bound up in geopolitical discourses, yet in very different ways. Certain stakeholders might try to instrumentalize them to serve the interests of a higher level of cultural politics and city imagery campaigns. However, their foundation usually is a result of an activist urge of single artists and community activists for cultural transformation and social change. Geography plays a part with

respect to contextual opportunities: several large cities have been host to vibrant sexually liberal subcultures: San Francisco, New York, Berlin, Amsterdam, Sydney. These cosmopolitan cities often were host to a subcultural scene and queer counterpublics including drag balls, salons, bars. In a place with a solid queer subculture it is easy to find artists and activists creating events, thus expanding the cultural scene to queer film culture.

This four-decade-long history of LGBT/Q film festivals charts the development from ad-hoc, activist revolutionary, rebellious events to the incorporation and professionalization of influential media arts organizations. Thus, the performance of a counterpublic sphere has for some events morphed to perform in a socially entrepreneurial model (Richards 2014), where the positioning within oppositional politics and the necessity to negotiate neoliberal economic realities becomes increasingly complex and complicated. Global discontinuities and asynchronous developments of activism and regional specifics also herald new forms of LGTB/Q practices and festival performances. LGBT/Q film festivals have had to answer the question of why they are still necessary (cf. McCullouch 2012), yet the growing number of active festivals attests to their necessity. However, their exact function—for instance the need to form and foster and community, advocate for LGBT/Q rights or serve and support filmmakers—depends largely on the performative negotiation of local activism, cultural policy and film cultural entrepreneurship.

4.1 Predecessors to Festivals: Gay and Lesbian Representation

Political and activist campaigning for progressive "sex reform" and non-discriminatory lesiglation regarding same-sex and non-normative gender and sexual behavior has been in place since the 19th century. One of the leading sexologists, Magnus Hirschfeld and the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (1897) argued for equality of the "third sex." Hirschfeld was also among the first to combine scientific research and activist filmmaking on the subject by participating in Richard Oswald's 1919 *Anders als die Anderen*, a feature-length film condemning the blackmail and persecution of homosexuals. The Fascist regime in Germany destroyed these movements. After World War II social organizations for homosexuals reappeared in Western Europe and same-sex sexual activity was decriminalized in the Nordic Countries, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy and Greece in the early 1950s (cf. Kollman/Waites

2009: 3–4). Decriminalization efforts in the English-speaking part of the world or Germany were slower and are largely framed by mobilization in the social movements in the 1960s. For the US context, several LGBT/Q rights upheavals, the most prominent being the Stonewall riots in June 1969, form a milestone for US and international LGBT/Q activism. LGBT/Q representation was sanctioned in US mainstream culture by the Hollywood Production Code, which explicitly banned (positive) representation of "sexual deviance" such as homosexuality (Dyer 2003, Russo 1987). Thus, cinematic representation of queerness was only available in underground film and screenings (Staiger 2000).

For Germany, the debates in 1969 and 1971 around the revision of Paragraph 175, the German law banning same-sex activities—and the media intervention by enfant terrible queer filmmaker Rosa von Praunheim and his controversial film *Nicht der Homosexuelle ist pervers, sondern die Situation, in der er lebt* (1971)—were an important milestone for queer cinema ans well as the mobilization of queer gay and lesbian activism in (Western) Germany (Kuhlbrodt 1984).

In this context we find a number of predecessors and related events leading up to the establishment of LGBT/Q film festivals. In terms of LGBT/Q activism the Pride events which started to spring up throughout the US in commemoration of the Stonewall riots are significant. The oldest one in Southern California in Los Angeles/West Hollywood took place as early as 1970, and in 1974 a festival was added to the parade (Ward 2003: 68–69). Pride events proliferated across the US and internationally and changed from politizied activist events to party locations over time. In this development, Jane Ward suggests, they reflect the larger LGBT movement (Ward 2003: 71). A similar narrative can be told for LGBT/Q film festivals.[31] The sex-positive climate around the sexual revolution of the 1960s, the invention and ready availability of contraceptives and, crucially, the relaxation of anti-pornography laws in the US under President Nixon, accompanied a sudden but briefly visible wave of feature-length pornographic films and erotic film festivals in San Francisco, New York and Amsterdam (Zielinski 2008: 66-

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[31] Pride events and gay Mardi Gras celebrations proliferated internationally. Often LGBT/Q film festivals have close connections to these LGBT events. Either film festivals became specific festival components of the larger Pride celebrations, oftentimes growing out of this organizational grouping. Even if gay film festivals started outside of overarching Pride organizations they were often located in spatial and temporal proximity to Pride events. An easy explanation is the similar goals of community building and public representation and visibility. Film festivals were only specific in that they approached gay and lesbian activism through the media of film (and video).

111; Gorfinkel 2006). The feminist and civil rights movements and political awareness-raising efforts via clip lectures and other screening events, as well as the establishment of other identity-based festivals, such as women's and Black film festivals served as examples for a small wave of events and screening series showing films with gay and lesbian content, such as the 1977 screening at the British Film Institute in London (Dyer 1977; Robinson 2011), 1977 in Montreal (Boudreau & Setzer in Straayer/Waugh 2005: 582), and 1978 in Sydney[32].

4.2 First Generation of Gay & Lesbian Film Festivals

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the first annual gay film festivals developed, especially in big cities—which have historically been more welcoming to subcultures and gay communities—in the US: the first was Frameline in San Francisco, CA (1977), followed by the Gay Film Festival in New York City (1979–1987), Reeling in Chicago, IL (1981), Outfest in Los Angeles, CA (1982), and festivals in Pittsburgh (1982) and Boston, MA (1984).

In 1977 the very first edition of what today is known as the Frameline Festival in San Francisco took place under the name of the Gay Film Festival of Super-8 Films. As co-founder Marc Huestis has recounted in several interviews (e.g. Wiegand 2003), it was held in a community centre with projection onto white bed sheets. A motley group of young filmmakers, who regularly convened at the camera shop of the gay rights activist and politician Harvey Milk to develop their films, decided to stage a festival of screenings in order to see each other's work, but they were also keen to open it up to an unknown but imagined public. They had no idea whether anyone would actually attend. As the story goes, the planned screenings sold out, both seats and standing room. More screenings were added. The festival instantly found a public and continues to be popular to this day. (Loist/Zielinski 2012: 49-51 passim; Loist 2008; Stryker 1996) What started as an adhoc festival can be seen as a prototype for LGBT/Q film festivals that followed: it performed a social cinematic space where queer artists making films put on a public and inclusive (rather than private and exclusive) show and thus opened up a counterpublic sphere.

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[32] Cf. http://www.queerscreen.com.au/page/history (20 Nov. 2011)

In the mid-1980s several festivals were founded in Europe. Somewhat surprisingly the first European gay and lesbian film festival started in Yugoslavia, now Slovenia, in Ljubljana (1984) (cf. Požun 2005). This anomaly in Central and Eastern Europe was followed by a number of festivals in Western Europe: the LesbenFilmFestival in Berlin (1985), a gay film week in Freiburg (1985), a lesbian and gay festival in London (1986), one in Milan, Italy (1986), Amsterdam, The Netherlands (1986–1991), Copenhagen, Denmark (1986), Turin, Italy (1986), and Brussels, Belgium (1987). In the late 1980s, discussions and meetings by queer filmmakers and festival programmers even led to the creation of the Teddy award (1987), the first LGBT/Q film award at an A-list festival at the Panorama section of the Berlinale led by Manfred Salzgeber (cf. Feistel 2008; Loist 2010). The Teddy is not a film festival in its own right, but clearly a significant nodal point for the LGBT/Q film circuit.
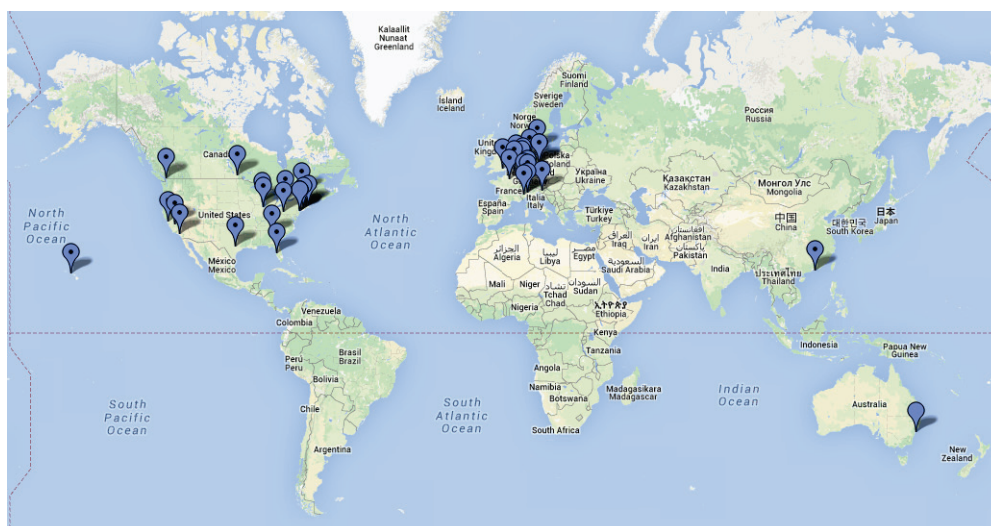
Figure 2.5: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–1990 (phase 1)

As part of the rejuvenation and expansion of the Berlinale, further sections accompanied the main Competition section of the festival. In 1970 the "Forum" was integrated to show more avant-garde and experimental film, and in 1980 the "Infoschau" section was founded to represent the growing independent and arthouse film sector. The "Infoschau", in 1986 renamed as "Panorama", was headed by cinema owner and distributor of gay cinema, Manfred Salzgeber, who fundamentally shaped the format and profile of the section. As an ambassador for gay film, Salzgeber had programmed many independent LGBT/Q films. This programming brought a number of gay filmmakers and programmers to Berlin, who in the late 1980s would meet in the "nightcafes" that took place in the gay bookshop Prinz Eisenherz. Filmmakers like Derek Jarman and Gus Van Sant met with interested members of the public after the last

Panorama screenings to discuss the films and sometimes to watch films that found no place in the official programme. Here, an international network was developed that was able to provide mutual industry support throughout the year. In 1987 the idea of a gay and lesbian film prize first saw the light of day: the Teddy. The award was so named in reference to the main festival prize, the Golden Bear (Feistel 2008). The first Teddy award for a feature film went to Pedro Almodóvar for *The Law of Desire* featuring Carmen Maura and the then almost unknown Antonio Banderas. The jury was made up of experts chosen by Wieland Speck and Manfred Salzgeber from the Eisenherz meetings. They gave this open group the name International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival Association (IGLFFA). The "mission statement" was formulated then that the Teddy should gain credence beyond the gay scene. The idea was to push gay and lesbian films out beyond their underground niche and increase awareness both within the film industry and with the general public. A non-profit organization, the Teddy e.V., now manages the award production, including the awards gala and the jury consisting of nine attending LGBT/Q film festival programmers. Thus, the Teddy award is an external film award, given to films screened at the Berlinale. Although its origins are in the Panorama section, the Teddy award is not limited to it; instead all films with LGBT/Q themes screening throughout the various official Berlinale sections are eligible for the award. In 2001 the Teddy award was officially recognized as a Berlinale award and is mentioned on the general Berlinale awards press releases. The organization, however, is still managed by Teddy e.V. and thus external to Berlinale procedures.

Other English-speaking regions such as Australia and Hong Kong started their own festivals. The Sydney Gay Film Week (1986–1991) was part of the Australian Film Institute and gay Mardi Gras festival. This festival was a logical extension of the long tradition of film festivals in Australia since the 1950s. The Hong Kong Lesbian and Gay Film Festival started in a time when Hong Kong was still under British colonial rule, but has continued after the handover to China in 1997.

The first generation of gay and lesbian film festivals was characterized by long ongoing political struggles in the 1980s, such as feminist discussions, the Culture Wars in the US and the AIDS epidemic (cf. Rhyne 2007). All these festivals were indebted to gay liberation politics and primarily concerned with providing representation to their communities. Film was a tool to make gay and lesbian lives visible, to provide images

where gays and lesbians could see themselves on the screen and help create a local gay and lesbian community. However, these film events also created visibility in the larger society and provided information around issues concerning homosexuality and social discrimination.

In the mid-1980s, a brief "Gay New Wave" of independently produced gay and lesbian films occurred.[33] This film output and the growing mobilization of the gay and lesbian community around AIDS, and with this the growing visibility of gays and lesbians in mainstream media contributed to the further establishment of more festivals in North America: the New York gay and lesbian experimental festival started (1987), Atlanta, GA (1987); Austin, TX (1987); Hartford, CT (1987); Milwaukee, WI (1987); Image+Nation in Montreal, QC (1988); NewFest in New York (1989); Vancouver, BC (1989); Honolulu, HI (1989); Fresno, CA (1990); Inside Out in Toronto, ON (1990); Tampa, FL (1990); Reel Affirmations in Washington, DC (1991).

This first phase, which Rhyne dates as 1977–1990, "represents a transition from the informal screenings of the very first festivals in the 1970s to incorporated and professionalized nonprofit organizations that relied upon earned income like ticket sales and state and federal arts grants." (Rhyne 2007: 4) In the 1980s, federal arts grants were still available for small festivals in the US. However, a conservative backlash and fierce discussions about the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in the early 1990s diminished the public arts sector in the United States and brought dramatic cuts to the progressive arts scene. Aside from controversies about notorious artists like Robert Mapplethorpe (Vance 1989), queer films such as Todd Haynes' partially NEA funded film *Poison* (1991) (Laskawy 1991) or later Cheryl Dunye's *Watermelon Woman* (1996) (Stockwell 1996), LGBT/Q film festivals were also deemed obscene and directly impacted from arts grants cuts. Prominent discussions arose around Frameline (Guthmann 1990, McGann 1992) and other festivals.

At the same time that gay and lesbian activism came under attack from right-wing elements in the US, the movement was also challenged by feminist and anti-racist activist camps, as well as by queer theory and politics. Lesbian feminists criticized the gender bias of the movement, which was seen to mostly represent gay male issues.

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[33] These included independent gay and lesbian films made and released in the US, UK and Germany: *Buddies* (1985), *Mala Noche* (1985), *My Beautiful Laundrette* (1985), *Westler* (1985), *Desert Hearts* (1986), and *Parting Glances* (1986).

Several festivals reacted with name changes: gay film festivals expanded their names to "gay and lesbian" film festivals to mark their inclusive politics, such as Frameline in 1982 (Loist 2008). Other events highlighted the—not always obvious or customary—collaboration of lesbians and gays by forefronting lesbian visibility, as did for instance the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg in 1990 (cf. Jehna/Fockele/Prehn 2009: 49). The feminist critique also reflected material inequalities in film production (Guthmann 1991, Rich 1992). The underrepresentation of women in LGBT/Q media also lead to unequal programming (cf. Chapter 2; Loist 2008: 166–170). Thus, when a relatively high number of lesbian films were available, headlines such as "Lesbian Filmmakers Dominate" appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle (Guthmann 1987). Gay and lesbian activists also faced criticism from queers of color for the neglect of racial issues, which was reflected in targeted programming strategies, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2.

By the late 1980s, in conjunction with a pronounced AIDS activism as advocated by groups like ACT UP and Queer Nation, the gay and lesbian movement was challenged by more radical queer politics (Woltersdorff 2003).[34] The gay liberation politics of the 1970s, aiming at inclusion of homosexuals into mainstream culture and marked by positive imagery politics, were criticized and opposed by a new generation of sexual deviants. Unlike the gay liberationists of the 1970s, whose credo was to stress equal rights and the similarity of homosexuals to heterosexuals, the new activists radicalized their politics under a proudly reappropriated moniker—the formerly derogatory term "queer"—and defended their difference. Queer theory became one of the fiercest opponents to traditional identity politics as well as heteronormative (and homonormative) structures. The term queer promised an all-inclusive, non-normative, non-identitarian activism and theory: gender and racial hierarchies were to be fought and new alliances should be sought. This spirit also carried over to film production and the successful New Queer Cinema (Rich 1992).

These tensions between an affirmative lesbian and gay (or later LGBT) advocacy and radical queer politics can also be found in a split of festival identities and performance. The comparison of the two New York-based LGTB/Q film festivals is very informative

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[34] After initial shock of AIDS crisis in the early and mid-1980s, the community that had been mobilized was looking for new forms of occupation, here LGBT/Q film festivals found a fertile ground for community organization and an attentive audience (cf. Tsiokos 2012)

here. When two gay and lesbian film festivals exist in one city, they need to have distinct profiles in order to survive for almost two decades side by side, as NewFest and MIX NYC have done. Although these two long-standing LGBT/Q film festivals were both established in the first phase they formed a second generation of festivals in New York, as they were founded in the void the New York Gay Film Festival (1979–1986) had left. NewFest stated its aim of continuing the legacy of the extinct predecessor in its name: The New Festival. The New York Lesbian and Gay Experimental Film Festival on the other hand stressed its profile in experimental film, a film form which is traditionally considered as connected to the queer avant-garde due to its inherent convention-breaking attitude (cf. Hammer 1993).

Joshua Gamson researched these two festivals in 1994–1995 and found that they have distinct profiles and can thus happily co-exist without being competitors. Gamson characterized NewFest as an entertainment-, visibility- and mainstream-oriented gay and lesbian event with a movie-going audience (predominantly white, mixed in age, mostly professional) (Gamson 1996: 233, 244–245). In short, NewFest was oriented towards classic gay and lesbian liberation politics, showing pride in gay culture and "want[ing] to see [the identity] affirmed and unified" (Gamson 1996: 233). MIX, on the other hand, had its base in the activist and art-film world and was devoted to a kind of deconstructionist (i.e. queer) politics, that seek to undermine oppressive binary categories (like gay/straight, man/woman). This short-hand distinction between the two festivals can still be applied today. Asked about their relationship towards the term "queer" and queer politics, organizers of both festivals reveal interesting considerations and views about their definition of queer and how they position their festivals in relation to it (cf. Tsiokos 2007, Shea 2007, Jusick 2007, 2012).

Taking the queer of color critique seriously the founders of the New York Lesbian and Gay Experimental Film Festival searched for new successors for the curation and organization of the festival. The new festival directors Shari Frilot and Karim Aïnouz changed the name to the more edgy MIX NYC in 1993 (Hanhardt 2001). Rhetoric informed by queer activism and queer theory can be found in festival writings since its early festival editions. This inclination is also visible in the idea to change the name to MIX, a name that was to represent exactly that: the mix and fusion of concepts and identities (Gamson 1996). The original name The New York Lesbian and Gay Experimental Film Festival was kept as subtitle to MIX. This way the new name was

introduced, which had no apparent connection to a specific identity, and at the same time brand recognition was kept intact with the subtitle.

In subsequent years, discussion about naming has also revolved around the other components of the name: film/video/media were exchanged over time as have the terms lesbian and gay and queer. In 2005, for the brief period of one festival, the name was changed to MIX: The New York Queer Media Festival. Larry Shea, festival director at that time, reasoned that "queer was a way of opening up the festival, kind of giving it a new face […] queer is an identity that hasn't quite been colonized by the marketing." (Shea 2007) He went on to stress the importance of a kind of queer community activism that opposes capitalist marketing strategies. Instead they wanted to "keep it a little edgy and as a place where the people aren't satisfied with the status quo" (ibid.). Although he also likes the term queer, Stephen Kent Jusick, the subsequent MIX festival director, changed the subtitle of the name back to New York Lesbian and Gay Experimental Film Festival. One of the main reasons was that no big sponsor wanted to or could imagine dealing with the term queer (cf. Jusick 2007, Shea 2007). The only big sponsor under the name Queer was a porn company. Nevertheless, festival director Stephen Kent Jusick decided to finally stick with the name MIX NYC: Queer Experimental Film Festival (cf. Jusick 2012).

For NewFest on the other hand, further discussions around the performance of constituencies and festival identity only occurred a decade later. Basil Tsiokos, NewFest festival director and with the festival for almost a decade, tells the story about renaming the festival. Just as the general short-hand for the community has evolved from "gay and lesbian" to "LGBT," so has the NewFest subtitle. It changed to The New York LGBT Film Festival in 2004. Tsiokos said that they basically changed it because they were petitioned to do so by a small, but vocal group of bi and trans* folks (Tsiokos 2007). Although NewFest had a history of including films for and about bisexuals and transgender people, this segment of the community wanted to be represented in the name of the festival to feel included.

4.3 Early 1990s: New Queer Cinema, Pink Dollars and Global Spread

For Rhyne, the "second phase (1991–1996) was characterized by newly defined relationships between gay and lesbian film festivals and the commercial industry, as well as the appearance of new funding sources from individual philanthropic donations

and private foundation grants." (Rhyne 2007: 4) Due to declining public arts funding North American festivals had to develop different sponsorship strategies and festivals like Frameline could benefit from the rise of the dot-com industry for a few years (Stryker 1996; Olson 2006).

The NEA crisis and the surge of the gay niche market coincided,[35] which pressured US LGBT/Q film festivals to increase their pursuit of commercial sponsorship (cf. Loist 2008: 172–173). This led to changes in organization formats: Just like the commercially driven American film industry, film festivals in the US turned need to be professional and commercially oriented. This became visible in festival organizations—at least at the larger established LGBT/Q film festivals—with full-time employed staff, professionalization in sponsorship development and programming, and the introduction of submission fees.

In the 1990s, the LGBT community and organizations flirted with consumer culture. While some saw this as an acknowledgement of the gay and lesbian consumer force—an argumentation fully in line with American free market logic part and parcel of neoliberalism—many more radically inclined queer activists and theorists criticized this turn of gay capitalism. The gay version of capitalism does nothing to counter the growing inequalitites that capitalism pushes, instead gay niche marketing often perpetuates stereotypes of gay white male affluence as the front of LGBT community whereas differences based on ethnic/racial, class and regional components of the LGBT* community are negated (cf. Clarke 1993; Duggan 2003; Hennessy 2000; Sender 2004). Coupled with an image of clean monogamous relationship image, the "homonormative" is complete, a version of "queer lifestyle" that can easily be assimilated into mainstream.

Discussing the convergence of consumer culture and gay activism in the developments of Pride events in the US, Jane Ward suggests that

> the growth of gay capitalism and the corporate sponsorship of 'pride' have naturalized the logic that pride events are opportunities for tremendous revenue (approximately $1 million in large metropolitan cities) […]. In part a reflection of the consumption era during which the movement is at its height, as well as a demonstration of the financial resources of gay White men, it seems that no other social movement has produced as much revenue, through sales of priderelated

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[35] The arrival of gay marketing as a distinct niche even makes it to headlines in the *New York Times* (Elliot 1995, 1997).

products and services, as the LGBT pride (or civil rights) movement. (Ward 2003: 88)

For LGBT/Q film festivals similar issues have been raised in relation to the active utilization of niche marketing (cf. Gamson 1996). While sponsorship income is great for organizational growth and sustainability of paid staff positions (more on this in chapter 3), the corporate model and commercial mainstreaming threatens to disconnect the organization from its core constituency and jeopardizes the involvement of activists, who originally started the event (cf. Ward 2003: 89).

These tensions become apparent in the negotiations performed at LGBT/Q film festivals between organizational goals and necessities and political beliefs, when activists criticize the kind of sponsorship money which can be seen as acceptable, with discussions erupting around cigarettes, pharmaceutical companies or national sponsorship such as prominent discussions around Israeli funding from the queer boycott, divestment, and sanctions movement (BDS) (cf. Puar 2010, 2011; Archibald/Miller 2011). Another point of criticism has been the kind of programming that reflects marketable segmentation of audience groups instead of the pursuit of more radical strategies (a more detailed discussion of these issues follows in chapter 2).

Aesthetically innovative films garnered attention and critical praise at prestigious international film festivals and were subsequently termed "New Queer Cinema" by film critic B. Ruby Rich (1992). These edgy, low-budget films became crossover arthouse hits. These films were proof of the economic viability of the topic, which was in turn exploited by the production of mainstream LGBT/Q-themed films. The gay niche and "pink dollar economy" was born, bringing in new sponsorship opportunities in the US.

In Western Europe, the overall film festival landscape grew in the 1980s and 1990s. While international film festivals or so-called city film festivals were founded by local politicians and authorities to promote the city image, competing for a global cultural position (Elsaesser 2005), smaller film festivals specializing on themes or topics, such as short film festivals or gay & lesbian festivals, grew with the help of communal cinemas and adult education centers (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 32–37). Students or independent filmmakers formed small collectives to start a festival with minimal financial support from public cultural funding. Only a few such festivals have grown into larger organizations with full-time staff and film industry orientation, including distribution and agency functions; one case in point being the Short Film Festival

Hamburg and its KurzFilmAgentur (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 149–173). Most LGBT/Q film festivals continue to run on a minimal budget, and are largely supported by volunteer labor (Loist 2011).

On the heels of the second spread of gay & lesbian film festivals in North America in the early 1990s, another wave of Western European LGBT/Q film festivals followed: starting up in Paris, France (1989); Hamburg, Germany (1990); a lesbian festival in Freiburg, Germany (1991); Skeive Filmer in Oslo, Norway (1991); Vinokino in Turku, Finland (1991), Verzaubert as a festival staged in multiple German cities (1991–2009); followed by three smaller German festivals under the wings of the local communal cinemas in Oldenburg (1992), Bremen (1994) and Karlsruhe (1994); Gaze in Dublin, Ireland (1992); Glasgay in Glasgow, Scotland (1993), Chéries-Chéris in Paris, France (1994); identities in Vienna, Austria (1994); two festivals in Spain: Fire! in Barcelona (1995) and LesGaiCineMad in Madrid (1996); and the Roze Filmdagen in Amsterdam, The Netherlands (1996).[36]

Figure 2.6: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1991–1996 (phase 2)

The Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival (Filmtage) started out in 1989 as a self-organized seminar researching the representation of homosexuals on screen during a university strike. In the first few years most of the people who were part of the festival collective, were also involved in two film projects

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[36] As has been described in the introduction to this chapter, LGBT/Q film festivals have often changed their names in the course of their existence. For recognizability, I do here list the current names of the festival: at the time of inception, Gaze was called Dublin Lesbian and Gay Film Festival until 2007 and Chéries-Chéris was called Paris Gay and Lesbian Film Festival until 2009.

together.[37] As you can see from its founding history, the collective starting the Filmtage was equally interested in activism, filmmaking and academic contexts. This resulted in a programming strategy that favored diversity. Especially in the early festival years in the early 1990s, they mixed old film classics with recent festival hits and issues that were current in the community. Although they did show separate programs for lesbians and for gay men, there were also always mixed shorts programs.

In the early 1990s, the term "queer" had already entered academic contexts in Germany (cf. Hark 1993; Genschel et al. 2001). However, at the time the term was still far from being used in the general subculture and even further from being used in activist contexts. The term "queer" and its politicized meaning took a detour through academia. Only since the late 1990s and early 2000s—at a time when "queer" had lost its radical edge in the US context—has the newly charged politicized meaning, which has been adopted in the German context, moved towards political activism.

This kind of queer politicization also became visible in audience responses at the Filmtage. There has been a small, but vocal group of people voicing their concerns and ideas regarding programming decisions. This group of people has been asking for political and challenging films, films that were different from what they perceived to be the gay and lesbian mainstream cinema. Even though trans* film had always been a part of the programming since the inception of the festival (cf. Kui 2009), the new political understanding lead to a specifically dedicated trans* (and later genderqueer) short film program and award in 2005. This categorization does not help the idea to achieve mixed programming; it did send a signal, though, that a different kind of film was seen as relevant and worth supporting.

One year after the inception of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg, another major LGBT/Q film festival was founded in Germany: the Verzaubert: Queer Film Festival (1991–2009).[38] The Verzaubert festival is a very interesting case study as it started out with a completely opposite strategy to the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg. The

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[37] The first project was *Analstahl* in which they parodied the negative stereotypes and the unhappy endings of Hollywood representation of gays and lesbians. Then they realized a documentary feature film *Verzaubert / Enchanted* about the experience of homosexual survivors of the Holocaust in Hamburg.

[38] The name *Verzaubert* was derived from an old code slang word for LGBT/Q that was in use during the Nazi era in Germany. Interestingly, the festival crew of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg had been working on a documentary film with the same title when the Munich-based festival chose the name (cf. Kinemathek Hamburg e.V. 1993: 3).

festival was founded by Rainer Stefan and Schorsch Mueller, two seasoned festival organizers, who had already established a festival company, Rosebud Entertainment that organizes another successful touring niche film festival, the Fantasy Film Festival specializing in science fiction, horror and thriller[39]. Building on this model, they started to organize a traveling film festival that screened its full program in several major German cities[40]. Verzaubert was the only for-profit LGBT/Q film festival that I know of, and as such was proud to not rely on public funding.

Like the US, Germany has been subject to the niche marketing of gay subculture. But there has never been the same kind of development in the corporate sponsorship sector. Thus, LGBT/Q (and other) film festivals have not developed the same kind of relationship to the commercial industry that Ragan Rhyne describes for US-American festivals (Rhyne 2007). This means, Verzaubert as a for-profit company operated on a very tight budget that was mostly dependent on ticket sales. Due to its structure, Verzaubert was a festival aiming for films with high production standards and entertainment value. A small amount came out of ads sold in the catalog; and this is a unique specificity: a certain base came out of the cross-financing through the successful Fantasy festival that Rosebud ran (cf. Fürstberger 2007, Stefan 2008).

Verzaubert started out in 1991 as a Gay and Lesbian Film Festival and decided to change its name to Queer in 2000. The editorial of the 2000 program catalog explains that the reason was to "emphasize the increasing diversity of our community" (Rosebud Entertainment 2000: 8). While in the US, the strategy of most festivals was to expand the title to LGBT in order to represent the diversity of the community, Verzaubert took on the term "queer." German queer theorist Volker Woltersdorff explains that "queer" has come to stand for a new trendy generation within the subculture. This generation wanted to distinguish itself from old gay and lesbian separatist activism (Woltersdorff 2003: 920). It characterized mostly trendy, commercial and entertaining events—probably also because the term does not carry any negative connotations in German, unless people do know about the specific US-American etymology. Considering this assessment of the usage of "queer" in German subculture, it seems

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[39] The Fantasy Film Festival is also a touring festival screening in eight German cities (Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt/Main, Nuremberg, Bochum, Cologne, Berlin and Hamburg)

[40] Verzaubert started out in Munich (1991–2009) and subsequently expanded to a number of other cities for various periods of time: Essen (1995), Cologne (1995–2009), Berlin (1997–2009), Stuttgart (1997–1999), Frankfurt/Main (1999–2009), Hamburg (2000–2002).

unsurprising that Verzaubert took on the denomination of a Queer Film Festival. In this sense, the usage is also in accord with the profile of a festival. Festival programmer Rudi Fürstberger explains that Verzaubert is dedicated to "top notch entertainment" and has no political agenda or mission statement (Fürstberger 2006).

Although the festival disputes a political agenda, it did try to deploy the renaming to gain more freedom in programming. In the first two years after the name change, Verzaubert established a so-called "Queer Focus" which was characterized as "an independent section within the program, aimed at redefining the limits of questions regarding sex and gender" (Rosebud Entertainment 2000: 8). Verzaubert wanted to toy with the idea of political programming that "doesn't need to be all queer, that is, about concrete gay-lesbian issues" (Rosebud Entertainment 2000: 8). In 2000, the festival programmed a queer focus on the topic of child abuse and in 2001 they pondered Hate Crimes (Rosebud Entertainment 2000, 2001). This kind of programming did not challenge formal criteria in the films selected. It did, however, try to challenge the corset of gay and lesbian programming, which is commonly defined as comprising films "by, for and about" gays and lesbians (cf. June 2003). In the following years, however, the concept of the Queer Focus fizzled out, presumably because of budgeting restrictions resulting from low ticket sales. The slots that were reserved for "queer" programs were allocated to a different kind of film that did not fit the usual restrictions of a "gay or lesbian film" either. Verzaubert started to program more movies that were "of interest to" gays and lesbians, i.e., films that had at best a gay subplot or more often an "eye candy" cast.

In the changing film festival landscape, with rising screening fees and cinema rental costs, the festival could not sustain its operations. Other festivals have met their budgets with slight increases public funding and the pursuit of individual donations through community support memberships. Aside from the refusal to work with public funding, Verzaubert had the disadvantage of not having grown a dedicated local base in the individual cities to generate income from individuals beyond ticket sales. After a brief period of changing to a biannual weekend format under the same branding as Verzaubert Film Weekend (2009–2010), the festival its branding to Liebe Filme Festival in 2012 under the direction of previous Verzaubert programmer Rudi Fürstberger (Fürstberger 2012). This rebranding was aiming to establish a bigger scope: "a new festival dedicated to all things concerning love, desire and relationships. The

festival is open to cineasts of all backgrounds and offers the best the romantic genre has to offer" (Fürstberger 2012: 3) After two editions in spring and fall 2012 Liebe Filme Festival finally terminated.

Another significant German-speaking LGBT/Q film festival was established in 1994 in Vienna, Austria, with the biannual identities. Queer Film Festival. Barbara Reumüller, a film and festival worker, who was enrolled in a cultural management program at the university, founded DV8-Film in 1993. The Gay Film Festival: Internationale Schwulen- und Lesbenfilme (1987–1992) in Vienna had closed down the previous year and DV8-Film set out "with the audacious goal of breathing a bit of new, vibrant queer self(confidence) with an international program and lots of life into the Vienna lesbian and gay film event" (cf. DV8 2007: 3). In 1994, the first festival edition under the moniker "trans-x: a filmic identity tour" presented films with the focus on "happy gender switching." Even the first festival had the programmatic agenda of including films regardless of status, length, genre or high/low-brow distinctions (Seefranz 2012: 24). For the next edition in 1996, the current name appeared with "identities. Queer Film Festival," while "trans-x" was taken up by a community organizing group working on trans* issues. Between 1996 and 2001 identities partnered up with Vienna's FIAPF accredited Best-of-Festival, Viennale, and was organized independently as Viennale Special. In 2003, the festival also became financially independent and grew into the second largest international film festival in town (cf. Seefranz 2012: 25).

Although being direct neighbors, the Austrian and German cultural and film scenes differ considerably. Despite belonging to the same language market, Austria is frequently handled as a separate national rights territory when it comes to distribution licensing and releases. In a general socio-cultural level Austria is known to be more conservative than Germany, which is also visible in (lacking) LGBT/Q rights (Reumüller 2006). Therefore, LGBT/Q film especially is not always automatically part of German-speaking territory in theatrical releases. Another specific characteristic of Vienna is the well-funded cultural scene due to both a long, proud tradition of arts and culture and the status as the Austrian capital. This context also influences the positioning of the festival in the larger cultural context. For years, Barbara Reumüller has been arguing with public funders and sponsors that identities, the second largest international film event in the city, should be funded on equal footing as a film festival and only secondarily be seens as an LGBT/Q event (cf. Reumüller 2006). While

fighting for equal recognition as event, with the festival Reumüller has also been an adamant educator of audiences and the larger public on issues of gender and sexuality. Her controversial goal for years has been that identities will one day become obsolete. In the 2007 festival catalog she states that this goal is far from achieved:

> Our ultimate goal—disbanding the festival—because the achievement of legal equality and living out one's sexual difference in a matter-of-fact way has become everyday reality in Austria, and discrimination is no longer a theme, is unfortunately still far far away. (DV8-Film 2007: 3)

Instead of disbanding the festival, DV8-Film has started to expand its initiatives to support and exhibit queer film in Vienna and Austria. While the festival takes place biannually, other events and film series take place in the interim years or independently. DV8-Film has also ventured into LGBT/Q film exhibition, either by acting as independent distributor or partnering with larger distribution companies and helping develop audiences for these films.

Figure 2.7: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–1996 (phase 1–2)

While LGBT/Q film festivals proliferated in Western Europe, Central and Eastern Europe was still experiencing the aftermath of Soviet bloc politics and at times a violent reordering of new national systems. As has been mentioned, the only exception was the Slovenian gay & lesbian film festival in Ljubljana, which has been in existence since 1984. This anomaly can be explained by Yugoslavia's position as a country that was open to the West and enjoyed relative independence from the strict Soviet political agenda in contrast to the rest of the Eastern bloc (cf. Zielinski 2008: 159). After the fall of the Eastern bloc in 1989/90, there were attempts of solidarity from Western activists and festival organizers to help set up screenings and festivals, but the time did not seem

ripe yet. There were different attempts to import festivals to Russia. Reportedly US-American activists from San Francisco helped to set up a gay film festival in Russia in 1991 (Stack 1991). A few years later in 1994, German activists from Berlin organized a gay & lesbian film event in St. Petersburg under the banner of "Грани любви. Другой взгляд" ("The Edge of Love. Another look") mainly showing German films (Ponomareva 2011: 8). When no sufficient help from local organizers materialized, the German activists abandoned the idea to set up a permanent festival there. The implantation of a Western model apparently did not take root and failed. More than a decade later in 2008, an LGBT film festival was organized by local activists in St. Petersburg, which now runs annually and has expanded to show programs in other Russian cities[41] even though it faces strong opposition from authorities (cf. Ponomareva 2011).

On the other side of the world, however, annual LGBT/Q film festivals also started up, namely in Australia in the early 1990s: one in Melbourne (1991) and one in Sydney joined to the famous Mardi Gras event (1993). Notable in Australia is the naming of the festivals as "queer" rather than "gay & lesbian" from thir inception. The Australian festivals started at a time when discussion around queer as an alternative term was in full swing. Queer theory was starting to take hold in academic discussions in North America as well as Australia (Jagose 1996). Queer-theoretical discussions of representation and identities were often linked to film programming and film activism as it can be found in festival work (cf. Searle 1997; White 1999).[42]

4.4 Late 1990s: Mainstreaming, Differentiation and Globalization

By the late 1990s, the mainstreaming of gay & lesbian images and products had set in in North America. The myth of affluent single household gays had created a new consumer bracket which was targeted for the "pink dollar." Hollywood tried to cash in on the success witnessed after the New Queer Cinema cross-over and started producing and distributing gay-themed films briefly (cf. Gutwillig in Straayer/Waugh 2005).

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[41] The Side by Side LGBT Film Festival started out in St. Petersburg (2008–), and has expanded to screen in Archangelsk (2010–), Kemerovo (2010–), Novosibirsk (2010–).

[42] Nevertheless, Samantha Searle recounts the debates ensuing from a clash of expectations between gay and lesbian attendants and queer activism that occurred during the 1990s within Australian queer screen culture (Searle 1997).

This pink economy helped to further proliferate LGBT/Q film festivals in North America: Among the new festivals were: North Carolina GLFF (1995); Philadelphia, PA (1995); Houston, TX (1996); Seattle, WA (1996); Miami, FL (1998); Fort Worth, TX (1998); Fairy Tales in Calgary (1999); Dallas, TX (1999); Reelout in Kingston, ON (1999). Further festivals also appear in Western Europe: Pink Apple in Zurich and Queersicht in Bern, Switzerland (1997); Queer Lisboa in Portugal (1997); Holebi Filmfestival in Belgium (2001).

Queer cinema of the early 1990s was marked by the edgy, avant-garde film style that was largely circulating outside of mainstream distribution, especially on the growing LGBT/Q film festival circuit. After the success of the New Queer Cinema and with the growing pink economy, the industry and distribution changed. This also had an impact on the development of LGBT/Q film festivals and their positioning within the festival circuit. In her historical analysis of the Toronto-based Inside Out LGBT Film Festival, Joceline Andersen (2012) discusses the changing strategy of the festival throughout the 1990s. As a growing organization in the mid-1990s, the festival was striving to exert the kind of influence over queer cinema that international circuit film festivals had over mainstream films. However, the festival circuit and distribution pattern for (LGBT/Q) film had changed. The acknowledgement of the niche market meant that many independent films already had distribution in place when they arrived at festivals. Thus, the LGBT/Q film festivals were not the go-to place for distributors to scout queer cinema, but rather a welcome exhibition circuit. Edgy queer films were also programmed in progressive larger top-tier festivals such as Sundance, Toronto International Film Festival, Berlinale, which had the clout for business. (Cf. Anderson 2012: 49; Loist 2008) Even though LGBT/Q festivals started to support production as well, they were increasingly shut out of the business on the circuit. Instead, the festivals have been increasingly used to access their built-up audience community by marketing co-branded screenings outside the festival event. The festivals that had supported LGBT/Q filmmakers in the early 1990s could not access these films anymore as distributors were aiming at larger arthouse audiences and fearing the "gay ghetto" (cf. Loist forthcoming c). If they were to showcase them, they had to pay steep screening fees (cf. Andersen 2012: 49; Price 2012).

This means that the festivals had to reposition themselves on the circuit and the community aspect has been foregrounded for identity festivals again. Thus, LGBT/Q

film festivals remodeled themselves as community resource, framing the festival as a tool for education, outreach and celebration of the local queer community (cf. Andersen 2012: 52–53).

