Film Festivals as Public Spaces

The Transformation of the Busan and Berlin International Film Festivals

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Goldsmiths, University of London
Department of Media and Communications

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I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma of the university or other institute of higher learning, except where due acknowledgment has been made in the text.

Lee, Hong-Real

(Date: September 9, 2014)

(Signature): ..................................
Acknowledgements

Film festivals have always seemed to me as a paradoxical space where a sense of excitement, solitude and sadness bizarrely coexist: the extraordinary ambience that they generate sometimes makes those who are present either at the centre of or adjacent to it have mixed feelings of excitement, sadness and loneliness at the same time. This could be largely as a result of its spatiotemporally transient nature, including the throughout-the-year preparations for celebrating the brevity of festivity. While some people are both physically and emotionally fully prepared for relishing the entire period of festivity, others are reluctant to face it given their less-timely personal situations. In a nutshell, festivals let people feel sometimes happy, but also neglected and even alienated. Lee Byung-yeul, the South Korean poet, says “beauty sometimes brings in sadness” due to the very irrational nature that enables people’s emotional levels to become disproportionately erratic (Lee, 2012). Such an irrational feeling as conjured up by film festivals force those present to develop a longing for something more. In other words, the emotional side effect that festivals cause is to make people continue to feel that something is lacking.

For me, being in the middle of film festivals has always felt like one was temporarily hallucinating. Despite that I have been an ethnographic researcher of film festivals and either directly or indirectly involved in international film festival businesses for nearly seven years, I have nevertheless done my utmost to avoid imposing both my physical and emotional presence at the festival sites. Namely, I confess with hindsight that film festivals have been for the most part a less pleasurable and exciting space for me throughout the process of my doctoral research on them. For the fact that I had been, sometimes, physically and, sometimes, mentally present within the close radius of the lingering extraordinary ambience film festivals generate since I embarked on my postgraduate research on film festivals, has been hitherto burning my emotional energy to exhaustion. In particular, given that I have been viscerally observing the movement of people’s and cities’ emotions in an ethnographic manner unlike other researchers quantitatively approaching film festivals, it has been oftentimes really difficult for me to rehab myself to return from the special and even fantasized world transiently created by film festivals to my another chaotic reality or everydayness: film festivals have completely blinded me at all time, sometimes leading me to feel empty and even depressed for a while after the end of their festivities. Although my affection towards international film festivals, specifically those in Busan and Berlin respectively, is still valid to date, albeit gradually continuing to wither since the inception of this PhD research, I, nevertheless, cannot forget the very first moment they blinded or, more precisely, fascinated me completely with excitement. In retrospect, it has always been this very initial moment of
my innocent and even naïve affection towards film festivals that could eventually give me the raison d’être, for which I still cannot help but be fascinated by them to date.

In this long and, sometimes, excruciatingly painful journey of exploring the world of international film festivals, I am highly indebted to the forbearance of many of those who have supported and encouraged me to continue to keep intact my initial moment of excitement and affection for film festivals since the inception of my research up to now. Professor Kim Young-chan from the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in South Korea and my MA dissertation supervisor Professor James Curran at Goldsmiths ushered me in the field of media and communications studies, enabling me as a complete novice in this field to construct and then even expand my media studies-based intellectual horizon further into the field of international film festivals. Dr. Yoon Ae-ri has given me not only as my mentor but also as my close friend a great deal of both academic and living assistances for me to be successful in adapting myself to the first year of my PhD life at Goldsmiths and London in general. The wonderful academic works of Professors Stuart Hall and David Morley respectively with their superbly expressed words and sentences and logic expressed in them, have always been the very foundational texts inspiring in me a great deal in terms of how many of my thoughts and ideas concerned with this research can be materialised into logically readable texts with style. Without Mrs. Dorothee Wenner encountering and misrecognising me as Mr. Kim of the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) at HAU 2 where a panel programme Towards the African Summit moderated by her took place during the 56th Berlinale in 2006, I could not have even thought of starting this comparative research on BIFF and the Berlinale in the first place. It was Mrs Wenner as the then programme director of the Berlin Talent Campus who provided me with the initial motif linked to this PhD research and its feasibility by kindly explaining to me the close relations between the Berlinale and BIFF. In addition to this, thanks to Dr. May Adadol Ingawanij who has been in charge of an optional course entitled “Exploration into World Cinema” of Goldsmiths’s MA in Media and Communications Programme in the 2005-2006 academic years, I was able to broaden my intellectual horizon regarding the overall workings of international film festivals in a more systematic manner. Mrs. Zehra Arabadji, the secretary of Goldsmiths’s Department of Media and Communications taking care of all the administrative matters to do with its PhD programme, is the de-facto unsung hero to both me and other PhD colleagues of mine for having always been present around us ready to respond to all sorts of our demands and requests with her bright and motherly smile shown to us. I am thus really grateful to her for her near-ubiquitous presence around me throughout my PhD studies at Goldsmiths. Nepalese security personnel working at Goldsmiths have always been friendly and even honest to me during the periods of my studies here. Especially, a Gurkha soldier turned security personnel named “Mitral” has always turned up in front of
me with his bright and down-to-earth smile to greet me and have a brief chat with me over our daily lives. As my mental haven, his friendly approach to me helped a great deal to soothe my solitary life in London as a foreign student. Without strict teachings and instructions of the lecturers from Goldsmiths’s pre-sessional programme – Gary, Paul, Sunil and Stella – regarding how to produce academic writings in English together with the foundational contexts of what Goldsmiths tries to academically pursue in general, I could not have completed this PhD thesis up to this level in the end. All the interviewees I have met and talked with throughout the periods of my field research in Busan, Berlin and London respectively have always been my streetwise teachers and imaginary colleagues to me who was a novice in the field of international film festivals. My biggest gratitude goes to my PhD thesis supervisor Professor Chris Berry and Goldsmiths’ Department of Media and Communications as a whole for their enormous forbearance in the overall process of my completing this thesis in spite of a great deal of concerns and even hardships (e.g. frequent delays in the submission of my thesis and two times of probation and many others) I have caused to them. Especially, despite his physical absence near me while I spent some time struggling to complete my thesis in Germany (Hanover) and South Korea (Busan) respectively, simply reading a series of Professor Chris Berry’s published writings downloaded on my laptop always soothed my then hurried and nervous state of mind. Without Kwon Hee-eun’s distant efforts from Seoul, South Korea, to continue to correspond with me by her countless warm-hearted emails and even hand-written letters together with some books enclosed in them, my life in London as a whole could have become greyer and even more temperamental like the unpredictable London weather. Lastly, I am greatly indebted for all London as a multicultural urban space has inspired in me throughout the periods of my studies at Goldsmiths and to my parents and recently deceased grandmother who have been at my side at all time to give me their unconditional and consistent support and belief in what I have started and finished in London and beyond.
Abstract

This thesis analyses film festivals as public spaces. It asks how publicness configures both contemporary film festivals and the activities of those who participate in them. In order to investigate this mix of theories and the concomitant practices are employed, all of which are intertwined with the notion of public or publicness as the overriding conceptual framework of this research. Jürgen Habermas’s universal and rational notion of public sphere has been subjected to criticisms that have called for an understanding of publicness as more fragmented and multiple, and hence experiential. Here, publicness is defined as performative: it is constituted experientially as the degree of physical, perceptual and sensorial connectedness between film festivals and those present at them. In other words, film festivals are experiential public spaces. On the basis of ethnographic analysis of the Busan and Berlin International Film Festivals (BIFF and the Berlinale) utilising in-depth interviews, participant observation and archival analysis, the thesis argues that film festivals are socioculturally bound and perceptually elastic public spaces that enable their audiences or publics to experience the ambient and environmental sense of public accessibility engendered jointly by film festivals and their surrounding milieus.

Three aspects are analysed in more detail. First, public spaces are being used as festival venues within contemporary gentrified urban environments. The thesis argues that the physical and structural expansion and transformation of national and international film festivals affects the changing perceptions local residents have of everyday urban public spaces. Second, question and answer (Q&A) sessions between ordinary festival audiences and filmmakers are examined as communicatively performative activities. The thesis argues that the film festival Q&A format functions as a discursive means of facilitating the active participation of festival audiences in its verbally and emotionally-engaging public atmosphere. Third, the roles of film festival media, specifically online, are examined in order to argue that festivals use new media to facilitate ordinary festival audiences’ or their publics’ engagement with the film festival experience as a whole.
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<td>ACF</td>
<td>Asian Cinema Fund</td>
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<td>AFA</td>
<td>Asian Film Awards</td>
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<td>American Film Market</td>
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<td>AFM</td>
<td>Asian Film Market</td>
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<td>AIFF</td>
<td>Almaty International Film Festival</td>
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<td>AND</td>
<td>Asian Network of Documentary</td>
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<td>APM</td>
<td>Asian Project Market</td>
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<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<td>BALCON</td>
<td>Busan Alternative Content Network</td>
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<td>BCF</td>
<td>Busan Cinema Forum</td>
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<td>BC&amp;F</td>
<td>Busan Conference and Forum</td>
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<td>BIFF</td>
<td>Busan International Film Festival</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIFCOM</td>
<td>Busan International Film Commission &amp; Industry Showcase</td>
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<tr>
<td>dffb</td>
<td>Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin</td>
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<td>DIFF</td>
<td>Dubai International Film Festival</td>
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<td>Eurasia International Film Festival</td>
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<td>European Film Market</td>
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<td>FFRN</td>
<td>Film Festival Research Network</td>
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<td>FIAPF</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale des Associations de Producteurs de Films (International Federation of Film Producers Associations)</td>
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<td>Korean Performance and Ethics Board</td>
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<td>MBC</td>
<td>Munhwa Broadcasting Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIFF</td>
<td>Melbourne International Film Festival</td>
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<td>PiFan</td>
<td>Pucheon International Fantastic Film Festival</td>
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<td>The Hollywood Reporter</td>
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1.1. Introduction

Patrick O’ Donovan: 8.5 million people visited this place. They came here all through the summer of 1951. I went with Sir. Hugh Casson – he’s the smaller of the two – and we had the place to ourselves. Yes, it was over. It was part of London’s past. It had joined all the other exhibitions, all the crashing military parades, the glittering state occasions, all the ceremony and display that come and go and helped to make the public life and tradition of this capital city. Most of it has been pulled down by now. But I remember, too, the first time we went there. As soon as you pushed through the turnstile and passed impatient attendants, there was a surprise: a sudden sense of space and leisured gaiety.