Figure 2.8: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1997–2001 (phase 3)

Apart from the further growth of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit in the West, Rhyne emphasizes that the "third phase (1996–2001) is marked by the international proliferation of the gay and lesbian film festival model, particularly in the emerging markets of Eastern Europe and East Asia" (Rhyne 2007: 4). The assertion is certainly correct that after North America and Western Europe, East Asia and Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) are the next growth areas. However, in the marked time frame not very many new Asian or CEE LGBT/Q film festivals actually arrived and stayed on the scene: only four festivals were founded in Asia and three in CEE in this period (cf. Table 1). For CEE the Mezipatra Queer Film Festival, founded in Brno and expanding to Prague, Czech Republic (2000/2002) is noteworthy. Like several other CEE festivals to follow it is run by a young generation of activists who have been educated in the US or studied subjects related to Anglophone queer theory. That a certain rhetoric of LGBT discourse, advocacy and politics is relayed through college education and organizational contexts is true for the US (cf. Ward 2003: 76); it also travels globally through the golablization of higher education discourses in Women's studies, Queer Theory, Gender Studies course proliferating around the globe and growing international advocacy (cf. Kollman/Waites 2009).

The case of (East) Asia is a bit more complex (cf. Figure 7). There have been a few long-running LGBT/Q film festivals in East Asia since the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The Hong Kong Gay & Lesbian Film Festival was founded in 1989 and certainly profited from its "freedom" as a British colony. The colonial history of Hong Kong, however, also led to criticism in terms of Western import in programming (by Dutch film distributors linked to the event), which was criticized for the lack of concern for local issues, demographics and tastes (cf. Tang 2009). In Japan, an LGBT/Q film festival had been started in Tokyo in 1992. When looking at these festivals it is necessary to pay attention to the complex developments of global LGBT activism with its geo-temporal disjunctions, seriality, coincidence and stories of progress (see Mizielińska and Kulpa 2011).

The next generation of East Asian LGBT/Q film festivals appeared in the late 1990s and early 2000s. There are a few reports of single events (Berry 1999a, b). Because of problems faced from authorities and censors such festivals were short-lived and often interrupted. One case is the festival in Seoul, South Korea (1998), which met objections and repression from officials (Berry 1999b). Bangkok's Alternative Love Film Festival (1998) in Thailand also had problems with censors (Berry 1999a). However, only a few years later annually recurring festivals could be established. In Thailand the Bangkok Pride Gay & Lesbian Film Festival was held (2002–2006). However, some of them are still held underground or as private sessions. An annual LGBT film festival (SeLFF, 2000) was established in Seoul shortly after (cf. Berry 1999b; Kim 2007). In Beijing, PR China, a largely underground biannual LGBT/Q film festival was founded (2001) (cf. Cui 2010; Yang 2010; Rhyne 2011; Spencer 2012; Loist/Zielinski 2012: 57–58). The Q! Film Festival (2002) in Indonesia tries to find ways to hold the festival editions in the strictly Muslim country where homosexuality is not forbidden nationally, but in some places prosecuted under local Muslim *sharia* law. In 2002 a group of journalists, advertising agents and cultural workers, organized the Q! Festival in Jakarta, Indonesia, the first ever LGBT/Q film festival in any Muslim-majority country—a fact which is proudly declared in English on their festival website. Now it is the largest festival in the country and has touring programs to several other cities throughout Indonesia. While the organizers occasionally receive death threats from conservative Islamist groups, no violence has transpired and no edition has been wholly cancelled (Badalu 2011). The festival receives no government support and very little from corporations that fear their brand might be damaged; instead it relies on individual donations to Q-Munity and the use of venues offered *gratis* by foreign cultural agencies. It has established ties with international festivals such as the Berlinale and Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg,

and organized program exchanges with festivals in India and elsewhere in Asia (cf. Badalu 2009; Coppens 2009). The festival has found its way and is remarkably successful at sustaining itself as a vibrant cultural hub, both nationally and internationally. (Loist/Zielinski 2012: 57, passim)

Further Japanese festivals started in Osaka and Kyoto (Kansai, 2005), Aomori (2006) as well as a specifically Asian Queer Film Festival in Tokyo (2007). In Phnom Penh the Cambodia LGBT Pride festival was fouded (2010). Among the most recent additions to LGBT/Q film festival circuit in East Asia are the &Proud: Yangon LGBT Film Festival in Myanmar (2014), the AKS Film+Dialogue Festival for Minorities (2014) in Pakistan, established with support from MIX Copenhagen and the Taiwan International Queer Film Festival in Taipei (2014).

Figure 2.9: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–2001 (phase 1–3)

Mainstream culture and media production encouraged a refocusing of the aims and missions of established LGBT/Q film festivals leading to a differentiation within the festival landscape. Spawned by mainstreaming of LGBT/Q issues and representation, new activist discussions occurred. While the political activist term "queer" marked the inclusiveness and intersection of various categories (sexuality, gender, race, class, age) and the struggle for difference and social change, the term "gay & lesbian" became increasingly synonymous with liberal lobby politics striving for inclusion instead of change (cf. Land 2007). Apart from the common discussion of commercialization, another major debate centered on transgender inclusion. This led to two trends: 1) many of the established festivals in North America changed their names from "lesbian & gay" to include visibly their bisexual and transgender constituency in the widely used

acronym LGBT; 2) in some parts of the community the term LGBT was criticized for not actually reflecting the proposed inclusiveness (e.g. Galt/Schoonover 2014).

It is interesting to note that the newer festivals around the globe are mostly called "queer film festivals." This has to do with the circulation of the concept of queer with globalization. However, the term does not always convey the same meaning after a cultural transfer, but rather is informed by local politics. Sometimes the term queer brings a new concept of lifestyle and sexuality to a place, where it is locally transformed in meaning and merged with the existing culture. Other times the term queer offers a certain kind of security from persecution or violence because it is either unknown or does not convey the same abject connotations as the equivalent words for "gay" and "lesbian" in the local language might. As in all processes related to globalization, the transfer of the term queer brings with it a whole set of issues involving cultural import and displacement of meanings.

China is a fascinating case, as the country continues to liberalize and becomes more open to the world. Its highly centralized bureaucracy requires approval from government officials for cultural events, and the state is suspicious of homosexuality as a foreign issue. As "LGBT" or "queer" finds its way onto the promotional material for the festivals, it is often left in English to serve as a shibboleth. A cogent example of this can be found in recent work on how Chinese is adapting the word "queer" as "ku er" and placing it alongside the older term "tongzhi" which means "homosexual" but by way of an appropriation of "comrade" from communist nomenclature (Yang 2010; Bao 2010, 2012; Rhyne 2011). However, once officials are able to notice and decode the neologism or polysemic terms, they will likely take action, as they did in the summer of 2011 at the Beijing Queer Film Festival. (Loist/Zielinski 2012: 57–58, passim)

A new brand of further specialized film festivals appeared, most notably festivals focusing on transgender and queer of color film. These festivals cater to a smaller community with the aim of providing different and empowering images in a counterpublic space for community building. The availability of independently produced films from trans* filmmakers and the increasingly organized trans* community, which did not always feel welcome at LGBT/Q film festivals (cf. Williams 2011), has led to the creation of separate transgender film festivals. A short-lived wave

of often one-off trans* film festivals was visible around the turn of the millennium.[43] Among the surviving festivals are Trannyfest/San Francisco Transgender FF (1997–); Netherlands Transgender Film Festival in Amsterdam (2001–2009) superseded by TranScreen in Amsterdam (2011–) (cf. Loist/De Valck 2013); Translations in Seattle (2006–); Divergenti Festival in Bologna, Italy (2008); among the more recent additions are the New England Transgender Film Festival (2012–) in Provincetown, MA, the Sydney Transgender International Film Festival (2013–), the Transgender Film Festival (2013–) in the Northern German city Kiel and *tilde*: Melbourne Trans & Gender Diverse Film Festival (2014–).

The neglect of questions of race and ethnicity within the larger LGBT community led to a combination of the LGBT/Q film festival model with the 1980s tradition of Black Film Festivals and brought about another form of further specialized LGBT/Q film festivals: the queer of color film festivals. Thus far seven festivals have been established in major US cities and in Europe: Fusion: Los Angeles LGBT People of Color Film Festival (2004–); Queer Women of Color Film Festival in San Francisco, CA (2005–); Queer Black Cinema Festival in Brooklyn, NY (2008–2011), Massimadi: Festival international des films LGBT afro-caribéens in Montreal, QC (2009–), and most recently Black Alphabet Film Festival in Chicago, IL (2013–), Hotter Than July Film Festival in Detroit, MI (2013–) and Glitch: Queer People of Color Film Festival in Glasgow, announced for 2015.

Ragan Rhyne is not particularly concerned with the mechanisms behind the global proliferation of LGBT/Q film festivals. Rather, she points to the fact that these new festivals are part of an expanding market for queer cinema, in which US-American festivals have their stakes (Rhyne 2006: 619). Here, Rhyne points to problematic connections between international economies and cultural globalization. On one hand, the growing international market offers the opportunity for filmmakers to show their films more widely and reach bigger audiences. On the other hand, exhibitors—often for larger "mainstream" LGBT films (often from the US or Western Europe)—gain another market layer, where they are able to recoup money internationally through screening fees even if the film is not released in all territories. Thus, the problem lies not so much

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[43] On the development and problems of early trans* film festivals, see Woitschig 2001.

in the global film marketing as in the conflation of (queer) film economies and LGBT rights and activism rhetoric.[44]

Generally in critical discourse, globalization is discussed as a process that complicates trends of alleged "Americanization" and "homogenization" (cf. Kooijman 2008). In this respect, queer globalization and the global proliferation of LGBT/Q film festivals could be described as a spread of Western models of LGBT/Q identities and politics and—in extension also of LGBT/Q film festival operations—with the spread of Western products (cf. Altman 1997). Several scholars have pointed out that processes of queer globalization cannot be simplified and narrated in this one-dimensional way. We cannot assume that the identities and concepts behind LGBT/Q mean the same thing in different regions and contexts (cf. Heidenreich in Straayer/Waugh 2005: 588).

Peter Jackson shows in his article "Capitalism and Global Queering" (2009) that modern gay & lesbian or queer identities in Asia cannot be seen as mere imports from the West. Rather, similar national historical circumstances can be found in different regions in the West and East (Asia), such as the development of modernization through capitalism and industrialization. These processes changed societal norms and forms of living. New forms of urban employment made the individual development of gay & lesbian lives outside the normative family situation possible. Thus, the development of gay & lesbian or queer identities ran parallel at different international sites. Global sexual identities developed in relation to Western models as well as to national forms of capitalism, nation building and local norms of gender and sexuality (Jackson 2009; Binnie 2004). There is no linear development or narrative of progress to be told about global queer identities. Rather, there are several simultaneous activisms and strategies in place, which operate in a non-synchronous culture with complex temporal and spatial disparities and displacements—as Joanna Mizielińska and Robert Kulpa argue when discussing LGBT/Q communities in Central and Eastern Europe (Mizielińska/Kulpa 2011).

When using the term "queer" in this global context, I follow Ara Wilson (2006) and use it to refer to a variety of non-normative sexualities that are not necessarily thought to be

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[44] Which films and values are imported or exchanged depends on the programming of each local festival. Further analysis of the content screened at those festivals and the agenda or mission put forward in their activities is necessary. I am not able to provide such an in-depth analysis here. An ongoing empirically based research project on the circulation of LGT/Q film on the festival circuit will aim to tackle these questions (see also the Conclusion).

the same or even comparable to Western identities in the LGBTIQ spectrum. In this respect it is noteworthy to look at the names that LGBT/Q film festivals use internationally. Many of the newer additions to the LGBT/Q film festival circuit use terms that avoid fixed identity categories. Instead, they use terms like "alternative," "diversity," "other" or similar metaphors often in the local language. The English translations or English taglines of the names, however, often use the Anglophone terms "LGBT" or "queer" in their festival designation. This, I would argue, points to the international LGBT/Q film festival circuit and a desire to be recognized as being part of this circuit rather than marking a direct comparability of identities.

Figure 2.10: LGBT/Q film festivals in (South-East) Asia, 1989–2014

The occurrence of LGBT/Q film festivals in the late 1990s and 2000s in Asia and elsewhere cannot simply be said to be imports or adaptations from the West. However, the development of LGBT/Q film festivals in all these places did not occur evenly (cf. Table 1). Events such as LGBT/Q film festivals reflect the local inflection of global queer politics and culture as well as a connection to Western queer politics and organising, which potentially show problematic neoliberal as well as neo-colonial tendencies when models like "queer diaspora" and global liberal cosmopolitanism are mobilised (cf. Rhyne 2011). For instance, Denise Tse Shang Tang, director of the Hong Kong Lesbian and Gay Film Festival in 2004–2005, reflects on the problematic postcolonial dynamics when European-owned film distributor Fortissimo Films was a

main sponsor of the Hong Kong festival after 2000. She points out that while the affiliation with Fortissimo "allowed the festival to obtain internationally renowned films, it further constructs the identity of the festival as a foreign import, an expatriate hobby and a middle-class gay male event". She cautions that an internationally focused selection of films, mostly in English without Chinese subtitles, and the close alignment "with the film industry can also take a festival and its meaning easily away from what is happening on a community level" (Tang 2009: 176).

LGBT/Q film festivals are certainly a barometer for queer activism, community building, and queer filmmaking, which all rely on the political and legal climate of each region. Political debates in the wake of the East expansion plan of the European Union certainly had an impact on the LGBT activism and its secured status for Central and Eastern Europe. Within East Asian societies like South Korea and Japan, which are quickly modernizing, new debates about public movements and new identities influenced emerging film festivals (cf. Kim 1998). Also, Buddhist and Confucian society codes did not violently oppress gay & lesbian lifestyles; however they prefer to hush alternative lifestyles instead of embracing them publicly (cf. Sopawan Boonimitra in Berry 1999a).

Often changes in legislation, global politics, LGBT/Q activism and available funding have a direct influence on international networks and local cultural events. Changes in LGBT-related legislation can evoke the emergence or new public visibility of festivals. One such example is India. Discussions around homosexuality and HIV/AIDS entered the public arena in the mid-2000s. Paragraph 377 of the Indian Penal Code, a law introduced under British colonial rule, which made homosexual acts punishable, was only abolished in 2009 (cf. Majumder/Schumann 2009). Consequently, the first LGBT/Q film festivals and locally produced queer films appeared in the late 2000s: Nigah Queerfest in Delhi, India (2007–), Bangalore queer film festival (2009–); the by now very well established Kashish Queer Film Festival in Mumbai (2010); Q-Fest Pune (2011–), the short-lived Queer Nazariya: International LGBT Film Festival in Mumbai (2010); Reel Desires: Chennai International Queer Film Festival (2012–) and Chennai Rainbow Film Festival (2013–), as well as the newest Dialogues: LGBT Film and Video Festival in Guwahati (2014).

The legal framework does not only make new LGBT/Q film festivals visible, but can also explain the lack of such events. Africa, for instance, for a long time only had one

single LGBT/Q film festival. The Out In Africa: South African Gay & Lesbian Film Festival (OIA) "was launched in 1994 to celebrate the inclusion, in the South Africa Constitution, of the clause prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation."[45] After the breakdown of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the country set up one of the most progressive constitutions in regard to the equal treatment of gender and sexual orientation, not only in Africa but worldwide. This change made it possible to create a platform for debate and discussion about representation, sexuality and gender. In November 2014, OIA announced that they could not raise sufficient funding to continue the Festival in its current incarnation. As reason they stated that "[s]trides in technology have had their impact on social gatherings such as film festivals in South Africa,"[46] suggesting that downloads and a shrinking audience base has contributed to the demise.

The progressive political climate of South Africa, which supported OIA for 20 years, marks a stark contrast to the current political situation elsewhere in Central and Southern Africa. For instance, Ugandan gay activist David Kato was been hunted down and murdered in 2011, and the introduction of the death penalty for homosexuality has been discussed in Uganda and Kenya recurrently. These discussions are further complicated by international discussions on human rights, international aid programs and the fight against HIV/AIDS (cf. Kollman/Waites 2009).

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[45] See the historical account on the festival website: http://www.oia.co.za/about (18 Nov. 2011).

[46] See the Facebook announcement from 12 November 2014, https://www.facebook.com/outinafricaFF/posts/10152486648668583 (4 Dec. 2014).

Figure 2.11: LGBT/Q film festivals in Africa, 1994–2014

The interconnection of cultural and diplomatic advocacy can be seen in financial and material support. For instance, recently a small LGBT/Q film series was held under the auspices of the German embassy in Nairobi and further support by the Embassy of Switzerland and Gay Kenya Trust.[47] Similarly films, their exhibition, as well as LGBT/Q film festivals are funded for instance by US-based or supported by Western European LGBT human rights advocacy groups and associations. Documentary films such as *Be Like Others* (Tanaz Eshaghian, Canada/Iran/UK/USA 2008) about the problematic Iranian policy condemning homosexuality while financing sex reassignment surgery or *Call Me Kuchu* (Katherine Fairfax Wright, Malika Zouhali-Worrall, USA/Uganda 2012) about the activist fights against the proposed death penalty for homosexuals in Uganda are good examples of the ways in which LGBT/Q film festivals play a role in global LGBT advocacy. By offering a platform for documentary and feature film and representation for LGBT human rights activism, LGBT/Q film festivals are part of the larger global world that is shrinking, due in part to digital communication through social media like Facebook, video platforms like YouTube, and cheap filmmaking technology.

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[47] http://nairobinow.wordpress.com/2012/11/10/out-film-festival-nov-15-17-2012-goethe-institut/
(1 Nov. 2014)

Figure 2.12: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–2006 (phase 1–4)

4.5 The Early 2000s: New Global Festivals and Professionalization

Ragan Rhyne points in her last historical phase to the economic entanglement of LGBT/Q film festivals and the mainstream media industry. For her, "the fourth phase (2001–2006)" is characterized "by the introduction of cable and pay television as primary producers, distributors, and exhibitors of gay and lesbian film and video and significant corporate sponsors of film festivals." (Rhyne 2007: 4) Again, I will take this classification as a starting point and expand it to widen the view globally. But first, let me turn to the development in North America and Western Europe, before discussing new networks spreading to Latin America.

Figure 2.13: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 2002–2006 (phase 4)

In Western markets, LGBT/Q film festivals entered a new phase institutionally and in terms of sponsorship, by the turn of the century. The main drive of LGBT/Q film

festivals in the early 1980s was to create visibility for LGBT/Q people. This was achieved by the late 1990s. The independent filmmaking of the late 1980s and early 1990s and the cross-over success of the New Queer Cinema first created a niche market for LGBT work (cf. Rich 2000). Hollywood "mini-majors" like Miramax wanted to capitalize on the gay market, but were soon disappointed financially (cf. Gutwillig in Straayer/Waugh 2005: 584). They were then overtaken by smaller queer-run distributors, which formed a closer queer media ecosystem. The early success for cinema, however, influenced the content for television. Cable television produced quality TV series with LGBT characters: *Queer as Folk* (US, Showtime 2000–2005), *Six Feet Under* (HBO 2001–2005), the makeover reality show *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* (Bravo 2003–2007), and the first lesbian series *L-Word* (Showtime 2004–2009). Distinct LGBT television subscription channels even appeared, like Here! and Logo. Thus, mainstream visibility of LGBT characters seemed to be achieved.
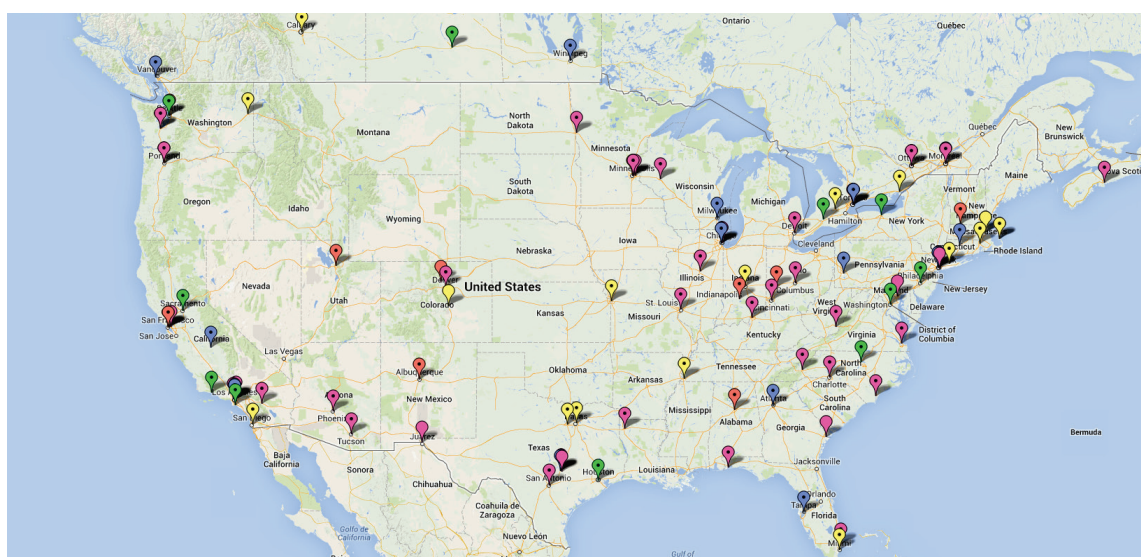
Figure 2.14: LGBT/Q film festivals throughout the USA, 1977–2015

By the 2000s LGBT politics and individuals seemed to have gained the visibility the movement fought for (Foote 2004). LGBT/Q characters were visible in mainstream culture, but of course appropriation and commodification of queer culture in the media was partial and ambiguous at best—in the form of sanitized gay homonormative representation. However, the newly gained visibility also incited a backlash—depending on where one is: even in the US there is a stark contrast between the liberal coasts or Midwest with conservative drive for marriage (and health care bound up) for heterornomative couples only.

While the commodification and depoliticization of the queer movement in a homonormative turn can be lamented for one end of the spectrum, there are contrary tendencies visible elsewhere. When looking at the list of LGBT/Q film fesivals on the larger circuit one finds new festival names and new concepts that document a search for new meanings for "queer," to be more inclusive and go against the LGBT niche. Some festivals have looked to history in their search for a new name to reaffirm a sense of community. The Austin Gay & Lesbian International Film Festival, for instance, rebranded the organization and festival to Polari[48], referring back to a vanishing gay jargon that was used in the 1930s to 1970s when homosexuality was illegal and could be prosecuted.

While there has been considerable discussion about a disconnect between theory and activism for feminism (cf. Casale/Gerhard/Wischermann 2008), there seems to be considerable overlap of activism and academic discourse in the LGBT/Q film festival sector. There is a tradition of panel discussions housed at festivals (White 1999), a connection between academic writing and the festival field (Straayer/Waugh 205, 2006, 2008) and festival organizers are often interested and trained in queer theory. These discussions feed into the performative naming of festivals.

While North American festivals differentiated and create smaller niche festivals, the continued political discussions around gender and sexuality had a different effect on Western European festivals. Here, a number of festivals reinvented their mission to become less specifically tied to identity categories as gay & lesbian, for instance: Gender Bender in Bologna, Italy (2003); Face à Face in Saint-Etienne and Festival Cinémarges: Sexes, Genres, Identities in Bordeaux, France (2005). Furthermore, new festivals were founded in opposition to mainstream (homonormative) representation, such as the DIY noncommercial queer film festival Entzaubert in Berlin, Germany (2007), and politics of continuing homophobia: queer film festival in Florence (2003), Sicily, Italy (2011), and Outview in Athens, Greece (2007). Yet another group of recently started LGBT/Q film festivals replaces old forms and festivals that have faltered, either due to burn-out or when festivals lost their support base due to mainstream commercialization. For instance, the German Homochrom (since 2009), in

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[48] www.polari.com (21 Sep. 2012)

Cologne, filled the gap after the decline of Verzaubert Queer Film Festival/Liebe Filme Festival in 2012 and expanded from a film series to a festival.
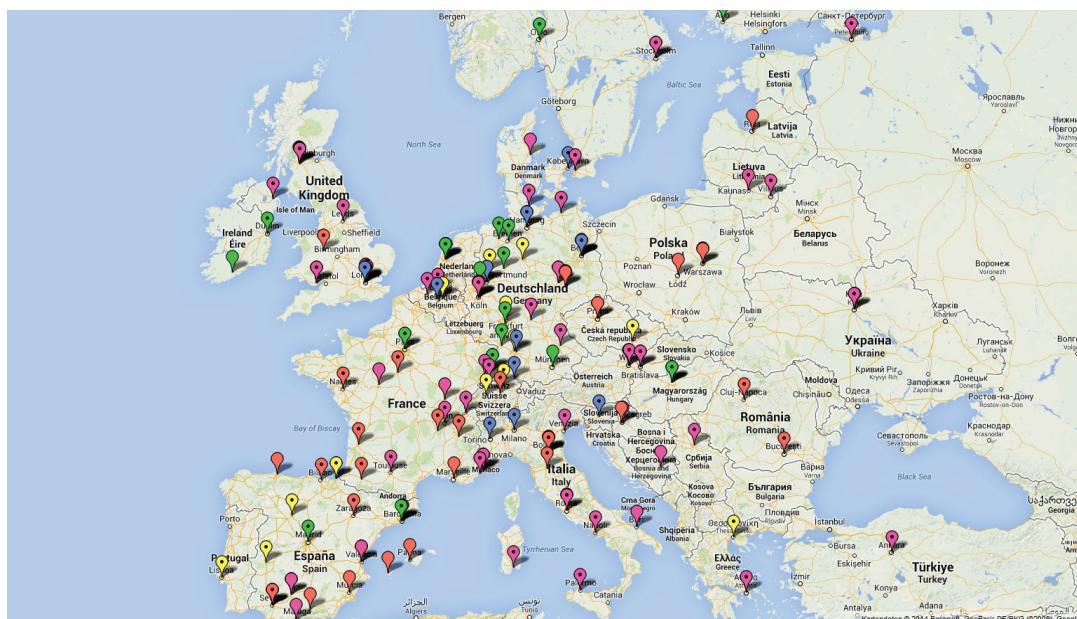
Figure 2.15: LGBT/Q film festival throughout Europe 1984–2015

4.6 Today (2007–2015): Differentiation and Clustering

With 158 new additions on the circuit in less than a decade (cf. Figure 16) the LGBT/Q film festivals on the circuit have doubled and spead to most parts of the world (cf. Figure 17). As has been briefly discussed above (section 2.1), this most recent phase in the historical development of LGBT/Q film festivals is characterized by an increased convergence in the form of network-building and organizational clustering and by further differentiation of festival forms and profiles that had already begun in the previous phase. These trends are part of larger changes and developments in the (LGBT/Q) film landscape. Despite a mainstreaming of queer content, with films now regularly reaching A-festivals and the arthouse circuit and increasing availability online and on DVD in a differentiated market, which might lead pessimistic critics to proclaim further individualization and isolation of viewers (cf. Rich 2014), this festival proliferation seems to signal the renewed urge to meet and experience film collectively in a cinema setting (cf. Rauscher 2011), and LGBT/Q film festivals are the best place to cater to this experience by offering a variety of films and a festival community. Thus, the large number of new festivals in college towns in the US and elsewhere attests to general trend of festivals serving as a new form of alternative exhibition circuit, which is important both for a niche audience and the circulation of independent film. For the

US the heightened discussions regarding LGBT visibility and gay marriage debates during and after rallying against Propostition 8 in California, probably helped the proliferation as much as did the institutionally favored organizing around a "post-gay" collective identity, which builds bridges between LGBT and straight groups rather than stressing the boundaries in an "us vs. them" approach to collective identity formation (cf. Ghaziani 2011). In other parts of the world, reactions to either the relaxation or restriction of LGBT/Q legislation can directly be linked to waves of festivals.

Figure 2.16: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 2007–2015 (phase 5)

Changes in the entertainment industry have led to two divergent results: on the one hand, cable television and niche marketing provided new sources of income for festivals through corporate sponsorship. Audiences were exploited as marketing groups (cf. White 1999). With the new funding and festival growth, LGBT/Q film festivals also entered a new phase of industry interaction. Some festivals even became film industry players themselves, by providing film funds, script labs or even distribution arms (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012, Loist 2011b). A step to support queer filmmaking practically was taken by the foundation of the Iris Prize Festival in Cardiff, Wales (2007). The Iris Prize offers a production grant for a new short film (worth £25,000).

At the same time, queer cinema has become part of mainstream film culture or so much a term in (Western) human rights discourse that more A-list festivals beyond the pioneering Berlinale (1987) have adopted the tradition of a queer film award. A number of further LGBT/Q film awards at top-tier film festivals have been modelled on the Teddy award. In 2000, the San Sebastian International Film Festival introduced the Premio Sebastiane, which gained a sibling in 2013 with the Sebastiane Latino to

highlight Latin American LGBT/Q cinema. The Ukrainian FIAPF-accredited film festival Molodist introduced the Sunny Bunny in 2001.[49] The prestigious A-list festivals in Venice and Cannes also started queer awards, the Queer Lion in 2007 and the Queer Palm in 2010, respectively (Loist 2010). In 2012, the rising Mexican Guadalajara International Film Festival introduced the Premio Maguey. The newest addition to the circle is the Felix, launched at the Rio International Film Fesival in 2014.

As international film festivals increasingly showcase queer cinema, LGBT/Q film festivals have repositioned themselves in relation to the available mainstream representation of LGBT people, which can often be characterized as homonormative, and under-representative of real LGBT demographics and issues—even though more recent series such as Netflix's *Orange Is the New Black* (2013–) has explicitly tried to diversify cast and plot lines. Thus, LGBT/Q film festivals are still needed today to provide a different kind of representation and media aesthetics.

Figure 2.17: Global LGBT/Q film festivals, 1977–2015

Another differentiation of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit was the appearance of a few genre queer film festivals, such as a few queer documentary film festivals, which probably also respond to the growing field of human rights film festivals: QueerDoc in Sydney (2001–2010) and QDoc: Portland Queer Documentary Film Festival (2007–); Gender DocuFilm Fest in Rome, Italy (2010–). In Brazil DIV.A: Diversity in Animation Festival of LGBT Animation (2009–) focusses on animation. A few smaller

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[49] The current nationalistic and homophobic climate that is very visible in the neighbor country Russia, seems to also influence the climate in Ukraine. During the 2014 festival edition, the main cinema in which the Sunny Bunny films are screened was attacked during a screening and burned down, luckily without harming any audience members (Dolgov 2014; Scholz 2014).

festivals have specialized on LGBT/Q short films, such as CineSlam in Vermont or Xposed in Berlin. There is also a queer horror film festival, the Fears for Queers: LGBT Horror Film Festival in Dallas, TX (2010–) which follows the niche marketing of other successful genre film festivals.

By 2012, there were considerable discussions arriving about a new kind of queer cinema. The former generation of queer film, such as the formally strong, avantgardist and radical New Queer Cinema films or the more mainstream coming-out films of the 1990s have given way to a new form of realism, where queer characters have arrived who truly "happen to be gay," where gender/sexuality is a natural part of their lives and narratives that does not need to be problematized on its own. Rather the narratives are driven by "regular" stories about love and life. Among the films on this new list of "New Wave Queer Cinema" are Ira Sachs' *Keep the Lights On*, Andrew Haigh's *Weekend* and Dee Rees' *Pariah* (Walters 2012).

This corresponds with the change in perception about gender/sexuality on a larger level in the Western spheres like North America, Australia, Western Europe, where more variety than the singular heteronormative nuclear family become visible in "heteroflexible" lifestyles (cf. Halberstam 2012a). Programmers also suggest that the younger generation has grown up differently.[50] In most parts of the Western world, being LGBT/Q does not pose the same threat that it was for people growing up in the 1960/70s, or during the AIDS fear. The new generation is used to gender flexibility, anti-discrimination laws and sexual rights. Thus, they relate differently to certain representations and narratives from earlier times. Older coming out films seem very over-dramatic and "queer" (camp) to them. They have started to articulate new versions of their own lives and their own experiences. Thus, a new wave of queer film is born (cf. Walters 2012, Rich 2013).

It remains to be seen how the new crop of new-wave queer cinema will alter the way these films circulate. Sundance as typical indie festival has always shown queer cinema—in fact the term New Queer Cinema was coined by B. Ruby Rich at/after

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[50] This issue came up in a conversation with Joao Ferreira in June 2012 about his students and younger co-workers at Queer Lisboa; see also the suggestion by Sundance programmer and former Outfest programmer John Cooper: "Sometimes we try to freeze our interpretation of the world. My coming of age is not the same as the coming of age for kids now. Sometimes I think it's much more difficult, but in some ways I think it is more open. In general, a lot of early queer cinema was about learning your own identity. Now, I think it's much more about, just, life—about living an authentic life in the modern age." (Cooper in Crook 2013)

attending Sundance in 1992. The new films might primarily be embraced by the arthouse circuit, showing their "cross-over" potential even more than the New Queer Cinema did in 1990s; in fact, the New-Wave Queer Cinema might not even need to "cross-over" as it is not even seen outside the regular arthouse circuit in the first place. Until now those two circuits have remained rather segregated—at least as far as big distribution executives are concerned. Films like *Pariah*, for instance, were not shown widely on the LGBT/Q film festival circuit in Europe, based on a decision by the sales company if no theater run for further exploitation was scheduled by a local distributor.[51]

This historical phase characterized by networking and clustering surely does not fall into the era of an increasingly networked society by pure coincidence (Castells 2004). The internet and social media platforms make festivals and LGBT/Q organizations more visible and connect them to a global network, because they can easily be found, but also because they are hooked up to the global stream of the film (distribution) industry via business platforms such as the film submission site Withoutabox and other networks.

Festivals also follow the networking trend in two ways, first, personal networks on the circuit are a significant factor. Here LGBT/Q film festivals link up as a network through a flow of people (filmmakers, actors), films and personnel (film programmers travelling to each others' festivals, collaborating or working for several festivals). This kind of networking is not a phenomenon unique to film festivals. It is a trend that is ubiquitous in the cultural sector. Considering the British queer performance art scene, Stephen Greer points to "the role of queer arts festivals in fostering networks of professional practice and collaboration" (2012: 32). Pride events function in a similar vein (Huber 2013; Ward 2008). Secondly, some of the large established LGBT/Q film festival organizations grow into separate entities, which turn into umbrella organizations hosting several events, optimizing the seasonal work flow and providing year-round jobs and events. One prominent example is Los Angeles based Outfest (1984–), which created the queer of color side festival Fusion (2004–) and announced a partnership with NewFest in 2012. Beyond organizational growth, several festivals have expanded their coverage and also cater to rural audiences with travelling best-of programs or smaller spin-off events, one example of which is Queer Screen based in Sydney, which developed screenings throughout Australia.

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[51] For a more detailed discussion of this examples see Loist forthcoming c.

One interesting case of network-building is the renaming of the LGBT/Q film festivals in Milano and Copenhagen, which are among the oldest LGBT/Q film festivals in Europe. Both have recently changed their profile and taken on the name MIX. They both pay homage to MIX NYC: New York Experimental Queer Film Festival, founded in 1987. MIX has been influential in many ways as a festival going against established programming structures at most larger LGBT/Q film festivals. Instead of following the traditional separate programs for lesbians and gays, MIX programs are often curated by guest programmers thematically, for instance, around current political issues such as capitalism, unemployment, race, etc. (Johnson in Straayer/Waugh 2005; Zielinski 2010). MIX NYC was also the source of one of the first LGBT/Q film festivals in Latin America.

In 1993, Brazilian filmmaker and programmer, Karim Aïnouz, who was involved with MIX NYC brought the concept to São Paulo. While the first editions relied on programming and expertise from New York, MIX Brazil soon was run independently in São Paulo and developed in a specific local way in correspondence with local community needs and funding opportunities (cf. Capo in Straayer/Waugh 2005). Similarly MIX Mexico was started in 1996 and developed independently.
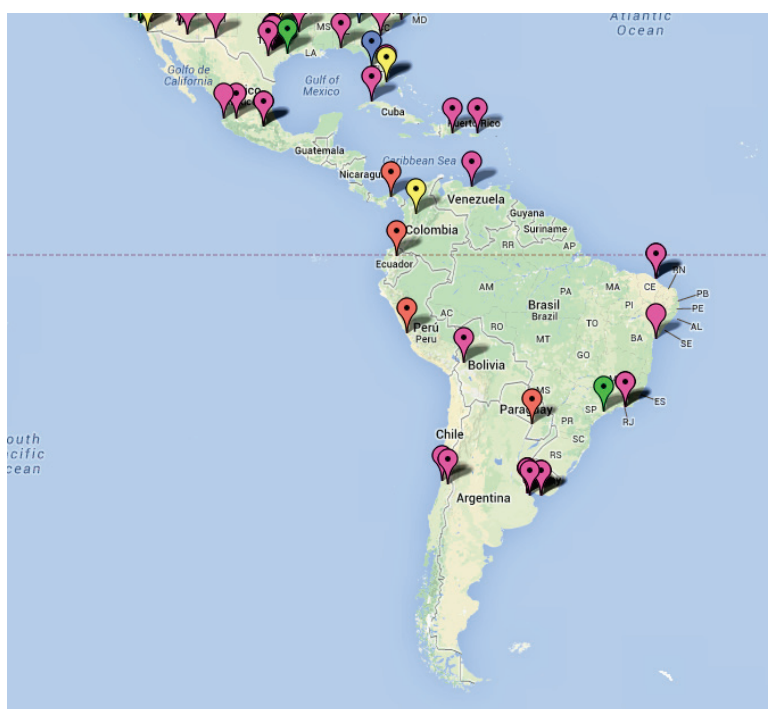
Figure 2.18: LGBT/Q film festivals in Latin America, 1996–2014

The majority of Latin American LGBT/Q film festivals developed in the mid-2000s: Brandon Fest in Buenos Aires, Argentina (2004); a festival in Asunción, Paraguay

(2005); one in Panama (2005); Llamale H Festival of sexual and gender diversity in Montevideo, Uruguay (2007); a festival in Santiago de Chile (2008); La Paz, Bolivia (2008); Outfest Peru in Lima (2004); Diversidad Sexual in Havana, Cuba (2009); a festival in San Juan, Puerto Rico (2009). Apart from a general development in LGBT/Q activism, the recent spread of LGBT/Q film festivals was helped by a grant that supported the distribution of Spanish-speaking LGBT/Q films, which were circulated by the international CineLGBT network. The Iberoamerican Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transsexual Film Network (CineLGBT) is a meeting and formation point created by Fundación Triángulo (España) and works with a number of LGBT/Q film festivals from Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries from around the world, with the objective of making a social change through movies.[52] This network is on one hand an LGBT rights organization believing in change through the medium film, on the other hand, it is an enterprise for the (commercial) circulation of Spanish and Portuguese language films. In the second endeavor it worked closely with the first LGBT/Q film (festival) market (2008–2010) that was hosted by the Spanish LesGaiCineMad film festival.[53] Again, globalization is not simply a benefit to the West. With this collaboration, the new wave of LGBT/Q films from Latin America that has recently appeared (Capo 2009), also finds its way to Europe and North America.

Here, the network structure of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit as well as the global collaboration of LGBT/Q rights organizations is very visible. Beyond this professionalized form of international collaboration, personal networks are very important. With the increasing global access to the internet and social web, information about LGBT/Q politics and queer cinema is easily available (cf. Straayer/Waugh 2005: 588–589). In addition, large institutions, such as the Teddy Award (1987) at the Berlinale offer meeting points for real-life personal connections and exchange. The Panorama section of the Berlinale has hosted a Queer Programmers meeting since the mid-1980s (cf. also Heidenreich in Straayer/Waugh 2005: 588). A large number of international programmers meet here to scout films and foster collaboration and exchange between festivals. Furthermore, the Teddy Award uses the political clout of the Berlinale to support smaller festivals that are under threat politically. Most recently the Teddy issued statements on behalf of the festivals in Beijing and St. Petersburg.

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[52] Cf. the description on the networks website: <http://www.cinelgbt.com/cinelgbt> (18 Nov. 2011).

[53] For an account of LGBT/Q film festivals in Spain see Perriam 2013: 112–122.