Sir Hugh Casson: That’s what we hoped for. We built it as a place to walk about in, a place if you like, for pleasure.

Patrick O’ Donovan: Outside there were the thundering dark bridges that lift the railway over the miles of dark Victorian streets. There were pubs for hurried beer drinkers and grey churches run up on the cheap. Outside the soot and the smoke were in charge. Inside it blazed with bright nursery colours.

Sir Hugh Casson: That screen was built to cut off the darker side of London. Trees and grass were planted to act as a foil to the painted walls and the metal. An exhibition ought to have an air of gaiety, and the colours were as carefully considered as the forms of the building […].

Patrick O’ Donovan: In among [the] unfamiliar [experimental] shapes [of the temporarily constructed buildings and festival site in general on the South Bank of the River Thames], there were the visitors, and they were not dwarfed by the show, they were part of it. […] And all of them in a special mood, slightly exaggerated, slightly excited. A mood that had been made by the building, the colour and the music. […] It is not a usual custom for people to dance in public in England. But, here the place and the occasion seemed to demand it. People enjoyed this, even if they had to dance grotesquely in overcoats and late in the year. It may have taught the men who are building our cities something. It may have given impetus to a new approach to building here in Britain. But for ordinary people, it was fun (Harvey and Brunius, 1951: transcribed from the film).
The event presented here is the Festival of Britain that was held in London from May 30 until September 30, 1951. Having been jointly produced by the Central Office of Information (COI) and The Observer to chronicle the Festival, the documentary film London in Festival Year 1951 is made up of four parts which deal with diverse perspectives, ranging from architecture, family histories, art and design, to the festival in general: (1) Festival in London, (2) Brief City: The Story of London’s Festival Buildings, (3) Family Portraits and (4) Designed in Britain (ibid.). The brief acts of narration mentioned above are excerpts from those alternately performed in the second part of this documentary by Sir Hugh Casson, then chairman of the Committee of Festival Architects, and Patrick O’ Donovan, the renowned journalist from The Observer. They record these two public figures’ nostalgic reminiscences about the heyday of the Festival of Britain, shortly before the start of the demolition of the festival facilities built on the South Bank of the River Thames. Commemorating the centennial anniversary of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in the same location, this festival has been appreciated by many as a condensed, albeit ephemeral, spectacle that contributed to the revitalization of deeply traumatized British society after the Second World War. It shows the then spatial and aural enormity of the festival spectacle, which different British publics must have experienced during their visits to this vibrant festival site, alongside Britain’s legacies of technological achievements and eagerness for rejuvenating its war-torn communities during the postwar period. How the Festival of Britain emitted its spatial and ambient vastness to its local and national visitors and beyond through such media as the aforementioned documentary film, seems to still resonate with the overall dynamics of today’s film festivals in relation to the roles that their festival sites play in publicising their festival images and spectacles on a global scale during the short periods of their festivities.

The example above implies three major keywords that this thesis intends to discuss: (postwar) reconstruction and urban regeneration; civic participations in film festivals; festival media’s roles in publicising externally film festivals and their overall festive ambience in general. Specifically, it reflects the major features that contemporary international film festivals often harbour as a structural
dilemma, which is unveiled via their ephemeral yet extraordinary settings: (1) the controlled or staged sense of accessibility or *inclusion* that film festivals generate towards ordinary publics, and (2) the intrinsic sense of *exclusion* that is deeply entrenched in the inner-circles of international film festivals and industries. Evoking the ambience, to a certain extent, equivalent of gated communities given the ways in which film festivals control the festive spectacle and its overall ambience, their retrospective account of the Festival of Britain in 1951 reflects how film festivals strategically utilise their festival spectacles by choreographing the degree of public accessibility to the festival venues and events according to their own discriminatory rules such as festival accreditation systems. Conversely, however, under such hierarchically vertical environments, it also partly reveals how film festivals rely equally on festivalgoers’ diverse festival experiences formed through both their individual interests and their presence as active participants within the festivals’ chaotic but organised and controlled ambience, or what Kirstin Jamieson calls ‘the orchestrated chaos’ (2004: 70). Jamieson, whose research focuses on the Edinburgh International Festival as a case study, uses this term to explain how its carnivalesque ambience is manufactured and then managed in collaboration with its festival organising committee and Edinburgh’s municipal authorities from the perspective of city branding and tourism. In a nutshell, the example of the Festival of Britain illustrates how both vertical and horizontal relations are maintained between film festivals and their visitors and participants under the former’s structural dilemma, which ultimately enables film festivals to operate.

This thesis’s introductory section aims to provide an overview of the overall conceptual structure of the thesis, alongside summarising how specific case studies are conducted on the basis of its conceptual framework and ethnography-based multidimensional methodologies in order to research film festivals as public spaces. This thesis reappraises the historically and socioculturally limited (i.e. Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth century enlightenment era) notion of the Habermasian public sphere to propose a more comprehensive model of publicness which is capable of application to a wider range of themes, one of which concerns film festivals. Accordingly, it attempts to see film festivals as “public
spaces”, a more neutral, flexible and experiential term designed to explain the multidimensional nature that film festival dynamics imply in practice. Specifically, in exploring the public cultures of non-Western countries from the perspective of electronically mediated sociocultural environments or “electronic elsewheres”, such as emerging scenes of contemporary documentary-making practices in the People’s Republic of China (PRC) for instance, Chris Berry (2010) criticizes the notion of the Habermasian public sphere as idealistic and even outmoded, thereby detached from the realities of other socioculturally specific situations than the European cases peculiar to this public model. Thus, he comes up with the rather neutral term public spaces to explain more fluid and transcultural public dimensions of diverse societies without being heavily affected by ideological debates when compared to the socioculturally charged term “(public) sphere”. Here, the concept of “electronic elsewheres” suggested by Berry et al. (2010) is not limited to changes in space and time via the technological advancements of contemporary media per se. It also has something to do with the ways in which people perceive and understand changing space and time in their everyday life space as mediated by contemporary media. In this context, media do not remain in a technologically deterministic realm but are rooted in socioculturally specific conditions and contexts in which all sorts of media ranging from contemporary new media to traditional old media contribute to the changing perceptions of people towards their spatiotemporally-bound life space as a whole. Similarly, based on this reconsideration of the notion of publicness in ever more decentralized and fragmented contemporary societies through criticizing the notion of public sphere, this thesis also explores how and to what extent film festivals can be reconsidered as a cultural event equipped with its own distinctive public dimension differentiated in many respects from that of the existing themes in which film festival research has engaged so far (for example, as regards the discussion about frequently researched themes associated with film festivals, see Rüling and Pederson, 2010). Given this, this thesis employs ethnography-based qualitative research methodology to examine more experiential aspects of publicness as performed by a series of circumstantial factors (i.e. (1) festival urban environments, (2) communicative performances
of festival audiences at the question and answer (Q&A) sessions, and (3) the mediation of publicness via festival media) at film festival sites and beyond.

Most film festival research begins by questioning taken-for-grant positions within the overall history of film studies. Focusing on syntactical aspects of films or filmic languages in its early stage of development, traditional film studies have taken into account film festivals largely as complementary spectacles or backgrounds, against which the textual analysis of film language has secured its central position in film studies. However, this tendency of viewing film festivals as a secondary scholarly subject shifted in the wake of the proliferation of a wide range of film festivals globally and given the wider context of globalisation and transnationalisation of media industries from the early 1990s onwards. The ‘deregulation and liberalization’ of media and communications sectors worldwide led to enfranchising once culturally peripheral regions, such as East Asian countries, all under the cultural hegemony of Europe and North America in the postwar era (Thussu, 2000: 119). Against this transitional backdrop followed efforts to research diverse aspects in film festivals, particularly timely regarding the proliferation of specialised film festivals from this moment onwards. In particular, the Film Festival Research Network (FFRN) recently suggested ‘mak[ing] festival research more available, to connect its diverse aspects and to foster interdisciplinary exchange between researchers as well as festival professionals,’ which will provide film festival studies academics with systematically categorised bibliographies on the latest developments in the world of international film festivals.¹

Ranging from a general overview of the recent international film festival phenomenon to subordinate working elements of film festival spaces and spectacles, festival spectatorship, film business, festival programming, festival identities and (local, national and global) film cultures, FFRN endeavours to map the sociopolitically and culturally complex dynamics of the international film festival. To be more specific, grounded in a careful selection of film festival-related literature that has previously been


Differentiating itself from past academic and journalistic engagement with film festivals, which focuses mainly on the aesthetic aspect of films screened at the festivals which are then consumed and received by what Bill Nichols calls ‘white, Western, middle-class [professional] festival-goers’ (i.e. film critics and journalists, film producers, sales agents and festival programmers), this thesis attempts to challenge such an aestheticized and singular mode of cinematic reception or experience (1994: 20). In particular, it emphasises how ordinary or public festival audiences experience film festivals from the following three perspectives:

1. Public spaces used as festival venues within contemporary urban environments.
2. Communicatively (both verbally and non-verbally) performative activities of festival audiences, specifically those of ordinary festival audiences and filmmakers, and as demonstrated in such festival inner-structures as Q&A sessions.
3. The roles of festival media in the perceptual popularisation and publicisation of film festivals.

In this process, film festivals attempt to embed their own distinctive sense of publicness or public accessibility in the festivals’ overall discursive atmosphere as constructed by the festivals themselves alongside specific themes they have strategically programmed throughout their preparatory stages. In this light, not an organically generated but, to a certain extent, purposefully calculated and designed,

² Ibid.
hence *bounded*, sense of film festival publicness engenders and then assures a safe sociable festive encounter or experience of its festival host city with domestic and foreign visitors and participants, all in what Lash and Urry term ‘risk-free liminal zones’ that the festival visitors inhabit ephemerally (1994: 235, cited in Jamieson, 2004: 69). They characterise these sociable interstitial zones as ‘spaces “appropriate to being in the company of strangers”’ [that offers] opportunity for new, safe and “exciting forms of sociability”’ (ibid.). In particular, given the impossibility for ordinary festival audiences to be able to digest all the (online and offline) information produced throughout the festival period, the media’s capacity to reach a wide range of audiences and publics plays a pivotal role in maintaining and even extending epistemological ties between film festivals and further into cyberspace beyond the former’s spatiotemporal constraints. In this sense, film festivals’ active use of online digital media has increased significantly, in tandem with their concomitant structural and operational expansion in festival programming imperatives proportionate to the increase in the number and range of their audiences and publics.

With this context in mind, this thesis analyses film festivals as public spaces: hitherto a less-spotlighted area in the film festival studies, it examines how publicness as a historically and socioculturally relative notion – hence fluid and even empirical – relates to the overall dynamics of contemporary film festivals and those who participate in and embody their ambient festive spectacles. This thesis explores this question by investigating the Busan and Berlin International Film Festivals (BIFF and the Berlinale) as case studies. The major rationale behind my selection of BIFF and the Berlinale lies in how differently they design and then operate their external public images for those whom they target as their major audiences or *their publics*, compared to their international competitors. Specifically, these two international film festivals are regarded as the most audience-friendly film festivals, compared with other major (Europe-based) international film festivals serving film professionals only, like Cannes and Venice (de Valck, 2006; Ahn, 2003, 2008). The former’s publicly accessible characteristics are thus fit well into what this thesis attempts to analyse: the exploration of
the public dimensions of film festivals and the way in which they are constructed by looking at how ordinary festival audiences perceive and then respond to what film festivals offer to them. Furthermore, there is also a personal aspect in my selection of these two film festivals. That is to say, I am a South Korean born and raised in Busan, South Korea, having experienced the early editions of BIFF. I earned my bachelor’s degree in German at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in South Korea in 2005, together with a year (2002-2003) spent as an exchange student at the University of Hamburg in Germany. During my stay in Hamburg I visited Berlin several times for the purpose not only of tourism, but also to develop my own historical observations of this once-divided city in the context of German reunification and, later, its historical links to the Berlin International Film Festival as one of the few remaining cultural (and diplomatic) liaison channels for the former East and West Germany during the Cold War period. All these past personal experiences associated with these two film festival sites enabled me to consider them as natural subjects for this doctoral research prior to its beginnings in 2006.

Having these two major reasons for my selection of BIFF and the Berlinale in mind, I employ a mix of theories and concomitant methodological practices to conduct this doctoral research on the public dimension of film festivals through BIFF and the Berlinale. They are intertwined with the notion of public or publicness which provides the overarching conceptual framework of this thesis. Jürgen Habermas’s universal and rational notion of the public sphere has been subject to many criticisms which have called for an understanding of it as more fragmented and multiple, hence experiential (see Negt and Kluge, 1993 [1972]; Sennett, 1993 [1974]; Calhoun, 1992; Hansen, 1993; Fraser, 1993; Warner, 2002). Here, publicness is characterised as performative: it is experientially constructed and works according to the degree of epistemological and ontological connectedness between film festivals and those present at them. In this sense, this thesis aims to explore film festivals as public spaces on the basis of the reappraised notion of the Habermasian public sphere, which is grounded not in its intrinsic idealism detached from our social realities but in its practicalness which is closely attached to them.
That is to say, the tendency for the notion of the Habermasian public sphere to be ahistorically or universally applied to any given society conversely shows its conceptual adjustability to any context in our everyday lives and for its capacity to act as a socioculturally flexible and situated concept. As Holub (1991) argues, Habermas’s notion of the public sphere does not remain merely as a theoretical framework detached from the realities of contemporary societies, but is a practical methodological tool with which many of his critics engage with intensively thereby continuously reproducing his theory since its inception, firstly, in 1960s Germany and then in 1989, when *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, the English translation of *Der Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962), came out in Anglophone countries and beyond. Accordingly, this reappraisal of the Habermasian public sphere as a practical notion rethinks old and new criticisms of it by synthesizing them into more productive ones, while not remaining at the level of its conventional geo-historically specific criticisms. Such a reconsideration of the Habermasian public sphere provides a nuanced insight into the hierarchical structure of film festivals in a more practical manner. This productive way of rethinking the criticisms of the idealistic notion of the public sphere is based partly on Foucault’s idea of productive power (Foucault, 1976, 1977, cited in Berry, 2010). Berry explains that ‘[t]his idea of productiveness does not necessarily mean that power is good, but that it is active and shapes activities and conditions’ (2010: 108). Similarly, the hitherto geopolitically and historically confined criticisms of the Habermasian public sphere can also be reconsidered as not inert, but active, hence constituting a contextually mutable and flexible, form of power which enables us to understand the notion of publicness in a more multidimensional way.

In this sense, similarities emerge between the rise of heterogeneous alternative public spheres as a counterintuitive argument in relation to the idealistic and homogeneous Habermasian public sphere and the way in which I explore the public dimension of film festivals. That is to say, the notion of alternative public spheres was organically formed by denying the existence of the universal and idealistic Habermasian public sphere. In this sense, the former cannot be strictly seen as a full-fledged
conceptual framework but as a generic one to a certain extent and according to which the public
dimension of film festivals could also be formulated in a similar way. At this juncture, publicness as a
pragmatic concept relates to the extent to which film festivals can guarantee public accessibility to a
wider range of ordinary festival audiences and publics, in conjunction with the latter’s accessibility to
all the thematic and operational provisions of the former as public spaces. This thesis thus characterises
publicness as a performative notion that shapes the degree of physical, perceptual and sensorial
connectedness between film festivals and those present at them in an experiential manner: film festivals
as experiential public spaces. On the basis of its ethnographic analysis of BIFF and the Berlinale
developed by employing in-depth interviews, participant observation and archival analysis, this thesis
argues that film festivals are socioculturally bounded and perceptually elastic public spaces that enable
their audiences or publics to experience the ambient and environmental sense of public accessibility
engendered jointly by film festivals and their milieus. This thesis challenges the aestheticized and
singular mode of cinematic receptions or experiences by examining how ordinary festival audiences
experience the transformation of BIFF and the Berlinale through the following three aspects: firstly,
urban public spaces used as festival venues within contemporary gentrified urban environments;
secondly, Q&A sessions between ordinary festival audiences and filmmakers as communicatively
performative activities; and, lastly, the roles of (film) festival media in mediating the sense of
publicness or public accessibility to both on-site and distant festival audiences and publics.

The (On- and Offline) General Public for Film Festivals: BIFF and the Berlinale

The general audience of film festivals on which the thesis focuses comprises not only those who attend
the festivals for specific purposes like watching films and attending diverse festival programmes
associated with them. But, it also encompasses, in broader terms, those who visit the festival sites and
the host cities in general physically during the festival’s duration as local people or foreign tourists
willing to relish their presence itself at the festivals, spectating the major festival venues and areas
while walking around them, and even those who experience film festivals online distant from or proximate to their actual sites. What this thesis values, particularly in relation to the way in which film festivals let their diverse and layered audiences construct their own festival experiences, is concerned with the extent to which the general audience as the urbanites experiences the internationalised ambience of film festivals and the urban dynamics inherent in them, namely the symbiotic relations organically formed between film festivals and their host cities. In other words, the key criterion this thesis takes into account in defining the general audience of film festivals lies in the capacity of those either present at (i.e. offline) or distant from (i.e. online) the festival sites to connect themselves with the surrounding urban environments to which they are subject as the festival audience and public during the festival’s duration. With this context in mind, there are three types of the general audience and public for BIFF and the Berlinale as follows:

- **Chapter 4:** The undistinguished majority of the general audience whose physical presence is by and large dispersed, hence ubiquitous, throughout the respective festival areas of BIFF (i.e. Nampo-dong and Haeundae) and the Berlinale (i.e. Budaspester Strasses and Potsdamer Platz) during the festival’s duration.
- **Chapter 5:** The focused group of the (paying) festival audience and public whose physical presence is situated proximate to those (i.e. cineastes and film professionals in general) with whom they are keen on communicatively engaging at Q&A sessions.
- **Chapter 6:** The distinguished (i.e. Koreans or those able to read and understand Korean language) but conjectural presence of the online readers and public of BIFF programmer Kim Ji-seok’s *Inside BIFF*.

Likewise, my status as both an ethnographic researcher (i.e. accredited as Press and Film Professional respectively) and an ordinary festivalgoer (i.e. a Busan citizen as well as a foreign visitor (and tourist) to Berlin) at BIFF and the Berlinale manifests its positionally situated, hence multidimensional, nature. It also represents the complexity inherent in how my status as part of the general audience at film
festivals can be defined. Especially, the recent digitalization of media technologies enabled contemporary film festivals to expand their festival operations further into cyberspace in which they can be conducted without having to be constrained by their temporal and geographical limitations (e.g. the annual festival calendar and cities respectively) in regard to reaching a wider range of their audience and public. In this sense, my status as one of the general audience for BIFF and the Berlinale respectively tends to shift constantly and become adaptable according to my own spatial and temporal location at the festivals that manages to be located and then specified based on the aforementioned types of the general audience. Namely, what has once limited the spatiotemporal range of my research activities and my festival experiences in general – for instance, visiting the festival host cities (Busan and Berlin) at largely fixed dates (October and February) and then staying there for about 10-12 days for the purpose of conducting the fieldwork at their respective film festival sites – is now addressed in part by my increased reliance on online-published audiovisual and printed materials associated with BIFF and the Berlinale while being physically distant from the actual festival sites during the festival off-season. Accordingly, my presence at these two (geo-culturally different but structurally similar) film festivals as part of the general audience and public for them is characteristic of being situationally fluid and flexible in the sense that it oscillates constantly according to where I situate myself there either offline or online during the festival’s duration and beyond. Such a locationally elastic position I take as one of those present at, and distant from, the festival sites becomes complicated further given me, in broader terms, as an Asian (South Korean) PhD researcher enmeshed in Eurocentric urban settings (Berlin for the Berlinale and London as my temporary residence during my studies at Goldsmiths) and who conducts a research on film festivals that Thomas Elsaesser characterises originally as a ‘European phenomenon’ (2005: 88; see also de Valck, 2006, 2007).
The Question and Answer (Q&A) Format – the Post-Film Screening Q&A Sessions at Film Festivals