As has been mentioned briefly, LGBT/Q film festivals in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) have appeared since the fall of the Eastern bloc. However, the unsteady national, economic and political developments in the region have delayed the arrival of such festivals in a steadily supported form. Thus, most of the LGBT/Q film festivals in CEE are young and sometimes only short-lived. Only since the mid-2000s has the number of LGBT/Q film festivals grown, with events such as: GayFest in Bucharest and Gay Film Nights in Cluj, Romania (2004–); Pryzmat in Warsaw, Poland (2006–2007)[54]; Slovak queer film festival in Bratislava (2007–); Side by Side in St. Petersburg, Russia (2008–); Queer Sarajevo in Bosnia/Herzegovina (2008) was organized only once after it met violent opposition (cf. Kajinic 2010; Loist/Zielinski 2012: 56–57); and Merlinka in Belgrad, Serbia (2009–). Recent discussions from Russia attest to the prevailing difficulties. Putin's party signed a law to ban public debate on LGBT/Q issues in order to prevent "homosexual propaganda" near children, which in effect aims to ban all LGBT/Q activism and cultural events from the public arena (cf. Ponomareva 2011, 2014).[55]
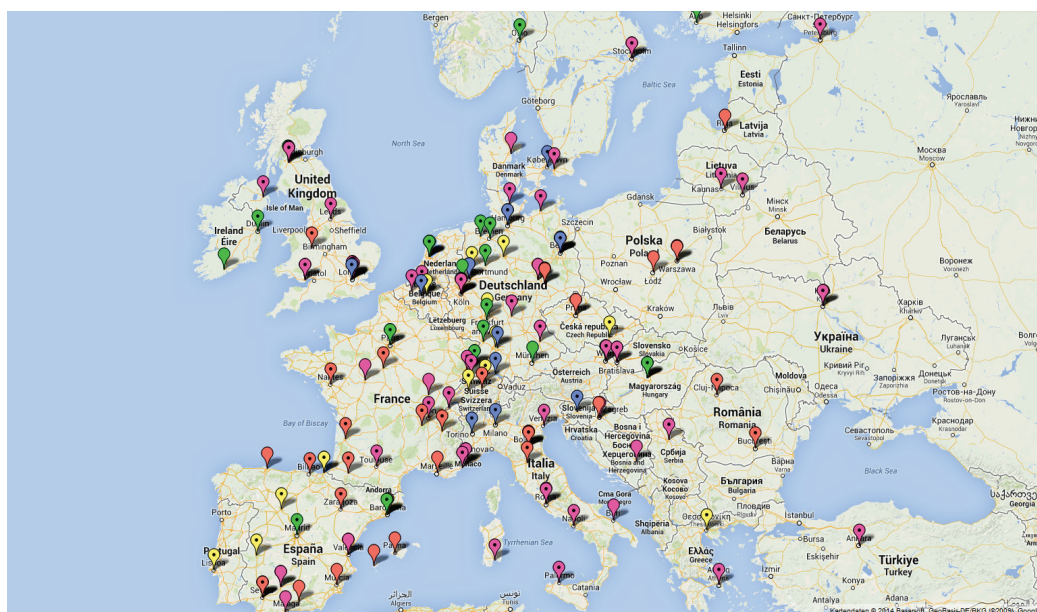
Figure 2.19: LGBT/Q film festivals in Europe, 1984–2015

Saint Petersburg's Bok-a-Bok (Side-by-Side) LGBT Film Festival has struggled to put on its screenings, when authorities cancelled their venues one by one at the last minute,

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[54] On the Polish context of the queer movement, see Szulc (2012).

[55] See the news section on the Side by Side Intl. LGBT Film Festival St. Petersburg, Russia; http://bok-o-bok.ru/news.asp?lan=1&tid=667 (20 Nov. 2011). The Berlinale / Teddy Award supports the call for help: http://news.teddyaward.tv/en/news/?datum=&detail=115 (20 Nov. 2011).

citing building code infractions, fire or tax issues. There was no violence, simply obstructionism after weeks of public vilification in the press. According to the organizers, Manny de Guerre and Ksenia Zemskaya, the local politicians felt the pressure to prevent the festival as it tried to launch (de Guerre 2011). The surprise cancelation of the venues prompted an improvised samizdat network by cell phone which gave safe directions to contacts who wanted to attend the festival. Of course, "samizdat" is the term for the illegal underground, clandestine social networks during the period of the Soviet Union; in 2008 the actions of the festival were not illegal, but those of the anonymous municipal authorities were in all likelihood not legal in their deliberate, fabricated obstructionism. Since then, the festival has learned to deal with similar political problems in other provincial cities through which it tours, namely Novosibirsk, Arkhangelsk, Kemerovo and most recently Tomsk (Loist/Zielinski 2012: 56–57, passim).

The festival makes use of local foreign cultural venues, such as the Goethe Institute, British Council and the Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian agencies, which lend a certain amount of safety. Yet, the legal changes aim to also obstruct these support stuctures. In a climate where Russia has seen a crack-down by conservative politics aiming to stop oppositional voices, major political opponent Kodorov or members of the punk band Pussy Riot have been imprisoned. In this political climate the "anti-propaganda law" targeting homosexual activist groups has come into being. Organizations such as the Side by Side LGBT Film Festival (Bok-o-Bok) or Coming Out (Vychod), who like other human rights activist groups rely largely on foreign funding, have been forced to register under specific "foreign agent" laws to hinder their work, since "foreign agents" are not allowed to pursue human rights activities. Thus, such organizations have to be inventive about their structure to continue their work, for instance by registering as a for-profit entity, which is not hindered from gaining foreign investments. Yet this move makes it hard to apply for certain (foreign) grants, as embassies and grant giving agencies and foundations are usually built on the framework to fund NGOs.

Thus, LGBT/Q film festivals in these kinds of contexts do a lot more than program the newest crop of LGBT/Q film. They are deeply involved in first-hand activist LGBT human rights activism and community building. Beyond the concern about screening

new film, they are concerned with bringing dialogue to the community and assure that their audience[56] base is safe from homophobic attacks.[57]

5. Conclusion

Tracing the development of LGBT/Q film festivals in a global perspective reveals a very complex history. There is no single narrative of progress for sexual rights or queer film production. When looking at LGBT/Q film festivals one needs to consider complex structures of globalization: economic production, capitalism, processes of cultural exchange, human rights activism, LGBT activism, and prevailing homophobia. Thus, processes of economic growth, differentiation and reinvention on the side of the older established LGBT/Q film festivals in the "West" coincide with simultaneous parallel developments of local adaptation, national film cultures and basic struggles for LGBT rights and community building.

The full list of LGBT/Q film festivals covering the globe throughout history shows that only very few festivals have developed into major organizations. Most of them are audience or community festivals run by volunteers to serve their local communities. Even several major festivals that have been around since the 1980s have remained, consciously or by necessity volunteer-run festivals (Boston, San Diego, Santa Barbara, Chicago, Hamburg), while others—several that are here considered case studies—have grown into big organizations that are part of the queer film ecosystem and strive to function as part of the larger film industry (Frameline, Outfest, InsideOut, identities).

All of these festivals have to navigate the performative negotiations of identities; as part of LGBT/Q activist politics and community organizing they need to balance the need to perform according to changing demands in the film and festival landscape as well as

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[56] Due to five consecutive bomb threats toward the festival, Side by Side 2013 reached about 800 audience members. Due to change of venues, which also did not have the same capacity, people had to be turned away for lack of space. In previous years, Side by Side had audience numbers ranging between 1,500 and 3,000. Another interesting difference in these circumstances is the broad address and appeal of the Side by Side festival to audiences. While an established festival like the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival cater predominantly to an LGBT/Q audience (in a 2013 audience survey only 3% of audiences self-identified as heterosexual), Side by Side caters to an audience of which roughly one third identify as heterosexuals. Thus, their political aim of LGBT rights and inclusion, reaches a strong base of open-minded citizens, who want to be educated and solidarize with this particular repressed group – among others. [de Guerre/Sultanova 2014]

[57] Cf. activist pamphlet Bringing Dialogue and Discussion on LGBT Rights in Russia (Side by Side 2013).

stay in tune with the ever-evolving LGBT/Q politics and identities of their constituencies. In their successful negotiations LGBT/Q film festivals stay relevant today and serve the specific need to form a community, a sentiment uttered time and again by audiences, festival organizers and filmmakers.

This chapter has especially mobilized the historical dimension of the performative in the discussion of the formation of LGBT/Q film festivals and their circuit. In the following chapter, I will delve deeper into the performative levels of the LGBT/Q film festival experience from the ethnographic and performance studies perspectives. Aspects such as specific identity segments and differentiation in the evolution of festival names as well as festival profiles have already been mentioned. These issues will play a significant part when considering the programming of these festivals as well as audience address and reception experiences.

Chapter Three
Performing Festival Culture: Selection, Exhibition and Reception

1. Introduction

In the summer of 2007, the US-American 15-minute short film *The Gendercator* by Catherine Crouch came to be the focus of intense discussion, because of its controversial premises regarding transgender visibility and presumed politics. After being shown at a couple of film festivals, members of the trans* community began to call attention to the film's controversial sci-fi plot line and director's statement, which envisions a link between transgenderism and a future regime of gender conformity. Following a protest campaign that took place primarily online, the film was withdrawn from the program of Frameline, San Francisco's LGBT film festival[1]—thus marking the climax of the debate, which spread and lead to further screenings often being accompanied by panel discussions.

Even in this brief anecdotal introduction to the *Gendercator* incident a number of discourses become tangible. The performative nature of festival organizing and identity formation are intricately intertwined here and come out in at least three different stages: selection, exhibition, and reception. This incident raises several questions about specific programming decisions, representational issues, framing of identities and community, and the responsibility of LGBT/Q film festivals to their constituencies and stakeholders. Initially the film was presumably selected and programmed because Catherine Crouch has a track-record as lesbian filmmaker on the festival circuit. As a returning festival alumna, the film was earmarked to be screened and was placed within a science-fiction program. Some trans* activists had seen the film at festivals in Chicago and New York before it was about to be screened at Frameline. They found the content of the film and its framing through the director's statement offensive. This

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[1] Catherine Crouch mentions this fact sarcastically on her website, as a characteristic on the *Gendercator* subpage. There, she states under „Distinctions: THE GENDERCATOR is the only film ever accepted, programmed and then cancelled from San Francisco's Frameline Film Festival in 31 years due to an email campaign consisting of 130 identical emails." (http://catherinecrouch.com/artwork/2251559_THE_GENDERCATOR_Written_Directed_by.html, 22. Nov. 2014)

discussion of the content led to a mostly online-based protest campaign.[2] Local activists, community members as well as people close to the festival weighed in to argue for the film to be critically framed and discussed within the festival at a public forum (see e.g., Stryker 2007). The festival organizers opted to withdraw the film from the line-up, arguing that they had insufficient time to set up a panel discussion. The pulling of the film resulted in a counter-protest—which now cemented the butch lesbian/trans* border war that was becoming visible—calling this an incident of lesbian censorship. As identity-based events, LGTB/Q film festivals are places where the selection of material for screening is even more contested than at other festivals. Beyond the criteria of quality, identities are negotiated and performed. The *Gendercator* incident is a classic example of the discussion of community representation: who was addressed and invited to the festival experience and on what terms?

This brief framing of this particular festival protest has introduced all the elements of the performative nature of queer film culture that this chapter will look at in more detail. The formation of (queer) film culture interestingly seems to become most apparent through its moments of failure or derailment, when the programming did not work out according to plan, when "actors" did behave according to "script,"[3] or when the festival's politics are contested. The *Gendercator* incident represents only one of many in the history of the festival circuit; I will also discuss a few others in later sections of this chapter.

The central elements of (queer) film culture can be framed in the three keywords selection, exhibition, and experience.[4] In the next section of this chapter, I will discuss the performance of queer cinema as it becomes visible in the practices of selection of films and their programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. In section 3, I will turn to the performativity of the festival event, where the moment of exhibition and festival

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[2] Jessica Lawless (2009) gives a good overview of the discourses in the online-discussion.

[3] Here the terms 'actors' and 'scripts' can both be understood in the literal sense, of film actors and film scripts, as well as in the ethnographic sense of stakeholders and the enactment of scripted rituals.

[4] Initial thoughts of this chapter have been developed at the graduate conference of the International Bremen Symposium on Film organized by Winfried Pauleit and Christine Rüffert, which met under the heading "Was ist Kino? Auswählen, Aufführen, Erfahren" (What is Cinema? Select, Exhibit, Experience) at the University of Bremen (January 2012), from which I borrow this three-step approach.

experience will be of interest. This section bridges the two sides of a coin at the festival, on the one hand, its framing of a curated program and, on the other hand, its communal reception. In section 4, I will then discuss the formation of a counterpublic sphere, audience address, and the specific reception context of a festival.

2. Selection: Performing Queer Cinema by Programming

2.1 Selection and Film Festival Programming

As mentioned previously, selection processes are a crucial part of the work film festivals do, especially in times of abundant availability of audiovisual material. Since their post-1968 change in organizational structure, programming has been one of the most important activities of film festivals. Although there are significant differences between film festivals in terms of size, budget, profile, position in the festival circuit and thematic orientation, there are some general programming criteria that are true for most (if not all) festivals. Film festivals usually showcase new, aesthetically innovative content.

Festivals support global art cinema by functioning as an alternative exhibition network (De Valck 2007) and act as "a network of cultural capital," where programming follows not from the business logic of commercial cinema but from the tradition of art cinema and its philosophy that great films deserve audiences (De Valck/Soeteman 2010: 293). In the various selection levels that films pass through—as mentioned in "Axis One–Film as Work of Art" in section 3.3.3 of chapter 1—festivals function as "gatekeepers of cultural legitimization" (De Valck/Soeteman 2010: 294). In a first step of what Marijke de Valck and Mimi Soeteman call "pre-selection" (De Valck/Soeteman 2010: 295), festivals sift through thousands of submissions to select a crop of the best films of the season, which are then programmed into a screening schedule in a second step. The final step toward cultural legitimization of a film is the selection by a jury for an award.

These selection stages mark a performative aspect of festival programming. As discussed in chapter 1 (section 2.3), De Valck has described festivals as "sites of passage," as liminal spaces, which are set apart from regular exhibition venues and commercial interest (De Valck 2007: 36–39). The selection process and the performed ennoblement are thought to be part of the ideal progression from the ubiquitous pool of material that passes through the transformative festival stage to reach theatrical release and commercial exploitation. Here, two different routes are envisioned: in the first case,

in an ideal scenario the film accrues so much cultural capital that it will be catapulted beyond the confines of the circuit[5]. However, festivals are known—and derive some of their pleasure factor from the fact—to showcase films that will often not receive a commercial release (Gregor 2001). The specific kind of art film, which is usually thought to be slow and serious, nicknamed "festival film," finds an audience on the vast festival circuit, which acts as alternative exhibition (and distribution) network (cf. Wong 2011: 65–99; Stringer 2003: 135–239). In the second case, the festival serves as a liminal space for the producer, as a pre-release window. John Berra calls this "'selective exhibition' as it is where films are screened for an audience, but in an environment which finds the director, producers, and distributors still holding some control of their work, not quite giving it over for popular consumption" (Berra 2008: 143). Instead it is a place, where publicity is generated and the film tested for an arthouse audience.

These strategies of using festivals to reach distribution suggest that the basic requirements for film selection have become more complicated as the festival circuit has grown and film markets shifted. Apart from an interest in a film, the main question for programmers is whether the film is available to screen at the festival. Mark Peranson has suggested that in some cases the power lies on the side of the sales agent or producer rather than the programmer (Peranson 2008: 39). Availability depends on the specific festival and its position within the circuit and festival calendar. Festivals usually aim for international or national premieres because timeliness secures interest and media coverage in this era of the "attention economy."[6] Films often launch at festivals before their scheduled release, to make use of the press reviews and the buzz; this benefits both producers and festivals. In the past few years, however, the time span between a world premiere and a national release in theatres or on DVD has been shrinking, leaving shorter windows for festivals to show a film and thus limiting their selection. Another limitation, especially for smaller festivals below the A-level, is the cost of screening fees. As the circuit grows and the exhibition routes extend, sales agents and distributors argue for increasing handling costs and a compensation for the

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[5] Janet Harbord, and also Dina Iordanova, have cautioned that the festival circuit threatens to confine a film rather than enable its wide release (Harbord 2002, Iordanova 2009).

[6] Where first-hand experience is the premium value of the festival experience, this sense of originality is instilled in the structure of the festival through the notion of the film première (Harbord 2002: 68).

decrease in traditional arthouse releases,[7] which is supposedly overtaken by festival attendance (cf. Bruins 2010).[8] If a festival is interested in a particular film, it might be able to negotiate a waiver of the screening fee in exchange for an invitation to the director—again benefitting both the festival and the film, as a director's attendance adds to the event character of the festival and creates an extra incentive for press coverage.

All these mechanisms of programming, which reach far beyond taste and aesthetics, also apply to LGBT/Q film festivals. However, on the level of content and aesthetics, LGBT/Q film festivals function very differently to generalist festivals. Here, the programming crucially reflects politics of identity, community and activism (cf. Loist 2012). In addition, due to their mission and also their lower position on the general festival circuit, or rather their position on a parallel niche-circuit, the programming necessarily differs. Even a top-tier LGBT/Q film festival, like Outfest in Los Angeles, primarily serves a local community, while a top-tier independent film festival like Sundance serves "the greater cultural landscape of America" as John Cooper puts it in an interview (Crook 2013). With a background of having worked with Sundance nearly three decades and becoming festival director in 2009, after also having worked as former Outfest programming director, Cooper suggests that "the effects of Sundance on the global stage have a bigger footprint than you will find with the community-based festivals" (Crook 2013; Winston 2014). This argument also hints at discussions that community festivals are seen to have no clout for filmmakers and aesthetics, but are merely celebratory events that tend to limit and pigeonhole films and filmmakers.[9]

Leaving aside the discussions of the impact that such festivals have for the industry side for the moment, I would like to highlight the performative aspects of festival

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[7] Cf. a business note issued by Fortissimo films to festivals in 2000.

[8] I have discussed this issue elsewhere: "This logic seems understandable from the distribution perspective. However, smaller festivals—already operating under precarious conditions—are pushed to find new funding sources in order to afford the new fees and be able to compete and show the desired program. Distributors seem to go the easy route of recouping money directly from the lower-tier festival circuit instead of putting much effort into theatrical releases, while still benefitting from the festival exposure for later DVD release. (Loist 2011b: 398)

[9] Eva Hohenberger and Karin Jurschik argue that the identity-based curatorial logic that primarily rests on the idea of seeing oneself on the big screen disqualifies LGBT/Q film festivals as self-celebratory events, which are not attended by film and festival professionals, who are interested in issues of cinephilia and aesthetics rather than identity; they even go as far as arguing that US-American and European festivals fundamentally differ in this respect (Hohenberger/Jurschick 1994: 149).

programming on queer film culture. As I have shown in the brief discussion of the *Gendercator* incident in the introduction to this chapter, programming of LGBT/Q film festivals operates with prescribed decisions about identities and representation. Because of their counterculture history these community-based festivals have a special relationship with their local audiences, yet they are also part of a larger discourse on queer cinema development. As part of the network effect of festivals as exhibition and distribution spaces discussed above, I would like to argue that the programming of films "for, by, about and of interest to" LGBT/Q audiences is a performative act that brings about what is seen as queer cinema.

2.2 What Is Queer Cinema?

A very obvious factor that distinguishes LGBT/Q film festivals from other film festivals is the content they offer. LGBT/Q film festivals have historically been the first if not the only venues where queer images could be seen and celebrated. In the words of João Ferreira, director of Queer Lisboa: International Queer Film Festival, "a community creates a festival as a political instrument to broadcast its realities, experiences, problems—thus seeking a tool to advance a political and social agenda" (2014: 323). While many larger generalist festivals—at least those situated in the global West and pursuing a liberal agenda—now also show films with gay characters or even global queer art cinema, community representation is still a central factor around which LGBT/Q festivals and their programming revolve. This will become apparent from the central programming strategies such as representation along the alphabet identity categories (L, G, B, T) and positive imagery discussed below. However, just as the term "queer" constantly shifts its meaning in reaction to the changing political and cultural field it both belongs and responds to, so does queer representation and queer filmmaking.

The central question that remains is: what is queer cinema? A central argument that I want to make is that the selection and curation of LGBT/Q film festivals defines what is seen as queer cinema at the time. Before turning to the analysis of programming strategies of LGBT/Q material, I would like to briefly summarize a few arguments in the long discussion of the definition of queer cinema. In their book *Queer Images*, Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin (2006: 9–12) offer a systematic approach which lists five possible elements to define queer cinema. Queer cinema can be defined by 1) the appearance of queer characters in the plot; 2) authorship: if the filmmaker is queer,

then the film (most likely) is also queer; 3) reception and ways of spectatorship: Alexander Doty, for instance has offered queer readings of Classical Hollywood movies (Doty 2000); 4) certain film genres might be considered queer, are likely to be read as queer or lend themselves to queer filmmaking due to their specific characteristics, a few examples would be the horror film, science fiction film, the Hollywood musical or animation; 5) the act of experiencing film, i.e. the psychological process of looking at and identifying with characters can be thought of as queer. This broad definition offered by Benshoff and Griffin already encompasses a much larger array of strategies and techniques of how film can be thought of as "queer" in a non-normative sense of the term. Here the definition of queer cinema alludes to a wider and more fluid definition of queering cinema, which is both epistemological and political and goes beyond mere identity representation. Such a definition rests on the "paradigm that 'queer' does not refer to what one *is*, but what one *does*, 'queer' cinema is not the expression of an identity, but instead of a history" (Cascais/Ferreira 2014: 27).

This definition also alludes to a differentiation that could be made between LGBT representation and queer cinema. While the former aims at identitarian, and often "positive," representation, the latter searches for new ways of expression of art and culture. Several queer filmmakers have argued that queer filmmaking necessarily is more than exchanging gay and lesbian characters in a straight plotline. Barbara Hammer, pioneer lesbian experimental filmmaker since the 1970s, has argued that queer culture and experience need to be expressed in fundamentally different and radical ways: instead of imitating heteronormative narrative structures from mainstream film, she argues for innovative new from developed in experimental film (Hammer 1993). New Queer Cinema filmmaker John Greyson follows the same argument and experiments with genre vehicles such as the musical (*Zero Patience*) or opera (*Fig Trees*) to transport highly political messages about HIV/AIDS to an audience that would otherwise not be interested. Roy Grundman explains: "Greyson doesn't believe that gay characters can take the same place in a narrative as straights—it simply doesn't work for either audience. His narratives are thus punctuated with fantasy sequences and look like Judy Garland musicals from MGM's glamor days." (Grundman 1992)

With the success of a new flock of films that explored queer strategies in representation in the early 1990s, for which critic B. Ruby Rich coined the term New Queer Cinema (Rich 1992), a new aesthetics became available that resulted from queer film culture and

queer experience and addressed queer audiences. As LGBT/Q representation has moved more into the mainstream, the available images of LGBT/Q culture and lives have multiplied. Now that such images are widely available, discussions about the limitation of identity representations in the confines of the subcultural realm are moving in a different direction.

Recent arthouse films seem to find queer elements alluring. Discussions of art films which feature a lesbian plot line in films (usually made by straight white men)—ranging from the controversial 2013 Cannes winner *La vie d'Adèle–Chapitres 1 et 2/Blue Is the Warmest Color* (Abdellatif Kechiche) to 2014 Cannes competition film *Clouds of Sils Maria* (Olivier Assayas)—cover issues of authenticity in representation (*Adèle*) to "queer-baiting" (*Sils Maria*). "Queer-baiting" is a new term for films which superficially play on queer titillation but finally refuse to deliver a (lesbian) identitarian acknowledgement of the presented sexual desires, thereby gaining access to the queer audience bracket without offending potentially homophobic straight audiences. Both films are examples where discussions around fluid identities vary from the reading as uncomfortable queer-baiting to postmodern, post-identity, post-gay victory of fluidity, and ultimately the reading depends on the positioning and framing for and within an audience. To a straight arthouse audience these films might seem progressive, whereas in an LGBT/Q film festival setting they might seem lacking, especially when viewed in direct comparison to other films on offer.

LGBT/Q film festivals are the platforms where the changes in queer cinema production and representation crystallize, because all elements of queer film culture come together in a community of artists, spectators and activists. These factors represent the whole spectrum of the larger film culture and industry (production, exhibition and reception) and join forces together in an ever-shifting and evolving film culture. Therefore, LGBT/Q film festivals are the place where queer cinema is performed, negotiated and defined. LGBT/Q film festival programming needs to reflect the complexities of historically developed affirmative identity politics, economic (self-)exploitation and marketability, self-confinement and so-called "ghettoization" in community logics, and shifting meanings of an anti-normative "queer" politics when the societal norms are equally evolving.

2.3 Curators and Screening Committees: Gatekeepers and Mediators

The main actors in the selection and programming process are the festival programmers, who act as a gatekeepers and tastemakers. On the impact of film circulation, Ramon Lobato states that "[d]istribution plays a crucial role in film culture—it determines what films we see, and when and how we see them; and it also determines what films we do *not* see" (2012: 2). Following the argument that film festivals form an alternative distribution circuit, they will perform this role of deciding what audiences see or do not see. This holds true even more when considering the large amount of films that will not receive theatrical distribution. Thus, programmers are influential gatekeepers. The job of selecting films for the program is highly subjective and often decisions are not transparent. This adds to the suspicion about the selection processes and the negative view of these (necessary) gatekeepers. A number of practice handbooks try to reveal what is going on *Behind the Screens* (Gann 2012) and how to get a film selected (e.g. cf. Gore 2009). Film festival studies also tries to shed light on the programming procedures and gain insight into the strategies and structures by interviewing festival programmers and directors (Iordanova 2011: 189–190).

In the case of LGBT/Q film festivals, programmers not only influence the run of a film and its potential life beyond the film festival circuit, they also help define what "qualifies" as queer cinema by way of selecting and showcasing relevant films.[10] I will turn to programming strategies in more detail soon. Before moving on to the curatorial considerations, I would like to briefly discuss the role of the actors who perform those choices.

Since LGBT/Q film festivals deal with the double responsibility, 1) towards the film and filmmaker and 2) to representing their constituency, different structural strategies have evolved. In a first approach, the festival director is the person taking sole responsibility for the festival vision, its selection, and curation. This is a structure that most generalist festivals follow since the age of the programmer arrived in the late 1960s (cf. De Valck 2007: 167). The identities. Queer Film Festival in Vienna is one such example of an LGBT/Q film festival with a directorial vision. Barbara Reumüller,

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[10] Jonathan Rachel Williams has taken up this argument to look at the availability of trans* media and the reception practices and experiences of trans* people in Melbourne, with the example of looking at practices of the Melbourne Queer Film Festival (Williams 2011: 172–193)

founder and director of the festival, has been responsible for the vision and selection of the festival since its inception. She is the mastermind behind the program and articulates her idea of queer cinema through her programming (cf. Reumüller 2006; Seefranz 2012). In a second approach, a festival is curated by a main programmer, but the program is extended by guest programmers. Guest curatorscan bring in external expertise and diversify the program. However, guest curating can also have its pitfalls as will be discussed in programming strategies below (see also Loist 2008). A third approach invites a diverse group of people as representatives of the festival constituency to serve on a screening committee. This approach is an attempt at performing community on the level of selection and curation. Depending on the size and profile of the festival, these approaches can also be mixed and combined.

LGBT/Q film festivals are places where community politics and representational discourses intersect. Because of this, certain ethical discussions and considerations regarding identity-based programming and specifically about LGBT/Q representation in programming are pertinent. A recurring discussion revolves about the question as to whether curators need to be involved participants of the community they serve. Early representational logics of LGBT/Q festival programming followed the idea that audiences (we) wanted to see themselves (us) on the screen, thus, programmers were imagined as authentic representatives and (co-)creators of the presented images. An ideal of imagined authenticity and allegiance becomes visible behind this strategy. In several festivals, for instance, lesbians program lesbian film, trans* filmmakers are asked to support trans* programming as assistant or guest curators, and queer of color curators are asked to raise the profile of racially diverse programming (I will come back to these strategies in more detail below).

Interestingly, this tendency to stabilize identities in terms of representation is even further essentialized in the practice of outsourcing certain curatorial tasks to guest curators who function as "experts" and are often representatives of the portrayed group, such as trans* filmmakers or queer of color artists. From a practical angle, it is understandable that specific help is sought from specialized curators—the logic being that those individuals have contacts to their in-group peers, which might be hard to establish by the "regular" festival programmer. At the same time, it seems that this strategy of outsourcing relieves the main programmer of the task of fostering

relationships with all sorts of diverse filmmakers and groups, and instead idealizes some sort of "authenticity" in form of a guest-curated program (cf. Rastegar 2012, 2013).

The creation of a lesbian or trans* programming position within an LGBT/Q festival organization is symptomatic of the larger trend of involving audience members in selection committees that Ger Zielinski identifies as beginning in the late 1980s. Such committees help pre-screen and review a vast number of submissions, then offer comments and a collective vote for consideration to the head programmer. Selection committees typically represent a diverse range of community members and serve as sounding boards for a variety of tastes and identities. This part of the selection process, with its commitment to community representation, marks a stark differentiation from general film festivals, which "place their confidence in the connoisseurship of their respective programmers to select films and group them into enticing, relevant programs" (Zielinski 2009: 982). Screening committees conveniently solve a number of organizational problems: on the one hand, they help perform collective identity in their active practice of inclusion and representation of the diverse constituency; on the other hand, they help to actually manage the increasing workload, especially for short film submissions, and get the work done on a volunteer basis.

2.4 LGBT/Q Programming Strategies

The programming—that is the arrangement and curation of the selected films—of a festival is a performative act in itself. The program reflects a contemporary position vis-à-vis film trends or make a cinephile, aesthetic, or political statement. The programmer's curatorial concept materializes in the performance (cf. Marks 2004 et al.), much like the distinction made between the unfolding of the singular, ephemeral event (performance/*Aufführung*) and the rehearsed blueprint of the performance (*Inszenierung*) by Erika Fischer-Lichte (2012: 222).

In a study analyzing the criteria and selection process for LGBT/Q film festival programming, Jamie June asked US-based festival programmers what they regarded as queer cinema (June 2003). The motivation for this question is not a trivial perception: while filmmakers create a very diverse pool of works, it is the selections made by LGBT/Q film festivals that define what audiences identify as queer cinema (June 2004). The results of her study showed that the majority of festivals held on to the traditional rule of films "by, for and about", while sometimes adding "of interest to," the LGBT

community. A smaller fraction of festivals actively pursue inclusion of work that is not easily identified as LGBT.[11]

In the following section,[12] I will trace common programming mechanisms of LGBT/Q film festivals and place them within their historical context. I will draw mainly on examples in short film curating, because here the strategies become more apparent, not only because of their condensed form. Due to a shortage of resources, minority film production has created more output in the short format, which is often bundled together for lack of feature-length material (cf. Stryker 1996; Olson 2006).

For the purpose of clarity, I would like to point out that the programming strategies used by many LGBT/Q film festivals have developed over time in accordance with the then-current discussions in the gay, lesbian and queer movements. And, for any individual festival, the use of certain programming strategies often has grown out of that particular festival's historic relationship with its audience and community. Thus, the fact that a festival carries the term LGBT or queer in its official title does not necessarily characterize its programming strategies. As we will see in the following examples, queer programming strategies can also be employed by so-called gay and lesbian film festivals. Similarly, traditional programming modes can be found in festivals that call themselves queer.

2.4.1 Representation By, For and About LGBT

Queer filmmaking and curating for LGBT/Q film festivals is bound to representational and identity politics and loaded with rules and expectations. As I have discussed in relation to Frameline or the festival in Hamburg in the previous chapter, early gay and lesbian film festivals were often started by filmmakers and gay activists as platforms for alternative representations. They created counterpublic spheres where non-stereotypical, non-negative images could be seen; images that the mainstream did not provide. Beyond the function of counter-representation, the festivals had a (per)formative influence on the community, as people came together to see themselves on screen and support their own art and artists. The history of LGBT/Q film festivals as

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[11] In order to engage with an audience that might question this practice, elements such as question and answer sessions with curators and/or filmmakers are offered to contextualize such work.

[12] Some material and arguments of this chapter have previously been put forward in Loist (2012, 2014).

a specific platform for positive and political images had a lasting impact on the programming of these festivals to this day.

The first typical strategy of LGBT programming is a form of direct representation that works on the imperative that audiences want to see themselves on the screen. It usually aims to comply with the demand to show positive images of community constituents. This imperative goes back to the history of the counterculture and what Ger Zielinski calls the "corrective motif" of the early gay and lesbian film festivals (2008: 129). Festivals set out to correct the (mis)representations produced by the dominant culture and circulated by mass media at the time (cf. Zielinski 2008: 68), which is related to the emergence of counterpublic spheres as will be discussed below. Many festivals wrote this concept explicitly into their mission statements[13] and vowed to present films that fit the formula "films by, for and about" gays and lesbians or the LGBT community.

As feminist discussion spilled over into gay discourses, lesbians demanded a level of representation equal to that of gay men (Stryker 1996). This corresponds to the 1980s wave of renaming "gay" film festivals as "gay and lesbian" ones, as mentioned in chapter 2. Along with the official recognition of this constituency through naming came the demand for a performative follow-up in the form of equal presentation on screen; for example, in the same number of time slots or the same number of programs. This was harder to achieve, since gender hierarchies have great impact on film production; women—and especially lesbians and trans* persons—are an under-resourced group. An incident that went down in Frameline's history as the "Lesbian Riot" had significant impact on these matters.

The Lesbian Riot erupted at a lesbian shorts program at Frameline's tenth anniversary year in 1986. Within the program "Lesbian Shorts" the 30-minute film *Ten Cents a Dance (Parallax)* by Japanese-Canadian lesbian filmmaker Midi Onodera was screened. The film consists of three parts, which the Frameline catalog described as follows:

> A striking split screen is used throughout the three scenes that make up this new Canadian film that deals with communication, sexuality and alienation. In scene one a lesbian and a straight woman discuss their planned sexual encounter. Scene

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[13] E.g. "Frameline's mission is to strengthen the diverse lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community and further its visibility by supporting and promoting a broad array of cultural representations and artistic expression in film, video and other media arts." (http://www.frameline.org/about/news/ 28 Apr. 2008)

two is an extended overhead shot of two men who meet in a bathroom stall. Scene
three depicts phone sex between a man and a woman. (Frameline 1986: 10)

When the first (the lesbian) scene ended and gay bathroom sex came on, audience members wanted the film to be turned off. Film historian Judith Mayne explains that the riot erupted because the film was not seen as a proper "lesbian film" (Mayne 1991, 2003). The context for this assessment is that—although the festival name was changed to "Frameline: Gay and Lesbian Film & Video Festival" to include the world Lesbian in 1982—discontent about the lack of lesbian representation had been simmering for a while (Stryker 1996: 366–367). Very little lesbian material was available and thus, little was shown. When the precious and eagerly anticipated lesbian shorts program did, so to speak, "give up" 20 minutes of lesbian screen time in featuring gay male and heterosexual images it was seen as time utterly wasted. The lesbian audience wanted only lesbian sex on the screen of a lesbian shorts program (see Mayne 1991, 2003; Halberstam 1992; Rich 1999).

Frameline took this incident very seriously. As a response to the Lesbian Riot, Frameline initiated three crucial changes both on a programming level and on a structural level (cf. Loist 2008: 167–169). First, the Board of Directors decided on a 50 per cent quota of lesbian films to aim for gender parity in the program, which was mostly met by inventive and repertory programming (Olson 2006). Second, Frameline invited a special guest curator for lesbian films—Annette Förster, who also curated for the Amsterdam Lesbian and Gay film festival, admittedly only starting at the 15th edition of the festival in 1991, i.e. five years after the incident—which later became a co-director position. Third, Frameline took a proactive stance towards financially supporting lesbian films and filmmakers and to actively change the situation of under-representation (Lumpkin in Gerhard 2007). For the active funding of films a completion fund was established, which especially encouraged women and people of color to apply.

As the twentieth century came to a close, discussions about identity and representational politics shifted. Other groups demanded representation in turn; in the past decade, the B for bisexual and the T for trans* were added to many festival names. Along with the new names, festivals added program slots that cater to these groups (see also chapter 2, Loist 2008). In parallel with the demand for diversifying representation along gender/sexuality lines, criticism by black feminists and, later, by queers of color prompted awareness of racial and ethnic diversity within the community. As a result,

festivals also made efforts to include these subgroups, creating what Richard Fung calls "dedicated" programs, which in his view results from "curatorial laziness" (Fung 1999: 91). Festivals that responded to community criticism simultaneously expanded their audience bases. Since the 1990s, programs like "Jewish queer shorts," "Latino shorts," "Asian-American shorts," and "Queer of Color shorts" have appeared in the programming of larger LGBT/Q festivals.

This pattern of diversification is usually a programming strategy of addition, which is only possible at the larger festivals. While this strategy of gender diversity and multicultural pluralism has good intentions (Gamson 1996: 233) in trying to include groups through the promise of visibility, it also proves quite problematic. With the creation of separate programs featuring trans* or bisexual films, Asian-American or Jewish shorts, these themes started to drop out of the more notorious "mainstream" programs of gay male or lesbian short films which almost every larger LGBT/Q film festival features. San Francisco's Frameline festival, for example, has the long-running "Fun in Boys' Shorts" and "Fun in Girls' Shorts" programs, while Germany's Verzaubert Queer Film Festival featured its traditional "Gay Propaganda Night" and "The Elle World." Writing about such programming in the 1995 Frameline festival, Marc Siegel noted that these slots had a tendency for white, clean, sanitized programs (1997). These programs left out issues of trans* or racial politics, which then seemed to be treated like mere minority issues in terms of programming structures, assumed not to be of interest to the overall queer community. Thus, these programs could be seen to cater to a mainstreamed, homonormative, sponsorship-friendly group—an imagined white, affluent homosexual (male) middle-class.[14]

Considering the economic realities of film festivals, Patricia White defends the need for sponsoring vis-à-vis political critique: "At film festivals the 'movement' may simply sit still. Festivals, however political in conception, have always had to think of lesbian, gay, and queer identities in terms of consumption." (White 1999: 75) This issue is also stressed by Ragan Rhyne (2007), who points out that LGBT/Q film festivals are intricately intertwined with neoliberal economies. The increase in neoliberal dynamics in recent years and the widening of market logics on the general cultural sector, I would

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[14] Based on an analysis of both the programming pattern of and audience statistics for Frameline 2010 and 2011, Stuart Richards shows that this indeed still the case (Richards 2012).

argue, has rather emphasized this phenomenon than helped to reverse it. While the big festivals might have stayed with the same logics, often without a clear vision or choice of how to avoid these market-driven mechanisms, as I have shown in chapter 2, smaller, younger DIY festivals have been established to counter these trends and try new ways with fresh blood, fresh ideas and less at stake financially.

Aside from performative contradictions of successful integration in the market logic, representation still plays an important role in LGBT/Q advocacy discussions that are based on visibility and recognition[15]. Even though it is clear by now that visibility does not equal social recognition and being granted equal rights, visibility and its enabling conditions are still important. This is especially true in places where power regimes utilize strategies which attempt to silence and make invisible their queer and gender variant citizens: the "homosexual propaganda" laws in Russia are a current example of this (De Guerre/Sultanova 2014).

2.4.2 Failed Performatives: The *Gendercator* Incident

Austin's conception of the performative was built on the idea that a performative utterance has transformative power if it fulfills certain (pre)conditions. If specific elements (such as the context of speech) are not met, the performative has failed. A failure would then exclude the speech act from the realm of the performative. When taking up the concept of performativity, Derrida and Butler, in contrast to Austin, expanded the concept of the performative further to the point that a constitutive element of the performative is the possibility of failure. The repetitive nature would always include failure. Indeed, in Butler's conception of gender performativity, the potential of failure (to conform to ideal norms) can function as a productive element which enables change.

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[15] Current examples are, for instance the discussions on representation and trans* acting, most recently regarding Jared Leto, who played Rayon in *Dallas Buyers Club* (2013) and won a Best Supporting Actor Oscar for it, and sparked a controversy, because he allegedly was not honoring the trans* community for the support and making this role and cultural prestige available (Selby 2014). The discussion around queer/trans* representation continues as Laverne Cox, the first (African-American) trans* actress, has gained much recognition on the Netflix series *Orange Is the New Black* (2013–).

When thinking of choosing and curating films in festival programs as a performative act, there is always the possibility that the performance fails.[16] This failure can appear on a variety of levels. One example of curatorial, performative failure is the above-mentioned incident of Frameline's "Lesbian Riot." While the "Lesbian Riot" pointed to the historical necessities of identity representation it has also shown an early instance of a clash of interests. The identities that were addressed in the programming (lesbians) did not actually respond accordingly: instead of enjoying the program they contested the label for the allegedly lesbian content. The festival performance, the unfolding of the event according to the imagined and planned script, was disrupted. Instead, as in this case, discussions, disruptions or boycotts are staged, so that the offered subject positions or identities are re-negotiated. In turn, the festival performance, and indeed as we have seen in the example of Frameline's incorporation of guest programmers in the 1990s, the long-term performance in the organization is transformed as well. As interventionist public spheres,[17] film festivals are predestined to be spaces where identities, politics and cultural activism intersect and are negotiated or fought over.

In the following section I will turn to another example of performative failure[18] that occurred in the form of festival boycott relating to festival programming. Here, I will return to the *Gendercator* incident from the introduction, to provide a detailed analysis of the negotiations of the gender/sexuality divide and the identity boundary wars of lesbian and trans* politics.

In contrast to other festivals, Frameline can show its dedication to diversity by the sheer number of films. Because of their considerably bigger budget they can afford to show a very diverse program in terms of genre, aesthetics and also specific programming. Despite these good intentions, in 2007 Frameline saw itself confronted with audience members in distress. As the introduction to this chapter stated, Frameline found itself sliding into heated discussions around identity and representation. The trans*

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[16] For the analysis of a theater performance, Fischer-Lichte differentiates between the unfolding of the performance (*Aufführung*) and its preparation and template of the performance (*Inszenierung*). Adapting this to the performative dimension of curating, the program can be seen as the *Inszenierung*, the template of an envisioned reception. The actual performance, the event, however, can diverge—in the case of the Lesbian Riot and the *Gendercator* incident considerably—from the script.