The Q&A format in general is not merely limited to film festivals. But, it is also employed to diverse forms of both public and private cultural events (e.g. public lectures and talks, press conferences, community meetings, book publishing events, public film institutions- or NGOs-initiated special film screenings followed by short talks with the filmmakers, and so on) which are organised to provide the general public with an additional, albeit time-bound, opportunity to directly engage with diverse forms of socio-political and cultural issues and the stakeholders who dominate them. However, for the purpose of this thesis I intend to confine it to the realm of film festivals, namely universal or specific themes-based urban film festivals held on an international scale. The Q&A format in the context of film festivals is applied to all kinds of both indoor and outdoor venues or events film festivals programme and where miscellaneous modes of verbal and emotional interactions among people take place. They encompass post-film screening Q&A sessions, publicly accessible outdoor venues constructed for facilitating reciprocal meetings of both film professionals and ordinary audiences, seminar-style panel programmes, and so on. Of them, what I attempt to focus on is post-film screening Q&A sessions held indoors in that they are in many respects regarded as the only public platform embedded in their festival structure that enables focused and least mediated (e.g. via Q&A moderators) face-to-face interactions between (paying) ordinary audiences and cineastes during the festival’s duration. In particular, given film festivals’ innately concealed and even mythologised architecture highly dependent on a few selected public and private media outlets’ exclusive coverage of their interior festival operations and activities of those professionally involved in them, the indoor post-film screening Q&A sessions are, ultimately, the only “officially” available contact zone where ordinary festival audiences are able to meet and communicate with them in public. Brief though the actual duration of their reciprocal verbal and emotional engagements generally is there given their operations being time-bound (i.e. thirty minutes or less and extendable depending on the degree of their respective
participation in the sessions), the indoor Q&A sessions are, nevertheless, clearly the experiential venues or public spaces in which the limited but most noticeable example of ordinary audiences’ direct and active ways of experiencing the internationalised culture of film festivals by meeting and talking with them is observable in public. In this sense, alongside the total festival attendance rate of the general public (consisting mainly of locals), the degree to which people interact with one another both verbally and emotionally at the Q&A sessions is one of the effective indicators that many international film festivals, such as Busan, Berlin, Rotterdam and Toronto, value highly as means capable of having their overall appearances branded externally as festivals for the public or audience-friendly festivals.

Film Festivals as Part of Global Trend of Conceptual Similarity and Cultural Difference

By a similar token, film festivals are also one of many types of contemporary urban cultural festivals and many of which compete with one another on a local, regional and global basis to construct and then market their own unique festival images externally; they tend to operate, generally, under a structurally similar but culturally or thematically different framework and which becomes consolidated further through globalisation. In this context, Stringer (2001) argues that film festivals tend to be strategically dualistic in the sense that they try to market their overall images in a conceptually similar and cultural different manner. He explains the reason for this by arguing that ‘as local festivals are forced to conceptualize themselves so as to compete for global financing, they have to create their own sense of community, hence their own marketable trademark or brand image’ (ibid.: 139). At this juncture, a question arises as to why BIFF and the Berlinale as urban film festivals open to general publics were selected for this thesis’s case studies in the first place and how they can be differentiated from many other international film festivals which retain their respective public images equivalent to the former’s unique marketable characteristics as well. Specifically, what differentiates BIFF and the Berlinale from not only other major international film festivals widely known as audience-friendly and publicly-accessible festivals to both cineastes and ordinary local and international festivalgoers, such as the
Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) and the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR), but also several other small- and medium-size specialized film festivals highly reliant on active participation of general publics or local people in them? As mentioned earlier, the major reason for selecting BIFF and the Berlinale as case studies for this thesis is to a greater extent intentional given their respective marketable characteristics (i.e. audience-friendliness with the high degree of public accessibility) and my personal backgrounds associated with the origin of my birth (i.e. Busan) and my previous educational background (i.e. German). Most festivals mentioned above are characteristically similar in terms of their active openness to general publics’ attendance at their festivities which is in contrast to other film professionals-only festivals like Cannes and Venice. For instance, BIFF, IFFR and TIFF, all of which are competitors as well as cooperators on the international film festival circuit, tend to value the official statistics of their respective total public attendance and which are published at the end of the festivals every year (e.g. (1) BIFF: 217,865 visitors at its 18th edition in 2013; (2) IFFR: approx. 287,000 visitors at its 43rd edition in 2014; (3) TIFF: approx. 432,000 visitors at its 38th edition in 2013)³. Hence, these two urban film festivals aggressively exploit them to brand themselves as an audience-centred festival to not only the stakeholders in international film festivals and industries, but also their respective ordinary local/national and international audiences. Or, the Berlinale, one of the three major competitive international film festivals, uses its statistical status (e.g. the total amount of theatre visits for the 64th Berlinale in 2014: 491,316 visitors)⁴ as the most audience-friendly film festival in the world to differentiate itself from its two traditional counterparts. They all endeavour to market their respective festival images by emphasising the local specificities deeply rooted in their host cities, not necessarily the national ones to which those cities are subject. Furthermore, all four festivals

maintain a strategic cooperative relationship with one another by enabling the less-advanced festivals to benchmark the more advanced festivals’ programmes. For instance, BIFF’s Asian Film Academy (AFA) and Asian Cinema Fund (ACF) were modeled after the Berlinale’s Berlin Talent Campus (renamed later as Berlinale Talents as of the 64th Berlinale in 2014) and World Cinema Fund (WCF) respectively; BIFF’s Pusan Promotion Plan (PPP) (renamed later as the Asian Project Market (APM) following the launching of the Asian Film Market (AFM) in 2006) was modeled after IFFR’s Hubert Bals Fund-funded Filmart; BIFF’s Busan Alternative Content Network (BALCON) established to jointly fund low-budget digital films and purchase rights to festival films was modeled after TIFF’s film import and distribution arm (see Interview 6).

Apart from those European and North American film festivals, BIFF (formerly PIFF) and other fledgling film festivals in Asia also continue to revamp and then consolidate their programming structures by benchmarking the more advanced precedents of their regional counterparts, such as the Hong Kong International Film Festival (HKIFF) whose first edition started in 1977. In this process, their respective festival structures overall become gradually homogenous. Regarding this phenomenon, Stephen Teo explains that:

HKIFF was […] an inspiration for other film festivals in Asia, primarily the Singapore International Film Festival (SIFF) and South Korea’s Pusan International Film Festival (PIFF), setting the standards for these festivals to adopt and build upon. […] SIFF (its first edition in 1987) and PIFF, established in 1996, both imitated the ‘Asian showcase’ model of HKIFF as well as the principle of promoting one’s own domestic films and independent filmmakers. [SIFF and PIFF] have primed their objectives toward promoting Asian cinemas, with PIFF being the most ambitious of the three festivals. All three share not only the same objectives but also largely the same programming structures; all took fairly alike such that they may be triplets born of the same love of film, which is not to imply that there is any strong brotherly love between the three. In point of fact, all three festivals are
rivals to a certain extent. SIFF and PIFF have tried to displace Hong Kong as the most attractive, most prestigious venue for Asian cinemas (2009: 112).

The Overall Structure of the Thesis

With all the aforementioned contexts in mind, the whole thesis consists of seven chapters including the Introduction. Chapter 2 contextualises as part of this thesis’s literature review the overall history of film festivals by focusing on their public roles and relevance to the experiential concept of ambient publicness as this thesis’s overriding theme. This historical and conceptual contextualisation of film festivals follows the three main questions mentioned above.

Chapter 3 explains its qualitative approach based on ethnography, the main methodology used here to effectively examine the multidimensional features of film festival experiences that are affected by unquantifiable or environmental and extra-cinematic factors in their in-situ situations. That is, the affective or emotional attachments of those present at film festival sites to specific locations and places in situ cannot be adequately reconstructed, while the researchers concerned are detached entirely from the lived-in experiences of film festival sites. Accordingly, what I need to do as an ethnographer is to describe my own lived-in film festival experiences as thickly as possible based upon what I have gathered at these sites through interviews and my own observations as part of on-site fieldworks.

Chapter 4 bases its conceptual framework on Michael Walzer’s notion of single-minded and open-minded spaces to discuss how the gentrification of urban spaces led to the functional compartmentalisation of festival spaces by examining the concomitant transformation of public or publicly accessible sites used as film festival main venues and areas – (1) BIFF: the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas and (2) the Berlinale: Budapester Strasse and Potsdamer Platz. The thesis argues that the physical and structural expansion and transformation of national and international film festivals affect local residents’ changing perceptions of everyday urban public spaces.
Chapter 5 centres its conceptual framework on the performative manner in which those attending Q&A sessions at film festivals, specifically at the Berlinale, interact and exchange with one another in the light of their physical and communicative engagements conducted after film screenings. The argument developed here is that the film festival Q&A format functions as a discursive space to facilitate active participation of festival audiences in verbally and emotionally-engaged public atmospheres. Especially, the major reason behind my focus on these two consecutive Q&A sessions of director Yang Young-hee’s film *Sona, the Other Myself* at the 60th Berlinale in 2010 (see Programmes 4.1 & 4.2) lies in the fact that they are the only Q&A sessions I attended twice at the Berlinale. Hence, it is possible for me to observe both similarities and differences existent between them in terms of the way in which the general audience and Yang interact with each other verbally and emotionally regarding this film during each session. It is by and large rare for those who are accredited members of film festivals to attend the same film screening more than once in that the number of film tickets film festivals allocated for them is limited (i.e. one ticket per a person only). Otherwise, they have to purchase them additionally like other ordinary festivalgoers ‘standing [patiently] in interminable queues’ in front of the central box office or personally ask the festival staffers working at the cinemas to slip them in by showing their festival ID badges to them as I did for *Sona, the Other Myself* (Porton, 2009: 2).

Chapter 6 aims to scrutinise how media and recent technological advancements contribute to publicising and popularising the innately exclusive image of film festivals for their diverse and layered audiences. It focuses its attention on ordinary festival audiences who consume, as “electronic film festival readers and publics,” popularised knowledge about the innately exclusionary culture of international film festivals that are reproduced online by film festivals and their insiders. Hence, I intend to examine as a case study the newsletter that BIFF publishes electronically on its official website semi-periodically and the work of one of its contributors, BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok, who is in charge of a sub-section entitled *Kim Ji-seok’s Inside BIFF* or *Kim Ji-seok’s Cinema*
Story a.k.a. Inside BIFF. The thesis thus argues that film festivals utilise new media to facilitate ordinary festival audiences’ or publics’ engagement with the film festival experience.

The concluding chapter summarises this thesis’s analysis of the resultant empirical findings alongside discussing future potential research on the relations between film festivals and the recent tendency of their public dimension to gradually dissipate amid (conservative) national governments’ politically-motivated intent of stigmatizing their international-scale film festivals by looking at those held in South Korea as a case study.

In the next chapter, I discuss the overall theoretical and historical contexts based on which film festivals can be explored as public spaces according to the following three aspects:

(1) The history of film festivals as public (discursive) spaces that have grown in the context of political actions, the fragmentation of the world into diverse political, national, and socio-cultural entities under globalisation and transnationalisation (or the globalised or transnationalised world order).

(2) The significance and relevance of publicness as a concept relating to the overall dynamics of locally and nationally-rooted film festivals held on an international scale (or international film festivals): to rethink the idealistic Habermasian public sphere in terms of its applicability to gradually fragmented and diversified contemporary societies and other conceptual alternatives to this older model.

(3) The need for multidimensional understandings of publicness in these living environments in order to explore different perceptions of publicness in different eras.

**Note to Reader**

As of February 24, 2011, the Pusan International Film Festival changed its official acronym from PIFF to BIFF (the Busan International Film Festival) according to the agreement reached at the general meeting of the BIFF organising committee held at Busan City Hall. This decision was taken in the broader context of revisions in the Romanization of Korean in 2000 by the Republic of Korea’s
Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. According to this new system, the film festival’s host city changed its name from Pusan to Busan (Noh, 2011; see also Loist and de Valck, 2011). My fieldwork in Busan was conducted in 2007, for which most of the empirical data dated from before 2011. Accordingly, and in order not to cause the readers of this thesis any confusion between these two names, this thesis names the editions of the festival in Busan before 2011 BIFF instead of PIFF most of the time, except for such unalterable materials such as copyrighted media reports and pictures that have already been published with “PIFF” printed on them. All the Korean names in this thesis are presented in the general way that native Koreans write their names (e.g. surname first and last given name last: Chung Eun-eim, not Eun-eim Chung) except for a few individual presented in this thesis who use their names in Western style (e.g. Jay Jeon, not Jeon Yang-jun). All English translations of Korean materials presented in this thesis that include quotations from interviews and associated comments and contents from media reports are my own.
Chapter 2. Experiential Public Spaces and Ambient Publicness

2.1. Introduction

As emphasised in the introduction, this thesis focuses on how film festivals function as public spaces intricately intertwined with the ethnographic manner in which they are experienced by those participating or merely present in their festivities. It thus requires me to explore, first of all, how film festivals relate both conceptually and historically to the notion of publicness. In this section I explore how film festivals can be understood as experiential public spaces, particularly centring on the notion of ambient publicness closely linked to them as their major feature as this notion manifests the multidimensional characteristics of film festivals’ overall dynamics as opposed to the universal and idealized Habermasian public sphere. This discussion follows how film festivals have historically been perceived as publicly engageable spaces by investigating the overall history of modern film festivals.

2.1.1. Film Festivals Reconsidered: Public Spaces, Ambient Publicness and Festival Media

We tend to overuse the term “public” or “publicness” in our everyday lives, understood by us as a notion that is, essentially, taken-for-granted. Ranging from the unidentified masses in societies to nation-states and even to particular groups or communities with vested social interests, this term takes diverse forms given its mutable positionality in societies. In this context, defining publicness necessitates that socioculturally specific contexts are attached to the concept. Its interpretation varies, depending on where and how it is positioned, such as people, institutions, societies, widely discussed political issues on a local, national and international scale and so on. That is to say, not only ideologically charged, and hence politically binary, but also deep-seated in our everyday lifespaces as “environmental” and “sensible” spaces for human habitation, publicness is characterised as a practical notion that can only be materialised by living in symbiosis with people’s actual experience of their everyday living environments. However, this feature of publicness as a concept also manifests the
degree to which it is linked to (inter)national politics: its latest genealogy has been affected to a certain extent by the advent of the bourgeois Enlightenment public sphere and its ensuing influence on societies at local, national and international levels, as Habermas pointed out in his historicisation of it. This thesis expands the notion of publicness beyond political realms and into the everydayness of modern lifestyles. The notion of the rather idealistic Habermasian public sphere has been reappraised by his critics as:

"a conceptual resource [...] the space that in which citizens deliberate about their common affairs, and hence an institutionalized arena of discursive interaction [...] conceptually distinct from the state [and] a site for production and circulation of discourses that in principle be critical of the state (Fraser, 1992: 110-11)."

At the same time, the emergence of multiple publics and subsequent alternative public arenas, as opposed to a single and rational Habermasian public sphere, requires us to deliberate more experientially and to provide an affective understanding of publicness (Negt and Kluge, 1993 [1972]). Hence, given that the Habermasian notion of the public sphere is deemed by many scholars as an overly idealized and abstract idea that is alienated from the fragmented and situated realities of contemporary societies, it needed to be reformulated to be conceptually more neutral in order to be more applicable to a wider range of socio-culturally specific environments as experienced by their inhabitants. In this context, I would like to explore briefly both the limitations and potential of the Habermasian public sphere as a conceptual framework.

2.1.1.1. The Habermasian Public Sphere Reappraised

Focusing on human face-to-face communicative capability to conduct rational critical discussion mainly on political issues, the Habermasian public sphere has undergone a series of theoretical transformations due to its relative inapplicability to contemporary contexts since its initial publication.
in 1962 (first published in German as *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* and in an English translation in 1989 entitled *The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere*) (Habermas, 1989). With regard to this, Thornton argues that:

Habermas develops the normative notion of the public sphere as a part of social life where citizens can exchange views on matters of importance to the common good, so that public opinion can be formed. This public sphere comes into being when people gather to discuss issues of political concern (1996: 12).

Here, she places a particular emphasis on the active participation of the citizenry as members of a democratic society, which results in an atmosphere where hegemony-free rational critical discussions on political matters can be performed. Nevertheless, the Habermasian public sphere’s underlying theoretical framework has been challenged for three primary reasons. Firstly, it is characterised mainly as a socially universal and homogenous or discriminative space that has been controlled essentially by the dominant social classes (e.g. the white male bourgeoisie) in Enlightenment Europe, and is hence incapable of accommodating multiplicities of gender, class and ethnicity. In this regard, Spark argues that Habermas bases his theory of public sphere ‘upon exclusions, not merely of propertyless free men but also of women and millions of Africans enslaved by enlightenment Europe’ (2005: 36). Salter further argues that:

In the bourgeois public sphere, arguments stood or fell in accord with the power of the better argument rather than the power of coercion. However, once the bourgeoisie had consolidated their hegemonic position, their public sphere, which employed, or was founded upon, the public use of reason to critically challenge authority, became an empty concept (2003: 120).
Such a concentration on empowering a privileged bourgeois class within this rather idealized public sphere resulted in the continuous increase of their influence on public issues with which national states or royalties as their representatives had previously engaged. Of particular concern here is the careful understanding of the meaning of the term “public” due to its constant variation according to disparate social contexts. The meaning of “public” has been ambiguous relative to that of “private” in terms of their respective representation in societies during the medieval period, since a ruler represented himself as well as the sovereignty of “privately owned” lands. Its meaning was transformed gradually into that representing the status of the bourgeois public sphere (or the privileged private minority), as the extent to which they participated in representative institutions such as parliaments to defend their private interests against the state continued to increase. Thus, Habermas argues that:

“Public” no longer referred to the “representative” court of a prince endowed with authority, but rather to an institution regulated according to competence, to an apparatus endowed with a monopoly on the legal exertion of authority. Private individuals subsumed in the state at whom public authority was directed now made up of the public body (1974: 51-2).

In this regard, Thussu adds that:

[Under the circumstance where] entrepreneurs were becoming powerful enough to achieve autonomy from state and church and increasingly demanding wider and more effective political representation to facilitate expansion of their businesses [and idealized] version of a [Habermasian] public space was characterized by greater accessibility of information, a more open debate within the bourgeoisie, a space independent of both business interests and state apparatus (2000: 71).

Secondly, given its cultural-historical origins rooted in seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, the applicability of this Eurocentric public sphere to non-Western cultures is highly questionable. Hence,
for instance, Kim Soyoung even proposes a newly emerging feminist public sphere called ‘Yosongjang’ in South Korea’s highly masculine society (2003: 10). The genesis of this term, meaning “women’s sphere and funeral” in English, has been linked specifically to an incident that happened in South Korea. Regarding this, she elaborates that:

On 29 January 2002, 14 sex workers were killed by fire in the city of Kunsan. Confined as they were to a workplace of enslaved prostitution, without an exit, they died helplessly when the fire broke out. On 8 February, women’s groups held a ritual funeral on the site of the tragic accident in Kunsan… On the same day, women’s groups and their supporters in the capital city of Seoul joined the ritual by organizing a ‘street funeral’ protest in front of the police station headquarters. The funeral became known as the first yosong-jang (women’s funeral). ‘Jang’ meaning funeral corresponds to ‘Jang’ connoting space and sphere. So Yosongjang in Korean becomes a homonym with a doubly coded significance. It is both women’s funeral and women’s sphere. A woman’s public funeral entitled Yosongjang is now a space open to both semiotic experiment and feminist politics (ibid.).

Proposing this socioculturally specific form of public sphere derives from her lament that ‘[my] discontent with a historically gendered and Eurocentric public sphere propels me to move towards Yosungjang, a concept that I suggest is closer to the notion of political society than that of the public sphere’ (ibid.). Apart from the South Korean case, the application of this Euro- and Western-centric concept to non-western countries like the People’s Republic of China (PRC) without any deliberation on its cultural specificity is also highly controversial, for instance, in relation to a debate among Chinese scholars on the translation of the term ‘townspeople’s right’ (shimin quanli) taken from Marx’s original writings (Shu, 1994: 180). Regarding this, Shu elaborates that:

The Chinese discussion on civil society can be traced back to 1986, when an article published in Tianjin Social Science “unearthed” the concept of “townspeople’s right (shimin quanli) from Marx’s classical writings. In the liberal environment of the time, it
was abstracted without comment in the *People’s Daily*, confirming that it caught official attention. Shen Yue, author of the article, argued that in Marx’s original works there is a term “townspeople’s right”, which refers to the right of equal exchange of commodities. In a market economy, this right is supposed to be available to all town people. However, since the term has been mis-translated into “bourgeois right” (*zichanjieji quanli*) in Chinese, it has been equated with improper privileges of the bourgeoisie. Consequently, it has been denied to Chinese townspeople (ibid.: 183).