[17] The notion of the festival as a public sphere and specifically an intervention public sphere will be developed in more detail below in section 4.2.

[18] On the notion of productive, queer failure see Halberstam (2011).

community of San Francisco rallied and dismissed Catherine Crouch's short film *Gendercator,* scheduled as part of the sci-fi shorts program "OUTer Limits," on grounds of transphobia.[19] This interpretation was mainly based on the director's statement on her website,[20] since most protesters had not had a chance to see the film, which at that point had only screened in Chicago, Miami and New York. In response to the many emails and calls that the festival office received from concerned trans* activists, the film was withdrawn from the line-up. Lesbian filmmakers and activists fought back in the traditional fashion: they called for petitioning against what they perceived to be censorship by writing an open letter to Frameline, handing out leaflets and picketing the cinema (Bajko 2007a).

In this incident festival staff was put in the position of having to rethink their programming decision and their relation to the community they want to serve. They decided to cancel the film to show their support for the San Francisco trans* community. Their decision was probably also influenced by the afore-mentioned Lesbian Riot that shocked Frameline in 1986.

That this kind of a separatist discussion about transphobic images or the expression of a controversial point of view (i.e. Crouch's argument)—echoing the decade-old butch/FTM border wars (Halberstam 1998, Hale 1998)—was still going on, needs to be seen in the festival's tradition of identity affirming politics. A challenge of certain identities is not encouraged as has become obvious by the above-mentioned strategy of adding dedicated programs, such as "Transfrancisco" or the "Queer Women of Color Shorts" rather than mixing fluid representation and challenge the idea of fixed identities, which can occasionally be found in experimental programs.

In order to provide a bit of background on the discussion, I will offer a brief analysis of the film *Gendercator* and look at the differences between the intended reading (as purported by the filmmaker) and the reading of the protesters (influenced by the director's statement) and propose an analysis of why the potential alliance between a lesbian feminist and a transgender position, such as the common quest against a

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[19] I would like to thank Susan Stryker for the opportunity to present preliminary work on the *Gendercator* controversy when it was very recent at the "TransSomatechnics: Theories and Practices of Transgender Embodiment" Conference at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, 2008.

[20] http://www.catherinecrouch.com (4 July 2007)

normative binary gender system, broke apart before it could form. Second, focusing on the local debate in San Francisco and the context of Frameline, I will ask why the debate yielded such intense discussions there. From an outsider's perspective, it is curious that in the name of community support, a controversial film was pulled from the program at the world's largest LGBT film festival, thereby forestalling any political debate in the community.

The *Gendercator* incident became a lightning rod for ongoing discussions on the border wars between lesbian feminism and trans* activism. After the cancellation of the film at Frameline a long list of discussions took place and several articles have returned to this event (e.g. Stryker/Halberstam/Walters 2008; Lawless 2009; Salah 2011; Stein 2011; Halberstam 2012c).

The Gendercator is a 15-minute science-fiction film consisting of a framing narrative based in 1973 and an internal dystopian narrative, inserted as a nightmare, set in 2048. In the story, Sunshine Sally—in the words of the filmmaker "a simple-minded, sporty type" (Crouch 2007)—falls asleep after smoking pot at a party celebrating Billie Jean King's victory over Bobby Riggs in 1973 and wakes up 75 years later in 2048. When Sally starts to dress like she used to in the 1970s, namely wearing jeans, flannel shirt and sporting a tomboy haircut, she is informed that gender variant behavior is no longer tolerated. Old friends of Sally's tell her how evangelical Christians took over the government and thereafter "butches and fairies were no more." Crouch states in her film description that within the narrative

> in the early 2000s the evangelical Christians took over the government and legislated their strict family values, legally sanctioning only 'one man, one woman' couples. Advances in sex reassignment surgery have made it possible to honor an individual's choice of gender AND government policy. (Crouch 2007)

In the film, a new type of government official, "the gendercator," is called in to assist Sally in deciding for one of the binary gender options. The gendercator—himself born female and transitioned—tries to influence Sally and finally decides for her that it would be best for her to be "gendercated" as male. A sympathetic nurse, however, calls in a lesbian collective to rescue Sally and to bring her home. When she thinks she is safe, Sally seems to wake up in a panic looking at the result of involuntary gender reassignment surgery. Fade to white. Cut to Sally, who wakes up from the nightmare and strolls happily through the 1973 party scene.

Filmmaker Catherine Crouch describes her film *The Gendercator* as "a short, satirical take on gender and social norms. The story uses the 'Rip van Winkle' model to extrapolate from the past into a possible future." (Crouch 2007) In an interview, Crouch states that for her "it is important to work against the rigid gender binaries of the larger culture that enable violence and harassment of the masculine female or effeminate male. It is harmful to everyone that an individual's safety and identity is defined by conformity to normative standards" and she adds that "this is what *The Gendercator* is all about." (Curtis 2007)

From this point of view there should be ample opportunity for alliances, including a transgender-feminist alliance, with the common goal of working towards a future without a binary gender system. Now why could this alliance not form? For an explanation let me present an opposing reading of the film contrasting the intended reading by Crouch. The film was seen as at least "problematic" by members of the trans* community, or "appalling" and "naïve" as Jules Rosskam reportedly put it (Bajko 2007a), "ignorant" and "anti-trans" as is stated in the petition to pull the film from Frameline's line-up (Halaand 2007a), if not outright "transphobic" (Stryker 2007).

Let me briefly quote from Susan Stryker's assessment of the *Gendercator*, since this is the most prominent critique of the film, which after being posted as a comment to the Frameline petition was reposted to several websites/blogs involved in the protest. She states:

> The film expresses a long-familiar anti-transgender polemic: the idea that transsexuals are anti-gay, anti-feminist political reactionaries who collude with repressive social and cultural power; furthermore, that transsexuals are complicit in the non-consensual bodily violation of women. (Stryker 2007)

One of the most commented-on points in the film is the association of transsexuals with right-wing Christian politics. In the film Sally's old friend (known to her as Linda), who was forced to transition in order to be able to stay together with her/his girlfriend (Rachel), explains to her:

> It all began with the Evangelicans. You know, 'one man, one woman' and all that. And then the next thing we knew the trannies went along with it. […] Before long butches and fairies were forced to change, you had to be a man or a woman, no more in-between.

This dystopian dream sequence imagines a very unlikely scenario, one that is tapping into long-standing anti-trans stereotypes of trans people being conservative (gender-)reactionaries, as Stryker has pointed out.

However, in defense of the dystopian genre framework and a fictitious "as if/what if," it should be noted that there are indeed critical discussions warning of possible situations in which progressive politics have been appropriated by conservative discourses.[21] Thus, a mere imagining of it must maybe not be read as transphobic per se. A dystopian genre[22] is a viable form of imagining a scary future. This, however, does not mean that I propose the film is unproblematic. Another point of critique is related to what Crouch mentions being interested in and calls "body modification" (Crouch 2007).

If Crouch is indeed interested in 1) problems of medicalization and patriarchal medical power being asserted over women's bodies, and 2) argues that young FTMs—or rather "young women who are taking testosterone or undergoing voluntary mastectomies to enhance their masculinity, […] women who formerly identified, or would be considered by the lesbian community, as butch lesbians" (Crouch 2007)— if she is concerned that they transition or use medical technologies to change their appearance in reaction to social pressure or misogyny, or as she said in an interview "to avoid harassment, rape and ridicule as a gender variant (i.e. butch or androgynous)" (Crouch in Curtis 2007)—, if these are the issues at stake for her, then why is it a trans* character, Tork,—and not a cisgender male—who decides for Sally and seemingly overrides her own wishes? This evokes, as Stryker asserts, the tradition of presenting "transsexuals [as being] complicit in the non-consensual bodily violation of women." (Stryker 2007)

On another level, the director's statement did not help to deescalate the controversy. Most commentators in the San Francisco end of the discussion had not seen the film, because at that time it had only played at three events (at The Miami Gay and Lesbian

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[21] One such example is the discussion around emigration regulations in Europe where questionnaires had been designed to filter out the undesired, imaginary non-integrable migrants, i.e. those who are labeled as conservative or fundamentalist, by asking questions about public displays of homosexuality. Such questionnaires used homosexuality to superficially label the country as liberal, while implicitly exploiting anti-Islamic tendencies by assuming Muslims would comment negatively on the display of homosexuality. This excursion proposes one example in which progressive or radical politics can be aligned with conservative discourses without being very obvious or consciously chosen.

[22] For a more detailed analysis of the film *The Gendercator* in light of genre conventions and dystopian narrative listen to Judith Jack Halberstam's remarks within the panel discussion "Incite!/Insight?: FTM and Lesbian Representations Pushing the Dialogue" taking place at the PRIDE Film Festival in Bloomington, IN, 26 January 2008. (Stryker/Halberstam/Walters 2008)

Film Festival, Chicago Filmmakers, and NewFest: The New York LGBT Film Festival (Pulley 2007; Sullivan 2007). Thus, most people were arguing on the basis of the director's note:

> Things are getting very strange for women these days. More and more often we see young heterosexual women carving their bodies into porno Barbie dolls and lesbian women altering themselves into transmen. Our distorted cultural norms are making women feel compelled to use medical advances to change themselves, instead of working to change the world. This is one story, showing one possible scary future. I am hopeful that this movie will foster discussion about female body modification and medical ethics. (Crouch 2007)

The instances mentioned above clearly show why there was no actual dialog going on about issues such as social norms, medicalization, patriarchy and misogyny as Crouch had proposed as points of discussion. Rather it turned out to be a new border war between lesbian feminists afraid of a so-called "butch flight," on the one end, and trans* folk on the other, who saw themselves accused as pressuring masculine lesbians into transitioning.

Now, of more relevance than the different readings of this film is the question why the local debate in San Francisco and the context of Frameline yielded such intense discussions. It seems very curious that a controversial film is pulled from the program at the world's largest LGBT film festival, an event states that it is devoted to diverse representation of the community. In my view this would also include screening controversial films and making room for an appropriate discussion. It is even more curious, when the cancellation of a screening forestalls a political debate in the community in the name of community support, which is what happened at Frameline.

The discussion was not only limited to San Francisco.[23] Indeed, the discussion was started by (then) Chicago-based filmmakers Jules Rosskam and Sam Feder (Bajko 2007a; Pulley 2007), when they saw the film screened in Chicago on 12 May 2007. The discontent about the film was communicated and spread online very rapidly.[24] However, the climax of the debate and ultimately the removal, i.e. the censoring of the film, did happen in San Francisco. Because it happened in San Francisco it most likely

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[23] Although some critics, like J. Halberstam pointed to the specificity of the San Francisco context (Stryker/Halberstam/Walters 2008).

[24] It was in San Francisco, where most of the (at least traceable and visible) discussion about how to deal with the film happened.

had repercussions for other places, for two reasons. First, San Francisco is known for its visible and outspoken queer community and proclaimed radical politics (Stryker/van Buskirk 1996). Thus, the community is seen as a leading example. Second, Frameline hosts the oldest and one of the largest LGBT/Q film festivals and is "an extremely influential part of the gay and lesbian media world" (Gerhard 1994: 28) involved also in distribution and consulting. Many other festivals look to and feed off of Frameline's programming. Thus, Frameline's decision to cancel an already programmed film set an (unintended) precedent, which probably contributed to the fact that most of the festivals after Frameline screened *The Gendercator* with an accompanying discussion.

After having discussed the film and its different readings that led to the petition to not show the film at Frameline, it seems obvious why *The Gendercator* has been pulled from the line-up. But what were the mechanisms behind the decision and why did Frameline decide to flat-out cancel the film instead of rearranging the exhibition circumstances and offering a forum of discussion?

In order to answer this question let me trace the steps involved in this procedure. First, the film reached Frameline, probably through regular submission. Then, it had to go through the selection process. Frameline uses the dual system of 1) organizing (in 2006 six or seven) screening/selection committees to give their impressions of the 300 to 400 submissions (cf. Morris 2006) and 2) the curator then deciding about the selection and programs, aided by, but not bound to the recommendations of the screening committee (cf. Olson 2006). Newspaper reports suggest that the film passed the screening committee, which reportedly includes two members of the transgender community (Bajko 2007a). The same report emphasizes that Director of Programming, Jennifer Morris, states she "could not say if either of them had raised objections to Crouch's film" (Bajko 2007a). This could mean several things: 1) Morris wants to protect the trans* members of the screening committee, so as to not blame them, regardless of whether they have seen the film or not, or raised objections or not. 2) If a number of screening committees was working, most likely not all of them watched all films, thus the film was not necessarily seen by the trans* committee members. 3) Personal information indicates that the film might not have passed or was not even in a screening committee package. Instead the programmers were aware that the film might ensue criticism, asked for another opinion, that person thought it was clearly a satire, and ultimately the film was programmed in a sci-fi program (cf. Stryker 2008).

In mid-May Chicago-based (trans*) filmmaker Jules Rosskam saw the film and found content as well as presentation problematic (Crouch was in attendance at the Chicago screening) and decided to spread the word to friends and colleagues in the community (cf. Bajko 2007a, Stryker 2008). This lead to an online movement which culminated in posting a "Petition to Stop a Transphobic Film in Frameline LGBT Film Festival" (Halaand 2007b).

After people had heard about the film being perceived as problematic, several people contacted Frameline. In a first statement on 17 May 2007, Frameline Festival Director Michael Lumpkin shows concern for the criticism that has reached Frameline (Lumpkin 2007). The rhetorical maneuver is to address the director's note—rather than the film itself—which programmers were unaware of and which was quoted extensively in the debate. The second step was to win time and inform the community, their concerns were heard and assistance sought:

> Frameline takes these issues and concerns very seriously. With long and proud history of partnering with and supporting our Transgender community, Frameline is deeply troubled by the content of the filmmaker's 'Director's Note' listed on her web site. Frameline staff members were not aware of these comments when the film was submitted for Festival consideration and subsequently programmed.
>
> Frameline's senior staff are now in the process of determining the best course of action. Frameline is currently speaking with members of the Transgender community, the filmmaker and other community members to resolve this situation. Frameline thanks our community members for bringing this issue to our attention. We look forward to working together in seeking a solution. (Lumpkin 2007)

Two days later (19 May 2007) the controversy stepped up a notch when a "Petition To Stop a Transphobic Film in Frameline LGBT Film Festival" (Halaand 2007b) was posted to the San Francisco blog *Left in SF*. This petition informed community members about the criticism of transphobia and urged them to sign the petition, contact Frameline (Halaand 2007a), and demand the film be removed from the line-up.

A few days later, on 22 May 2007—meanwhile more than 100 people had signed the petition—Frameline issued a press release (Frameline 2007) about the decision to pull the film from the line-up. The decision is justified with the comment:

> Given the nature of the film, the director's comments, and the strong community reaction to both, it is clear that this film cannot be used to create a positive and meaningful dialogue within our festival. (Frameline 2007)

That Frameline decided to pull the film and apologize for an error in judgment is quite understandable considering that Frameline did not want to lose a part of their audience

constituency. The decision was met by the trans* community and the initiator of the petition with "Frameline does the right thing!" (Halaand 2007c).

When considering the options more carefully, this reaction seems quite one-dimensional, though. A film is programmed. Some people find it objectionable. The organization convenes and decides to cancel the film in order to avoid further criticism. The film and its description are even immediately erased from the online catalog. Because of unfortunate timing, the film is still visible in the print catalog as the proofs had already been at the printers at the time. Otherwise the festival could have pretended never to have even programmed the subject of heated debate.

On a more complex level, cancelling the film was not exactly the reaction which was intended by some parts of the community. Instead some people—including former Frameline Board member and protester Susan Stryker—had called for a different context in which the film should be shown. Behind the scenes and before the official announcement of Frameline's decision Stryker (and others?) suggested organizing a separate screening in a different slot which would provide an opportunity for the dialog that filmmaker Crouch was proposing in her website commentary (Stryker 2008).

Instead, as the press release states, Frameline thought "it is clear that this film cannot be used to create a positive and meaningful dialogue within our festival." (Frameline 2007) Programming Director Jennifer Morris stated also that "there would be no point in a screening of the film with a discussion since it would so clearly offend half the audience" (Morris in Sullivan 2007). This argument might be a deflection for another reason given, namely the "festival did not have the time to put together a panel [in the] summer" and later when "Center staff contacted them about doing their own forum, Frameline agreed to support the event" (Bajko 2007c). There is no evidence about how much Frameline was involved in the organization of the screening and discussion that took place 26 Oct. 2008 at the LGBT Community Center in San Francisco. But Frameline did announce the event as part of their weekly newsletter.

The question is why Frameline felt that there could not be a "positive and meaningful dialogue within [the] festival" (Frameline 2007). Considering the history and mission of Frameline, an LGBT/Q film festival—especially one of the age, size and importance of Frameline—should be exactly the place where a discussion about the issues at hand would be possible. LGBT/Q film festivals are the public forum that festival organizers,

film scholars and community activists alike have praised for doing exactly this: providing a space where the community can gather and discuss issues of representation, politics and internal division (cf. White 1999; Fung 1999; Stryker/Halberstam/Walters 2008).

Like many LGBT/Q film festivals, Frameline does take on this task of talking about representations and providing a platform for workshops, panel discussions or conferences where filmmakers, audiences and film critics or theorists come together to debate about forms of representations and community politics.[25] However, despite good intentions Frameline has seen significant discussions about representation before, most notably in the above-mentioned Lesbian Riot. This historical incident might indirectly have influenced the decision regarding *The Gendercator*. During the 2007 festival, Frameline Artistic Director Michael Lumpkin talked to lesbian protesters opposing the censorship of the film and reportedly said "he understands their concerns but was fearful [that] showing the film would have resulted in 'an angry mob' showing up to the theater" (Bajko 2007b).

At first sight these two incidents, more than 20 years apart, seem quite similar in terms of representational struggles within LGBT history. However, there are several significant differences discernible in the comparison of the Lesbian Riot and *Gendercator* Incidents: the two incidents had a different set-up and different issues were at stake.

The Lesbian Riot was a spontaneous reaction against a certain representation on screen within the specific context of a "dedicated" lesbian screening. When the film screened the same year also in a mixed Canadian shorts program it was no problem at all (Mayne/Onodera 2003). Furthermore, the reaction was grounded in a long-standing frustration with the lack of lesbian images and the feeling that "Frameline paid scant attention to lesbian concerns," a feeling supported by the fact supported by the fact that lesbian films screened at the smaller, less prestigious Roxie cinema (Stryker 1996: 367). In addition, the Lesbian Riot needs to be situated in 1980s feminist politics that demanded equal inclusion of women. Directly or indirectly articulated demands were:

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[25] A few examples are the "Rules of Attraction: Conference on Lesbian and Gay Media" (Frameline 1990:12), the two editions of the "Persistent Vision Conference" 2001 and 2006 (Frameline 2001 and 2006).

equal representation (in numbers) and positive identitarian representation, as well as institutional representation.

Twenty years later, after two decades of discussions about representation and identity politics, the issues at stake in the *Gendercator* incident seem to be a bit more complicated. While at the Lesbian Riot there had been complaints about lack of (enough) lesbian material, this kind of quantitative claim has not been (openly?) articulated in the same way by trans* audiences. Frameline has actively included films dealing with gender/trans/body issues at least since the early 1990s.[26] Thus, on the level (of surface) inclusion of trans* representation there seems to be nothing wrong with Frameline's programming. However, some members of the trans* community felt a disconnection or alienation from Frameline as an organization.

Susan Stryker suggests that Frameline tries to be trans-inclusive (Stryker 2008), but is ultimately bound up in its homonormative structure or "liberal accommodationism" (Bajko 2007a). She goes on that "as an organization Frameline still imagines gay and lesbian as the center of what it is they are doing and that intersex or trans or kink or fetish or whatever initials are in the queer alphabet soup are add-ons to the central focus.[27]" (Bajko 2007 #1229)

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[26] For instance in programs such as *Gender/Body/Self* (Frameline 1992: 38–39), *Crossing the Gender Divide* (Frameline 1995: 20); an intersex program (curated by Susan Stryker 1996?), *Transfrancisco* (Frameline 2006), several films that have been supported by the Completion Fund, one third of films that screen free at The Center (Frameline 2007).

[27] In Stryker's understanding, there have been a number of instances that made the asserted support of the transgender faction of the community questionable. One, was maybe more of a personal insider perception of the way the festival history was portrayed at the 30th anniversary opening of the festival when a Board member quoted almost verbatim the official Frameline history, which was incidentally even a commissioned piece written by Stryker, and left out the mention of a transgender film that had played already at the very first festival. Clearly this is a very individual and intimate perception and one that probably no one else would or even could have made. Two, the Persistent Vision Conference at Frameline30 in 2006 hosted a panel called "Emerging Voices." On this panel appeared San Francisco-based transgender, intersex, Latino, people of color filmmakers most of whom cannot really be called emerging (because some had made films for years) but rather "marginalized" within the larger LGBT community. Three, film critic B. Ruby Rich spoke in an address at the Festival conference about new trends in what she had termed "New Queer Cinema" and pointed out that "transgender seemed to be the new queer." What she meant to say was that new energetic films were being made in the transgender community, it came out however, rather muddled. Members of the transgender community wanted her to clarify her point but (felt like) they were dismissed. These issues stated by Stryker led to the feeling of alienation within the trans* community from Frameline as organization and film festival. (Cf. Stryker 2008)

When *The Gendercator* hit the scene, the source of the problem was probably not really that single film, but rather Frameline's programming politics and issues of larger inclusion of trans* concerns within the queer community, and within the community organization Frameline.

Stryker's assessment of Frameline as a good-willed but essentially homonormative organization—I would link this to a form of deeply identity-bound lobby politics—can be supported when one considers Frameline's—and to be fair, most LGBT/Q film festivals'—programming strategies. As stated before, Frameline is indeed interested in diversity and does try to incorporate all kinds of fractions within the queer community. However, like many LGBT/Q festivals, despite trends of inclusion they often unwittingly do foster identitarian separation of groups within the larger community.

This development is grounded in a history where communities have not always developed together or in the same spaces. Gender-segregated programming "catered to a generation accustomed to gender-separate gay and lesbian social spaces" explains Richard Fung, former programmer at Inside Out, the Toronto Lesbian and Gay Film and Video Festival (Fung 1999: 91).

This identitarian strategy seems to be so embedded in community politics that it is implicitly also drawn on in the *Gendercator* debate. On the one hand, it is assumed that only trans* people can prevent a transphobic film from being screened, when the news report about the incident points out that it is curious how this film can have passed the screening committee with two trans* members in it (Bajko 2007a). On the other hand, the organization is seen as potentially transphobic for not employing a trans* person.

Given the mechanisms of programming and other community politics, it might be logical to demand institutional representation in an LGBT/Q media organization such as Frameline, not only virtually on the screen but also within the ranks of the organization. As Susan Stryker pointed out, aside from her one-year term (1995?) there has been no trans* representative on Frameline's Board of Directors and there is no trans* person on staff. Echoing the organizational effects of the Lesbian Riot, which resulted among other things in creating a position for a lesbian programmer, Jennifer Morris seems to suggest that the *Gendercator* incident might have similar effects. She said, "Frameline is committed to including more of the trans community in its selection process *and organizational leadership*." (Bajko 2007a, my emphasis) And on another—more anti-

identitarian note she adds, "If anything comes of this, all of us in the LGBT community need to be greater aware of issues that affect the transgender community" (Bajko 2007a).

When we look at the *Gendercator* incident as an episode in Frameline's history, which is full of identity-stabilizing examples (assimilationist in a lobby politics tradition), it is not surprising that the discussions around *The Gendercator* ended up being flattened out and framed as a fight about positive representations of trans* people. At stake in the petition to Frameline was not so much a discussion of correct representation as discussions concerning the broader awareness and inclusion of queer/trans politics.

Within the discussion about the film and its position within LGBT/Q film festivals many different debates were conflated into one: the anxiety of feminist lesbians of the "butch flight"[28], the accusation of FTM pressure, debates about positive representation vs. FTM/transsexual stereotypes, the accusation of Frameline being unable to frame a necessary discussion, the pointing out of insufficient trans* inclusion in this instance and on a broader level within LGBT politics etc. The discussion that would be needed to address and disentangle these complex issues did not take place, even though the *Gendercator* incident was partially engineered to engender such a discussion. Instead, the discussion got stuck in a familiar lesbian feminist vs. trans* border war over an alleged "butch flight" when trannies[29] were framed as censors to lesbian work. In this categorization, a broader discussion about the inclusion of trans and queer politics in the LGBT community was largely missed. I would argue that because the controversy was set-up and framed—partially by the rhetoric of the petition, but also by filmmaker Crouch through her (rewritten) controversial director's note—as one between lesbian feminists and the transgender community, especially its FTM faction, the broader controversial points underlying the debate could not really be addressed. The prevailing identitarian subgroup politics of L–G–B–T were played out against each other (L vs. T)—at least in this debate in San Francisco—while a larger critique of the neoliberal, homonormative, "accomodationist" structure of Frameline and many other LGBT/Q

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[28] This was also mentioned in the documentary *Boy I Am*, which came out on the LGBT/Q film festival circuit the year before, in 2006.

[29] See the recent discussion on the word "tranny" summarized and fueled by a *Bully Bloggers* post by Jack Halberstam in July 2014 (Halberstam 2014).

community organizations went mostly unheard (even at the later discussion staged in October 2007).

2.4.3 Queer Programming Strategies

Whereas the previous sections have detailed traditional and problematic strategies in LGBT/Q film festival programming, in the remainder of this subchapter I want to provide examples of progressive, constructive approaches to an inclusive, mixed and fluid way of queer programming. The chosen examples will show possibilities that aim to do something differently than the usual neoliberal expansion, and as an alternative to starting a new counter festival.

In contrast to the traditional programming strategies that have grown out of the long history of gay and lesbian activism, which have been discussed above, I want to highlight a few examples of what I have called "queer programming strategies" (Loist 2012: 165). In accordance with the political imperative put forward by the concept queer, the aim is to create a truly inclusive and diverse counterpublic. That is, one where guys would not only go to "boys" programs' and queer women of color would not (only) be hailed to go to a "queer women of color" program. It would mean a public sphere where these and other groups meet between programs and are not separated because certain programs only show in certain venues.[30]

One strategy for avoiding separatist programming along gender/sexual identity or racial/ethnic backgrounds is the obvious move to mixed programs. New York's festival of lesbian and gay experimental film and video, for instance, has a long tradition of including work that ranges across gender and racial categories (Rastegar 2009). This strategy is even reflected in the festival's name; it became MIX NYC in 1993 and is currently called MIX: New York Queer Experimental Film Festival. The programming staff and their invited guest curators focus the festival's thematic programs on current issues—such as unemployment, capitalism, gentrification, AIDS etc. (Zielinski/Jusick

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[30] I don't want to discount the fact that these festivals are largely dependent on ticket sales and will therefore program more 'mainstream' selections in bigger venues than other programs that are deemed of interest to fewer audience members. However, LGBT/queer festivals should not forget their original goal to challenge mainstream notions of representation and community.

2010)—rather than on gender or ethnicity, as has been discussed for the dedicated guest programming positions in section 2.2 above.

In the following, I will present three examples. Two examples will discuss curated short film programs that follow this route and aim to create non-essentialist programs by challenging the imperative of direct representation and ultimately asking, "What is queer cinema?" Both programs screened at the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival in 2008. The first was a program of Canadian experimental shorts called "A Complicated Queerness," the second, a program featuring teenage heroines called "Girl's Room." As a third example, I will discuss how this curatorial ideal can also be used for feature films by considering Todd Haynes' *I'm Not There* (2007).

A Complicated Queerness

"A Complicated Queerness" moves beyond one-dimensional target groups and the imperative of films "by, for and about" (with a stress on the *about*). Lauren Howes, head of the Canadian Filmmakers Distribution Centre, Canada's non-commercial distributor and resource for independently produced film, curated this program of 13 short films. Howes set out to question established assumptions of LGBT/Q programming by asking: "Is there a queer aesthetic beyond the overtly queer statement?" She described the program in the festival catalogue as follows:

> This selection of films by queer artists presents us with a range of complex images and ideas. A post-queer doctrine of work that is both complex and ambiguous. These filmmakers use visual mosaic, hand-processed film, found footage, and carefully crafted works of art on film to invoke feelings of memory and loss, heartache and struggle, often with the influential power of song. This program weaves both the very personal with political points of view in subtle and powerful ways, and celebrates the work of these queer artists through their complicated queerness. (Querbild e.V. 2008: 17)[31]

Although the films selected were made by queer artists, they did not depict explicitly queer material; there were no representations of overtly sexually determined stories, no films with a coming out, a same-sex kiss, graphic depiction of a sex-change operation or other stereotypical tropes for LGBT/Q representation. Apart from going beyond the

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[31] See also Howes 2009. The program note for "A Complicated Queerness," with a list of the films screened, is available on-line at: http://www.lsf-hamburg.de/modules/mod_timetable/programm_popup.php?id_programm=292&date=Sonntag,%2026.%20Oktober&time=17:30 (accessed 31 August 2010).

mode of direct queer representation—around which revolves an intricate discourse itself, as the discussions about the *Gendercator* or the Lesbian Riot above have shown—this curatorial strategy has the advantage of supporting queer filmmakers at a point in their careers when they have turned away from overt statements about identity or sexuality. As the results from Jamie June's (2003) empirical study on what could be called the "queerness factor" (June asked "Is it queer enough?") in programming mentioned above, has shown, this is unfortunately not a common argument. However, I do hope that other festivals also will develop curatorial practices in order to continue supporting such filmmakers.[32]

I'm Not There

The curatorial strategy employed for the "A Complicated Queerness" shorts program can also be applied to feature films. In October 2011, the *queerfilm: das schwul-lesbisch-transgender filmfestival*, located in the Northern German city of Bremen, provided me with a *Carte blanche* to select a film for one of their program slots. Organizers of a lecture series on queer art practices had invited me to present research on the programming strategies of LGBT/Q film festival and as a form of practical extension I was tasked to pick a film that would bolster the arguments I presented on queer programming. [33] Immediately I picked Todd Haynes 2007 feature film *I'm Not There*. Similar to the short films in the "Complicated Queerness" program this feature has no obvious gay or lesbian characters, the narrative includes no coming out, it does not even ostensibly revolve around sexuality. It is a film that negotiates identities, or rather that deals with various facets of an identity or a constantly fluctuating, fluid identity, namely that of legendary self-reinventor Bob Dylan.

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[32] One further example would be trans* filmmaker Bill Basquin, whose work does not deal with gender/sexuality in a direct representational way (see for instance his *Range* triptych consisting of the short experimental documentaries *Range* (2005), *Martin* (2004) and *The Last Day of November* (2001). He also argues for such as curatorial practice, while acknowledging the identity-based logic of programming: "At a queer film festival, the work is usually contextualized around themes of queerness rather than of art. I think of myself as an artist—with film as my medium. My work comes from an awareness of queer identities and queer theories, but doesn't always seem to have queer subject matter. As an artist, I really appreciate having my films programmed in a context that is other than queer, in a landscape program, for example, or a program where there isn't necessarily a theme but the curators felt that the films worked well together. I tend to get programmed this way more often in nonqueer festivals. It can be hard for queer festivals to program queer-made work that isn't explicitly queer-themed." (Bill Basquin in Straayer/Waugh 2008: 123)

[33] I would like to thank Josch Hoenes, who organized the lecture series "Un/Verblümt: Queere Ästhetiken und Theorien in Kunst, Design und Musik" at the HfK Bremen, as well as Christine Rüffert and Birgit Bannert, who programmed *queerfilm* in Bremen, for providing this opportunity.

I'm Not There does not explicitly present LGBT/Q themes. However, it refers to and builds on the complete previous oeuvre of queer auteur filmmaker Todd Haynes. His previous films, which work with identities, fragmented narration and genre in biopics (*Superstar*), music film (*Velvet Goldmine*), AIDS film (*Safe, Poison*) and melodrama (*Far From Heaven*) coalesce into *I'm Not There*. At the same time, Haynes breaks with genre conventions of both biopic and documentary. On the one hand, he undertook meticulous research on Dylan's life and incorporates interviews and song texts, and on the other hand he explodes the multifaceted identity into different characters, which are performed by six different actors. Haynes even transcends boundaries of race and gender, which are usually regarded as stable, when he casts the Black American boy Marcus Carl Franklin as well as female actor Cate Blanchett to present different facets of the white, male singer-songwriter. Identity and desire are here questioned in innovative ways and make *I'm Not There* one of the films most worthy of the label queer cinema in recent years. Therefore it is an ideal film to follow a form of programming which goes against representation based on singular and fixed identities.

However, the film was not actually screened much on the LGBT/Q film festivals circuit. With exception of the London Lesbian and Gay Film Festival (2008), the film only screened at generalist international festivals. An ad-hoc survey of LGBT/Q festival programmers[34] yielded the information that most programmers did not even need to think about programming the film at their festivals. The film was released theatrically very quickly after its European and North American premieres at the festivals in Venice and Toronto, leaving no exhibition window on the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. Furthermore, the success at the box office and for DVD sales was given as reason why the film was also not selected to screen in a thematic, retrospective or "second-chance" program. Following the aforementioned imperative to showcase new and otherwise not screened films, the argument went that programmers would rather reserve a program slot for movies that were not likely to obtain a theatrical release than show a formally innovative music biopic, which was not necessarily of interest to an LGBT/Q target audience.

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[34] Conducted on 6 April 2013 via Facebook and a European LGBT/Q festival mailing list.

Girl's Room

"Girl's Room," curated by Melissa Pritchard for the 2008 edition of the Hamburg festival and subsequently shown at the 2009 identities. Queer Film Festival in Vienna, appropriated the specific reception context that exists at LGBT/Q film festivals. Due to their history, most LGBT/Q film festivals have created a counterpublic sphere, which serves as a safe space where patterns of mainstream reception are disrupted and suspended. In this space, where certain set identitarian and social assumptions are negated, films can be seen differently: even potentially homophobic and racist films can be reinterpreted (Searle 1996: 51–52). The specific reception context—and the expectations that come with it—can encourage a "queer reading" or reveal a film in a different light.

"Girl's Room" compiled six films featuring pre- and teenage girls. The program description in the festival catalogue gives an idea of the individual films:

> Shy encounters, confusing feelings and the search for self: In *Pitstop* the silent Margaret is left behind by her family at an intermediate stop at a gas station in the middle of nowhere. And in the time before the family wagon realizes she's missing, Margaret has the chance to get to know the gas station owner. Seven-year-old Sidsel learns that the very first love can hurt when jealousy awakens. *Blodsøstre/Blood Sisters* shows that rejection can have serious consequences. What surprising adventures can be had in the scary and none-too-welcoming *Girl's Room*. Composition of some water music, and almost the chance to try a kiss… *Sexy Thing* has two stories to tell us: one of violence and escape, and also how dreamy tenderness found between sea stars and glittering fish can help. One thing most of us have experienced is the fear of the first kiss. *Saliva* has a few ideas about how to overcome the fear: a bit of practice in the mirror? Test-run with a boy, or better kisses through pink plastic with the best girlfriend? And you can drown it in longing? The heroine in *No Bikini* knows only the fear of the three-meter board, but otherwise tumbles like a fish in the waters of the summer swim camp. Even without a bikini top she feels not for the smallest moment naked. (Querbild e.V. 2008: 30; ellipsis in original)[35]

In these short films, the protagonists share a pivotal moment in their coming of age, and an inkling of adult identities and sexuality. These films are not specifically lesbian—either because the girls are too young or because there are no explicit depictions of lesbian (sexual) desire. Instead, the films offer moments of same-sex contact that are special, ambivalent, and touching (not sexually or bodily, but emotionally). Seeing

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[35] The English program description, as well as the list of films included in "Girl's Room," is available on-line at: http://www.lsf-hamburg.de/modules/mod_timetable/programm_popup.php?id_programm=267&date=Sonntag,%2026.%20Oktober&time=15:00 (accessed 31 August 2010).

these films individually or within another festival might make for a totally different reading. But the compilation of these films, set in an LGBT/Q festival context, surely resonates with queer audiences—as a filmic (and perhaps abstract) memory of fleeting moments that might have meant something special for the youthful individual and her identity formation.

2.5 Concluding Selection

The discussion on selection and the analysis of various practical examples above make visible the epistemological problems related to tendencies within LGBT/Q festival programming. The mere addition of representational segments on a superficial level without integrating criticism of identity politics, perpetuates structures of inequality and discrimination based on gender/sexuality and race/ethnicity while pretending to offer visibility, which is often confused with political power (Schaffer 2004). Programmers and festival organizers often legitimize this decision by invoking established reception behaviors based on presumed one-dimensional identification patterns—i.e. gay men or women are said to watch only films by, for and about gay men or women, respectively. The same goes for racialized and ethnicized audiences. By this practice, curators neglect their responsibility to truly "strengthen the diverse lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community and further its visibility by supporting and promoting a broad array of cultural representations and artistic expression in film, video and other media arts" as, for instance, Frameline's mission statement suggests.[36] Instead, these arguments mask a practice of curatorial apathy and neoliberal compliance by selling their audiences to sponsors in readily packaged, homogenized segments. Queer programming strategies, I would argue, challenge the practice of targeting audiences in these essentializing and homogenizing ways. They mean trouble for the larger, more established LGBT/Q film festivals because several stakeholders, which might be relevant supporters of the local festival structure, are pushed out of their comfort zones: "mainstream" audiences, sponsors and also programmers.

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[36] The mission statement can be found on-line at: http://www.frameline.org/about/ (accessed 30 August 2010).

3 Exhibition: The Festival as Performative Event

3.1 Event, *Aufführung*, Contingency

This study, which puts an emphasis on the performative nature of film festivals, necessarily rests on the definition of film and cinema as a performative act. New screening technologies that employ digitization and new formats have also reached film festivals (cf. Stevens 2012; De Valck 2012b). However, here I am not interested in a definition of what film "is" in the sense of materiality or in a discussion concerning celluloid vs. DCP; this is not about film as an artifact. Instead I apply conceptualizations of film by classic theorists like Roland Barthes (2000 [1968]) or curators like Alexander Horwath (in Hediger/Horwath 2011) and look at film as a performative act at a specific time and place, defined by the duration of the screening. While Barthes argues against the auteur and a fixed intended meaning to bring forward an understanding of film through the act of reception, Horwath is concerned with the screening conditions of film. He argues that film can only be understood as film (rather than audiovisual content) if it is presented in the right historical setting. For him 8mm-or16mm-films, for instance, need to be presented in the right cinema with contemporary projectors in order to unfold their full meaning, which cannot be fully grasped in a different setting even when projected digitally onto a huge screen (Hediger/Horwath 2011: 128). With an emphasis on the specific spatial and temporal components, Horwath likens the film presentation in such a cinema setting to a theater or music performance (Hediger/Horwath 2011: 127). Speaking about the exhibition context, Horwath deliberately chooses to use the word *Aufführung* (performance)—a term commonly used for theater, instead of *Vorführung* (presentation), often used for film screenings—and thus emphasizes a screening's performative aspect. In this view, the film experience depends on the setting and the event character of the film performance.

Compared to other contemporary reception settings, such as the comfortable living room sofa and the small table screen or the large home entertainment flat screen, going to the movies is still an event, coming with a set of rituals that mark a specific effort—one has to leave the house, pick a film, buy a ticket—before the film can be enjoyed (cf. Pauleit/Horwath 2014). This extra effort results also in a heightened attention and a specific experience, which has increased in what Gerhard Schulze has diagnosed as "experience society" (*Erlebnisgesellschaft*) (cf. Hickethier 2010: 266; Schulze 1992). This specific ideal of a film experience in the cinema is connected to rituals which

further the performance aspect. The cinema with its comfortable chairs, dark atmosphere, popcorn smell and bucket drinks as setting, together with the ticket line, the temporal order of advertising and trailers followed by the newest blockbuster or arthouse hit makes for a completely different film experience than the sofa in the living room at home.

The film experiences as described above rely on a temporal dimension in which the time of the film and the time of viewing are bound together. The film screens at a specific point of time, in a program and lasts for a set duration. The viewing in the cinema cannot be interrupted as with new dispositifs of the DVD or streaming where the pause button can halt the screening and break up the film experience. For Janet Harbord this temporal aspect is one central argument of her larger discussion on how "time manufactures the event of the festival" (2009: 40). She asserts that in "the context of a proliferating range of viewing practices, themselves multiplying the concept of film culture, the film festivals asserts a uniform, unfolding time of film viewing" (40).

This performative film experience is further heightened in the festival setting, where an abundance of screening event is programmed into a structure "where the giving of our time is unquestioned" (40). The festival both operates on excess and scarcity. On the one hand, there are more films than one can make time for or pragmatically watch, on the other hand, the mechanisms of premières and the compressed time of the few days that are the festival event position the event as a scarce resource. Harbord argues that the festival here corresponds to a specific moment in history that "provides the event, an occurrence unfolding in the 'now,' which offers both structured time and disrupted time" (41).