Thirdly, the mass media’s role in the Habermasian public sphere has a tendency to be valorised without undergoing proper critical deliberation. Thornton thus argues that ‘[t]he role of traditional media (television, magazines and newspapers) in modern democracy is increasingly problematic, and serious questions have arisen about its capacity as a site for political criticism or rational debate’ (1996: 14). Initially, Habermas also insisted on the importance of the neutral role of the press in facilitating the public leading critical discussions by arguing that ‘the press remained an institution of the public itself, effective in the manner of a mediator and intensifier of public discussion, no longer a mere organ for the spreading news but not yet the medium of a consumer culture’ (1974: 53). However, he later admitted the theoretical pitfalls that arose from his initial understanding of the role of the mass media within the public sphere by arguing that:

[The] public sphere has been transformed in contemporary welfare capitalist society so that its embodiment of critical reason has been lost. The deep subjective privacy of former bourgeois family life has been replaced by a shallow pseudo-privacy in which the only issue is the use of leisure time and cultural consumption. In parallel, the mass media generate a pseudo-public sphere in which cultural consumption entails no discussion of what is consumed. When debate is presented through the media, the conversation is itself administered and treated as a consumer item, while on the whole the mass appeal of culture has depended on fulfilling demands for relaxation and entertainment rather than imposing educational demands on an audience (Simons, 2000: 84).
In particular, with the dramatic development of new media technologies in the late twentieth century coinciding with the advent of globalisation, Habermas recognises the existence of informal (or alternative) public spheres that facilitate reciprocal communicative actions-based and active civic participation in politics that has long been dominated by a capitalist-driven mainstream media. In this regard, Salter argues that ‘[Habermas] has attempted to provide an explanation of how flows of influence may be organised so as to allow the most extensive democratization as possible, without that democracy becoming subverted by systematic imperatives [...] the informal layers of political society identified by [him] have suffered a communicative deficits [sic.] that may well be filled by a medium such as the Internet’ (2003: 117). Accordingly, Habermas insists that ‘[mediated] political communication in the public sphere can facilitate deliberative legitimation process in complex societies only if a self-regulating media system gains independence from its social environment, and if anonymous audiences grant feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsive civil society’ (2006: 411-2). Despite criticisms of the Habermasian public sphere given its universal, homogeneous and Euro-centric characteristics, it should nevertheless be appreciated that, as Calhoun argues, ‘the public sphere provides a useful concept in understanding democratic potential for communication processes’ (1992, cited in Thussu, 2000: 71). By extension, the notion of the Habermasian public sphere can be a crucial framework with which to fathom the discourse-making process operative through interactive communications organically performed between diverse layers of film festival audiences or publics in a more comprehensive sense and the multi-cinematic ambience they create.

2.1.1.2. Ambient Publicness and Festival Media

In this sense, this thesis’s conceptual focus on publicness as more situated and experiential – hence socioculturally heterogeneous and contingent – derives from Chris Berry’s (2010) recent article concerning his rethinking of public spaces in post-socialist Chinese society which looks at changing
Chinese documentary film-making practices in both mainstream and independent arenas. He raises the question of the continuously blurred relation between places and spaces and the idea of publics in electronically mediated contemporary societies through the technological advances of contemporary digital media and their subsequent effects on human perceptions of everyday lifespaces. In particular, he warns us of our overreliance on Western-centric contexts of a rising civil society and the ensuing proliferation of diverse public spheres in examining the equivalent phenomenon emerging in non-Western societies. The major reason for this warning lies in the latter case’s socioculturally unique contexts that cannot be easily relativised according to the former case’s standard. In other words, Berry emphasises the need for a more multidimensional approach that can give a certain degree of leeway to the changing dynamics of publicness. In this regard, he elucidates that:

How should we understand the connection between the virtual topographies produced by the media – the electronic elsewhere[s] […] and the idea of the public? In his original work on the public sphere, Jürgen Habermas saw the classic public sphere as physical spaces where actual people met and debated, and he was dubious about the impact of mediation on the quality of the public sphere. However, this distinction has been lost in much media studies debate, which discusses the public sphere as a product of mediation. [As a result], the term “public sphere” disappeared and “public space” and “public activity” took its place. The idea of the public sphere is not only inadequate to accommodate this new understanding of publicness, but its impossible ideality makes it an ideological lure rather than a concept with analytical value. If public space is theorized in contrast to the public sphere as produced by power relationships among multiple social actors and multiple in its variations, then we may have a more precise way of describing different types of public space and public activity than the either/or impossible standard of the public sphere (ibid.: 95-109).

All in all, publicness as a conceptual term, which has long been entrapped in the traditional public-private divide derived from ideological binaries, is reconfigured and then blended into our everyday ways of living as an experiential, hence practical, term relevant to increasingly fragmented
contemporary societies under globalisation and transnationalisation. Media play a pivotal role in this process. In relation to the emergence of electronic media (e.g. the Internet and various digital technologies), mediated spaces and subsequent effects on contemporary societies, Berry et al. insist that:

Media help to reconfigure the taken-for-granted environmental boundaries between public and private, and global and local, to create electronic elsewheres. While media technologies never on their own determine social change, they do work in concert with larger sociohistorical, industrial, political, and geographic shifts (such as shifts in migration or travel) to create new social configurations and meanings (Berry et al., 2010: vii).

At this point, in the context of festival media publicness implies the extent to which the media present at festival sites are proximate and accessible to consumers or users. The spatial and perceptual dimensions of the concept are, to a certain extent, differentiated from the rather binary way in which media characteristics are generally divided into either private or public. Namely, one of crucial conditions for media to be categorised as “public” pertains to both the physical and perceptual accessibility of media to their audiences and publics. This line of thought also resonates with the recent shift in the relationship between media and the ways in which place is represented and meaningfully reconfigured under globalisation and transnationalisation, which highlights ‘the spatialization of media distribution, production, and consumption as well as the ways in which media are transforming our apprehension and negotiation of space’ (ibid.: viii). Namely, today’s media – as part and parcel of urban environments – remain embedded in and communicate with, and not separate from, the everyday living environments of those that they cover and in whose light festival media can equally be understood. Ambient in their modes of dissemination, festival media are designed to maximise the external exposure of film festivals to those who are interested in them either personally or as part of professional groups belonging to certain public and private institutions associated with (inter)national
film festivals and industries. For instance, festival media include such publicly accessible and ubiquitous festival media as public outdoor LED screens and festival dailies published both online and offline during the festival’s duration as well as diverse forms of digital media platforms programmed on festival websites. All in all, festival media are ambient and ubiquitous epistemologically as well as ontologically, affected largely by their surrounding milieus that were created jointly by film festivals and their urban environments in general. Atmospheric elements associated with carnivalesque extraordinariness lingering within festival sites during the festival periods enable both existing established and alternative media (e.g. on- and offline newspapers, magazines, radios and TVs) to take shape as extraordinary media attached closely to the festivals. In this regard, the notion of festival media has a tendency to be contingent upon the festive environments to which they are subjected.

With this context in mind, I characterise festival media as ambient and easily immersible or “flowable” side by side with their surrounding milieus. Such a characterisation of festival media can, to a greater extent, be understood in line with newly emerging research on ambient media that emphasises the processual manner in which the consumer’s individual experiences are contextualised: namely as integrated, holistic and collaborative rather than transparently interactive via passive feedback between humans and media (Lugmayr, 2007). In this sense, Lugmayr defines ambient media as ‘collaborative experiences in the natural environment surrounding humans either as a mode of artistic expression or of real-life communication under certain aesthetic rules’ (ibid.: 40). Ambient media encompass both old and new media as the overall backdrop which helps consumers contextualise their individual experiences of certain products or situations that could be related to their everyday living environments. This tendency also resonates in terms of the ambient and environmental sense of public accessibility that both film festivals and their surrounding milieu engender jointly. In regard to this collaborative and boundary-less feature of ambient media, Lugmayr argues in a lengthy passage that:
Collaboration deals with the “action of working with [something] to produce something” in a communicative way. In ambient media environments, collaboration extends from pure human/human collaboration to human/media asset and technology-mediated collaboration. With increasingly intelligent systems, collaboration redefines the relationship between the technological world and the human world. The trends towards increasingly computerized environments require a substantial adaptation of sociological, psychological, and collaborative models to support a collaboration rather than a simple interaction with technology. We all know how annoying existing digital assistants can be, such as those in call centres: “… if you would like to speak to department X, please press 2 on the phone …”. In an ambient media environment, collaboration will be used to achieve a common goal, rather than simple feedback systems with digital dial-in numbers. This will change our view of interactivity. Interactivity as such is a rather complex topic and is relevant to a great many fields, especially the broad field of new media. Interactivity has become a must, and non-interactive systems have been discarded as old-fashioned and inappropriate to the age of the Web and computer games. For ambient media, the key is the development of collaborative concepts rather than simple interaction strategies (ibid.: 41-2).

In this context, I designate the interactive form of publicness or public accessibility as ambient publicness: this is in many respects differentiated from general definitions of publicness theorized in rather communicatively and interactively transparent terms. This notion capitalizes upon the loosely formed ambient and public accessibility to or the connections of ordinary festival audiences with the overall festive milieus conjured up by film festivals and their both tangible and intangible backgrounds (e.g. festival host cities and their established inhabitants and architectures or their urban histories). In other words, ambient publicness is not conceptually but experientially driven in the sense that unlike general definitions of publicness perceived by many as insensible (hence abstract and even metaphysical), it intermingles and collaborates closely with what humans normally experience in their everyday lifespaces. Accordingly, this thesis defines ambient publicness as experiences of public accessibility that arise via joint collaborations between ambient media and their users and consumers under everyday environments: namely, publicness is constituted experientially and interdependently
under ambient medial environments. In this sense, media in this context is related to a rather integrated environment that is created by diverse forms of both old and new media.