Similar to Horwath, who describes the film screening as a performative act, Harbord describes the specific temporal aspects of film festival performativity.[37] Her central argument revolves around the contingency of the event. Although the short duration of the festival presents a rigid temporal structure in the program, the act of staging the event produces contingency, and opens up the event to forces of chance. Here the discussion of performativity and the event character of performance from chapter 1

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[37] Curiously Harbord uses the same vocabulary as theorizations of performativity and analyses in performance studies for her theorization of the film festival event but she does not link her analysis to this context.

come back into play. A central moment in the concept of performativity is its contingency, the performative always already includes the possibility of chance, interference or failure. This is the central element on which Derrida and Butler built their potential for change through repetition. For Harbord, the element of contingency results in the appeal of the event:

> The appeal of the event is not evident simply in the ritual practice of viewing a showcase of films […]. It is also evident in the fact that the event may be interrupted, that its liveness may spill over into the unexpected, a performance witnessed but not reproducible. […]. The liveness of the film festival is a curious choreography between various performers acting now and a recorded medium. The strictly controlled access to the event ensures that the festival creates what might be taken for the present, a time of now, paradoxically working with the recorded medium of film. (Harbord 2009: 43)

While film is seen as a medium of mass reproduction, where today hundreds of copies might screen simultaneously (think of the first global blanket release with *Matrix* in 1999), its presentation in each individual screening is a unique event. At a festival this is again accentuated compared to a regular cinema screening. The individual screenings are usually accompanied by further rituals of the contingent, the "accidental:" apart from temporal and political uncertainties of whether the filmmaker, actor or the print will actually make it to the festival, there are a number of possible disruptive instances that might occur in—and by doing so highlight the—liveness of the "choreography."

3.2 Scripts, Liveness and Mediation

As mentioned in chapter 1, the event is determined by its underlying implicit and explicit scripts. In 1955, when the festival circuit was still fairly young and not yet quite as choreographed as it appears today, André Bazin wrote about Cannes and his witnessing of "the Festival phenomenon, the practical creation of its *rituals* and its inevitable establishment of hierarchies" (2009: 15, emphasis in the original). Those rituals for him are the "foundation of a religious Order" (Bazin 2009: 15), where the "main feature of festival life lies in its moral obligations and the regularity of all its activities" (16). Similarly, media anthropologist Daniel Dayan sees "the very existence of the festival as a collective performance" when studying the social construction of the Sundance film festival "as an ensemble of behaviours that were referred to norms, watched as spectacles, and submitted to critical evaluation" (Dayan 2000: 44). When trying to describe the underlying scripts of Sundance, he writes: "You are supposed to act in a manner both pleasurable for you, and congruent with the setting; to enact the script of 'what attending a festival means'." (Dayan 2000: 44)

Two rivaling scripts which are integral parts of larger film festivals have been discussed in recent years: cinephilia and star gazing. The special atmosphere that a festival exudes derives from a specific combination of excess and managed scarcity. On the one hand, there are a vast number of films and guests that the cinephile audience can revel in. Furthermore, there is an added value by watching a film first, in the (at least regional or local) première. Liz Czach places this in the context of cinephilia, and suggests that the experiential value of film festivals lies in the fact that they "present a seductive return to classical cinephilia with their promise of a unique, unrepeatable experience frequently offering a rare opportunity to view films on the big screen before they disappear into the ether or only reappear on DVD." (Czach 2010: 141)

Star gazing, on the other hand, is often set up as the opposite to cinephilia, as a commodification of film festival culture (Czach 2010: 145). Film stars and directors are present for the première to provide glitz and glamor or stay for a discussion of the film afterwards. While such event screenings are also possible at première theaters or well-programmed arthouse cinemas, the atmosphere of a festival is still a different one. The red-carpet happening at an A-list festival creates a much larger buzz than a cinema première. In addition, at a festival there are several red-carpet moments lined up in close succession throughout the festival. Depending on the festival profile, the audience might also have the chance to engage with actors and directors beyond star gazing, in a personal chance meeting at the festival bar, the main venue or at a different film[38].

While many professional attendees will follow and conform to fixed scripts of the festival choreography, the moment of contingency that was discussed by Harbord, plays an equally important role. The liveness factor not only adds to the appeal for an individual attendee, it is also partially manufactured by the "role of reporting, the witness statements of journalists and bloggers sent out to the wider public to describe the event that has already happened" (Harbord 2009: 43–44). In this way, the mediation of the event can be said to create feed-back loop. The performance of an event is an integral part of the specific buzz and attention economy generated by the festival. On the one hand, the live event, which hinges on the contingency and the potential disruption of planned scripts, is interesting to the press for this reason, on the other

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[38] The those instances the audience becomes part of a larger festival community, which I will come back to in section 4.

hand, the liveness is highlighted through the act of reporting on it. This explains the creation of what Dayan calls the "written festival" (Dayan 2000: 52), the discursive creation of the festival (in a second order).

Some of the disruptions to the regular flow then, are not actually accidental but increasingly manufactured as Marijke de Valck and Christian Jungen have described for the red-carpet performances and fabricated scandals in order to achieve media coverage (De Valck 2007, Jungen 2014/2009). An (in)famous example was, for instance, when Lars von Trier made a controversial comment—such as his sarcastic "I'm a Nazi" remark at a press conference for his film *Melancholia* at the Cannes film festival in 2011, which earned him the status *persona non grata* at the festival—which disrupted the regular script of a press conference (Higgins 2011). It could be classified as an accident that attests to the liveness and creates a spectacle. However, von Trier then went on to refrain from further press communication altogether, and attended the Berlin film festival in 2014 with his newest film *Nymphomaniac I+II* wearing a t-shirt with the golden leaf logo of Cannes accompanied by the words "Persona Non Grata. Official Selection" for the photo call (Pulver 2014). In this further instance, the previous accident turns into a manufactured media spectacle, which however also hinges on the live factor of the performance. I will return to the staging of controversies in the next section, when discussing in more detail the function of festivals as public spheres.

3.3 Time and Space

What differentiates the festival from regular cinema screenings is the combination of films in a scheduled program. Of course, a cinema also schedules films, several different films run parallel throughout the day within a multiplex, but these are seldom curated into specific series, sections, or programs which are meant to interact and create meaning through intertextual reception.

Continuing on from Harbord's analysis of film festivals with a perspective on time, another temporal aspect of the event comes to mind. There is not only the structuring element of time as the event unfolds, there is also the temporal element of the annually recurring festival. The festival is a repetitive model: each year a new edition unfolds. One of the key tenets of performative theory (following Butler and Derrida) is the idea that no *a priori* original exists as an essence that will then be expressed. Instead, the performative always refers back to prior norms and rules. The repetitive structure again

has two dimensions. On the one hand, the festival follows its own formula and institutional rules: by repeating the structure (while changing the content) the festival keeps stability and builds up a profile over time. The formal repetition ensures both recognition and generic stabilization, the stabilization of the festival model. On the other hand, the performative repetition always includes an element of contingency, in the repetition of the festival structure there is room for chance and change, and thus the possibility to evolve and adapt the festival. The various aforementioned incidents—ranging from the *Gendercator* cancellation, to the Lesbian Riot to Lars von Trier's controversial comments—disrupted the festival events directly. They also had a longer-term effect for the structural performative level of the events (Frameline changed its programming policies, Cannes banned the filmmaker).

The succession from one festival to the next occurs not only on a temporal level as in the annual repetition of one event, it also has a spatial element. Each festival is followed by a number of other festivals happening afterwards. They are linked by a temporal flow, but also by a flow of people and films in a spatial dimension of a network (cf. Harbord 2002). Elsaesser highlights the character of the "network (with nodes, flows and exchanges)" (Elsaesser 2005: 84) of the festivals, both in terms of the single festival on the micro-level and the larger circuit on the macro-level (103). In the discursive, performative character of film festivals, two dimensions unfold: 1) festivals are themselves fluid entities that are made up of or come into existence through the convergences/interaction of flows and discourses, which crystallize in the event, and 2) they are nodes in a wide net of flows and exchanges that is the film festival circuit.

These events, or nodes in the network, are inextricably linked to their location. Harbord argues that they are indeed performatively emerging out of the host city and also transform it:

> [I]f it is not possible to make sense of a film festival without its emplacement, it is increasingly difficult to imagine certain cities apart from their film festivals. Film festivals both utilize and re-inflect the meaning of a particular site in an endless feedback loop to the extent that the topography of a place is changed to suit the needs of a festival […]. Given the brevity of their duration in the calendar year, this impact on the physical design of a place reveals the cultural and economic import of film festivals. (Harbord 2009: 40)

The impact of festivals on their host cities is important for a global city image; for example when post-industrial cities like Rotterdam strive to become new cultural

centers, and tourism industries, when in spa and holiday towns like Cannes the tourism season is extended.

3.4 Queer Exhibition

While location plays an important role on the macro-level of the festival on the circuit, it is also a relevant factor on the micro-level. Where are the films screened? Which cinemas are used? In which neighborhoods are they situated? Which audiences are addressed by the choice of venue?

Just like the location is connected by an endless feedback loop to the festival, with the festival having an effect on the space as much as the location influences the festival, the exhibition site itself has an impact on the audience, and vice versa. While top-notch A-list festivals like Berlin, Pusan or Cannes have their own purpose-built cinema and theater complexes as main venues for the annual event, smaller scale festivals carefully choose their venues according to factors such as year-round programming profiles, their audience base, neighborhood and transportation connections.

In this respect, thematic film festivals traditionally have a connection to alternative exhibition circuits and venues. Non-commercial genres, such as documentaries, or work of non-standard lengths and formats (short films, video or 8mm) as well as material prone to censorship (as in sexually explicit content) circulate outside the commercial mainstream. In fact, with the lamented decline in arthouse cinemas, film festivals today are still the spaces where such work is shown, and are therefore an integral part of alternative film circulation. Historically, alternative exhibition, for instance, in midnight programming, was important as a venue for underground and cult movies in the 1960s. Beyond the content screened, Janet Staiger argues "the midnight cinema was […] an expression of community and a site for community building" and she links this to the "reemergence of a visible gay culture in New York City in the mid-1960" (Staiger 2000: 126). In a similar vein, Roger Hallas pointed out in the "Queer Publicity" panel at NewFest that "Gay film festivals have their roots in different spaces of exhibition where queer work has historically been shown—art cinema, underground cinema, porn theaters and consciousness-raising political contexts (gay liberation/lesbian feminism)." (Hallas in White 1999: 76)

This connection of venue, program and audience reception, which is part of community building, also always reflects social hierarchies along class, gender, sexuality and

subcultures. Patricia White gives examples of the New York-based LGBT/Q film festivals to show how special figurations can feed into programming choices and reception:

> The dissymmetric history of opportunity for public consumption of sexual imagery by lesbians and gay men has been creatively addressed by film festivals— memorably in a mixed-gender, multi-erotic-media installation organized at an 'adult entertainment center' for the Mix Festival by Jim Lyons, Christine Vachon, and Derek Kardos in 1993. The festival allowed 'space' for women to go on location and to transgress gendered zoning restrictions. But this historical dissymmetry continues to structure reception: when the New Festival showed some fairly straight-minded commercial erotica made by women directors for women viewers of cable television—the idea was that collective consumption, achieved through a shift in exhibition venue, would render it a different kind of work—the program provoked one of those scenes of vociferous lesbian protest that Rich's article details. (White 1999: 76)[39]

This discussion harks back to the "Lesbian Riot" at Frameline in 1986. While the main problem, as discussed above, was one of reception in relation to the presented programming—a mixed-gendered film in a lesbian program at a festival with a perceived background of lesbian underrepresentation—one contributing factor to the perception of unequal representation had to do with the choice of venues. The disruptive event took place at the Roxie cinema, which used to be a porn theater in San Francisco's Mission district before reinventing itself as arthouse cinema. The Roxie was the birthplace of the Frameline festival. However, by the time of the tenth anniversary of the festival, the year the incident happened, the main venue of the festival was the venerable 1,500-seater art-deco Castro Theater. In contrast, the Roxie was the small, dingy theater in the poorer neighborhood, which showed the alternative material and video. Thus, these hierarchies transported by the choice of venue also played a role in the perception of the programming and its reception context (Loist 2008; 166, 168).

4 Reception: Publics, Audiences, Communities

The first two sections of this chapters have detailed both selection and exhibition contexts, which included programming choices and curatorial acts as well as the performative aspects of the festival event. In the remainder of this chapter I will look at reception, which is the continuation of the previous acts. Reception is the counterpart

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[39] White refers to Rich 1999.

of programming, or rather the reception of a film, the act of watching the program completes the performance (*Aufführung*) and only brings about the event. The reception process is influenced by framing and address of the program. I will therefore start with the discussion of festivals as public sphere and their address before I move on to issues of reception, where I will discuss how address and collective viewing contribute to the formation of an audience and community.

4.1 Public Spheres

Film festivals are discursive formations, where media texts (films), representations and identities are circulated and mediated. Hence, they are part of and act as specific kinds of public spheres. [40] Jürgen Habermas (1989 [1962]) provided the seminal theorization of the public sphere in his study on the change of bourgeois public sphere from a literary public of the coffee houses, salons and dinner tables to a mass-mediated public sphere. Habermas' model of the traditional public sphere has subsequently been criticized for its elitism by a number of scholars, who in turn proposed various concepts of alternative or counter publics. Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge (1993 [1986]) argued for a proletarian public sphere, Nancy Fraser developed the idea of several competing public spheres, which she calls subaltern counterpublics (Fraser 1992), and discussed feminist and transnational public spheres (Fraser 2007), while Michael Warner (2002) developed the notion of a queer counter public sphere. In the following section, I will use Michael Warner's model and discuss it in relation to LGBT/Q film festivals.

4.1.1 Queer Counter Public Sphere and Film Festivals

In his essay "Publics and Counterpublics" Michael Warner (2002) described the characteristics of a public. As he sets out to define the difference between *the* public ("kind of social totality") and *a* public ("concrete audience, a crowd witnessing itself in visible space, as with a theatrical public"), he bases his definition on "the kind of public that comes into being only in relation to texts and their circulation" (Warner 2002: 65–66). Public spheres have a number of discursive layers, which Warner characterizes as follows: 1) "A public is self-organized" (67); 2) "A public is a relation among

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[40] For a discussion of film festivals as a public sphere in studies see also Wong 2001: 159–189; Wong forthcoming.

strangers" (74); 3) "The address of public speech is both personal and impersonal" (76); 4) "A public is constituted through mere attention" (87); 5) "A public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse" (90); 6) "Publics act historically according to temporality of their circulation" (96); 7) "A public is poetic world making" (114). These characteristics come very close to the previous descriptions of the performative notion of film festivals. I will take a closer look at Warner's theorization of a public and show how this relates to the performative reading of film festivals in general and LGBT/Q film festivals in particular.

First, "A public is self-organized" (67): For Warner a public is a discursive space, a space that performatively comes into existence by address as a circular effect. A public only exists through address, but the address already assumes a public which then comes into existence. Based on this performative effect, Warner differentiates publics (public spheres) from a crowd, an audience, people or a group. The main distinction is the (visual or audio) textual address, as texts can be picked up at different times and in different places by unrelated people (68). A public is "a space of discourse organized by discourse. It is self-creating and self-organized" (68–69), thus it is different from a crowd or group, which requires co-presence and is not solely definable by assuming an identity (71). While Warner stresses the open-ended performativity of a public, he also recognizes its limits, in means of production and distribution, physical textual objects or social conditions of access, which also entails selection of genre, style, idiolect etc. (73).

For an LGBT/Q film festival this means that a festival's public relations creates a specific public sphere. The various media texts that a festival creates produce a specific address: posters, program booklets, and website content give a first impression and create the entryway to the festival public. The programming, the presentation through film synopses, layout, textual cues (color coding, gendered signs, etc.), jingles and trailer discursively create a public by addressing specific aspects of the audience as cinephiles, horror genre fans, or coupled gays.

Second, "A public is a relation among strangers" (55). In contradistinction to a specific group, e.g. of friends, the (imagined) public consists of people who do not necessarily know each other. The address is mediated, for instance through mass media, such as

television, newspapers, the internet.[41] When the filmmakers in San Francisco disseminated flyers and posters for their „Gay Film Festival of Super-8 Films" in 1977, they addressed a public instead of just asking their friends to join them in this screening of works on a sheet. The private space turned into a (counter)public event (Zielinski 2008: 212).

Third, "The address of public speech is both personal and impersonal" (76). Public speech conveys a sense of relevance to the addressed. One feels addressed by certain cues, but is not addressed as a specific individual, but instead as someone within a group of strangers. Here, Warner draws a distinction to the Althusserian notion of interpellation, in which one particular person is meant in the address and the interpellation works through a subjective practice of understanding (77). In public speech on the other hand, one can recognize oneself as addressee, but at the same time the impersonal address towards indefinite others is also true.

By attending an event, the individuals have been summoned by an address and respond to it by claiming the offered subject position and identity. The proposed subject positions can be those of a "classic cinephile" or "festival/event-oriented cinephile" (cf. De Valck 2005: 103)[42]. Film festivals with a strong connection to subcultures, identity-based or "imagined" communities, such as cult genre festivals (Stringer 2008) or LGBT/Q film festivals, are intricately entwined with various forms of identity-formation. Thus, LGBT/Q film festivals use necessarily personal and impersonal address to reach persons with a variety of affiliations as gays, lesbians, trans* folk, straights, and also as cineastes, community members and genre fans (cf. also White 1999: 75; Zielinski 2008: 213). One common point of discussion for an inclusive way of address is the motif selected to represent an LGBT/Q film festival in the form of the logo or the poster image: is it a figurative or an abstract representation; do they include gendered or gender neutral depictions of humans or subculturally coded people; does it include lesbians, gay, trans*, singles, couples or families? The list could go on. More

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[41] Knut Hickethier uses the term media public (*Medienöffentlichkeit*) or film public to further differentiate and emphasize the form of mediated address (Hickethier 2010: #).

[42] For an attempt to categorize the audience cf. also Bories (2013).

radically postmodern queer festivals often strive to mix up or disrupt stereotypes, use pastiche and parody, or fluid abstract images.[43]

Fourth, "A public is constituted through mere attention." (Warner 2002: 87) Only when the discourse or the address is taken up and awarded with attention, does a public come into existence. A group or nation, on the other hand, also exists when its members do not feel part of it or do not respond. The existence of a public is contingent on its members' activity and voluntary participation (88). In terms of LGBT/Q film festivals, the attention of an audience generates the (counter) public sphere of the festival.[44] It does not exist per se. Only when people respond to the address by posters, programming, and/or parties does it become a public; without this attention by known people and addressed strangers it would be an event made up of organizers and invited guests. The attention by relevant media heightens the level of (counter) public. And as I have discussed above, the event character of festivals as well as the crafted disruptions provide excellent points for mediation, which then help create the festival public sphere[45].

Fifth, "A public is the social space created by the reflexive circulation of discourse." (90) Here, Warner emphasizes that one single text, or speech or voice cannot create a public, as a circulating discourse is required. There is a difference to direct communication in a two-party conversation. In public speech an interactive social relation, a rhetoric of public discourse is always already inscribed, which directly addresses a respondent, an agonistic interlocutor, but also an onlooker, a passive interlocutor, or an enemy (90). Another aspect of distinction is that public speech/address is also meant for circulation in a temporal sense, following specific rhythms and punctures, and it is self-reflexive in that it enters a cross-citational field of other people also speaking to the public (95). This connects to Daniel Dayan's

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[43] For an expanded discussion of the visual rhetoric of non-human figures in LBT/Q film festival promotional materials see Karl Schoonover's forthcoming article "Queer or Human?: LGBT Film Festivals, Human Rights and Global Film Culture."

[44] The requirement of attention is not only a characteristic for the public sphere, but also for the creation of a collective viewing experience as Julian Hanich has developed in his theory of collective spectatorship (cf. Hanich 2014a). The formation of a public and a reception context insect here.

[45] Just as television or film can create specific public spheres, such as a television public or a film public (cf. Hickethier 2010, Tröhler 2010), I would like to suggest that film festivals create specific film festival public spheres.

observation of the double-layered festival. Beyond the embodied, live discourse of an event—as was discussed in the previous section—there is an added written discourse, which creates a "written festival" beyond the "visual festival of films" (Dayan 2000: 52).

Sixth, "Publics act historically according to the temporality of their circulation." (Warner 2002: 96) The rhythm of the mediated circulation determines the activity of the public. In terms of festival temporality there are several relations to the constitution of a mediated festival public sphere that are visible. The yearly festival rhythm operates on two levels: a) there is the circulation of promotional material (the aforementioned means of communication, such as posters, brochures, press releases) with increasing frequency and output from the announcement of the festival date and lineup to the unfolding event, and b) the accumulation of material (as in immediate press coverage, longer term festival reviews, or long-standing publications) creates a festival public sphere beyond the actual event. Warner attributes a dimension of duration and activity to the temporality of circulation and proposes a correlation between temporality and politics: "The more punctual and abbreviated the circulation, and the more discourse indexes the punctuality of its own circulation, the closer a public stands to politics." (96–97) This could be read as an index for the impact of a festival public. The punctual, short duration of the event privileges a flurry a circulated material—the buzz about a film, an event, a scandal. The more frequent and (re)circulated the mediation of the event, the higher the impact of the festival public. Thus, a big event like Cannes can create the kind of buzz that propels a star or film beyond the closed public of the festival into the general public sphere. Seen in a long-term dimension, this kind of discourse is known to have long-lasting effects that can for instance translate into film canons (cf. Stringer 2003).

Seventh, "A public is poetic world making." (Warner 2002: 114) Warner stresses the fact that each speech, event or performance addressing a public specifies in advance the lifeworld of its circulation, both through its discursive claims and its pragmatics of speech (genres, idioms, style, address, temporality, mise-en-scène, lexicon, intertextual references etc.). Its circulatory success realizes that envisioned world. Public discourse proposes a world and presupposes that such a public exists: "Put on a show and see who shows up." (114) The performative aspect of the public, the power to bring a world into existence through address and circulation of discourse, is emphasized emphatically by

Warner. He makes the point of differentiating the misconception of the general public, which is thought of in terms of rational-critical dialog leading to an informed decision, as is often the imagined way of political decision making (114–115). In the awareness of the performative constructedness and the world-making dimension of a public lies the self-conscious moment for counterpublics for Warner.

Following Nancy Fraser, who criticizes an imagined general public and speaks of a creation of "alternative publics" and "subaltern counterpublics" (Fraser 1992: 123), Warner also differentiates different publics, with different shapes and forms, as subpublics, specialized publics, or counterpublics (Warner 2002: 117–119). Subpublics might be characterized by a specific vocabulary and their own forms of circulation (e.g. feminist magazines, bookstores, conferences, festivals) as well as a political program (118–119). Warner puts an emphasis on the "counter" as opposed to "sub"publics, in that

> such publics are indeed counterpublics, and in a stronger sense than simply comprising subalterns with a reform program. A counterpublic maintains at some level, conscious or not, an awareness of its subordinate status. The cultural horizon against which it marks itself off is not just a general or wider public but a dominant one. (119)

Like all publics, counterpublics address an indefinite number of strangers (in contradistinction to community or group). In counterpublic discourse, these strangers are not randomly addressed, but as socially marked members in a specific discourse (120). In a gay & lesbian or queer counterpublic, no one is in the closet, and the usually presumed heterosexuality and heteronormative speech protocols are here suspended. The boundaries of discourse circulation appear through the address as queer and the potential rejection of this position. Within counterpublic discourse participants are addressed in oppositional form. Furthermore, this address does not simply reflect an identity formed outside, but the participation in such a counterpublic shapes and transforms the identity of its members in a performative act. (120–121)

Warner makes a distinction between a gay and lesbian public and a queer counterpublic. Here, the critical distinction of homonormative LG(BT) lobby politics from queer resistant activism, which I have also discussed in the previous chapter, comes to mind (cf. Gamson 1995). In relation to publics, Warner stresses "a lesbian and gay public has been reshaped so as to ignore or refuse the counterpublic character that has marked its history" (Warner 2002: 122). This reshaping, by way of adaptation to general or

dominant rhetoric and discourses, in Warner's eyes goes in tandem with an acquired agency in relation to the state, which results in an equation of an alternative public with a social movement (122–124). In contrast, queer counterpublics (by necessity of their resistant nature towards a constantly evolving mainstream) seem to remain hierarchically subaltern and excluded.

These different forms of publics are mirrored in the form of address and frame the various discussions taking place at and about LGBT/Q film festivals. The way promotional material is presented, for instance, often speaks to the character of the event and its envisioned public, on one end of the spectrum, DIY activist politics, or on the other a homonormative trend to mainstreaming with advertising and sponsorship appeal, as Joshua Gamson has, for instance, diagnosed in his comparison of NewFest and MIX NYC (Gamson 1996)[46]. In a similar way, the employed programming strategies that I discussed above, address specific audiences and create respectively inclusive or exclusive spaces for publics.[47]

4.1.2 Intervention Public

Why is it necessary to talk about a counter/public when talking about LGBT/Q film festivals? It is necessary because LGBT/Q film festivals are inextricably tied up in identity discussions and also have an implicit or explicit mandate to communicate between the "LGBT/Q community" and the "general public." This is true in the fight for resources (funding) as well as attention from the media and audiences (cf. Reumüller 2006). However, as the social fabric and opinion towards non-normative identities and lifestyles change, the boundaries between what used to be easily identifiable as "LGBT/Q community" and "dominant public" a few decades ago have shifted. As the historical overview of the development of the LGBT/Q festival circuit in the previous

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[46] See also the more detailed discussion of the two festivals in Chapter Two.

[47] Jonathan Rachel Williams has addressed this in his discussion of the creation of a trans* counterpublic as a result of the perceived exclusion from practices at the Melbourne Queer Film Festival: "As the primary official site of trans cinema circulation in Melbourne, Melbourne Queer Film Festival creates a simultaneously inclusive and marginalising filmgoing experience for trans viewers. In response to dissatisfaction with mainstream and festival experiences, trans people organise alternatives (a trans group library; informal, network-based circulation; and semi-private group screenings). These practices strengthen trans networks, build social capital and create a trans counterpublic based around an alternative film distribution and viewing culture." (Williams 2011: ii)

chapter has shown, the early festivals were created with a reparative motive. The negative mainstream representation of gays and lesbians was to be countered. Also thanks to the clear demarcations in distinction from the general (heteronormative) public sphere, these early festivals had a focused address and purpose.

Activist and identity-based film festivals are spaces where people can come together, meet in person and create community. As Warner stated above, (queer) counterpublics are spaces where an identity is not only brought to, but is actually (per)formed. LGBT/Q film festivals as public spheres are essential to the performative formation of individual and collective identity, and community. In this way, LGBT/Q film festivals serve as what Ulla Wischermann has termed "social movement public spheres" (*Bewegungsöffentlichkeiten*) (Wischermann 2003: 15). Wischermann defines social movement publics as complex entities, which encompass spaces, people and media, are autonomously conceived and operate in two directions as internal and external mobilization resource (33): as inwardly oriented publics they make space for collective negotiation, learning of alternative practices and preparation of outward interactions for the participating actors, and as counterpublics they address the outside general public and aim for external communication in opposition to dominant opinion (15, 41). As social movement public, LGBT/Q film festivals (as well as Ladyfests and other counterpublic events) are the places to start negotiations, build personal networks and, extend to networks of LGBT/Q film and other festivals (Ommert/Loist 2008: 132–134; Loist/Yun 2009).

Since the 1980s, popular culture has seen an increasing move towards the appropriation and reintegration of alternative and subcultural practices into mainstream culture, especially by an increasing diversification of the niche markets. This "mainstream of minorities," as Tom Holert and Mark Terkessidis term it, is concerned with the fuzzy edges of the mainstream and sets out to pander to the subcultural "minorities" by constantly incorporating and commercializing new subcultural trends (1996: 10). These appropriation trends have been visible for queer film culture since the niche marketing of queer cinema set in after the successful acknowledgment of the New Queer Cinema. As I have discussed above, these mainstreaming trends always also had repercussions for the film culture and festivals that fostered these art works in the first place. As queer cinema has become marketable either as avant-garde global art cinema or liberal blockbuster, these films circulate upstream into the general festival circuit and are

potentially lost to the LGBT/Q festivals (cf. Anderson 2012; Loist forthcoming c). With these converging trends concerning the circulation of queer imagery the differentiation between mainstream and subculture/counterpublic is increasingly blurred. Thus, the definition of a counterpublic, which has clearly discernible boundary in contradistinction to a hegemonic public, becomes increasingly problematic.

In the light of this usurpation of subcultural practices and moving one step further from Wischermann's suggestion of the social movement public, together with Alek Ommert I have proposed to think of LGBT/Q film festivals and DIY Ladyfest festivals as "intervention publics" (*Interventionsöffentlichkeiten*) (Ommert/Loist 2008: 134). With this move we would like to stress the communicative goal and aim of social change rather than their hermetic closure and counter position. By proposing to change the "counter" for "intervention" in the concept of an intervention public, we focus on a public sphere that is thought to be more fluid and negotiable, and follow what Simon Sheik (2004) and Michael Warner (2002) have hinted at. While "counter" refers to an incompatible dualism, "intervention" describes a movement, a process of negotiation (cf. Klaus 2001), in which clear boundaries cannot be drawn anymore. Thus, multiple, heterogeneous and diverse forms of interventions help to mobilize a dynamic concept of public spheres. Thinking of LGBT/Q film festivals as intervention publics allows such events to claim agency also in the process of neoliberal appropriation and usurpation.[48]

In an ideal sense, an LGBT/Q film festival would constitute such a "critical intervention public" (Loist/Yun 2009: 22). Such a fluid public would serve as an open space in which a diverse range of community members, cinephiles and others, who recognize themselves in the address, can come together once a year, even though they usually belong to different spheres that are segregated by gender, race/ethnicity, class, etc. In this contact zone of audience members, filmmakers, producers, and festival organizers a specific reception context—and I will come back to this below—and an alternative

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[48] This productively ambivalent position of negotiations between commodification in mainstream and activist resistant politics is also described by Lisa Henderson in her production study "Queer Relay" (2008). In the forthcoming essay "Crossover Dreams: Global Circulation of Queer Film on the Film Festival Circuits" I explain in more detail how such a position can also be productive in the realm of distribution and circulation of (queer) global cinema (Loist forthcoming c). I would also argue it can be applied to queer film culture as it is embodied by LGBT/Q film festivals.

public emerges which offers room for discussions and negotiations of collective identities, inwardly as much as externally oriented. (Cf. Loist/Yun 2009)

4.1.3 Performative Interventions: Scandals and Boycotts

The disruptive moment of the spectacle, the scandal or boycott has come up at various stages throughout this chapter. As I have discussed above in the programming section, such boycotts can be a response to perceived wrongs of selection, programming and framing. In the section on exhibition, I have looked at the significance of contingency when thinking about the performative nature of film festivals. The possibility of disruption of scripts emphasize the liveness of the event and heighten the press attention. In this section, the connecting factor of the public sphere within this context will play a role.

The idea of a communicative intervention public sphere is always part of a mediation process. Large international festivals also function as public spheres with the potential to have an impact on a national or international scale (Wong 2011: 160). Film festivals have, in fact, long been used to stage protests: think of various forms of censorship debates, the launch of manifestos (Oberhausen 1962) or the use of media attention to create political pressure (as with the repeated invitation of Jafar Panahi to protest his ban on leaving the country). Orchestrated boycotts and scandals, such as the example of Lars von Trier mentioned earlier, are picked up for wider discourse thanks to the concentrated press presence at a film festival. Small activist festivals, on the other hand, might have more impact in terms of direct influence and transformation of local audiences and discourses. This is the driving force behind film festivals creating specialized publics for human rights issues, ecology and also LGBT/Q rights.

While the *Gendercator* example above centers around discussions of gender/sexual identities and the demarcation of collective identity boundaries (cf. Gamson 1995), the following two examples draw on broader discussions based in international geopolitics and their intersection with queer activism. The first example considers very briefly the extension of queer politics to debates about "homonationalism" (Puar 2007), as they have been connected to the so-called "pinkwashing campaigns" of Israel's LGBT/Q politics and their boycotts in North America most prominently at the top-tier Toronto International Film Festival as well as Frameline (Puar 2011; Schulman 2011a, b). The second example leaves the realm of film programming to which negotiations of

representation and politics are bound in different way in the Gendercator and Pinkwashing discussions. Instead, local politics of representation become part of the festival intervention public in the case of the Lampedusa discussions that erupted around the opening night of the 25th Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival in October 2014.

Pinkwashing Debates

In *Terrorist Assemblages* (2007), Jasbir Puar developed the concept and discursive formation of "homonationalism" as "an analytic category deployed to understand and historicize how and why a nation's status as "gay-friendly" has become desirable" (Puar 2013: 336). This concept has been taken up in various critical discourses in queer activism in North America, Europe and India—often in a critique of neoliberal accommodationist economic structures in LGBT marketing or what Puar calls a "human rights industrial complex" (2013: 338). It has also very actively been employed in the critique of "pinkwashing," defined as "Israel's promotion of a LGTBQ-friendly image to reframe the occupation of Palestine in terms of civilizational narratives measured by (sexual) modernity" (Puar 2013: 337). Especially in North America there has been much discussion about the interrelation of queer politics and the Israel/Palestine relations and a vocal and active coordinated activism against "pinkwashing" by groups such as Queers Undermining Israeli Terrorism (QUIT!)[49].

In their capacity as (intervention) public spheres, film festivals have become an arena for the political debate about the politics of funding, representation of and loyalty to the nation state and transnational (film) culture. David Archibald and Mitchell Miller draw the "anatomy of a boycott" against the funding of film screenings at international film festivals through the Israeli government's Brand Israel campaign in the festival year 2009 (Archibald/Miller 2011). Passing through discussions and boycotts at festivals in Rennes, Edinburgh, and Melbourne, a number of arguments were rehearsed in the debate as to whether festivals should reject funding from the Israeli state, in order to not be instrumentalized for their Brand Israel image campaign at a time when Israel was criticized for its Occupation of Palestine, and should instead remain neutral politically and focus on artistic support of both Israeli and Palestinian film and filmmakers. The

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[49] See e.g. the *GLQ* special issue *Queer Politics and the Question of Palestine/Israel* (Hochberg 2010), or the In Practice section "The Queer State of Palestinian Media" in *Camera Obscura* (27:2, #80, 2012).

boycott culminated at the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), when a number of well-known signatories, including Frederic Jameson, Ken Loach and Slavoj Žižek, endorsed the "Toronto Declaration," which stated that they were disturbed by TIFF's "decision to host a celebratory spotlight on Tel Aviv" and that they "protest that TIFF […] has become complicit in the Israeli propaganda machine" (Archibald/Miller 2011: 274).

This discussion around Brand Israel and festival politics on the international film festival circuit has been entangled with previous activist actions from the queer camp, which has been boycotting Brand Israel's pinkwashing tactics. These strands came together at TIFF 2009 when Canadian filmmaker John Greyson withdrew his short film *Covered* (2009) in protest. Well-known Canadian filmmaker Greyson has a long personal history as radical queer activist and filmmaker. Politicized in the AIDS crisis of the 1980s, he has been part of many critical leftist campaigns, be it ACT UP, G8 boycotts, AIDS conferences in Moscow or HIV drug boycotts in South Africa.[50] As an active member of Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QuAIA) as part of the larger Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement he decided to pull *Covered* from TIFF "to avoid hypocrisy" (Greyson 2012: 147). In this act a whole range of discourses intersect. On the one hand, the mentioned BDS and Brand Israel boycott. With the specific film that was pulled, a larger intervention public of queer film culture and (LGBT/Q) film festivals becomes visible. The film is a documentary about the Sarajevo Queer Film Festival, which took place for the first and last time in 2008 and was violently shut down due to homophobic attacks. Greyson was present and filmed the events and later reworked it into a poetic critique of the Bosnian Canadian consulate, which offered no considerable help to the event. Greyson saw this political stance paralleled at TIFF and justified his pulling as follows:

> I felt I had no choice and pulled my film *Covered*, again to avoid hypocrisy. It is a documentary about the ostriches (like Bosnia's Canadian Consulate) who remained silent when Sarajevo's first annual Queer Festival, which was undertaken by activists with considerable bravery, was shut down by violent homophobic thugs. I could not criticize one consulate's complicity with violence while remaining silent about another's. (Greyson 2012: 147)

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[50] Many of these political activities have found their way into his filmmaking and writing, see for instance his short films *The ADS Epidemic* (1987), *Packin'* (2001), *Pils Slip* (2003), or his features *Zero Patience* (1993), *Proteus* (2004), *Fig Trees* (2009); cf. Greyson 1985, 1990, 2009, 2012.

Instead of showing the film at his home festival, Greyson decided to upload the film to public access on Vimeo, accompanied by the statement "This short film was pulled from official selection at TIFF (Toronto International Film Festival) in protest against their Spotlight on Tel Aviv program and in solidarity with the Palestinian call for a boycott against the Israeli government. It will now be available here online," thereby adding yet another layer of discourse to the intervention public.[51]

It is not only the international film festival circuit that has been targeted by the BDS movement. Greyson himself pulled his feature film *Fig Trees* (2009) from the Tel Aviv International LGBT Film Festival after having learned from local queer Palestinian activists about pinkwashing campaigns (Greyson 2009: 146). Queer Lisboa was also asked to return the funding for travel (600 EUR) it received from the Israeli consulate, which it did after deliberation of the board (Greyson 2009: 145–146). San Francisco's Frameline festival has been targeted with protests for years. There have been fierce discussions and negotiations with the festival organizers, the board and protesting activists, who have urged Frameline to return the Israeli government funding[52] (cf. Schulman 2011a, b, 2012, Puar 2010). In contrast to the open discussions relating to gendered identity at Frameline, as have been mentioned in relation to the *Gendercator* and the Lesbian Riot, these boycotts do not operate on the level of filmic representation.[53] Indeed the both the signatories of the "Toronto Declaration" as well as participants of QUIT!–Queers Underminig Israeli Terrorism, who boycott Frameline, stress the fact that they do not oppose Israeli (queer) film and filmmakers, but that they reject sponsorship links to the state of Israel. These complex political discussions concerning issues of homonationalism, politicized funding, pinkwashing have not been openly resolved in the same way. The management of these debates is also somewhat surprising as it revolves around a tiny fraction of funding (2,500 USD) compared to the

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[51] Available at http://vimeo.com/6308870 (12 Dec. 2014). As time has moved on, another contextual layer to the political debate is added by the fact that Greyson went to Egypt in the summer of 2013, reportedly on the way to Gaza to carry out medical relief work, when he and his fellow traveler Dr. Tarek Loubani were detained without charges for nearly two months.

[52] There is even a Facebook group "Frameline – Stop Pinkwashing Israeli Apartheid," which started in 2012 and has 133 supporters (https://www.facebook.com/FramelineStopPinkwashingIsraeliApartheid) (12 Dec. 2014)

[53] There is actually a large output of Israeli and Palestinian queer film that is discussed and travels the international film/festival circuits (cf. Hochberg 2010; Hagin/Yosef 2011; or the In Practice section "The Queer State of Palestinian Media" in *Camera Obscura*, vol. 27, nr. 2, #80, 2012).

overall budget of the organization (2 mio. USD) and the refused offer by the boycotting activists to replace and indeed double the returned funding (cf. Greyson 2012: 145–146; Schulman 2012).

The Mayor, Lampedusa and the Political Strategies of the Festival in Hamburg
Another instance that extends the discussion of failed performance beyond the idea of programing to organizational performance relates to recent discussions that were predicated by the intersection of LGBT/Q human rights and migration politics in the case of Lampedusa refugees in Hamburg and their direct relation to the politics and community involvement of the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg in 2014. The point of contention was the appearance of the First Mayor of Hamburg, Olaf Scholz, at the Opening Ceremony of the 25th Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg | International Queer Film Festival. Several local activist groups had threatened to boycott the festival as they learnt of his appearance. Audience members and activists, who contested his political stands—most importantly in relation to the neglect of the Lampedusa refugees, but also his complacency with violent state measures (such as the "Brechmitteleinsatz") and neoliberal city planning—disrupted his speech. The whole incident makes for an illustrative example of the complexities of politics that LGBT/Q film festivals are situated in.

The whole incident happened somewhat expectedly. Since the festival team operates on a non-hierarchical, collective model which includes a range of team members with varying political affiliations, discussions had been percolating internally for a few weeks. When it became known in the community that the Mayor would open the festival—anticipating critical reactions this information was not widely publicized; being not even mentioned in the widely-circulated festival program (Querbild 2014a)—according to team communication the activist collective of the oldest squatted culture and community center, Rote Flora, threatened to withdraw as venue because of their critical stance on the city government and the mayor for the way he was handling a widely-publicized case of the African refugees that had arrived in Hamburg via the infamous Italian harbor town Lampedusa (which has come to stand in the media for illegal entry into Fortress Europe.) This was a serious threat for a variety of reasons. First, earlier in the year, the festival had staged a film event to celebrate both the festival's and the Flora's 25th anniversaries (Querbild 2014b). Thus, there was a clear solidary political link set between both collectives, which the festival team did not want to damage, neither personally nor politically, also in terms of organizational credibility.