In addition to this integrated understanding of experiential publicness associated with festival media, it can also be understood in relation to contemporary urban spaces. For instance, perceptually permeable and structurally ‘indeterminate’ urban spaces provide us with more opportunities to think of the significance of our individual living spaces in continuously sprawling contemporary cities (Sennett, 2012: 16). Here, Sennett utilises the term “indeterminate” as opposed to technological efficiency or “smartness” that characterises contemporary cities built in such developing countries as South Korea (e.g. Songdo) and the Arab Emirates (e.g. Masdar), in order to emphasise that cities be designed to be less prescriptive and more communicative and collaborative with their inhabitants (ibid.). By extension, he explains the indeterminate and inefficient, hence porous, nature of urban public spaces by suggesting an ‘urban membrane’ whose conceptual (and metaphorical) origin derives from the field of biology, to show how multidimensional their innately complex formation is and how it should be understood:

A cell wall serves mainly to conserve vital ingredients within the cell, while a [cell] membrane functions to exchange ingredients between a cell’s in- and outside. But the membrane is not, as it were, an open door; this edge is both porous and resistant, that is, it both admits new matter and also resists loss of its substance. Porosity and resistance combined tell something about the concept of integration, a concept all-important in urban planning. […] Such an uneasy [symbiosis between porosity and resistance] exemplifies the urban membrane, which [is also] both porous and resistant. […] In principle, an overlay of [urban] functions creates public space: the thicker the collage of functions, the more public a space becomes. […] The recipe for a live public realm in cities is more complicated than might first appear. Multiple functions generate ambiguity. Ambiguity requires interpretation. Interpretations are unstable in time. This recipe requires much unpacking. I simply want to stress that a live public space is not efficient, if we think of efficiency as a steady-state condition (Sennett, 2013: 18; emphasis in the original).
These indeterminate urban spaces thus have a tendency to be more prone to creative ways in which – as what Wong and McDonogh argue – critical readings of cities become ‘anthropological tools for ethnographic observation’ of their diverse urban fabrics potentially reshape local identities and meanings (2001: 108). Just as the retrospective portrayal of cities through films leads both their native and longstanding inhabitants to rethink and adapt themselves to their constantly changing living environments (i.e. being even smarter and more efficient to the extent that these inhabitants’ emotional attachments to their urban environments become stupefied and deadened), thereby film festivals become part and parcel of urban environments functioning in a similar way and are perceived by their audiences in this light. Globalisation or transnationalisation as transformative forces plays a significant part in the shift in that people perceive and inhabit urban spaces or vice versa. Equally, such perceptual transformation in how scholars think of place and space, from an essentialist-positivistic perspective to a structuralist-critical one, has led urban spaces to be recognised as mutable and performative rather than fixed and static. In this sense, Berry et al. (2010) succinctly summarise this shift in the notion of place and space by insisting that:

The movement away from thinking about globalization in terms of homogeneous effects, as well as the movement away from thinking of nations and regions as pre-given entities (untouched by transnational flows), is key to much of contemporary scholarship on place and space. Scholars often now think about nations and regions as being hybrid, relational, variable, and mediated – concepts that are also more generally linked to the transformation of the discipline of geography. [In other words], there has been a growing tendency against thinking of space as the generalized and inert field in which human culture produces place, somewhat in the manner of older thinking about biological sex and gender. Instead, just as Judith Butler has argued both sex and gender are concepts and therefore culturally produced, Doreen Massey has argued influentially that space and place are both dynamic and historical, shaped and formed by all manner of social power relations (2010: xvi).
2.1.1.3. Festival Media-Mediated Multidimensionalisation of Film Festival Experiences

Contemporary festival media reiterate and reproduce film festival sites’ two intrinsic characteristics into intelligible festival narratives for both *in-situ* and *at-a-distance* audiences: (1) the sensible (spatial): architectures and their adjacent public spaces constituting the overall shape of the festival and its urban setting and (2) the insensible (the discursive and emotional): the verbally and non-verbally communicative ambience that both the festival and its festival audiences and publics create together through their reciprocal interactions. These two narratives are concerned with *what's going on* within film festival sites and become further concretized, personalised and “thicker” through the post-festival reconstruction of my own lived-in experiences about the festival sites (e.g. the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas in Busan/Budapester Strasse and Potsdamer Platz in Berlin). Accordingly, what I myself have experienced and sensed at these two film festival sites during the festival periods becomes transformed into more readable “stories” through my reliance on several film festival dailies published online, if I virtually observe these two festivals *at a distance*, not *in situ*. Going through and then becoming part of this “triangularisation process” to examine multidimensionalised film festival experiences enables me to become further attached, both intimately and affectively, to the festivals. In this sense, this whole ethnographic process underlies this thesis’s main methodological framework that enables a more sensible reconstruction of past lived-in experiences of film festivals and their overall ambience into narratively coherent stories usable for case studies for each analysis chapter.

For instance, festival media opt for and then highlight certain extra-cinematic factors associated with film festival host cities (i.e. urban public spaces used for their festivities, festivalgoers who are present within these festival spaces and their overall festival ambience), only to reproduce them in well-processed intelligible stories that describe how holistically film festivals operate for their audiences (and the publics in general). Thus, such festival media as public and private TV broadcasters responsible for covering film festivals (e.g. MBC and SBS for BIFF/ZDF and 3Sat for the Berlinale), print festival dailies (e.g. *The Hollywood Reporter*, *Variety*, *Screen International* and *Cine-21*) and
several local and national newspapers, routinely sketch the overall mood of festival host cities during the festival periods. This atmospheric factor concerns, for instance, how festivalgoers enjoy crisp sunny weather at the beach in parallel with the main street, e.g. Boulevard de la Croisette in Cannes or Haeundae in Busan, apart from the festivities themselves, or how Potsdamer Platz as the Berlinale’s main festival venue continues to attract festivalgoers even under Berlin’s notoriously “nasskalt” (cold and wet) February weather conditions. As part of promotional means to revitalize urban tourism in Berlin during the 57th Berlinale (February 8-18, 2007), as one of the Berlinale’s premier corporate sponsors, Volkswagen’s public communications arm organised a city tour programme in close cooperation with the Berlinale, coupled with its publication of a small city guide entitled *Volkswagen Film Location Tour: Visit Berlin’s Famous Movie Locations* (see Figure 2.1). This booklet lists and explains a series of locations in Berlin that have previously been used as urban backgrounds for major German and foreign film productions (mostly Hollywood classics and blockbusters). Despite its banal intention to promote its premier sponsor’s corporate image during the festival period, the Berlinale’s close collaboration with Volkswagen in publishing this city guidebook shows in part how *insensible-amorphous* aspects that imply Berlin as both a historically and cinematically rich city can be given concrete *sensible-spatial* qualities or narratives by means of the aforementioned triangularisation process of festival media operations. In this sense, general modes of contemporary festival media operation are, to a certain extent, differentiated from that of traditional media active at film festivals that rely on a few selected domestic and international TV broadcasters and print press; contemporary festival media can be defined as integrated media practices exploiting various forms of on- and offline audiovisual media infrastructures that continue to be ubiquitously present, hence audiovisually detectable and perceivable or “ambient” in Lugmayr’s terms, on and around the festival sites during the festival periods. In other words, what is at stake here is the reciprocal relations between new media (e.g. the Internet and contemporary mobile online media in general) and the emergence and formation of alternative publics and their public spaces against the overall mediated backdrop hitherto produced by
traditional “old” media. It concerns not merely how certain physical places were represented by media (for instance, films, radio and television), but also how media form people’s everydayness and their living spaces in concert with sociohistorical and geopolitical factors that underlie them on the whole.

Accordingly, contemporary festival media as integrated media practices enable festivalgoers and their accidental encounters with these media to become exposed either voluntarily or involuntarily to miscellaneous festival media-generated audiovisual images, ranging from such traditional media as broadcasting and print media to contemporary mobile online media technologies, to outdoor billboards and LED screens installed on public squares or skyscrapers, to banners of festival films with official festival logos attached to them etc. Nowadays, an astronomical number of digitally mediatised images are ubiquitous in our everyday life space, particularly in cities. By a similar token, film festivals whose raison d’être or identities are closely intertwined with their host cities are equally affected by the
ubiquitous presence of ambient media or what Kim Soyoung (2006) terms “trans-cinema”. In particular, her notion of “trans-cinema” is resonant with the overall politics of international film festivals, especially in relation to understanding how public spaces at festival sites are signified to, and perceived by, festival audiences or vice versa. To be more specific, a series of public signboards and outdoor LED screens installed either in front of film festivals’ central venues (e.g. Berlinale Palast in Potsdamer Platz, Berlin) or on several public spaces with a high degree of accessibility to festival audiences scattered across the festival host cities (e.g. BIFF Square in Nampo-dong, Busan) are used not simply to maximise externally their festival images or publicity operations. Given that whatever is signified to festival audiences on designated public spaces become subject to the public’s constant gazes during the festival’s duration, Kim argues that ‘[by] conceptualising framing this new space as trans-cinema […] it could not be used or taken solely as advertisement space, and indeed that such space should be opened up to issues concerning the public’ (2006: 197). She further argues that ‘[unlike] the individual or family viewing patterns that characterise TV, the big monitors installed on tall buildings inevitably involve collective, public and momentary watching’ (ibid.). Likewise, both the physical and perceptual-sensorial ubiquity of these communicational nodes are reachable by those living in a contemporary urban environment via the apocalyptic metropolis-style omnipresence of mediated visuals projected by, for instance, huge outdoor LED screens installed on the top of skyscrapers mainly for commercial purposes. Hence, the near-omnipresence of numerous mediated images at film festival sites and their host cities in general enable festival audiences to be accidentally or deliberately exposed to them. Regarding this, David Morley argues that:

Public space is increasingly colonized by advertising discourses and commercial messages. In this context, the old distinction between those who are part of the media audience and those who are not, may be quite outmoded – as are all now, in effect, audiences to some kind of media, almost everywhere, almost all the time (Morley, 2010: 11).
In this sense, contemporary festival media also function as a multipurpose means by which festivalgoers themselves reconstruct their “raw” or personal festival experiences and memories either online or offline in a multidimensional manner: the festival media-assisted personalisation of their individual (on- and offline) festival experiences in the Baudelairian and Benjaminian (or Dickensian) sense of a flaneur’s experiences of modern cities by those who inhabit them in their everyday lives, including their perceptions of urban public spaces.