Second, the festival team had explicitly shown solidarity with the Lampedusa refugees in a statement at the opening night of the 24th festival edition, the previous year. Thus, allegedly inviting the political figure who refused to grant full possible support to the Lampedusa group, was interpreted as counteracting the previously stated political support and, thus, losing credibility as a queer activist organization. Third, several film screenings were scheduled to happen at the Flora, which could not be moved to a different venue on such short notice.

This threat from the Flora collective in conjunction with the personal belief of individual team members resulted in the urge to issue a public statement in which the festival was to position itself vis-à-vis the mayor's politics. Negotiations about the positioning of political involvement as a festival and community organization proved difficult and even threatened to throw the festival and its team into an identity crisis. On the one hand, there were clear personal, political opinions of individual members of the festival team, who are also involved in other activist groups. On the other hand, there was the organizational identity of a cultural organization to be considered, which is thought to be if not non-political, at least moderate, measured and articulate. The very diverse range of reactions corresponds to the diversity of stakeholders that interact with the festival and have different interests and expectations.

Four days before opening night a press statement was released, which aimed to show the position of the team and festival (Querbild 2014c). The rhetorical strategy was to aim at transparency in stating the perceived "balancing act" that the festival sees itself in. On the one hand, the non-hierarchical collective covers a wide range of political positions, which reflects also the diversity of the community and the broadly addressed public. On the other hand, the team is acutely aware of the neoliberal tendencies of local (and global) politics, in which ideologically the "creative class" (Florida 2002) along with the queer (and) artistic community is praised in a logic that supports the growth of the cosmopolitan merchant and harbor city, and which in extension aims to capitalize on a successful alternative cultural event like a LGBT/Q film festival. These concerns were also—at least superficially—taken up in press coverage of the opening night (Brueggemann 2014; Buchholz 2014; Horst 2014).

During and after the opening night, a whole range of reactions occurred: while international guests were impressed by the institutional recognition of the highest city politician, left-wing activists resented the festival for giving him a platform,[54] while more liberal or "nonpolitical" audience members criticized this kind of overt politicization of an event that was supposed to be a festive celebration of LGBT/Q community and their film festival.[55]

Local activists close to the festival and especially to its corollary, the (in)famous autonomously organized "Nachtbar" (night bar), which is an itinerant bar that only exists during the few days of the festival in a different location each year (cf. Bauriedl 2009), voiced their dismay in several ways. For opening night they prepared posters and banners and in an especially creative move they prepared party blowouts, offered as accessories to loudly protest against Scholz while doubling as calling cards providing the address of the clandestine Nachtbar. An audience segment consisting of this group and sympathizers joined in loud protest during the speech, until the experienced MC and one of Hamburg's community icons Didine van der Platenvlotbrug respectfully thanked the protesters for voicing their opinion and asked for silence so that the mayor could finish his speech (Buchholz 2014). In an open letter from "some of your friends and supporters" to the festival team, the protesters restated their disappointment, urging "their favorite festival" not to buy into the neoliberal "bigger is better" ideology and to try to stay clear of assimilationist moves that result in further obligations towards official stakeholders. In an interesting performative move, the group positions itself as obvious integral part of the festival community that has the right and obligation to be part of the discussions on how to organize the festival ("We are you.") that has been pushed into the position to voice the protest "so that the correct political opinion is represented"[56] Here, the identification with the community festival and its organizing

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[54] See the statement of the Rote Flora group ("Erklärung von Aktivist_innen der Roten Flora zur Rede von Olaf Scholz zur Eröffnung der Lesbisch Schwulen Filmtage," 15.10.2014) and the anonymous open letter to the festival team ("Offener Brief an das Filmtage-Team," 15.10.2014).

[55] These various positions have been expressed in a number of audience reaction emails to the festival team.

[56] In the German text: "Ihr bringt Menschen, die sich für die Verhältnisse in dieser Stadt interessieren, in die ewige doofe Kritiker_innen-Rolle. Und das jetzt auch noch auf unserem eigenen geliebten Filmfest. Schönen Dank! Ihr müsst eure Entscheidung auf der Bühne vertreten und schön die Klappe halten und wir dürfen für euch rumhampeln, damit die korrekte politische Meinung auch noch vorkommt." ("Offener Brief an das Filmtage-Team" 2014)

team has lead to the assumption that this group has the right idea of the festival, its political stand and image. While this might be an admirable political aim, especially in the contest of a queer, collectively organized film festival, the realities of a multifaceted organization serving an equally multifaceted audience base and responding to a diverse host of stakeholders are more complex. In the more nuanced statement from the Rote Flora collective these complex realities are also evoked. Nevertheless, the collective urges the Filmtage team to stay self-critical and not give up the political counter position and confrontation in favor of more comfortable *realpolitik* of compromises, they would like the festival to "stay the political, critical, queer festival of a counterpublic."[57]

Attendants of the "Queer Film Culture: Queer Cinema and Film Festivals" conference,[58] which took place in conjunction with the festival the day before and after opening night (14–15 Oct. 2014), learned of the discussions surrounding the opening speech of the mayor and wondered why so many had a problem with him speaking. From their nonlocal, international point of view, it represented a major honor to have the highest politician of the city opening the festival, something that would never happen in their respective cities (Prague and St. Petersburg) and could potentially be used by them to show how other (sister) cities treat their LGBT/Q film festivals.[59] Scholz was indeed showing his respect for the work of the festival and its surrounding community, first, by the performative act of opening the festival, and second, by several statements in his speech in which he honored the political work of the festival and also promised the continued financial support of the festival (cf. Scholz 2014).

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[57] In the German text: "Ein letztes Wort: Ganz vielleicht ist die Einladung an Scholz ein Hinweis auf eine Entwicklung, von der niemand gefeit ist und mit denen Projekte wie die LSF, aber auch wir aus der Roten Flora, sich immer wieder selbstkritisch auseinandersetzen müssen, nämlich der Wunsch, manchmal einfach nur gemocht werden zu wollen. Es ist der Wunsch, politisches Dagegen halten und radikale Haltungen mit all den Mühen und Konfrontationen zu tauschen mit realpolitischen Kompromissen oder der verlockenden Bequemlichkeit von Fördertöpfen. In diesem Sinne wünschen wir uns, dass die LSF das andere, politisch kritische queere Festival einer Gegenöffentlichkeit bleibt und u.a. gemeinsam mit der Roten Flora als besetzten und unverträglichen Ort eine lange und glückliche kämpferische Zukunft haben wird." ("Erklärung von Aktivist_innen der Roten Flora zur Rede von Olaf Scholz zur Eröffnung der Lesbisch Schwulen Filmtage," 15.10.2014)

[58] Cf. www.queerfilmculture.org (13 Dec. 2014).

[59] This discussion arose as part of the "Queer Film Festivals in Practice" panel on 15 October 2014.

The final handling of the issue and how the team and festival will incorporate these diverging reactions voiced by stakeholders, such as related activist groups, community co-presenters, lobby groups and audience members, is still outstanding. After the festival issued a statement inviting these parties to participate in a larger round-table to discuss these issues together (Filmtage-Kommunikation 2014).

4.2 Audiences and Communal Reception

The discussion of the mechanisms and the act of reception has in large part been conspicuously absent from film festival studies. The pieces available in relation to reception are either couched in discussions of cinephilia (De Valck/Hagener 2005; Czach 2010; De Valck 2010), or discussions of public address of specific groups as festival audiences, following the argument that programming defines the audience (White 1999; Fung 1999; Stringer 2008). Film festivals have often been discussed as networks promoting alternative aesthetics and alternative circulation (De Valck 2007; Wong 2011). The act of reception, however, is seldom considered beyond general film reception or aspects of transnational spectatorship (Nichols 1994). However, the specific address and the appearance of an audience, a community or public, as well as the exhibition context of an event as they have been discussed above, seem to beg for closer inspection of how film reception works in the festival context.

4.2.1 Festival Experience

By the film industry, funders and distributors, film festivals are usually praised as places for audience building, as "bastions of film culture" which still showcase interesting alternative films not deemed viable by the commercial industry (Gregor 2001). By organizations such as Europe Cinemas or MEDIA (Creative Europe) festivals are fostered as supporters of audiences for European and arthouse film. Similarly, community festivals are asked by specialized distributors to promote and endorse films to their grown audience base via festival newsletters etc.[60] Film festivals as well as festival audiences keep constantly growing. Due to the growing circuit, more films

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[60] To give just two specific examples in the abounding field: the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg, for instance, partner with the monthly lesbian and gay film series "L-Filmnacht" and "Gay-Filmnacht" organized by Edition Salzgeber; similarly the identities Queer Film Festival occasionally will promote the première of LGBT/Q films in Vienna and Austria, either by a partnering distributor (recently for *Pride*) or the films distributed by its own related DV8 company.

screen and reach more audiences. In addition, many festivals keep growing continually, both in program and audiences. With these facts in mind, the lamented death of arthouse cinema seems somewhat premature, even though cinemas keep closing and viewing patterns are generally changing due to major shifts in the distribution and circulation patterns (cf. Bruins 2010). In this changing media landscape many films, even the small obscure indie genre flicks, are largely available online either legally streamed or pirated and informally shared (Lobato 2007, 2012a, b). In the LGBT/Q segment more and more dedicated distributors also provide streaming content, such as Wolfe or Busk (2012–2014), or bigger mainstream providers (Amazon, MUBI, Lovefilm, Netflix) offer specialized content. This available abundance of arthouse and festival films and LGBT/Q imagery has tempted critics to speak of the dangerous isolation of individual spectators (Rich 2014). As the numbers in the previous chapter show, however, the circuit, also of smaller LGBT/Q film festivals, continually grows. So why do people still flock to the festivals?

Various audience surveys have indicated that some of the main audience motivations are to see films that are not available in theaters, either because they will not get a release, or they are unlikely to be shown in the particular home town, or they will not screen in original language version; attending guests and the aforementioned star gazing are further motivations usually related to festival screenings (cf. Bories 2013: 24; Reichel-Heldt 2007: 66). These considerations influence the choice of attendance as well as the particular choice of film.

A factor which goes beyond those pragmatic considerations and should not be underestimated is the communal experience of the festival atmosphere. At an international generalist film festival, the atmosphere differs even from the visit to a sophisticated arthouse cinema. The event character, the extraordinariness of the program in conjunction with different guests, open-minded, cosmopolitan cinephiles, international and local audiences all add to the special feeling at a film festival. While cinema-going in general is (usually) a group experience (cf. Hanich 2010, 2014a), the festival atmosphere invites extra communication and breaks down boundaries. At a festival, complete strangers are more likely to start a conversation in the ticket line or in the queue in front of the sold-out cinema than at a regular multiplex screening. An important factor is the event character that has been discussed above, the ritual that sets the festival screening apart from everyday life. The framing with various rituals—

festival badges, a festival trailer or jingle before each screening, film introductions as well as Q&As—marks the festival off as a special kind of cinema event. In addition, the condensed time-frame, as well as scarcity of resources at the event encourages direct communication. The abundance in the program, the limited availability of time and tickets, as well as the (preliminary) lack of detailed film coverage and evaluation through criticism invites participants to talk about films, compare notes on filmmakers, aesthetics, likes and dislikes to make educated choices. This communicative atmosphere is especially conducive for an active film culture, inviting seasoned cinephiles and connoisseurs in training to join in a group experience, to become part of a secret world organized by the love of film.

4.2.2 Queer Reception Context

For an identity-based film festival the above described festival experience is also based in the social practice of a queer (film) culture. The audience members have (most likely) been addressed as an LGBT/Q spectators and community members or allies. The spectators come for thematic film offerings, but they also show up for the community experience of watching a film in one's subcultural group. An LGBT/Q film festival serves as community space and a highlight in the (sub)cultural event calendar, with people frequently taking off work to attend as much of the festival and its related parties as possible. The constellation of a festival event, community experience, film selection and programming and a specific viewing context creates a specific practice and film culture. As the various festival incidents discussed throughout this chapter attest, audiences of identity-based film festivals have a particularly close relationship and identification with the event. This heightened feeling of belonging to a community, e.g. LGBT/Q community or fan subcultures (Trekkies, trash/cult movies), creates a specific reception context.

While scholars such as Stuart Hall (1989, 2004) and Antke Engel (2002) have pointed out the power of representational regimes in the construction of meaning and thus world-making at large, I want to stress the construction of meaning also in the performativity of the presentation, by its framing (Bal 2002: 133–173) and its reception context. As I have discussed earlier in this chapter, on the level of the individual film, the building blocks of LGBT/Q film programming are still very much centered on representation with its fixed idea of indexicality, re-presenting stable identities, re-

presenting the constituency of the festival. The act of programming, and the framing of these representations, has a performative dimension. The meaning of an individual film is framed by the context of its exhibition within the festival event in a number of ways: discursively in print, in programming, in spatial placement etc. First, the film is framed discursively through paratextual cues, such as the synopsis that the festival brochure provides. Here, usually the basic storyline, genre, cast of a film are displayed as cues to film selection for the audience. In a LGBT/Q film context, categorization according to LGBT/Q identities are often provided—either subtly worked into the synopsis or explicitly stated as small or capital letters L, G, B, T, or Q.[61] Second, a film is framed by its placement in the program and the potential discursive interaction that derives from intertextual reception. As I have shown above, this is especially pertinent for short films placed in a specifically curated program, but it also holds true for a feature film within the overall program. Third, a film and its reception is framed by its placement in a specific venue at a specific time. As the example of Frameline's "Lesbian Riot" incident shows, gendered spatial programming can have an immediate effect on reception and audience reaction.

The community context will determine the reception. Showing a film within an LGBT/Q film festival with a predominantly LGBT/Q audience will receive a different reception than at an international, independent, or documentary film festival. In her study of the Australian queer film culture and film festivals, Samantha Searle pointed to the specific reception context at these festivals. As described by Warner for the constitution of a queer counterpublic, the conventional heteronormative address is suspended. Both the audience and the films are expected to be queer or sympathetic to LGBT/Q issues. Therefore the decoding of representation works differently. Alternative (queer) readings of films become dominant and taken for granted. In the context of an LGBT/Q film festival Hollywood classics such as *The Wizard of Oz* can enjoy a communal queer reading or an originally homophobic propaganda film can be reclaimed in a camp reading (Doty 2000; Searle 1996: 51–52). In a similar vein, community-based productions, as for instance the lesbian New Queer Cinema cult film

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[61] The internal list of films running in the Teddy Award selection at the Berlinale are usually marked this way, where a small letter denotes a minor side line, and a big letter the main story line. Aside from the usual LGBT/Q, there are also C for context (meaning usually a 'gay icon' or known queer filmmaker is involved), GS for gender studies (for films dealing with gender/sexuality issues without being explicitly LGBT/Q narratives).

Go Fish, may revel in the joyfully use of subcultural codes, whose inside jokes will be lost on an outsider audience (cf. Evans/Gamman 2004; Henderson 1999). These kinds of (re-)readings speak to the performative nature of curatorial framing and reception and their potential for appropriative readings as I have discussed in the programming section in relation to the cases of *I'm Not There* or the "Girl's Room" program.

However, although these kinds of queer reading strategies have positive potential, programming can also fall ill on the side of spectators as has become evident in the discussions of the *Gendercator* and Lesbian Riot incidents above. Speaking about the differences of affirmative LGBT programming and more ambivalent queer programming strategies, Searle explains that the "taking-up of queer content in programming is likely to have mixed reception in festival contexts where audiences are actualized by virtue of a social identity that may be then called into question, even directly challenged, by programming." (Searle 1996: 56) In the intervention public space offered by an LGBT/Q film festival, it therefore depends on the active audience and the expectations it brings to the program. Similar to genre expectations in general film selection for a night out at the movies, say when attending a Western or Sci-Fi, a spectator at an LGBT/Q film festival will most likely expect to encounter a film with queer narrative or character. Coming back to the open definition of Queer Cinema by Benshoff and Griffin (2006) based on either characters, aesthetics, filmmaker, politics, depicted desire, or spectatorial position, it ultimately depends on the willingness of the audience to go along with the offered and in the programming performed definitions.[62]

4.2.3 Audience, LGBT/Q Community and Festival Community

In view of the issues of programming performativity and un/successful acts of reception at LGBT/Q film festivals, it seems important to take a closer look at how the audience of a festival and the LGBT/Q community intersect. I would like to suggest differentiating three different categories: 1) the LGBT/Q community, 2) the audience, and 3) the festival community. First, the local LGBT/Q community is commonly the

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[62] Sometimes curators and critics wish for different audiences and speak of "educating the audience" (cf. Rich 1999; Künemund 2014). In a review of B. Ruby Rich's book *New Queer Cinema: The Director's Cut* (2013), Helen Leung summarizes this position: "Rich ends her book by throwing down the gauntlet to us as queer audiences. Rich believes that the 'biggest impediment to the creation of culture […] is the receptivity of an audience' (281). The future of queer cinema thus depends on queer audiences' capacity to both accept and demand works that are vital, challenging, and dynamic." (Leung 2014: 388)

origin and the addressed group of an LGBT/Q film festival. The community is the constituency and the addressee of festival communication and programming. As the discussion of the historical festival development in the previous chapter and of the programming strategies (especially in the "by, for, and about") in this chapter has shown, LGBT/Q film festivals often announce a mission to serve the LGBT/Q community. Second, the audience is comprised of the people attending the event, buying tickets and watching the films. It is the actualization of the address as Richard Fung and Patricia White have pointed out (Fung 1999; White 1999). As the discussions about community representation and inclusivity have shown, the audience is a part of the community, but it is not the same. First of all, not all LGBT/Q people are interested in film. But more importantly, not all members of the LGBT/Q community—who belong by virtue of an identity and sexuality—feel addressed by a specific LGBT/Q film festival. The best example might again be the comparison of NewFest and MIX NYC. While both festivals serve the LGBT/Q community of New York since the late 1980s, the do reach considerably different audiences, due to address through programming and communication. Nevertheless, the actual materialized audience does not yet say much about the affiliation of the spectators with the festival[63]. Therefore, I would propose a third category of the festival community, in which audience members develop a specific relationship to the festival—and in the case of LGBT/Q film festivals most likely also to the queer community. As we have seen above, public address is usually personal and impersonal, offering a variety of cues by which the potential audience member can feel addressed and recognizes themselves. By an avant-garde program a straight cinephile might be as much addressed as a lesbian filmmaker and a queer artist. Except for the specific taste in film they might not indeed feel specific relations to each other, the LGBT/Q community or the festival. They will most likely still be influenced by the specific reception context of the LGBT/Q festival. However, they are not very likely to get involved in organizing and supporting the festival or in

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[63] Existing taxonomies of audiences either list the various stakeholder groups that comprise the audience, such as accredited industry members, festival organizers, or regular audience members (Reichel-Heldt 2007: 55–66) or develop a taxonomy of cinephiles, such as the lone list-maker, the highlight seeker, the specialist (often professional), the leisure visitor, the social tourist, and the volunteer (De Valck 2005: 103–105). Based on an empirical research study using the results for motivation factors generated in an audience survey at the Filmfest Hamburg in 2012, Jana Bories differentiates between (festival- or film oriented) event enthusiasts, (socially- or entertainment oriented) leisure connoisseurs and professionals (Bories 2013: 28–30). Neither of these categorizations relates the audience to the festival or the creation of a reception-oriented community.

the discussions of community identity and programming as the people involved in the aforementioned boycotts.

In an empirical study, which conducted a questionnaire survey at the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg in 2013, Dobrin Tomov asked whether the participants thought the festival had developed its own community and if so, whether they felt part of it.[64] An overwhelming majority (75,4 %) of the participants thought that indeed a festival community had evolved around the festival. More than half of the participants (57,4 %) felt they belonged to this festival community. When searching for indications as to how this community belonging could be interpreted, it is not surprising that more than three quarters (76,8 %) have been frequent festival attendants (more than four years) and almost half of them (47 %) are long-term audience members (8 years or longer)[65]. Unsurprisingly, they are die-hard cinephiles (at least in terms of quantity). Four quarters (73,3 %) of them watch more than five films, one third (34,1 %) watches more than nine films per (six-day) festival. In terms of motivation for attendance they reported more often than average that they are interested in a community/collective experience, meeting friends and community. Finally, they stated they were overwhelmingly happy with the festival experience, rating the festival with good (43,7 %) to very good (54 %). Since many of the survey participants who identify as being part of the festival community have attended the festival for a long time and are predominantly in their 40s and 50s, they can be classified as core audience who seems (unsurprisingly) happy with the festival.[66]

A comparable study was conducted at the local international film festival, Filmfest Hamburg in 2012 (Bories 2013). While there was no question about a festival community included, the numbers of attended festivals might give some indication. While 61,7 % of survey participants had attended the Filmtage for more than four years, only 33,4 % of survey participants of Filmfest Hamburg had attended more than five festivals (cf. Tomov 2014, Bories 2013: A13). These data, I would suggest, give

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[64] The survey questions in German: „Haben Sie den Eindruck, dass sich um die LSF eine eigene Community gebildet hat?"; „Wenn ja, fühlen Sie sich dieser Community zugehörig?" (Tomov 2014, page 3 of the questionnaire).

[65] The duration of festival attendance in the overall survey is a bit lower: 61,7 % (for 4 years and more) and 31,9 % (8 years and more).

[66] A common problem of survey layout is to measure—or even reach—people from outside the community or get feedback about the problems.

evidence of the tight relationship between an identity-based community festival and its core audience. Assuming that most long-running LGBT/Q film festivals will show similar audience developments,[67] the involvement and fierce negotiations about identity representation and community politics that have been visible in the above-mentioned boycotts and discussions, seem rather obvious and become an almost expected measure in an active intervention public. Thus, these data provide empirical evidence for Patricia White's suggestion of the task and function of LGBT/Q film festivals:

> Besides giving public exposure to thousands of works (and, as exhibition venues, causing work to be produced, as mushrooming annual submissions bear out) and – one hopes – garnering publicity for gay and lesbian media, film- and video makers, and organizations, the festivals constitute a counter public sphere, providing a collective experience and a literal site of critical reception. What they exhibit and make visible, alongside their programming, is an audience. (White 1999: 74)

Beyond showing an audience, the festival brings together a temporary community that is meeting at the event and which is also reflecting (in part of) the larger community that exists all-year around. It does so by the presences of audience community members, in the films and in co-presentation of films by community organizations, etc.

4.2.4 Collective Viewing Experience

Film reception is usually seen as an individual act. In a turn from text-based film studies with an ideal spectator in mind to approaches based in cultural studies, which were more interested in film as a social practice, an active viewer was conceptualized (Barthes 2000; Schenk/Tröhler/Zimmermann 2010: 17). Cultural studies proponents stressed the fact that each spectator brings different life experiences to a film. Thus, each spectatorial act is unique. Each audience member sees a "different" film, since they bring different knowledge and social backgrounds to the reception process, in which a text is actively decoded. The communicative interaction between text and recipient creates the "received text" (Mikos 2001), which is then assimilated and integrated in to the recipient's life context in an act of appropriation (Eichner 2014: 72–

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[67] In a discussion of audience demographics of the 2010 Frameline festival, Richards relates that there is a "dramatic over-representation of older white gay men", with 68% of the audience being over the age of 45 (2012: 131). Although he presents no cross-references of categories, the long-standing tradition of the festival—at the time the audience survey was taken, it was the 35th edition—and the very old core demographic suggests that here too the audience has grown old together with the festival.

73). In a radical sense, even the same spectator when watching the film again "never attends the same film twice" (Hagener 2014).

One aspect to take into account, then,—especially when considering the queer reception context and the formation of a festival community above—is the collective aspect of watching a film together. Here a community is created by mutual participation in the event. Fischer-Lichte stressed the significance of bodily co-presence for the theater context and refers to the feedback loop between actor and spectator (with potential role reversal) (2008: 38–74). While there is no such feedback-loop based on role-reversal between spectator and (on-screen) actor in the cinematic context, the co-presence and feedback loop in the festival (cinema) context can be located in a different way. Fischer-Lichte discusses the switch of perception processes during the feedback loop and when differentiating contemplative aesthetics and perception (Fischer-Lichte 2008: 59–60). Even when the film audience cannot influence the screening itself, unlike at a live theater performance, the act of perception in a collective setting is still an essential part of festival performance. The performative notion of common perception connects to the theorizations of "collective viewing" and the processes of "watching a film with others" as developed by Julian Hanich (2010, 2014a, b). Here, thee feedback loop does not occur between actor and spectator but between spectators watching a film together.

In a first instance, Hanich addresses the normative agreement of cinema-going which includes sitting still, watching attentive and in silence (Hanich 2014a: 350–352, 2013: 76). He considers a variety of cinema experiences and argues for a phenomenological study of affective audience interactions which have specific audience effects (Hanich 2014b). Depending on film and reception context a number of affects (joy, shock, sadness, attention) elicit expressive reactions (laughter, screaming, weeping, attentive silence). In a collective viewing context these can influence the reception of the individual viewer. Awareness of the presence of co-viewers can, thus, lead to the suppression or increase in affective experience. Specific expressions of laughter can make the audience member aware of belonging to a social group or have ethical implications, when certain reactions are deemed inappropriate, for instance laughing the wrong places—Hanich calls this "collective awareness function" and "control function" (2014b). Coming back to the queer reading strategies based on subcultural codes and reception context, the audience reactions will most likely influence the individual reception. The joy derived from laughing at subcultural in-jokes will be increased when

it is shared in a whole auditorium of queers also catching the jokes. Similarly, watching a trashy or camp film together with a full house of 2,500 expressive queers hissing or joking in the Castro theater in San Francisco makes for a very special reception experience. This value derived from collective viewing, especially in a setting where one feels part of or welcome to the community of spectators, might explain the importance and thriving of LGBT/Q film festivals (cf. Rauscher 2011), when an abundance of films are available for consumption alone.

These collective, subcultural reception contexts are not unique to LGBT/Q film festivals.[68] They can also be found in previous, parallel or overlapping social practices of film cultures. Janet Staiger (2000) has described similar reception contexts of the scenes for cult movies and underground in 1960s New York, which are in some respect predecessors of LGBT/Q (and other) film festivals. Daniel Kulle (2013) described specific group-based cinema experiences in relation to DIY cinema culture. In the film festival, however, the event character and the dimension of an intervention public sphere add extra layers that account for the appeal and success of LGBT/Q film festivals.

5 Conclusion

After having mapped the circuit covering a wide range through time and space in the previous chapter, in the present chapter I ventured further and zoomed in to look at a number of specific incidents of disruption and boycotts as case studies to unravel the different layers in which LGBT/Q film festivals as instances of queer film culture are performed (or failed). Aspects such as the differentiation of specific identity segments and in the evolution of festival names and profiles have been mentioned in the previous chapter and taken up here because they play a significant part in programming, audience address and reception experiences. In this chapter I mobilized mainly perspectives of performativity and performance from ethnography and performance studies, which were put in synch with concepts such as public spheres, audience address and event culture.

The investigation in this chapter has followed three steps: selection, exhibition, and reception. Under the heading of selection I discussed the performance of queer cinema

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[68] For a discussion of reception communities or interpretation communities in relation to television and other media see Prommer 2012: 48 and Hickethier 2010: 215; for reception in public spaces see Höflich 2014.

as it becomes visible in the practices of selection of films and their programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. There I have discussed various processes involved in programming, ranging from pre-selection, screening committees to programming strategies. Two historical incidents from the history of Frameline, the "Lesbian Riot" (1986) and the *Genderator* incident (2007), serve as detailed examples of how programming strategies directly interrelate with identity negotiations. In both instances the traditional strategy of what I would call "LGBT programming," namely the representation of separated and stable identities in programming set the stage for fights of identity boundaries and representation. The discussion of programs proposing "queer programming strategies," using case studies of programs and films screened at the festivals in Hamburg, Bremen and Vienna serve as counterexamples for programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. In the section on exhibition, I turned to take a look at the performative architecture of a LGBT/Q film festival by shedding light on the event, which follow specific scripts and rituals.

In the last section of the chapter, concerned with reception, I turned to the corresponding side of the processes discussed in the beginning and looked at the audience, considering the form of address, reception context, audience interaction and elements of community-building. While the programming process happens much earlier and over an extended period of time, the program itself (through promotional materials such as brochures and websites) addresses an audience and only then comes into existence: comes "alive," actualizes in the very act of reception by an audience. Thus, these two sides (program and audience) are inextricably linked and represent two sides of the coin that is the festival. First, I discussed the formation of a counterpublic sphere, audience address using Michael Warner's (2002) concept of the queer counterpublic. Two further examples of festival boycotts are presented to analyze how LGBT/Q film festivals operate as queer counterpublic spheres that activists utilize for political intervention. Both examples show how queer politics expand beyond mere discussions of LGBT identities to issues of globalization, and its entwinement with homonationalism and migration politics. One example relates to discussions on "pinkwashing," the contested promotion of a LGBT/Q-friendly image of Israel by the Brand Israel campaign (cf. Puar 2013), on the international festival circuit as well as at Frameline, and the other relates to queer local politics, where the opening speech of the mayor at the festival in Hamburg was boycotted, thereby connecting to a larger frame of global migration politics and its treatment in "Fortress Europe," epitomized by the

Lampedusa refugees in Hamburg. Second, in the last section of this chapter I turn to the communal experience of collective viewing as developed by Julian Hanich (2010, 2014a) and discusses the impact on the formation of a festival community. With this take on audiences, community and reception contexts, the chapter returns to the question raised in the introduction of how LGBT/Q film festivals are an integral part of the practices of queer film culture.

Conclusion
Queer Film Culture Performed

The analyses presented in the previous chapters have shown that LGBT/Q film festivals are an integral part of the social practice of queer film culture. They are places where social, political, and economic discourses intersect and where LGBT/Q identities, representation through film, definitions of queer cinema, community, and global queer politics, and mainstream appropriation are negotiated. The festivals themselves are constantly responding to their changing surroundings and demands from stakeholders such as their audience base, the communities they want to serve, and economic and political stakeholders. The versatile, ever evolving form of the festival speaks to its performative formation. Therefore, the concepts of performativity, the performative and performance lend themselves to the analysis of the mechanisms and processes at play there.

Conclusions

This study, situated at the intersection of film and media studies, sociology and queer theory, built its arguments on the interdisciplinary field of film festival studies (cf. De Valck/Loist 2009, 2013), and has set out to argue for the value of applying the concepts of the performative, performativity and performance to the study of film festivals in general, and LGBT/Q film festivals in particular. As the discussion of the concepts in chapter 1 has shown, the performative as developed by J.L. Austin in language philosophy and its further transposition to performativity in the theorizations of philosophy and literature by Jacques Derrida, for gender/queer theory by Judith Butler, and performance for ethnography by Victor Turner, and in theater/performance studies by Erika Fischer-Lichte and Jon McKenzie provides a very versatile analytical arsenal for the analysis of film festivals. At the same time it is highly compatible with other existing concepts and theorizations such as event, public sphere, and networks and flows that have already been canonically applied to festival studies (Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007; Wong 2011; Iordanova 2013).

In the process of mapping out this new conceptual approach in film festival studies, I have also set out to contribute to general discussions of the historical transformations of (LGBT/Q) film festival culture, the relationships between film festivals and their cinephile and political communities, between programming and reception contexts, and

thus account for the convergence not only of general and specialized festivals on the circuit, but also a convergence in the analysis of general and specialized festivals (cf. Loist 2013b).

In chapter 2, I have mobilized the historical dimension of the performative to discuss the formation of LGBT/Q film festivals and their circuit. There, I have sketched out the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival while paying attention also to the larger social, political, geographic, and economic contexts. Marijke de Valck's periodization of the circuit, describing the transition from national showcases to programmed cinephilia to a professionalized and diversified network (De Valck 2007: 19–20), served as a backdrop to the detailed historiography of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. Here, I follow Ragan Rhyne's US-based periodization (2007), which I expand to a global perspective and update from where her discussion left off. This discursive historiography was accompanied by an empirical one, where I analyzed the growth pattern and global spread of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. This combined view revealed a very complex history without a linear narrative of progress for sexual rights or queer film production. Instead it became obvious that one needs to consider complex structures of globalization: economies of production, capitalism, processes of cultural exchange, human rights activism, LGBT/Q activism, and prevailing structures of homophobia. Processes of economic growth, differentiation and reinvention on the side of the older established LGBT/Q film festivals in the "West" coincide with simultaneous, parallel developments of local adaptation, national film cultures and basic struggles for LGBT rights and community building. Along with the global perspective, a discussion of US-American, German and Austrian case studies provided further depth in understanding the evolution of the festivals and the circuit.

The increasing acceptance of LGBT/Q identities in most parts of the "developed world," with anti discrimination laws as well as civil unions and gay marriage in place—although some regions also see a backlash, as visible in Russia's (supposedly anti-) propaganda law or threats on LGBT/Q safety in some regions in Africa—has a direct impact on the spatial spread of and visibility of the LGBT/Q community, bringing with it cultural events such as film festivals. Long-standing festivals, which are often based in large cities with a substantial LGBT/Q community and film/arts culture are joined by new additions serving communities in smaller cities, and more rural areas. In addition, the mainstreaming of (homonormative) LGBT/Q imagery urges film festivals

to reposition or diversify to focus on specific issues and targeting smaller brackets of identities. Instead of a diverse all-encompassing LGBT/Q (or QUILTBAG)[1] community, with all its inner differences, tensions and struggles, a number of new festivals cater specifically to trans*, Queer of Color or genre fan communities. Thus, in the historical context, there is a visible diversification and proliferation of LGBT/Q film festival on the global scale.

All of these festivals have to navigate the performative negotiations of identities; as part of LGBT/Q activist politics and community organizing they balance the need to perform according to changing demands in the film and festival landscape as well as stay in tune with the ever-evolving LGBT/Q politics and identities of their constituencies. When these negotiations are successful, LGBT/Q film festivals stay relevant and serve the specific need to form a community, a sentiment uttered time and again by audiences, festival organizers, and filmmakers.

Having drawn a broad picture of the circuit, covering a wide range through time and space, in chapter 3 I ventured further and zoomed in to look at a number of specific incidents of disruption and boycotts as case studies to unravel the different layers in which LGBT/Q film festivals as instances of queer film culture are performed (or failed). Aspects such as specific identity segments and differentiation in the evolution of festival names and festival profiles have been mentioned in the previous chapter. These issues were revisited in chapter 3 since they play a significant part when considering the programming, audience address, and reception experiences. In this chapter I mobilized mainly perspectives of performativity and performance from ethnography and performance studies. These were put in synch with concepts such as public spheres, audience address, and event culture.

The investigation in that chapter follows three steps: selection, exhibition, and reception. Under the heading of selection, I discussed the performance of queer cinema as it becomes visible in the practices of selection of films and their programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. There I have discussed various processes involved in programming, ranging from pre-selection, to screening committees, to programming strategies. Two historical incidents from the history of Frameline, the "Lesbian Riot" (1986) and the *Genderator* incident (2007), serve as detailed examples of how

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[1] QUILTBAG is a recent acronym to represent a wider spectrum of the community by including queer, questioning (Q), intersex (I), lesbian (L), trans*, two-spirit (T), bi (B), ally, asexual (A), and gay, genderqueer (G) and potentially other identities (see also the Introduction).

programming strategies directly interrelate with identity negotiations. In both instances the traditional strategy of what I would call "LGBT programming," namely the representation of separated and stable identities in programming, set the stage for fights over identity boundaries and representation. The discussion of programs proposing "queer programming strategies," using case studies of programs and films screened at the festivals in Hamburg, Bremen, and Vienna serve as counterexamples for programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. In the section on exhibition, I turned to the performative architecture of an LGBT/Q film festival by shedding light on the event, which follow specific scripts and rituals.

In the last section of the chapter, which is concerned with reception, I looked at the corresponding side of the processes discussed in the beginning, and looked at the audience, considering the form of address, reception context, audience interaction, and elements of community-building. While the programming process happens much earlier and over an extended period of time, the program itself (through promotional materials such as brochures and websites) addresses an audience and only then comes into existence: comes "alive," actualizes in the very act of reception by an audience. Thus, these two sides (program and audience) are inextricably linked, in fact, and represent two sides of the coin that is the festival. First, I discussed the formation of a counterpublic sphere, audience address, and the specific reception context of a festival. Two further examples of festival boycotts were used to analyze how LGBT/Q film festivals operate as queer counterpublic spheres that activists utilize for political intervention. Both examples show how queer politics expand beyond mere discussions of LGBT identities to issues of globalization, and its entwinement with homonationalism and migration politics. One example relates to discussions on "pinkwashing" on the international festival circuit as well as at Frameline, and the other relates to queer local politics which are connected back to larger frame of global migration in Hamburg (and Lampedusa). With this take on audiences, community and reception contexts, the chapter returns to the question of how LGBT/Q film festivals are an integral part of the practices of queer film culture, which was raised in the introduction.

Further Research Trajectories

The present study has provided a historical and global overview of the performance of queer film culture on the LGBT/Q film festival circuit and also discussed the

performative aspects of festivals on a micro level in a theoretical and analytical discussion of programming, exhibition and reception practices. For this, it relied mostly on approaches of performativity and performance from philosophy, ethnography and gender/queer studies.

Two specific strands in media industries research deserve closer attention within film festival studies in general and for LGBT/Q festivals in particular: first, organizational structures and labor issues (cf. Loist 2011) and second, distribution (cf. Loist forthcoming c; Andrews 2013).[2] With an interest in economic and processual dimensions of film festivals and the circuit, this study also places festivals strongly within current developments in media industries studies. The dynamic field of media industries studies has mainly focused on traditional media and industrial processes in film production and distribution, format development and sales in television, or convergence culture in cross-media and conglomeration environments (cf. McDonald 2013). Yet if we follow the changing nature of the film festival circuit, which along with the diagnosed expansion and professionalization since the 1980s (De Valck 2007) has in the last decade developed its own substantial sub-industry this field can be regarded as a media industries sector in its own right. This new field ranges from the growing pool of professional consultants and workshop organizers to the development of ancillary online festival platforms[3] serving to connect various actors in the field: producers, filmmakers (sellers), distributors (buyers) and programmers (exhibitors).

Harking back to the concept of performativity as applied in chapter 3, these issues can be addressed in the form that festivals are performative organizations in that they repeat earlier structures of the festival model that have developed (cf. Giorgi/Sassatelli/Delanty 2011; Fléchet et al. 2013), as well as earlier editions of themselves. The network can be said to follow this performative repetition when festivals copy each other in the methods of organization and event structure in an attempt to adapt to the constantly changing technical, cultural and social demands and continue to stay relevant (cf. Elsaesser 2005: 86). After all, the ability for constant adaptation is what Marijke de Valck theorizes to be the recipe of success of the film festival circuit (2007).

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[2] From a general media industries perspective Caldwell 2008 and Hesmondhalgh/Baker 2011 would be relevant for issues around labor, and Lobato 2012a for issues of distribution.

[3] Examples of such festival platforms range from B2B-platforms such as Cinando, FestivalScope connecting festival programmers with producers to Withoutabox or Reelport providing submission platforms for filmmakers and festival (see also Iordanova/Cunningham 2012).

Organizational Performance

Another notion of "performance"—one specific to the English language context—is the aspect of achievement or efficiency in the business realm (McKenzie 2001; Fischer-Lichte 2012b: 222). This conception of performance has specifically been discussed by Jon McKenzie in his study *Perform, or Else* (2001). This particular notion of performance holds productive potential for an expansion of the performative analytical approach to film festivals. Performance in the business-oriented sense provides another compatible angle on the aspect of performance/performativity. It would be useful for a shift in perspective from the event and its unfolding to an analysis of the organizational structure of the festival as well as its interrelations with the wider film industry sector. Film festivals are not single entities operating according to their own rules and preconceptions. Instead, they are specific organizational forms within the larger cultural sector and respond to a number of stakeholder demands and expectations (cf. Rhyne 2009, Gamson 1996). With this approach, organizational performance with view on various stakeholders, the address of the festival by interest groups etc. (Rhyne 2009; Getz/Andersson/Larsen 2008) could be accounted for.

Another aspect of economic performance that was already mentioned in passing is the struggle for industry influence. LGTB/Q film festivals are part of a queer media ecosystem, they support LGBT/Q film through exposure and exhibition, and by connecting audiences and filmmakers are in this way also a motor for the production of queer cinema (White 1999). In a more direct way, LGBT/Q festivals have moved into the economic support of queer filmmaking. Already in the 1980s one of the outcomes of Frameline's "Lesbian Riot" was the aim to provide direct grants to underrepresented filmmakers via the Frameline Completion Fund. In a way, such measures of community support aimed at independent production can be seen as an avant-garde move, one that later also became visible on the larger film festival circuit, such as with the Hubert Bals Fund at the International Film Festival Rotterdam or the World Cinema Fund at the Berlinale (cf. Falicov forthcoming). Similar to other initiatives on the festival circuit, LGBT/Q film festivals have also provided pre/production support in script labs (Outfest, Sundance), post-production grants, and have moved to become direct distributors for festival runs or the home and educational market (Frameline) (cf. Loist/Zielinski 2012).

Social Entrepreneurs

The historical development of LGBT/Q film festivals throughout nearly four decades shows a move from ad-hoc countercultural alternative events to incorporated year-round institutions ranging from all-volunteer labor to full-time professionals. This span provides interesting insights into the work structures of film festivals and how they influence not only the organizational layout but fundamentally the performative unfolding of the events.

For further research, it would thus be beneficial to take up the concept of social entrepreneurship. Stuart Richards (2012, 2014) argues that LGBT/Q film festivals have become social enterprises and, like community arts events in general, have become a creative industry. This concept is of interest as it considers the economic realities and pressures that LGBT/Q film festivals find themselves in, fuelled by the increasing move towards neoliberal economic structures, changes in funding and sponsorship landscape and the valorization of creative industries. Richards uses the social entrepreneurship paradigm to rescue the social and activist aims of the festivals, which nevertheless need to respond to professionalization and the effects that increasing institutionalization of the media arts and community organizations creates. He convincingly argues that "the pink dollar has been a deciding factor in its financial sustainability" and that these organizations "must also concern themselves with the bottom line" (Richards 2014: 1). He bases his discussion on an analysis of three larger case studies in the US (Frameline), Australia (Melbourne Queer Film Festival) and Hong Kong. However, these economies have made a considerable move towards embracing neoliberal trends in the arts and culture since the 1980s as Ragan Rhyne (2007) has shown for the US. In (Western) Europe, I would suggest, one finds a different context as there is—despite increasing moves towards neoliberal structures—a different public funding system and a greater resistance towards commercial sponsorship in the arts is in place. When taking a look at case studies in Germany and Austria, one can discern a diverse range of festival organizations.

The case studies of Hamburg, Vienna (identities) and Berlin (Verzaubert), which are of similar age and size as Richards' case studies, differ considerably from his model and range from volunteer-collective to seasonal staff to for-profit model. Considering German case studies, such as the Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg for instance, there is a pronounced resistance to commercialization and professionalization visible

(cf. Loist 2011; Diepenbroick/Loist 2009)[4]. This specific organizational perspective of a politically (self-)conscious volunteer-collective has already been hinted at during the discussion of the Lampedusa politics in relation to the Mayor of Hamburg opening the festival (chapter 3).

As Richards' argument does not actually consider the possibility of a festival operating outside the neoliberal structures of the creative industries, this begs further analysis of the economic performance of LGBT/Q film festivals. Here, a different take on the issues of organizational performance would be to extend a thread of discussion that I have laid out elsewhere (Loist 2011a), arguing that LGBT/Q—as well as other smaller independent community festivals—belong to what is called the "precariat." While highly skilled workers in the arts and cultural sector, or creative industries cannot really be considered to belong to the precariat in the sense traditional of a Marxist proletariat, what the concept of precarity brings to the fore is an economic instability, which is especially in queer political contexts connected to practices that run counter to mainstream heteronormative logics of the market. Such a perspective would productively link to current discussion of precarity and precariousness in media industries studies on issues of labor, and queer theory and queer arts discussions (cf. Neilson/Rossiter 2005; Woltersdorff 2008/2009; Butler 2009, 2010a; Brandes/Hentschel/Dreysse 2012; Elefante/Deuze 2012; Lummerding 2012; Puar et al. 2012; Stanley/Tsang/Vargas 2013).

Distribution of Global Queer Cinema

The film festival circuit has been theorized as an alternative distribution system for arthouse and world cinema (de Valck 2007; Andrews 2013). Considering the discussion about the dimension of the festival circuit as true distribution versus a mere exhibition outlet (Iordanova 2009) further research should take a closer look at the dissemination of queer images on the global circuit. In chapter 2 and 3 I have discussed the political and aesthetic repercussions that the global circulation of LGBT/Q representation, identities, and advocacy entails at a local and a global level. It would prove very productive to take this view further towards the industry side and consider the position of LGBT/Q film festivals as part of the global film industry and analyze the

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[4] This is also well illustrated in the recent documentary *Acting Out* (2014) covering the festival's 25-year history.

LGBT/Q niche market in depth to gain insight into the circulation of film on the international circuit at large.

While two studies discussing the effect that festival awards have on the further dissemination of films exist (Mezias et al. 2011; Vogel/Jackson forthcoming), there are no empirical studies tackling the festival circuit. Thus far the discussion of the flow on the circuit, and the stratification into several hierarchies and parallel circuits is mainly anecdotal and theoretical. Following the findings of the historical expansion and spread of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit presented in the present study, an empirical pilot study conducted with Ann Vogel is underway, in which a large sample of LGBT/Q-themed films that screened at the Berlinale as part of the Teddy award competition provides empirical data about festival runs. By collecting data of the subsequent festival run after the Berlinale screening, it should become possible to map the traveling routes of LGBT/Q films through the festival circuit. By linking this to organizational knowledge about festival programmers and their function as intermediaries, it should become possible to gain more insight into the position of festivals in the distribution of queer cinema. In this way, the discussion of the availability of a larger queer film culture and the connection of films, communities, and global cosmopolitan audiences, either on the prestigious global art film scene or at the lower-ranked smaller LGBT/Q circuit should gain new insights.

As the discussions in this study have shown, LGBT/Q film festivals hold a central position for queer film culture at large. Its positioning within the larger film industry is more ambivalent. There is no black and white, where specific (LGBT/Q) festivals either sit on the political activist side of the fence, and large professionalized (generalist) business festivals and the film industry on the other. Instead, the circulation of LGBT/Q imagery and the formation of queer film culture at LGBT/Q film festivals and elsewhere is part of constant cultural renegotiations on the status of identities, social norms, aesthetic innovation, market developments in society and in independent global art film at large. In chapter 2 and 3, I briefly mentioned films like *Pariah* and *I'm Not There* which would serve as a good examples. The demarcation lines are not clear-cut and current rhetorical strategies are complex. In a productive move Lisa Henderson reconfigures the movements between mainstream industrial contexts and queer cultural community production as "queer relay" (Henderson 2008, 2013a). She developed the concept in reference to an ethnographic case study on queer film production, meaning

"an ongoing, uneven process of cultural passing off, catching, and passing on, if not always among members of the same team" which has the potential to form "new subjectivities and alliances between filmmakers, critics, viewers, and cultural citizens" (Henderson 2013: 103, 127). While Henderson speaks of a specific production context, I would suggest that "queer relay" can also be applied to the position of LGBT/Q film festivals and its intermediaries[5], especially programmers, who often do not only program film for a specific community or niche, but in the bigger picture can also help move LGBT/Q imagery upstream into the A-list festival circuit, as the examples of Sundance and the Berlinale show. From there a transformation of LGBT/Q film circulation and—in the long run queer film culture—can take off. Thus, the positions of art film or the commercial film industry of mainstream culture on the side of distinction and cultural capital do not only lean towards exploitation of queer subcultural productions by neoliberal forces but potentially offer a relay position that accounts for queer agency in the wider cultural arena.

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[5] See also my extended discussion of queer relay in relation to global queer cinema on the festival circuit in Loist (forthcoming c).

5. Appendix

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5.2 Films and Television Shows Cited

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Afghanimation (Allyson Mitchell, Canada 2008, 6 min)

Analstahl (Uli Prehn, Germany 1990, 15 min)

Anders als die Anderen (Richard Oswald, Germany 1919, 40 min)

Acting Out: 25 Jahre queerer Film und Community in Hamburg (Christina Magdalinou/Silvia Torneden/Ana Grillo, Germany 2014, 85 min)

Be Like Others (Tanaz Eshaghian, Canada/Iran/UK/USA 2008, 74 min)

Bewildered People in the Night (Gregg Araki, USA 1987, 92 min)

Blodsøstre / Blood Sisters (Louise N. D. Friedberg, Denmark 2006, 29 min)

Bonne Mère / Good Mother (Maxime Desmons, Canada 2007, 3 min)

Boys Don't Cry (Kimberly Peirce, USA 1999, 118 min)

Brokeback Mountain (Ang Lee, USA 2005, 134 min)

Buddies (Arthur J. Bressan Jr., USA 1985, 81 min)

Call Me Kuchu (Katherine Fairfax Wright/Malika Zouhali-Worrall, USA/Uganda 2012, 87 min)

Children 404 (Pavel Loparev/Askold Kurov, Russia 2014, 76 min)

Clouds of Sils Maria (Olivier Assayas, France/Switzerland/Germany 2014, 125 min)

Concussion (Stacie Passon, USA 2013, 93 min)

Covered (John Greyson, Canada 2010, 14 min)

Dallas Buyers Club (Jean-Marc Vallée, USA 2013, 117 min)

Desert Hearts (Donna Deitch, USA 1985, 96 min)

Fig Trees (John Greyson, Canada, 100 min)

Gendercator, The (Catherine Crouch, USA 2007, 15 min)

Girl's Room (Maria Gigante, USA 2007, 10 min)

Go Fish (Rose Troche, USA 1994, 83 min)

Here We Are (Kim Sheppard, Canada 2007, 5 min)

I'm Not There (Todd Haynes, USA 2007, 135 min)

I Remember Now, We Never Danced, I Miss You (Diane Bonder, USA 2006, 8 min)

I've Never Had Sex (Robert Kennedy, Canada 2007, 2 min)

In Every Dream Home a Heart Ache (John Caffery, Canada 2007, 3 min)

In 4 Years: Adjectives and Adverbs (Kim Matamoros, Canada 2006, 5 min)

In the Na (Joel Gibb, Canada 2008, 6 min)

Keep the Lights On (Ira Sachs, USA 2012, 101 min)

Kids Are All Right, The (Lisa Cholodenko, USA 2010, 106 min)

L-Word, The (created by Ilene Chaiken, Showtime, USA 2004–2009)

La ley del deseo / Law of Desire, The (Pedro Almodóvar, Spain 1987, 102 min)

La vie d'Adèle–Chapitres 1 et 2 / Blue is the Warmest Color (Abdellatif Kechiche, France/Belgium/Spain 2013, 177 min)

Last Day of November, The (Bill Basquin, USA 2001, 4min)

Living End, The (Gregg Araki, USA 1992, 92 min)

Looking (created by Michael Lannan, HBO, USA 2014–)

Love Is Strange (Ira Sachs, USA 2014, 94 min)

Mädchen in Uniform (Leontine Sagan, Germany 1931, 88 min)

Mala Noche (Gus Van Sant, USA 1985, 78 min)

Martin (Bill Basquin, USA 2004, 5min)

Melancholia (Lars von Trier, Denmark 2011, 135 min)

My Beautiful Laundrette (Stephen Frears, United Kingdom 1985, 97 min)

My Own Private Idaho (Gus Van Sant, USA 1991, 102 min)

Nicht der Homosexuelle ist pervers, sondern die Situation, in der er lebt (Rosa von Praunheim, Germany 1971, 67 min)

No Bikini (Claudia Morgado Escanilla, Canada 2007, 9 min)

Nymph()maniac I+II (Lars von Trier, Denmark 2013, 269)

Orange Is the New Black (created by Jenji Kohan, Netflix, USA 2013–)

Packin' (John Greyson, Canada 2001, 4 min)

Pariah (Dee Rees, USA 2011, 86 min)

Parting Glances (Bill Sherwood, USA 1986, 90 min)

Philadelphia (Jonathan Demme, USA 1993, 125 min)

Pils Slip (John Greyson, Canada 2003, 5 min)

Pitstop (Melanie McGraw, USA 2007, 14 min)

Poison (Todd Haynes, USA 1991, 85 min)

Proteus (John Greyson, Canada 2003, 100 min)

Queer Artivism (Maša Zia Lenárdič/Anja Wutej, Slovenia 2013, 96 min)

Queer as Folk (developed by Ron Cowen, Daniel Lipman, Showtime, USA 2000–2005)

Queer Eye for the Straight Guy (created by David Collins, Bravo, USA 2003–2007)

Range (Bill Basquin, USA 2005, 8 min)

Saliva (Esmir Filho, Brasilien 2007, 15 min)

Secret Weapons (Adam Garnet Jones, Canada 2008, 7 min)

Sexy Thing (Denie Pentecost, Australia 2006, 14 min)

Six Feet Under (created by Alan Ball, HBO, USA 2001–2005)

Sleep Lines (Kathleen Mullen, Canada 2007, 7 min)

Swoon (Tom Kalin, USA 1992, 82 min)

Taking Pictures (Adam Segal/Scott Berry, Canada 2007, 3 min)

Ten Cents a Dance: Parallax (Midi Onodera, Canada 1985, 30 min)

Tough Enough (Lukas Blakk, Canada 2006, 5 min)

Traces (Christina Zeidler, Canada 2001, 10 min)

Transamerica (Duncan Tucker, USA 2005, 103 min)

Transparent (created by Jill Soloway, Amazon, USA 2014–)

Verzaubert / Enchanted (Jörg Fockele/Dorothée von Diepenbroick/Uli Prehn et al. Germany 1993, 89 min)

Watermelon Woman, The (Cheryl Dunye, USA 1996, 90 min)

We Were One Man / Nous étions un seul homme (Philippe Vallois, France 1979, 90 min)

Weekend (Andrew Haigh, United Kingdom 2011, 97 min)

Westler (Wieland Speck, Germany 1985, 94 min)

Wizard of Oz, The (Victor Fleming, USA 1939, 102 min)

Zero Patience (John Greyson, Canada 1993, 100 min)

5.3 List of Festivals

start	end	Name	Location City	Country	region	Website	Category festival
1977		Frameline: San Francisco International LGBT Film Festival	San Francisco, CA	USA	North America	www.frameline.org	QFF
1979	1987	New York Gay Film Festival	New York, NY	USA	North America	No website	QFF
1981		Reeling: Chicago Lesbian and Gay International Film Festival-	Chicago, IL	USA	North America	www.reelingfilmfestival.org	QFF
1982		Outfest: Los Angeles Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Los Angeles, CA	USA	North America	www.outfest.org	QFF
1982		Reel Q: Pittsburgh International Lesbian and Gay Film Festival	Pittsburgh, PA	USA	North America	www.pilgff.com	QFF
1984		Ljubljana Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Ljubljana	Slovenia	Europe (E)	www.ljudmila.org/siqrd/fglf/	QFF
1984		Boston LGBT Film Festival	Boston, MA	USA	North America	www.bostonlgbtfilmfest.org	QFF
1984	2005	Feminale	Köln	Germany	Europe (W)	www.feminale.de	Women's FF
1985		Schwule Filmwoche Freiburg	Freiburg	Germany	Europe (W)	www.schwule-filmwoche.de	Gay FF
1985	2004	LesbenFilmFestival Berlin	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	www.lesbenfilmfestival.de	Lesbian FF
1986		MIX Copenhagen LesbianGayBiTrans Film Festival	Copenhagen	Denmark	Europe (W)	www.mixcopenhagen.dk	QFF
1986		Festival MIX MILANO di Cinema Gaylesbico e Queer Culture	Milan	Italy	Europe (W)	www.cinemagaylesbico.com	QFF
1986		Torino GLBT Film Festival	Turin	Italy	Europe (W)	www.tglff.com	QFF
1986		BFI Flare: London LGBT Film Festival	London	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	www.bfi.org.uk/llgff/	QFF
1986	1991	Sydney Gay Film Week	Sydney, NSW	Australia	Australia		QFF
1986	1991	International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival Holland	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe (W)		QFF
1987		Brussels Lesbian and Gay Film Festival	Brussels	Belgium	Europe (W)	www.fglb.org	QFF
1987		"Teddy Award" at Berlin International Film Festival (Berlinale)	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	news.teddyaward.tv/de	A Festival
1987		Atlanta's Out on Film: Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Atlanta, GA	USA	North America	http://outonfilm.org/	QFF
1987		Milwaukee LGBT Film/Video Festival	Milwaukee, WI	USA	North America	www4.uwm.edu/psoa/programs/film/lgbtfilm	QFF
1987		MIX NYC: The New York Queer Experimental Film Festival	New York, NY	USA	North America	www.mixnyc.org	QFF
1987		OutFilm CT: Connecticut Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Hartford, CT	USA	North America	www.outfilmct.org	QFF
1987		Polari - Austin Gay & Lesbian International Film Festival	Austin, TX	USA	North America	www.agliff.org // www.polarifest.com	QFF
1987		Reel Pride Film Festival	Winnipeg, MB	Canada	North America	www.reelpride.org	QFF

1987	2005	Femme Totale	Dortmund	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.femmetotale.de/	Women's FF
1988		Queergestreift Filmfestival	Konstanz	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.queergestreift.com	QFF
1988		image+nation: Montreal International LGBT Film Festival	Montreal, QC	Canada	North America	www.image-nation.org	QFF
1989		Hong Kong Lesbian and Gay Film Festival (HKLGFF)	Hong Kong	China	Asia	www.hklgff.hk/en/	QFF
1989		Cineffable: Paris International Lesbian/Feminist Film Festival	Paris	France	Europe (W)	cineffable.fr/en/	Lesbian FF
1989		Queer Film Festival Esslingen	Esslingen	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.koki-es.de/?id=87	QFF
1989		Honolulu Rainbow Film Festival	Honolulu, HI	USA	North America	www.hglcf.org	QFF
1989		Newfest: The New York LGBT Film Festival	New York, NY	USA	North America	www.newfest.org	QFF
1989		Vancouver Queer Film Festival	Vancouver, BC	Canada	North America	www.queerfilmfestival.ca	QFF
1990		Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg	International Queer Film Festival	Hamburg	Germany	Europe (W)	www.lsf-hamburg.de	QFF
1990		Fresno Reel Pride Film Festival	Fresno, CA	USA	North America	www.reelpride.com	QFF
1990		Inside Out: Toronto LGBT Film and Video Festival	Toronto, ON	Canada	North America	www.insideout.ca	QFF
1990		Tampa International Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Tampa, FL	USA	North America	www.tiglff.com	QFF
1991		Vinokino Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Turku	Finland	Europe (W)	www.vinokino.fi/en/	QFF
1991		Melbourne Queer Film Festival	Melbourne, VIC	Australia	Australia	www.mqff.com.au	QFF
1991		Reel Affirmations: Washington DC's International LGBT Film Festival	Washington, DC	USA	North America	www.reelaffirmations.org	QFF
1991	2012	OutLook: Cork LGBT Film Festival	Cork	Ireland	Europe (W)	www.outlookfilmcork.com	QFF
1991		Freiburger Lesbenfilmtage	Freiburg	Germany	Europe (W)	www.freiburger-lesbenfilmtage.de	Lesbian FF
1991		Skeive Filmer: Oslo Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Oslo	Norway	Europe (W)	www.oglff.org	QFF
1991	2009	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	München	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
1992		London Lesbian Film Festival	London, ON	Canada	North America	http://www.llff.ca	Lesbian FF
1992		OUTrageous: Santa Barbara Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Santa Barbara, CA	USA	North America	http://www.outrageousfilmfestival.org/	QFF
1992		Sacramento International Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Sacramento, CA	USA	North America	http://www.siglff.org	QFF
1992		Tokyo International Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Tokyo	Japan	Asia	www.tokyo-lgff.org	QFF
1992		Gaze: Dublin International LGBT Film Festival	Dublin	Ireland	Europe (W)	www.gaze.ie	QFF
1992		Rollenwechsel: QueerFilmFestival Oldenburg	Oldenburg	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.rollenwechsel.net/	QFF

1993		Image Out: The Rochester Lesbian & Gay Film & Video Festival	Rochester, NY	USA	North America	http://www.imageout.org	QFF
1993		Long Beach Q Film Festival	Long Beach, CA	USA	North America	http://qfilmslongbeach.com/	QFF
1993		Queer Screen: Mardi Gras Film Festival	Sydney, NSW	Australia	Australia	www.queerscreen.com.au	QFF
1993		Women Make Waves Film Festival	Taipei	Taiwan	Asia	www.wmw.com.tw	Women's FF
1993		MIX Brasil	São Paulo	Brazil	Latin America	www.mixbrasil.uol.com.br	Sexual diversity
1993		Glasgay!	Glasgow	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	www.glasgay.co.uk	QFF
1993/1997-		Budapest Pride – Lesbian Gay Bisexual and Transgender Film and Cultural Festival	Budapest	Hungary	Europe (E)	www.budapestpride.hu/en/	QFF
1994		identities. Vienna's Queer Film Festival	Vienna	Austria	Europe (W)	www.identities.at	QFF
1994		Chéries–Chéri: Paris Gay, Lesbian, Trans Film Festival	Paris	France	Europe (W)	www.ffglp.net	QFF
1994	2014	Out in Africa: South African Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Cape Town	South Africa	Africa	www.oia.co.za	QFF
1994	2014	Out in Africa: South African Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Johannesburg	South Africa	Africa	www.oia.co.za	QFF
1994		Pride Pictures: Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Karlsruhe	Karlsruhe	Germany	Europe (W)		QFF
1994		Queer Film Festival Bremen	Bremen	Germany	Europe (W)	www.queerfilm.de	QFF
1995		North Carolina Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Durham, NC	USA	North America	www.carolinatheatre.org/ncglff	QFF
1995		Out Takes: A Reel Queer Film Festival	Wellington	New Zealand	Australia	www.outtakes.org.nz	QFF
1995		Philadelphia QFest	Philadelphia, PA	USA	North America	www.qfest.com	QFF
1995		Schwule Filmtage Bielefeld	Bielefeld	Germany	Europe (W)	http://filmtage.schwur.net	Gay FF
1995		Fire! Mostra Internacional de Cinema de Gai i Lesbià / Barcelona International Gay & Lesbian Film Festival (FICGLB)	Barcelona	Spain	Europe (W)	www.lambdaweb.org/cinema/	QFF
1995	x	(1st) Thai International Gay Film/Video Festival	Bangkok	Thailand	Asia		QFF
1995	1995	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Essen	Germany	Europe (W)		QFF
1995	2009	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Köln	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
1996		Q Fest: Houston GLBTQ International Film Festival	Houston, TX	USA	North America	www.q-fest.org	QFF
1996		Queer City Cinema	Regina, SK	Canada	North America	http://www.queercitycinema.ca	QFF
1996		Seattle Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Seattle, WA	USA	North America	threedollarbillcinema.org/programs/SLGFF/	QFF
1996		Roze Filmdagen: Amsterdam Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe (W)	www.rozefilmdagen.nl	QFF
1996		LesGaiCineMad: Madrid International Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Madrid	Spain	Europe (W)	www.lesgaicinemad.com	QFF
1996		Queer Film Fest Weiterstadt	Weiterstadt	Germany	Europe (W)	https://www.facebook.com/schwullesbischeFilmtageWeiterstadt	QFF

1996		Mix Mexico	Mexico City	Mexico	Latin America	http://www.festivalmix.com.mx; https://www.facebook.com/pages/MIX-Mexico-Festival-de-cine-y-video/75543290897	QFF
1997		Portland Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Portland, OR	USA	North America	http://www.plgff.org/	QFF
1997		San Francisco Transgender Film Festival	San Francisco, CA	USA	North America	www.sftff.org	Trans FF
1997		Perlen: Queer Film Festival Hannover	Hannover	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.presse-hannover.de/koki/koki2008/index.cfm?domain=www.filmfest-perlen.de	QFF
1997		Queer Lisboa: Festival de Cinema Gay e Lésbico de Lisboa	Lisbon	Portugal	Europe (W)	http://queerlisboa.pt/	QFF
1997		Pink Apple: Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Zurich and Frauenfeld	Switzerland	Europe (W)	www.pinkapple.ch	QFF
1997		Queersicht: Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Bern	Switzerland	Europe (W)	www.queersicht.ch	QFF
1997	2002	Counting Past 2: Transgender Film Festival	Toronto, ON	Canada	North America		Trans FF
1997	2007	LesbenFilmNächte	Halle/Saale	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.silberstreif.dornrosa.de/index_dornrosa.php?g=projekte-queermovienights	Lesbian FF
1997	2009	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
1997	1999	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Stuttgart	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
1997	1999	International Transgender Film & Video Festival	London	United Kingdom	Europe (W)		Trans FF
1998		FilmOut San Diego LGBT Film Festival	San Diego, CA	USA	North America	http://www.filmoutsandiego.com	QFF
1998		Miami Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Miami, FL	USA	North America	www.mglff.com	QFF
1998		OutFlix Film Festival	Memphis, TN	USA	North America	http://www.outflixfestival.org/	QFF
1998		Q Cinema: Fort Worth Gay & Lesbian International Film Festival	Fort Worth, TX	USA	North America	www.qcinema.org	QFF
1998		Queerstreifen: Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Münster / Lesbian & Gay Film Festival Münster	Münster	Germany	Europe (W)	www.queerstreifen.de	QFF
1998		FanCineGay: Festival de Cine Gay y Lésbico de Extremadura	Cáceres	Spain	Europe (W)	www.fancinegay.com	QFF
1998	1999	San Francisco Bi Film Festival	San Francisco, CA	USA	North America		Bi FF
1998	1998	Seoul Queer Film & Video Festival	Seoul	South Korea	Asia		QFF
1999		Fairy Tales: Queer Film Festival	Calgary, AB	Canada	North America	www.fairytalesfilmfest.com	QFF
1999		International Women's Film Festival in Seoul (Queer Rainbow)	Seoul	South Korea	Asia	www.wffis.or.kr	Women's FF
1999		Outtakes Dallas: Lesbian & Gay Film Festival	Dallas, TX	USA	North America	outtakesdallas.org	QFF

1999		Provincetown International Film Fest	Provincetown, MA	USA	North America	http://www.ptownfilmfest.org/	Intl FF
1999		reelout queer film + video festival	Kingston, ON	Canada	North America	www.reelout.com	QFF
1999		Spokane LGBT Film Fest	Spokane, WA	USA	North America	http://www.spokanefilmfest.org	QFF
1999	1999	Boston Transgender Film Festival	Boston, MA	USA	North America		Trans FF
1999	1999	Olympia Transgender Film Festival	Olympia, WA	USA	North America		Trans FF
1999	2007	Flaming Film Festival	Minneapolis, MN	USA	North America		QFF
1999		Providence LGBTQ Film Festival	Providence, RI	USA	North America	http://www.film-festival.org/Prov.GLBT.Fest.php	Intl FF
1999		Thessaloniki International LGBTQ Film Festival	Thessaloniki	Greece	Europe (E)	http://lgbtq-iff.gr/	QFF
1999	2009	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Frankfurt am Main	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
2000		Brisbane Queer Film Festival	Brisbane, QLD	Australia	Australia	www.bqff.com.au	QFF
2000		Out Here Now: Kansas City LGBT Film Festival	Kansas City, MO	USA	North America	http://www.kcgayfilmfest.com/; www.outherenow.com	QFF
2000		SeLFF: Seoul LGBT Film Festival	Seoul	South Korea	Asia	www.selff.org	QFF
2000		Mezipatra Queer Film Festival	Brno	Czech Republic	Europe (E)	www.mezipatra.cz	QFF
2000		"Premio Sebastiane" at San Sebastian International Film Festival/Festival de San Sebastián/Donostia Zinemaldia	San Sebastian (Donostia)	Spain (Basque country)	Europe (W)	http://premiosebastiane.wordpress.com/al	A Festival
2000	2011	Pikes Peak Lavender Film Fest	Colorado Springs, CO	USA	North America	http://www.pplff.org/	QFF
2000	2002	Verzaubert Queer Film Festival	Hamburg	Germany	Europe (W)	verzaubertfilmfest.com	QFF
2001		Holebi Filmfestival Vlaams-Brabant	Leuven, Halle, Aarschot, Landen, & others	Belgium	Europe (W)	www.holebifilmfestival.be	QFF
2001		Pink Screens: Queer Film Festival Brussels	Brussels	Belgium	Europe (W)	www.pinkscreens.org	QFF
2001		Beijing Queer Film Festival	Beijing	China	Asia	www.bjqff.com	QFF
2001		Indianapolis LGBT Film Festival	Indianapolis, IN	USA	North America	http://www.indylgbtfilmfest.com/	QFF

2001		Long Island Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	East Northport, NY	USA	North America	http://www.liglff.org/	QFF
2001		Rainbow Reels Queer and Trans* Film Festival	Waterloo, ON	Canada	North America	http://wpirg.org/rainbowreels/2014/	QFF
2001		Barcelona International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival / Festival Internacional de Cinema LGTIB de Catalunya	Barcelona	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.barcelonafilmfestival.org	QFF
2001		Cinhomo: Muestra Internacional de Cine LGBT de Valladolid	Valladolid	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.cinhomo.es/	QFF
2001	2010	queerDOC: Queer Screen	Sydney, NSW	Australia	Australia	http://mgff.queerscreen.com.au/queerdoc	Q doc
2001		Ciclo Rosa	Medellín	Colombia	Latin America	http://www.colomboworld.com/cine/ciclo syfestivales/cr2012/CicloRosa2012.html	QFF
2001		"Sunny Bunny" at Molodist: Kyiv International Film Festival	Kyiv	Ukraine	Europe (E)	http://www.molodist.com/en/fest_jury_aw	Intl FF
2001	2009	Netherlands Transgender Film Festival	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe (W)		Trans FF
2002	2011	Festival Reflets: Festival de Cinéma LGBT	Marseille	France	Europe (W)	www.festival-reflets.org; https://www.fac	QFF
2002		Vues d'en face – Grenoble International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Grenoble	France	Europe (W)	http://www.vuesdenface.com	QFF
2002		Mezipatra Queer Film Festival	Prague	Czech Republic	Europe (E)	www.mezipatra.cz	QFF
2002		Q! Film Festival	Jakarta	Indonesia	Asia	www.q-munity.org	QFF
2002		Pink Panorama: LesBiSchwules Festival Luzern	Lucerne	Switzerland	Europe (W)	www.pinkpanorama.ch	QFF
2002	2006?	Bangkok Pride Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Bangkok	Thailand	Asia		QFF
2002		!f Istanbul International Independent Film Festival (Rainbow Films)	Istanbul	Turkey	Middle East	http://www.ifistanbul.com/en/films/index.a	Intl FF
2003	2012	Queer Zagreb	Zagreb	Croatia	Europe (E)	www.queerzagreb.org	QFF
2003		CineKink NYC - The Kinky Film Festival	New York, NY	USA	North America	http://cinekink.com/	Erotic

2003		Southwest Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Albuquerque and Santa Fe, NM	USA	North America	www.closetcinema.org	QFF
2003		Florence Queer Festival: Festival Internazionale di cinema lgbt	Florence	Italy	Europe (W)	www.florencequeerfestival.it	QFF
2003		Gender Bender Festival	Bologna	Italy	Europe (W)	www.genderbender.it	QFF
2003		El Lugar Sin Límites: Festival de Cine Lesbico, Gay, Bisexual y Trans (LGBT)	Quito	Ecuador	Latin America	www.elugarsinlimites.net	QFF
2003	2013	Queer Realities	Boulder, CO	USA	North America	www.bentlens.org	QFF
2003	2010	Festival Entiéndenos	Granada	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF
2003		Muestra de cine gay, lésbico, bisexual y transexual de Fuerteventura	Fuerteventura	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF
2004	x	Brandon Fest: Edicion de Cine Queer de Buenos Aires	Buenos Aires	Argentina	Latin America	www.brandongayday.com.ar/principal.htm	QFF
2004	2010	DIVERSA – International Gay Lesbian and Trans Film Festival of Argentina	Buenos Aires	Argentina	Latin America	http://www.diversa.com.ar	QFF
2004		Cinépride: Festival de films gays, lesbiens, bi & trans	Nantes	France	Europe (W)	http://www.clgbt-nantes.fr/	QFF
2004		Damn These Heels! LGBT Film Festival	Salt Lake City, UT	USA	North America	www.damntheseheels.org	QFF
2004		Fusion: Los Angeles LGBT People of Color Film Festival	Los Angeles, CA	USA	North America	www.outfest.org/fusion	QoC FF
2004		Pride: Bloomington's LGBTQ Film Festival	Bloomington, IN	USA	North America	pridefilmfestival.org/	QFF
2004		GayFest	Bucharest	Romania	Europe (E)	www.gay-fest.ro/en/	QFF
2004		Serile Filmului Gay (Gay Film Nights) International Film Festival	Cluj-Napoca	Romania	Europe (E)	www.serilefilmuluigay.ro	QFF
2004		Zinegoak – Bilbao International glt Film Festival	Bilbao	Spain	Europe (W)	www.zinegoak.com	QFF
2004	2011	Festival del Mar - International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Ibiza	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.festivaldelmar.com	QFF
2004	2005	Lesgaifestival	Valencia	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF
2004	2009	Mostra de Cine LGTB	Murcia	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF
2004		Queer Pix: Semaine du film LGBT de Pau	Pau	France	Europe (W)	http://idem.hautetfort.com/festival-2013/	QFF
2004		Bendigo Queer Film Festival	Bendigo, VIC	Australia	Australia	http://www.bendigoqueerfilmfestival.com.au/	QFF
2004		Outfest Peru	Lima	Peru	Latin America	www.outfestperu.com	QFF
2005		Face à Face : Festival du film gay et lesbien de Saint-Etienne	Saint-Etienne	France	Europe (W)	www.festivalfaceaface.fr	QFF

2005		Festival Cinémarges: Sexe, Genres, Identités	Bordeaux	France	Europe (W)	cinemarges.net	QFF
2005		Kansai Queer Film Festival	Kyoto	Japan	Asia	kansai-qff.org	QFF
2005		Kansai Queer Film Festival	Osaka	Japan	Asia	kansai-qff.org	QFF
2005		Queer Women of Color Film Festival	San Francisco, CA	USA	North America	www.qwocmap.org/filmfestivals.html	QoC FF
2005		Andalesgai: Festival Internacional de Cine Lésbico y Gay de Andalucía	Seville	Spain	Europe (W)	www.andalesgai.com	QFF
2005		LesGayCinePTY: Festival internacional de cine gay, lesbico, bisexual y trans de Panama	Panama City	Panama	Latin America		QFF
2005		Festival de cine LesBiGayTrans de Asunción / Cuarta muestra de cine les bi gay trans de Asunción	Asunción	Paraguay	Latin America	www.aireana.org.py/7_festival_cine_lesbigaytrans_Asuncion_2011.html	QFF
2005	2012	eLnadruhou: Open Lesbian Festival	Prague	Czech Republic	Europe (E)	http://www.elnadruhou.cz/en/	Lesbian FF
2005		Zinentiendo Muestra De Cine Lgtbqi	Zaragoza	Spain	Europe (W)	http://zinentiendo.org/	QFF
2006		D'un bord a l'autre: Festival de films gay et lesbiens	Orleans	France	Europe (W)	www.festivaldunbordalautre.com	QFF
2006		Internationales Frauenfilmfestival Dortmund|Köln	Dortmund, Köln	Germany	Europe (W)	www.frauenfilmfestival.eu	Women's FF
2006		XPOSED International Queer Film Festival	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	www.fullyflared.com/xposed.htm	QFF
2006		Aomori International LGBT Film Festival	Aomori	Japan	Asia	http://www.aomori-lgbtff.org	QFF
2006		CineSlam: Vermont's LGBTQ Short Film Festival	Guilford, VT	USA	North America	http://cineslam.com	QFF
2006		Shout: Birmingham Gay + Lesbian Film Festival of Alabama	Birmingham, AL	USA	North America	almovingimage.org/shout-home.html	QFF
2006		TLVFest: Tel Aviv's International LGBT Film Festival	Tel Aviv	Israel	Middle East	www.tlvfest.com/en/	QFF
2006		Translations: The Seattle Transgender Film Festival	Seattle, WA	USA	North America	threedollarbillcinema.org/programs/translations/	Trans FF
2006	2006	A Million Different Loves Queer Film Festival	Leipzig	Germany	Europe (E)	www.amilliondifferentloves.net	QFF
2006		Rainbow Film Festival: Shropshire Lesbian and Gay Film Festival	Shrewsbury	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	http://www.rainbowfilmfestival.org.uk	QFF
2006	2011	LGBT Film Days Riga	Riga	Latvia	Europe (E)	no website	QFF
2006	2006	A Million Different Loves Queer Film Festival	Lodz	Poland	Europe (E)	www.amilliondifferentloves.net	QFF
2006	2011	Festival del Mar - International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Palma de Mallorca	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.festivaldelmar.com	QFF

2006	2011	Festival del Sol – International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Gran Canaria	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.festivaldelsol.info	QFF
2006	2007	Pryzmat. LGBT Film Festival	Warsaw	Poland	Europe (E)	www.pryzmatfestiwal.art.pl	QFF
2006	2012	CinegailesAST: Festival de Cine Gai y Lésbicu d'Asturies	Gijón/Xixon	Spain (Basque country)	Europe (W)		QFF
2006	2009	Stockholm Queer Film Festival	Stockholm	Sweden	Europe (W)	http://www.queerfilmfestival.se/	QFF
2006		Porn Film Festival	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.pornfilmfestivalberlin.de/	Erotic
2006		Dayton LGBT Film Festival	Dayton, OH	USA	North America	http://www.daytonlgbt.com/	QFF
2007	2011	Nigah Queerfest	New Delhi	India	Asia		QFF
2007	2011	Festival del Sol – International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Tenerife	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.festivaldelsol.info	QFF
2007		Vox Feminae Festival	Zagreb	Croatia	Europe (E)	www.voxfeminae.net	Lesbian FF
2007		Entzaubert: noncommercial queer DIY film festival	Berlin	Germany	Europe (W)	entzaubert.blogsport.de	QFF
2007		queerschnitte: schwul-lesbische filmtage	Schweinfurt	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.queerschnitte.de	QFF
2007		Outview: Athens Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Athens	Greece	Europe (E)	www.outview.gr	QFF
2007		"Queer Lion" at Venice Film Festival	Venice	Italy	Europe (W)	www.cinemarte.it	A Festival
2007		LIFT Lesbian Identities Festival	Budapest	Hungary	Europe (E)	www.liftfesztival.hu	Lesbian FF
2007		Soggettiva	Bologna	Italy	Europe (W)	www.soggettiva.it	QFF
2007		Some Prefer Cake – Bologna Lesbian Film Festival	Bologna	Italy	Europe (W)	www.someprefercakefestival.com	Lesbian FF
2007		Asian Queer Film Festival	Tokyo	Japan	Asia	http://aqff.jp/2011/aqff2011__About_AQFF_e.html	QFF
2007		Inside Out Ottawa LGBT Film Festival	Ottawa, ON	Canada	North America	http://www.insideout.ca/initiatives/ottawa	QFF
2007		QDoc Portland Queer Documentary Film Festival	Portland, OR	USA	North America	queerdocfest.org	Q doc
2007		Filmový festival inakosti – Slovak Queer Film Festival	Bratislava	Slovakia	Europe (E)	www.ffi.sk	QFF
2007		GFEST – Gaywise FESTival	London	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	http://gaywisefestival.org.uk/	QFF
2007		Iris Prize	Cardiff	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	www.irisprize.org	QFF
2007		Outburst Queer Arts Festival	Belfast, Northern Ireland	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	outburstarts.com	QFF
2007		Llamale H: Uruguay International Film Festival of Sexual and Gender Diversity	Montevideo	Uruguay	Latin America	www.llamaleh.org	Sexual diversity
2007	2010	Ídem: Festival Gay-Lesbico de Artes Audiovisuales de Andalucía	Córdoba	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF

2007		For Rainbow: Festival de Cinema e Cultura da Diversidade Sexual	Fortaleza	Brazil	Latin America	http://www.forrainbow.com.br/	Sexual diversity
2007		La PECCA: Pequeño Certamen de Cine de Ambiente	Seville	Spain	Europe (W)		QFF
2008	2008	Sarajevo Queer Festival	Sarajevo	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Europe (E)	www.queer.ba	QFF
2008	2013	Mostra Possíveis Sexualidades	Salvador	Brazil	Latin America	http://possiveissexualidades.wordpress.co	Sexual diversity
2008	2011	Homoscope Queer Arts and Film Festival	Austin, TX	USA	North America	http://www.homoscope.org/	QFF
2008	2011	Queer Black Cinema Festival: NY's Longest Standing Black LGBT Film Festival	New York (Brooklyn), NY	USA	North America	www.qbcfilmfest.org	QoC FF
2008		Des Images aux Mots: Festival du film Lesbien, Gay, Bi et Trans de Toulouse	Toulouse	France	Europe (W)	http://www.des-images-aux-mots.fr	QFF
2008		GLBT La Paz Film Festival	La Paz	Bolivia	Latin America	www.diegofilms.com	QFF
2008		Divergenti Festival Internazionale di cinema trans	Bologna	Italy	Europe (W)	www.mit-italia.it/divergenti	Trans FF
2008		Cine Movilh: Festival de Cine Lésbico, Gay, Bisexual y Transexual de Chile	Santiago de Chile	Chile	Latin America	www.movilh.cl/cine	QFF
2008		Cinema Diverse: Palm Springs Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Palm Springs, CA	USA	North America	http://cinemadiverse.ning.com/	QFF
2008		Golden Woofs	Adelaide, SA	Australia	Australia	https://sites.google.com/a/bmofa.org.au/www/home/golden-woofs	Gay FF
2008		QFest St Louis: LGBTQ Film Festival	St Louis, MO	USA	North America	http://www.cinemastlouis.org/qfest	QFF
2008		Toronto International Queer West Film Fest	Toronto, ON	Canada	North America	http://queerwest.org/queerwestfilmfest.php	QFF
2008		Bok o Bok / Side by Side LGBT International Film Festival	Saint Petersburg	Russia	Europe (E)	www.bok-o-bok.ru	QFF
2008		London Transgender Film Festival	London	United Kingdom	Europe (W)		Trans FF
2008	2011	Queer Movie Nights	Halle/Saale	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.silberstreif.dornrosa.de/index_	Lesbian FF
2008	2012	Lethal Lesbian: Israeli Lesbian Film Festival	Tel Aviv	Israel	Middle East	http://lethallesbian.com/about-us-en	Lesbian FF
2008	2011	Savannah LGBT Film Festival	Savannah, GA	USA	North America	http://www.savannahgaylesbianfilmsociet	QFF
2008		Ze Festival: Festival du film LGBT Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur	Nice, Cannes, Toulon, Avignon & Marseille.	France	Europe (W)	http://www.polychromes.fr	QFF
2008		Luststreifen: Queer Cinema Basel	Basel	Switzerland	Europe (W)	http://www.luststreifen.ch	QFF
2009	2010	MIX Aarhus	Aarhus	Denmark	Europe (W)	http://www.mixcopenhagen.dk/aarhus	QFF
2009	??	Diversidad Sexual / Sexual Diversity: A Week of Gay Cinema	Havana	Cuba	Latin America	No website	QFF

2009		In & Out: Le Festival du Film Gay et Lesbien de Nice	Nice	France	Europe (W)	http://www.inoutfestival2012.com/	QFF
2009		QueerFilmFest Rostock	Rostock	Germany	Europe (W)	www.queerfilmfest.de	QFF
2009		Omovies: Festival Di Cinema Omosessuale e Questioning Napoli	Naples	Italy	Europe (W)	http://www.omovies.it	QFF
2009		DIV.A: Diversity in Animation Festival of LGBT Animation	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Latin America	http://www.diversidadeemanimacao.com.	QFF
2009		Bangalore Queer Film Fest	Bangalore	India	Asia	www.blrqueerfilmfest.com	QFF
2009		Fargo-Moorhead LGBT Film Festival	Fargo-Moorhead, MN	USA	North America	http://web.mnstate.edu/film/festival/	QFF
2009		Fort Lauderdale Gay and Lesbian Film Festival	Fort Lauderdale, FL	USA	North America	http://www.flglff.com/	QFF
2009		GayCharlotte Film Festival	Charlotte, NC	USA	North America	http://gaycharlottefilmfestival.com/	QFF
2009		North Louisiana Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Shreveport, LA	USA	North America	http://www.nlglff.org/	QFF
2009		Queer Fruits Film Festival	Byron Bay, NSW	Australia	Australia	queerfruitsfilmfestival.org/	QFF
2009		TG Film Fest: The Los Angeles Transgender Film Festival	Los Angeles, CA	USA	North America	http://www.tgfilmfest.com/	Trans FF
2009		Merlinka Intl Queer Film Festival	Belgrade	Serbia	Europe (E)	www.merlinka.com	QFF
2009		Puerto Rico Queer Filmfest: Festival Internacional de Cine Gay, Lésbico, Bisexual y Transgénero	San Juan	Puerto Rico	Latin America	www.puertoricoqueerfilmfest.com	QFF
2009	2010	Frontera Pride Film Festival	El Paso, TX	USA	North America	www.fronterapridefilmfestival.com	QFF
2009		LiberCine: Festival Internacional de Cine Sobre Diversidad Sexual y Género de Argentina / Argentina LGBT and Gender Film Festival	Buenos Aires	Argentina	Latin America	www.cinediversidadygenero.blogspot.com	QFF
2009		Cinema Q Film Festival	Denver, CO	USA	North America	http://www.denverfilm.org	QFF
2009		Massimadi: Festival international des films LGBT afro-caribéens	Montreal, QC	Canada	North America	http://www.massimadi.com/	QoC FF
2009		Perv Queerotic Film and Video Festival	Sydney, NSW	Australia	Australia	http://www.pervfilmfestival.com	Erotic
2009		Pride of the Ocean GLBT Film Festivals on the High Seas	cruise ship, organizers based in VT	USA	North America	http://prideoftheocean.com	QFF
2010		"Queer Palm" at Cannes Film Festival	Cannes	France	Europe (W)	www.queerpalm.fr	A Festival

2010		Gender DocuFilm Fest	Rome	Italy	Europe (W)	http://www.genderdocufilmfest.org/	Q doc
2010		Bok o Bok / Side by Side LGBT International Film Festival	Archangel	Russia	Europe (E)	www.sbsff.com/en/	QFF
2010		Bok o Bok / Side by Side LGBT International Film Festival	Kemerovo	Russia	Europe (E)	www.sbsff.com/en/	QFF
2010		Bok o Bok / Side by Side LGBT International Film Festival	Novosibirsk	Russia	Europe (E)	www.sbsff.com/en/	QFF
2010		Cambodia LGBT Pride!	Phnom Penh	Cambodia	Asia	www.phnompenhpride.blogspot.com	QFF
2010		Desperado LGBT Film Festival	Phoenix, AZ	USA	North America	http://www.desperadofilmfestival.com	QFF
2010		Fears for Queers LGBT Horror Film Festival	Austin, TX	USA	North America	http://doabloodbath.com/	Genre QFF
2010	2011	Festival de la Luna: International Gay and Lesbian Film Festival of the Region of Valencia	Valencia	Spain	Europe (W)	http://www.festivaldelaluna.org	QFF
2010	2011	Festival Internacional de Cine Gay Costa del Sol	Torremolinos	Spain	Europe (W)	cinegaycostadelsol.reservasgays.com	QFF
2010		Kashish: Mumbai International Queer Film Festival	Mumbai	India	Asia	www.mumbaiqueerfest.com	QFF
2010		Out Twin Cities Film Festival	Minneapolis, MN (St. Paul, WI)	USA	North America	http://www.outtwincitiesfilmfest.com/	QFF
2010		Your Normal LGBT Film Festival	Normal, IL	USA	North America	http://yournormalfilmfest.com	QFF
2010	2011	Q-Fest Pune	Pune	India	Asia	www.facebook.com/QFest.Pune2010	QFF
2010		Everybody's perfect – Festival du film gay et lesbien (LGBTIQ) de Genève	Geneva	Switzerland	Europe (W)	http://www.everybodysperfect.ch/	QFF
2010	2010	Queer Nazariya: International LGBT Film Festival	Mumbai	India	Asia	http://queernazariya.weebly.com	QFF
2010	2013	Festival Arc en Ciel	Chalon-sur-Saône	France	Europe (W)	http://www.sos-transphobie.org/blog/lire-a	QFF
2010		Festival Autre Regard	Mulhouse	France	Europe (W)	http://www.gaymulhouse.fr/regard%20cir	QFF
2010		LGBT Film Festival	Warsaw	Poland	Europe (E)	http://lgbtfestival.pl	QFF
2010		Santo Domingo OutFest: Festival Internacional de Cine GLBT	Santo Domingo	Dominican Republic	Latin America	http://sdqoutfest.blogspot.de/	QFF
2010		Eau Queer Film Festival	Eau Claire, WI	USA	North America	http://www.eauqueer.com/	QFF
2011		Strangelove: a Queer FilmFest	Antwerp	Belgium	Europe (W)	www.facebook.com/strangelovefilmfest; http://www.strangelovefestival.be/	QFF

2011		Festival Écrans Mixtes	Lyon	France	Europe (W)	http://www.festival-em.org	QFF
2011		Homochrom Filmfest	Köln/Dortmund	Germany	Europe (W)	www.homochrom.de	QFF
2011		Paranoid Paradise: Queer Film Festival	Leipzig	Germany	Europe (W)	http://paranoidparadise.de	QFF
2011		Kitoks Kinas LGBT Film Festival	Kaunas	Lithuania	Europe (E)	biannual	QFF
2011		Sicilia Queer Filmfest	Palermo, Sicely	Italy	Europe (W)	www.siciliaqueerfilmfest.it	QFF
2011	2013	Bari Queer Festival	Bari	Italy	Europe (W)	http://www.bariqueerfestival.org	QFF
2011		Kitoks Kinas LGBT Film Festival	Vilnius	Lithuania	Europe (E)		QFF
2011		TranScreen: Amsterdam Transgender Film Festival	Amsterdam	Netherlands	Europe (W)	transcreen.wordpress.com	Trans FF
2011		Rio Festival Gay de Cinema	Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	Latin America	http://www.riofgc.com/	QFF
2011		Mimi LGBT Short Film Festival	Barcelona, Sitges then touring	Spain	Europe (W)	https://www.facebook.com/mimisff	QFF
2011		Bok o Bok / Side by Side LGBT International Film Festival	Tomsk	Russia	Europe (E)	www.sbsff.com/en/	QFF
2011		Asheville Qfest	Asheville, NC	USA	North America	www.facebook.com/AshevilleQfest	QFF
2011		Durban Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Durban	South Africa	Africa	dglff.org.za	QFF
2011		Louisville LGBT Film Festival	Louisville, KY	USA	North America	http://www.louisvillelgbtfilmfest.com/	QFF
2011		Pembe Hayat QueerFest	Ankara	Turkey	Middle East	www.pembehayat.org	QFF
2011		Pink Latino Diversity Festival	Toronto, ON	Canada	North America	http://pinklatino.com/	QFF
2011		Pink Sheep Film Festival	Wilmington, NC	USA	North America	www.facebook.com/pinksheepfilm	QFF
2011	2011	Puerto Vallarta International Gay & Lesbian Film Festival	Puerto Vallarta	Mexico	Latin America		QFF
2011		Fringe! Gay Film Fest	London	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	http://fringefilmfest.com/	QFF
2011		DIVA Film Festival	Valparaiso	Chile	Latin America	www.divafilmfestival.cl facebook.com/divafilmfestival	Sexual diversity
2011		Gender Reel Film & Performance Festival	Multiple cities (St. Paul, MN)	USA	North America	http://genderreelfest.com/	Q Arts fest
2011		OUT Film Festival	Nairobi	Kenya	Africa	http://nairobinow.wordpress.com/2012/11/	QFF
2011		FESTDIVQ: Festival Venezolano de Cine de la Diversidad	Caracas	Venezuela	Latin America	http://festivalvenezolanodecinedeladiversidad.wordpress.com/	QFF
2012		Queering Roma: Festa del Cinema LGBTQ della Capitale	Rome	Italy	Europe (W)	http://www.queeringroma.it/	QFF
2012		Cinema Queer International Film Festival	Stockholm	Sweden	Europe (W)	http://cinemaqueer.se/	QFF
2012		Malmö Queer Film Festival	Malmö	Sweden	Europe (W)	http://www.panora.nu/	QFF
2012		CNKY Scene LGBT Film Festival	Cincinnati, OH	USA	North America	http://cnkyfilmfestival.com/	QFF
2012		New England Transgender Film Festival	Provincetown, MA	USA	North America	www.netff.org	Trans FF
2012		Out in the Desert: Tucson's International LGBT Film Festival	Tucson, AZ	USA	North America	http://www.outinthedesertff.org	QFF
2012		Kyiv International Queer Film Fest	Kyiv (Kiev)	Ukraine	Europe (E)	www.queerfilmfest.org/en/	QFF
2012	2012	Queere migrantische Filmtage Wien	Vienna	Austria	Europe (W)	http://www.migay.at/	QFF

2012		Queer-Streifen Regensburg	Regensburg	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.queer-streifen.de/	QFF
2012		Uno Sguardo Normale Expo: Sardinia Queer Short Film Festival	Cagliari	Italy	Europe (W)	http://www.usnexpo.it/	QFF
2012		"Premio Maguey" at Guadalajara International Film Festival	Guadalajara	Mexico	Latin America	http://www.ficg.mx/maguey/index.php/en/about-maguey.html	Intl FF
2012	2013	Charm City LGBT Film Festival	Baltimore, MD	USA	North America	http://www.creativealliance.org/events/20	QFF
2012		MICGenero: Muestra Internacional de Cine con Perspectiva de Genero	Mexico City	Mexico	Latin America	http://www.micgenero.com	sexual diversity
2012		Out East Film Festival	Halifax, NS	Canada	North America	http://outeastfilmfest.com	QFF
2012		Pensacola LGBT Film Festival	Pensacola, FL	USA	North America	http://www.pcolalgbtfilmfest.com/	QFF
2012		R/Evolve Oakland Pride Creative Arts & Film Fest	Oakland, CA	USA	North America	http://www.spectrumqueermedia.com	Q Arts fest
2012		Reel Desires: Chennai International Queer Film Festival	Chennai	India	Asia	http://www.chennaiqueerfilmfest.blogspot	QFF
2012		shOUT Gay Lesbian and Trans Film Festival	Newcastle, NSW	Australia	Australia	http://shoutfilmfestival.com/	QFF
2012		The Little Queer Film Festival	Chicago, IL	USA	North America	http://www.littlequeerfilmfest.org/	QFF
2013		"Premio Sebastiane Latino" at San Sebastian International Film Festival/Festival de San Sebastián/Donostia Zinemaldia	San Sebastian (Donostia)	Spain (Basque country)	Europe (W)	http://premiosebastiane.wordpress.com/ab	A Festival
2013		Cairns Queer Film Festival	Cairns, QLD	Australia	Australia	http://www.cairnstropicalpride.com.au/#!queer_films	QFF
2013		Chennai Rainbow Film Festival	Chennai	India	Asia	http://chennaidost.com/chennai-rainbow-film-festival/	QFF
2013		Sydney Transgender International Film Festival	Sydney, NSW	Australia	Australia	http://cinewest.org/welcome/?page_id=3192	Trans FF
2013		Tasmanian Queer Film Festival	Hobart, TAS	Australia	Australia	http://www.tasqff.com/	QFF
2013		Désir Désirs	Tours	France	Europe (W)	http://www.desirdesirs.com	QFF
2013		Transgender Film Festival	Kiel	Germany	Europe (W)	http://www.transgender-film-festival.de/	Trans FF
2013	2013	Batho BaLorato Film Festival	Gaborone	Botswana	Africa	http://identitykenya.com/index.php/from-africa/1311-botswana-lgbti-take-center-stage-at-first-gay-film-festival	QFF
2013		Black Alphabet Film Festival	Chicago, IL	USA	North America	http://blackalphabet.org/	QoC FF
2013		CMG Short Film Festival	West Hollywood, CA	USA	North America	http://www.cmgfilmfest.net	QFF
2013		Hotter Than July Film Festival	Detroit, MI	USA	North America	http://hotterthanjuly.org/	QoC FF
2013		Level Ground Film Festival	Pasadena, CA	USA	North America	http://onlevelground.org/	QFF

2013		Reel it OUT Queer Film Festival	Hampton Road, VA	USA	North America	http://www.reelitout.org/	QFF
2013		San Antonio Q Fest	San Antonio, TX	USA	North America	https://www.facebook.com/sa.Q.fest/	QFF
2013		Stonewall Columbus LGBT Fest (@ Columbus Int FF)	Columbus, OH	USA	North America	http://lgbtfest.org/2013/	QFF
2013		Leeds Queer Film Festival	Leeds	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	http://www.leedsqueerfilmfestival.co.uk/	QFF
2014		Pinx Film Festival	Ghent	Belgium	Europe (W)	http://www.sphinx-cinema.be/event/pinx-	QFF
2014		Asterisco: Festival Internacional de Cine LGBTIQ	Buenos Aires	Argentina	Latin America	http://www.festivalasterisco.gob.ar/	QFF
2014		Festival de Cine Espacio Queer	La Plata, Buenos Aires	Argentina	Latin America	http://espacioqueer.wix.com/espacioqueer	QFF
2014		Can[Be]Gay: Festival Internacional de Cine Lesbico, Gai, Bisexual, Trans, Intersexual y Queer de Canarias	Santa Cruz de Tenerife	Spain	Europe (W)	http://canbegay.com	QFF
2014		&Proud: Yangon LGBT Film Festival	Yangon	Myanmar	Asia	http://www.andproud.net/	QFF
2014		AKS Film+Dialogue Festival for Minorities		Pakistan	Asia	http://www.aksfestival.com/	Sexual diversity
2014		Appalachian Queer Film Festival	Lewisburg, WV	USA	North America	http://aqff.org/	QFF
2014		DIALOGUES: Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Film and Video Festival in Guwahati	Guwahati	India	Asia		QFF
2014		Latin@ Queer Arts and Film Festival	Los Angeles, CA	USA	North America	http://lqaff.com/	QFF
2014		Olympia Pride Film Festival	Olympia, WA	USA	North America	https://www.facebook.com/OlympiaFilmS	QFF
2014		Out North	Whitehorse, YT	Canada	North America	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Yukon-Queer-Film-Alliance/369436306474933?sk=info	QFF
2014		SQIFF: Scottish Queer International Film Festival	Glasgow	United Kingdom	Europe (W)	https://www.facebook.com/sqiff	QFF
2014		Taiwan International Queer Film Festival	Taipeh	Taiwan	Asia	http://www.tiqff.com/about_en	QFF
2014		tilde: Melbourne Trans & Gender Diverse Film Festival	Melbourne, VIC	Australia	Australia	http://www.tildemelbourne.com/	Trans FF
2014?		Baltimore's QUEER Film & Media Festival	Baltimore, MD	USA	North America	http://www.bmorequeer.org/Baltimores_QUEER_Film_%26_Media_Festival/About_1.html	QFF
2015		Glitch Queer People of Color Film Festival	Glasgow	United Kingdom	Europe (W)		QoC FF
2015		OUTsider multi arts festival	Austin, TX	USA	North America	http://outsiderfest.org	Q Arts fest

Queer Film Culture:
Performative Aspects of LGBT/Q Film Festivals

Summary

The analyses presented in this study show that LGBT/Q film festivals are an integral part of the social practice of queer film culture. They are places where social, political and economic discourses intersect and where LGBT/Q identities, representation through film, definitions of queer cinema, community and global queer politics, and mainstream appropriation are negotiated. The festivals themselves are constantly responding to the changing surroundings and demands from stakeholders such as their audience base, the communities they want to serve, and economic and political stakeholders. The versatile, ever evolving form of the festival speaks to its performative formation. Therefore, the concepts of performativity, the performative and performance lend themselves to the analysis of the mechanisms and processes at play there.

This study, situated at the intersection of film and media studies, sociology and queer theory, builds its arguments on the interdisciplinary field of film festival studies (cf. De Valck/Loist 2009, 2013), and sets out to argue for the value of applying the concepts of the performative, performativity and performance to the study of film festivals in general, and LGBT/Q film festivals in particular. As the discussion of the concepts in chapter 1 show, the performative as developed by J.L. Austin (1975) in language philosophy and its further transposition to performativity in the theorizations of philosophy and literature by Jacques Derrida (1973), for gender/queer theory by Judith Butler (1989, 1993), and performance for ethnography by Victor Turner (1967), and in theater/performance studies by Erika Fischer-Lichte (2008) and Jon McKenzie (2001) provides a very versatile analytical arsenal for the analysis of film festivals. At the same time it is highly compatible with other existing concepts and theorizations such as event, public sphere, and networks and flows that have already been canonically applied to festival studies (Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007; Wong 2011; Iordanova 2013).

In the process of mapping out this new conceptual approach in film festival studies, I set out to contribute to general discussions of the historical transformations of (LGBT/Q) film festival culture, the relationships between film festivals and their cinephile and

political communities, and between programming and reception contexts, and thus account for the convergence not only of general and specialized festivals on the circuit, but also a convergence in the analysis of general and specialized festivals (cf. Loist 2013b).

In chapter 2, I mobilize the historical dimension of the performative to discuss the formation of LGBT/Q film festivals and their circuit. There, I sketch out the historical development of the LGBT/Q film festival while paying attention also to the larger social, political, geographic, and economic contexts. Marijke de Valck's periodization of the circuit, describing the transition from national showcases to programmed cinephilia to a professionalized and diversified network (De Valck 2007: 19–20), serves as a backdrop to the detailed historiography of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. Here, I follow Ragan Rhyne's US-based periodization (2007), which I expand to a global perspective and update from where her discussion left off. This discursive historiography is accompanied by an empirical one, where I analyze the growth pattern and global spread of the LGBT/Q film festival circuit. This combined view reveals a very complex history without a linear narrative of progress for sexual rights or queer film production. Instead it becomes obvious that one needs to take into account complex structures of globalization: economies of production, capitalism, processes of cultural exchange, human rights activism, LGBT/Q activism, and prevailing structures of homophobia. Processes of economic growth, differentiation and reinvention on the side of the older established LGBT/Q film festivals in the "West" coincide with simultaneous, parallel developments of local adaptation, national film cultures and basic struggles for LGBT rights and community building. Along with the global perspective, a discussion of US-American (Frameline, NewFest, MIX NYC), German (Lesbisch Schwule Filmtage Hamburg, Verzaubert, Berlinale Teddy Award) and Austrian (identities) case studies provides further depth in understanding the evolution of the festivals and the circuit.

The increasing acceptance of LGBT/Q identities in most parts of the "developed world," with anti-discrimination laws as well as civil unions and gay marriage in place—although some regions also see a backlash, as visible in Russia's (supposedly anti-) propaganda law or threats to LGBT/Q safety in some regions in Africa—has a direct impact on the spatial spread of and visibility of the LGBT/Q community, bringing with it cultural events such as film festivals. Long-standing festivals, which are often

based in large cities with a substantial LGBT/Q community and film/arts culture are joined by new additions serving communities in smaller cities, and more rural areas. In addition, the mainstreaming of (homonormative) LGBT/Q imagery urges film festivals to reposition or diversify to focus on specific issues and targeting smaller brackets of identities. Instead of a diverse all-encompassing LGBT/Q community, with all its inner differences, tensions and struggles, a number of new festivals cater specifically to trans*, Queer of Color or genre fan communities. Thus, in the historical context, there is a visible diversification and proliferation of LGBT/Q film festivals on a global scale.

All of these festivals have to navigate the performative negotiations of identities; as part of LGBT/Q activist politics and community organizing they balance the need to perform according to changing demands in the film and festival landscape as well as stay in tune with the ever-evolving LGBT/Q politics and identities of their constituencies. When these negotiations are successful, LGBT/Q film festivals stay relevant and serve the specific need to form a community, a sentiment uttered time and again by audiences, festival organizers, and filmmakers.

Having drawn a broad picture of the circuit, covering a wide range through time and space, in chapter 3 I venture further and zoom in to look at a number of specific incidents of disruption and boycotts as case studies to unravel the different layers in which LGBT/Q film festivals as instances of queer film culture are performed (or failed). Aspects such as the differentiation into specific identity segments and the evolution of festival names and festival profiles are already mentioned in chapter 2. These issues are revisited in chapter 3 since they play a significant part when considering the programming, audience address, and reception experiences. In this chapter I mobilize mainly perspectives of performativity and performance from ethnography and performance studies. These are put in synch with concepts such as public spheres, audience address, and event culture.

The investigation in that chapter follows three steps: selection, exhibition, and reception. Under the heading of selection, I discuss the performance of queer cinema as it becomes visible in the practices of selection of films and their programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. There I discuss various processes involved in programming, ranging from pre-selection, to screening committees, to programming strategies. Two historical incidents from the history of Frameline, the "Lesbian Riot" (1986) and the *Genderator* incident (2007), serve as detailed examples of how programming strategies

directly interrelate with identity negotiations. In both instances the traditional strategy of what I would call "LGBT programming," namely the representation of separated and stable identities in programming, set the stage for fights over identity boundaries and representation. The discussion of programs proposing "queer programming strategies," using case studies of programs and films screened at the festivals in Hamburg, Bremen, and Vienna serve as counterexamples for programming at LGBT/Q film festivals. In the section on exhibition, I turn to the performative architecture of an LGBT/Q film festival by shedding light on the event itself, which follows specific scripts and rituals.

In the last section of the chapter, which is concerned with reception, I look at the corresponding side of the processes discussed in the beginning, and look at the audience, consider the form of address, reception context, audience interaction, and elements of community-building. While the programming process happens much earlier and over an extended period of time, the program itself (through promotional materials such as brochures and websites) addresses an audience and only then comes into existence: comes "alive," actualizes in the very act of reception by an audience. Thus, these two sides (program and audience) are inextricably linked, in fact, and represent two sides of the coin that is the festival. First, I discuss the formation of a counterpublic sphere, audience address, and the specific reception context of a festival. Two further examples of festival boycotts are presented to analyze how LGBT/Q film festivals operate as queer counterpublic spheres that activists utilize for political intervention. Both examples show how queer politics expand beyond mere discussions of LGBT identities to issues of globalization, and its entwinement with homonationalism and migration politics. One example relates to discussions on "pinkwashing," the contested promotion of a LGBT/Q-friendly image by Brand Israel (cf. Puar 2013), on the international festival circuit as well as at Frameline, and the other relates to queer local politics, where the opening speech of the mayor at the festival in Hamburg was boycotted, thereby connecting to a larger frame of global migration politics and its treatment in "Fortress Europe," epitomized by Lampedusa. The last section of this chapter discusses the communal experience of collective viewing as developed by Julian Hanich (2010, 2014a) and discusses the impact on the formation of a festival community. With this take on audiences, community and reception contexts, the chapter returns to the question of how LGBT/Q film festivals are an integral part of the practices of queer film culture, which was raised in the introduction.

In the concluding outlook to the study I propose three further research trajectories. While the study mostly relied on conceptions of performativity and performance in the sense developed in ethnography, gender/queer theory and performance studies, another aspect of performance can be productively brought to bear on the subject of (LGBT/Q) film festivals: performance in the economic sense of efficiency and achievement (cf. McKenzie 2001). This extra facet of the performance paradigm connects to three possible extending trajectories: 1) the discussion of organizational performance, with a view on the festival structure, its stakeholders and its agenda as community and media organization. 2) the concept of social entrepreneurship, which tries to account for the diverging demands on LGBT/Q film festival organizations: neoliberal market logics in creative industries and counter public politics (Richards 2012, 2014). Here, the concept of precarity might be useful counter-concept. 3) The film festival circuit is commonly theorized alternative distribution system (De Valck 2007, Iordanova 2009). However, an empirical study to account for the stratification of the circuit and evaluate the function of the festivals in the dissemination of global (queer) art cinema is still to come.

Queer Film Culture:
Performative Aspects of LGBT/Q Film Festivals

Deutschsprachige Zusammenfassung

Die in dieser Studie präsentierten Analysen zeigen, dass LGBT/Q Filmfestivals ein integraler Bestandteil der sozialen Praxis queerer Filmkultur sind. Sie sind Orte, an denen soziale, politische und ökonomische Diskurse zusammentreffen und in denen LGBT/Q-Identitäten ebenso verhandelt werden wie filmische Repräsentationen, Definitionen von Queer Cinema, die Community sowie globale queere Politik und ihre Aneignungen durch den Mainstream. Die Festivals reagieren ständig auf sich wandelnde Anforderungen von Stakeholdern wie ihrem Publikum, der Community, die sie repräsentieren wollen, sowie wirtschaftlichen und politischen Akteuren. Die vielseitige, sich immer weiter entwickelnde Form des Festivals zeigt sich dabei in seiner performativen Herstellung. Aus diesem Grund eignen sich die Konzepte der Performativität, des Performativen und der Performanz besonders für die Analyse der Mechanismen und Prozesse, die hier anzutreffen sind.

Die Studie bewegt sich an der Schnittstelle von Film- und Medienwissenschaft, Soziologie und Queer Theory. Indem sie auf den existierenden Vorarbeiten und Argumenten der interdisziplinären Filmfestivalforschung aufbaut (vgl. De Valck/Loist 2009, 2013), argumentiert sie für die Nutzbarmachung der Konzepte des Performativen, Performativität und Performanz in der Untersuchung von Filmfestivals allgemein und bei LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals im Besonderen. Die Diskussion der Konzepte im Theoriekapitel (Kapitel 1) zeigt, dass das von J.L. Austin (1975) in der Sprachphilosophie entwickelte Konzept des „Performativen" und dessen theoretische Weiterentwicklungen zur Performativität in Philosophie und Literaturwissenschaft von Jacques Derrida (1973), für die Gender/Queer-Theorie durch Judith Butler (1989, 1993), und zur Performanz/Performance in der Ethnografie von Victor Turner (1967) und in der Theaterwissenschaft bzw. den Performance Studies von Erika Fischer-Lichte (2008) und Jon McKenzie (2001) ein durchaus vielseitiges, analytisches Arsenal für die Analyse von Filmfestivals bietet. Gleichzeitig ist es in hohem Maße kompatibel mit anderen bestehenden Konzepten wie Event, Öffentlichkeit und Netzwerke und flows,

die bereits kanonisch in der Filmfestivalforschung Anwendung gefunden haben
(Elsaesser 2005; De Valck 2007; Wong 2011; Iordanova 2013)Im Zuge der Kartierung
des neuen konzeptionellen Ansatzes des Performativen in der Filmfestivalforschung
kann diese Arbeit zur Diskussion verschiedener Aspekte, wie der historischen
Transformationen der (LGBT/Q) Filmfestkultur, die Beziehungen zwischen
Filmfestivals und ihrem cinephilen wie politischen Publikum, zwischen Programm und
Rezeptionskontexten beitragen und damit sowohl die Konvergenzen zwischen den
allgemeinen wie spezialisierten Festival-Circuits, wie auch deren Analyse beschreiben
(vgl. Loist 2013b).

Kapitel 2 mobilisiert die historische Dimension des Performativen, um die Bildung von
LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals und des dazugehörigen Festivalnetzwerks zu untersuchen. Dort
wird die historische Entwicklung der LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals nachgezeichnet, wobei
auch die größeren sozialen, politischen, geografischen und wirtschaftlichen
Zusammenhänge in den Blick geraten. Die Periodisierung des Festival-Circuits bei
Marijke de Valck beschreibt den Übergang von nationalen Schaufenstern zu
programmierter Cinephilie hin zur Bildung eines professionalisierten und
diversifizierten Netzwerkes (De Valck 2007: 19–20), und dient als Kulisse für die
detaillierte Geschichtsschreibung der LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals. Hier folge ich der auf die
USA ausgerichteten Periodisierung von Ragan Rhyne (2007), die ich um eine globale
Perspektive erweitere und aktualisiere. Die diskursive Geschichtsschreibung wird
durch eine empirische ergänzt, in der ich das Wachstumsmuster und die globale
Ausbreitung von LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals aufzeige. Diese kombinierte Betrachtung
offenbart eine sehr komplexe Geschichte jenseits einer linearen Fortschrittserzählung
für sexuelle Gleichberechtigung bzw. eine queere Filmproduktion. Vielmehr wird
deutlich, dass man für die Betrachtung der komplexen Strukturen auch die
Globalisierung berücksichtigen muss: dazu gehören Produktionssysteme, kapitalistische
Strukturen, kulturelle Austauschprozesse, Menschenrechts-Aktivismus, LGBT/Q-
Aktivismus, sowie vorherrschende homophobe, heteronormative Strukturen. Prozesse
des Wachstums, der Differenzierung und Erneuerung auf Seiten der älteren etablierten
LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals im „Westen" finden gleichzeitig, parallel zu Entwicklungen der
lokalen Anpassung, nationaler Filmkulturen, Aushandlungen von LGBT-Grundrechten
und Gemeinschaftsbildung statt. Innerhalb dieser globalen Perspektive bietet die
Diskussion US-amerikanischer (Frameline, NewFest, MIX NYC), deutscher (Lesbisch
Schwule Filmtage Hamburg, Verzaubert, Berlinale Teddy Award) und österreichischer

(identities) Festivals im Rahmen von Fallstudien eine weitere Vertiefung in das Verständnis der Entwicklung dieser Festivals und ihrer Circuits.

Die zunehmende Akzeptanz von LGBT/Q-Identitäten in den meisten Teilen der „entwickelten Welt", die sich in der zunehmenden Verankerung in Antidiskriminierungsgesetzen, eingetragenen Partnerschaften sowie der „Homoehe" zeigt – obwohl in einigen Regionen auch heftige Gegenreaktionen, wie sie in Russlands (vemeintlichem Anti--)Propaganda-Gesetz oder der Bedrohung der Sicherheit von LGBT/Q-Personen in einigen Regionen Afrikas sichtbar wird – hat einen direkten Einfluss auf die räumliche Verbreitung und Sichtbarkeit der LGBT/Q-Community und ihre kulturellen Veranstaltungen wie Filmfestivals. Langjährige Festivals, wie sie oft in Großstädten mit einer sichtbaren LGBT/Q-Community und Film/Kunst-Szene entstanden sind, werden von Neuzugängen innerhalb des Circuits ergänzt, der die LGBT/Q-Community in kleineren Städten und ländlichen Gebieten bedient. Darüber führt das Mainstreaming von (homonormativen) LGBT/Q-Bildern zu einer Repositionierung und Diversifizierung der Filmfestivals, die sich auf bestimmte Themen oder Identitäten konzentrieren. Statt einer vielfältigen allumfassenden LGBT/Q-Community mit all ihren inneren Differenzen, Spannungen und Kämpfen, richtet sich eine Reihe von neuen Festivals speziell an trans*-Personen, Queers of Color oder Genre-Fans. So wird im historischen Kontext eine Diversifizierung und Verbreitung von LGBT/Q-Filmfestival im globalen Maßstab sichtbar.

All diese Festivals müssen die performativen Aushandlungsprozesse von Identitäten meistern: als Teil der aktivistischen LGBT/Q-Community-Organisationen müssen sie die wechselnden Anforderungen in der Film- und Festivallandschaft mit der sich ständig weiterentwickelnden LGBT/Q-Politik und Identitätsbildung ihres Publikums in Einklang bringen. Wenn die Aushandlungen erfolgreich sind, bleiben LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals relevant und bieten einen Raum, wo sich eine Community bilden kann, deren Bedürfnisse immer wieder von Publikum, Festivalorganisator_innen und Filmschaffenden geäußert werden

Nachdem ein umfassendes Bild des Festival-Ciruits mit großer räumlicher und zeitlicher Spannweite gezeichnet wurde, tritt Kapitel 3 näher an das Objekt heran und betrachtet eine Reihe spezifischer Fallstudien von Störungen und Boykotten, um aufzuschlüsseln auf welchen Ebenen das LGBT/Q-Filmfestival als Instanz queerer Filmkultur performativ hergestellt wird (oder inwieweit dies misslingt). Aspekte wie

die Differenzierung in spezifische Identitätssegmente und die Entwicklung der Festivalnamen und -profile wurden in Kapitel 2 erwähnt und in Kapitel 3 wieder aufgegriffen, da sie eine bedeutende Rolle für Programmgestaltung, Publikumsansprache und Rezeptionserfahrungen gleichermaßen spielen. In diesem Kapitel werden vor allem Perspektiven der Performativität und Performance aus Ethnografie und Performance Studies mobilisiert und mit Konzepten wie Öffentlichkeiten, Publikumsansprache und Event-Kultur in Verbindung gesetzt.

Die Untersuchung in diesem Kapitel gliedert sich in drei Schritte: Auswahl, Aufführung und Rezeption. Unter der Überschrift 'Auswahl' diskutiere ich die performative Herstellung des Queer Cinema, wie es in den Praxen der Auswahl und Programmierung der Filme auf LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals zu sehen ist. Dort werden verschiedene Prozesse der Programmierung – von der Vorauswahl, über Sichtungsgruppen zu Programmstrategien – betrachtet. Zwei historische Ereignisse aus der Geschichte des Frameline-Festivals in San Francisco, der „Lesbian Riot" (1986) und der *Genderator*-Zwischenfall (2007), dienen als detaillierte Beispiele, um zu zeigen wie Programmstrategien in einer unmittelbaren Wechselwirkung zu Identitätsaushandlungen stehen. In beiden Fällen bildet die traditionelle Strategie, die ich als „LGBT-Programmierung" bezeichnen würde und die auf der Repräsentation stabiler, getrennter Identitäten basiert, den Rahmen für das Auskämpfen von Identitätsgrenzen und Repräsentation. Diskutierte Fallstudien einiger Programme und Filme, die auf Festivals in Hamburg, Bremen und Wien liefen und „queere Programmstrategien" beinhalten, dienen der Vorstellung von Gegenbeispielen für die Programmierung bei LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals. Im Abschnitt über die Aufführung wende ich mich der performativen Architektur eines LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals zu und beleuchte wie diese Veranstaltung spezifischen Skripten und Ritualen folgt.

Im letzten Abschnitt des Kapitels, der sich mit Rezeption auseinandersetzt, betrachte ich die korrespondierende Seite der zu Beginn diskutierten Prozesse, und nehme dabei das Publikum und dessen Ansprache ebenso in den Blick, wie den Rezeptionskontext, die Zuschauerinteraktion und Elemente der Community-Bildung. Während der Programmprozess viel früher und über einen längeren Zeitraum stattfindet, wird das Programm selbst erst durch die Ansprache (mithilfe von Werbematerialien wie Broschüren und Internetseiten) eines Publikums „zum Leben erweckt", denn verwirklicht wird es erst im Akt der Rezeption durch ein Publikum. Somit sind diese

zwei Seiten (Programm und Publikum) untrennbar miteinander verbunden und stellen zwei Seiten der Medaille bzw. des Festivals dar. Zuerst wird die Herstellung einer Gegenöffentlichkeit, Zuschaueransprache und der spezifische Rezeptionskontext eines Festivals vorgestellt. Daraufhin werden zwei weitere Beispiele für Festivalboykotts präsentiert, um zu analysieren, wie LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals als queere Gegenöffentlichkeiten funktionieren, die Aktivisten für politische Interventionen nutzen. Beide Beispiele zeigen, wie queere Praxen die bloße Diskussion von LGBT-Identitäten um Fragen der Globalisierung erweitern und wie sie mit *homonationalism* und Migrationspolitik verknüpft sind. Ein Beispiel bezieht sich auf Diskussionen des „pinkwashing", die strittige Vermarktung eines LGBT/Q-freundlichen Bildes durch die Brand Israel Kampagne (vgl. Puar 2013), auf dem internationalen Festival-Circuit sowie beim Frameline Festival in San Francisco. Das zweite Beispiel bezieht sich auf queere Lokalpolitik, wo die Eröffnungsrede des Bürgermeisters bei den Lesbisch Schwulen Filmtagen in Hamburg boykottiert wurde. Diese Aktion zeigt die Verbindung zum größeren Rahmen der globalen Migrationspolitik und ihrer Behandlung in der „Festung Europa", verkörpert durch die in Hamburg lebenden Lampedusa-Flüchtlinge. Der letzte Abschnitt dieses Kapitels behandelt die Gemeinschaftserfahrung der kollektiven Rezeption wie sie von Julian Hanich (2010, 2014a) entwickelt wurde und diskutiert ihre Auswirkungen auf die Bildung einer Festival-Community. Mit der Betrachtung von Publikum, Community und Rezeptionskontexten schließt dieses Kapitel wieder an die Frage aus der Einleitung an: wie LGBT/Q-Filmfestivals zum integralen Bestandteil der Praktiken queerer Filmkultur werden.

Im abschließenden Ausblick schlage ich drei weitere Forschungsfragen vor. Während die vorliegende Studie sich vor allem auf Konzeptionen von Performativität und Performance im Sinne der Ethnografie, Gender/Queer Theory und Theaterwissenschaft stützt, lässt sich ein weiterer Aspekt der „Performance" für das Thema (LGBT/Q-) Filmfestivals produktiv machen: Performance im wirtschaftlichen Sinn für Effizienz und Leistung (vgl. McKenzie 2001). Diese zusätzliche Facette des Performativitätsparadigmas verbindet sich mit drei möglichen Erweiterungen der vorliegenden Forschung: 1) die Diskussion der Organisations-Performance, mit Blick auf die Festivalstruktur, seine Akteure und ihre Agenda als Community- und Medienunternehmen; 2) das Konzept des sozialen Unternehmertums (*social entrepreneurship*), das versucht die divergierenden Anforderungen an die LGBT/Q-Filmfestival-Organisationen in Einklang zu bringen: neoliberale Marktlogiken in der

Kreativwirtschaft und gegenöffentliche queere Politik (Richards 2012, 2014). Hier könnte der Begriff des Prekariats ein nützliches Gegenkonzept sein. 3) Der Filmfestivalcircuit wird allgemein als alternatives Vertriebssystem theoretisiert (De Valck 2007; Iordanova 2009). Empirische Untersuchungen zur Stratifizierung des Circuits und der Bewertung der Funktion von Festivals für die Verbreitung des globalen (queeren) Arthouse-Kinos stehen noch aus.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hierdurch versichere ich an Eides Statt, dass ich die Arbeit selbstständig angefertigt, andere als die von mir angegebenen Quellen und Hilfsmittel nicht benutzt und die den herangezogenen Werken wörtlich oder inhaltlich entnommenen Stellen als solche kenntlich gemacht habe.

Hamburg, den 19. Dezember 2014

Skadi Loist