2.2. Film Festivals: The Historical Development of Film Festivals as Contested Local, National and Global Public Spaces

As mentioned in the Introduction (Chapter 1), there has been a gradual diversification of themes in the field of film festival research. Ranging from textual analysis of festival films to more concretely dissected categories of concerned themes as pioneered by FFRN, film festivals are now being scrutinised seriously by many academics in a more multilayered manner in order to comprehend their complex and multidimensional mechanics. In this section, I explore film festivals’ public functions and their ramifications by looking at these public dimensions through the historical development of film festivals in order to establish the historical foundation of this thesis. Its historical framework is based primarily on the works of Marijke de Valck and Cindy Wong who are associated with the historical development of film festivals. Their works demonstrate the temporal delineation of overall film festival history into four phases, thereby showing the overall shift in film festivals’ programming strategies and organisations:

- **The Pre-Film Festival Period**: The emergence of independent film societies and concerned national film institutions.
- **The Postwar Film Festival Period up to the 1960s**: National governments-oriented film policies on exhibitions and distributions.
• **The Post-1968 Film Festival Period**: Personality-led (autonomous) festival programming and the subsequent diversification of themes.

• **Film Festivals in the 1990s up to the Present**: The global proliferation of local specialised film festivals in regions other than Europe and North Americas as a result of the globalisation of logistical, transportational and communications technologies and means (Valck, 2006; Wong, 2011).

Most existing research on film festivals tends to have been conducted by scrutinising how film festivals work through their focus on ‘one selected [local] film festival [held on an international scale]’ and its selection and programming of films following ‘the cinematic Avant-garde’ tradition (de Valck, 2006: 22, 26). In other words, the international reading and reception of festival films themselves have outweighed the systematic deliberation of how the overall structural and organisational or “extra-cinematic” workings of film festivals, under which these films are widely viewed, perceived and circulated, are taken into account in film studies. The major reason for the difficulty in conducting the research on film festivals lies in their spatiotemporally transient structure under which complex aspects of film production, reception and consumption need to be deliberated. However, such structural complexities of integrated cinematic experiences that film festivals engender started to be put under a spotlight after the interdisciplinary perspectives exploring the universal qualities of film festival experiences by focusing on their organisational aspect were introduced as one of its major methodological frameworks (de Valck, 2006; Rüling and Pederson, 2010). This holistic process regarding film festival experiences involves sociocultural contexts that are associated closely with what constitutes the overall milieu of film festivals, including their host cities, audiences and media. This thesis emphasises the examination of selected major constituents of film festivals in order to strengthen the main argument relating to film festivals as experiential public spaces. This holistic and interdisciplinary approach to film festival research follows the anthropological tradition of “thick” historical investigations into the subjects in question. By consolidating its contextual groundwork for
film festivals’ historical development, this thesis seeks to uncover the historical links between film festivals and the public implications attached to them, by developing case studies that deal with the aforementioned three extra-cinematic film festival spaces. Given this thesis’s investigation into the historical development of film festivals as experiential public spaces, it is, first of all, useful for me to start with de Valck’s historical research on major European film festivals as a global cultural phenomenon and the wider proliferation of diverse forms of specialised film festivals held locally in other regions. Her tripartite delineation of critical moments in the historical development of film festivals mapped them out as critical temporal phases that contributed to a decisive shift in the overall understanding of the structural and organisational dynamics of film festivals. In this regard, de Valck elucidates that:

The first phase runs from the establishment of the first reoccurring film festival in Venice in 1932 until 1968, when upheavals disrupt the festivals in Cannes and Venice, or, more precisely, the early 1970s, when these upheavals are 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 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 (2006: 26).

What these key moments in the historicisation of film festivals emphasise is the “in-between” moment transitioning from the first phase to the second phase which concerns the discursive and positional shift in film festivals’ programming imperatives after the 1968 Paris demonstrations and the subsequent proliferation and diversification of sociopolitically critical voices among once underrepresented sectors of society. This transitional phase shows how substantially film festivals have been transformed into public platforms or contested political and public spheres, from the partially viewable “national
window” through which states have been globally projected and represented by films nominated by national governments to be premiered at major international film festivals. This process could be to a lesser extent equivalent to today’s standard procedure of national films being nominated for the Oscar category of Best Foreign Language Film.

From the moment of the world’s first international-scale film festival, *La Mostra Internazionale d’Arte Cinematografica* a.k.a. *La Mostra di Venezia* (the Venice International Film Festival) held in 1932 and the subsequent proliferation or re-emergence\(^5\) of international film festivals in postwar Europe (e.g. Cannes in 1939/1946, Locarno and Karlovy Vary in 1946, Edinburgh in 1947, Berlin in 1951, Moscow in 1959), the relationship between film festivals and the representation of nations or national projections through them remained strong. For instance, while the Venice film festival was exploited by the Mussolini regime as a propaganda tool to consolidate its national legitimacy as a Fascist state on a global scale, the Berlin film festival established after the Second World War endeavoured to overcome Germany’s tarnished national image as a Nazi state in order to be projected globally as a pacifist and democratic nation that politically fights against, and culturally cooperates with, the communist Eastern bloc until its reunification in 1990 (Susan Stone, 1998; Fehrenbach, 1995, cited in Stringer, 2001: 135). Meanwhile the Karlovy Vary International Film Festival established in former Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic) in 1946 has functioned as a representative cultural arena to promote and project films from the Eastern bloc nations to the world biannually by alternating with the Moscow International Film Festival until 1993, two years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Iordanova, 2004; Evans, 2007). In this context, Stringer states that:

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\(^5\) Prior to the establishment of the Venice International Film Festival in 1932, there were already several film festivals in Europe. de Valck explains that:

The first [film] festival [in Europe] was organized on New Year’s Day 1898 in Monaco. Other festivals followed in Torino, Milan and Palermo (Italy), Hamburg (Germany) and Prague (Czechoslovakia). The first prize-winning festival was an Italian movie contest in 1907, organized by the Lumière Brothers (2006: 59).
[All] the major festivals established in the immediate post-war period […] were aligned with the activities and aims of particular national governments. […] such events [mentioned above] worked to promote official state narratives and hence perpetuate the continuation of the nation-state system itself (2001: 135-6).

Apart from the abovementioned cases, there were also non-Western film festivals, mainly in Asia (e.g. the Hong Kong and Busan International Film Festivals established in 1979 and 1996 respectively) that were launched to strengthen regional cinematic networks as part of their regionalization programming strategy. Through this, their respective national projections on a world stage can be distinguished in relation to already established film festivals and industries in Europe and North America (Ahn, 2008; Wong, 2011). Therefore, such national and regional prisms through which to understand the implied roles of film festivals in constructing imagined national and regional communities narrowed down further to the local or urban realm in the contemporary context of film festival research. This follows Julian Stringer’s pioneering research on the global dissemination of the festival image that centres itself on film festival host cities (see Stringer, 2001, 2003). His work places a particular emphasis on the significance of film festival host cities playing a pivotal role in representing and reinforcing the festival’s external image and branding national film industries and cultures on the globalised film festival circuit more effectively. His film festival research is a crucial turning point in that film festival-related literature published before or not long after his work centred more on analysing how films screened at film festivals have been received and read than on the operational and organisational dynamics of film festivals themselves (see Elsaesser, 1993; Nichols, 1994a, 1994b; Zhang, 2002). The ultimate raison d’être of film festivals basically followed the cinematic avant-garde tradition, therefore Stringer’s research on global film festival dynamics paved the way for a more contextualised and holistic approach to film festival studies by taking into account once-peripheral actors or “extra-cinematic” factors in film studies, such as festival cities, the performance of ordinary festival audiences at film festival sites, and festival media. From Stringer’s film festival research onwards, work
associated with film festivals attempting to grasp the multidimensional nature of film festivals’ operational and organisational dynamics together with understanding their underlying sociocultural-historical contexts proliferated. In particular, it is observable that cities started emerging as an effective force to enable film festivals to maintain and then consolidate further their local and regional identities thematically and structurally at a global level. Stringer explains that:

As local film festivals began to proliferate in the 1980s and 1990s, [the] aura of exclusivity [international film festivals had once relished] evaporated […]. Consequently, cities have sought to establish a distinct sense of identity and community – an aura of specialness and uniqueness – through promoting their film festivals within the terms of a highly competitive global economy. Cities and towns all around the world have found it necessary to set up their own events so as not to be left out of the game. […] On one level, film festivals are being used to tap local alliances that may well blossom in the future, encouraging in the process forms of urban movie spectatorship that promote place and community-bound affiliations. As with comparable phenomena such as sporting meetings, beauty contests, museum exhibitions, and the rise of the conference circuit, film festivals are planned and marketed around a clear sense of visibility (2001: 137-41)

In other words, there are currently around 700 film festivals held worldwide, which compete to draw global attention through what they claim to be own standard of selected world-premiere films (Davis and Yeh, 2008). For these global competitions, recognition from both their international peers or counterparts and their ordinary festival audiences matters in order that each film festival can itself visibly distinctive to guarantee their own survival within a highly competitive global industry. Davis and Yeh thus argue that ‘[s]uccessful festivals tirelessly revamp themselves to maintain a unique regional, and possibly, global, leadership; on the other hand, festival branding also relies on a strong domestic cinema and the support of the nation-state. With festival becoming more internationalized, state support becomes indispensable’ (ibid.: 140).
In addition to film festivals’ endless endeavours to reach global standards such as ‘Bigger Than Ever, Better Than Ever, Comprising More Films Than Ever’, it is necessary to take into account here their qualitative aspects that are concerned with the ramifications of festival audiences’ diverse performances against what film festivals provide for them in terms of spectacle (Stringer, 2001: 139). They include the urban setting of festival sites, public film screenings followed by Q&A sessions and whatever festival sites provide for those visiting and experiencing the overall festival spectacle in situ. For instance, during Q&A sessions, ordinary festival audiences attending film screenings are given rare, albeit brief, opportunities to meet and discuss with filmmakers various issues associated with the films screened. Furthermore, audiences participate in, and respond to, numerous cinematic and media events taking place outdoors during the festival’s duration, specifically publicly accessible squares designated by film festivals that locals might naturally recognise as familiar spaces to them in terms of their everydayness. In other words, apart from being an industrial and commercial space, the fact that film festivals operate through numerous encounters and contacts between festivals’ human and non-human elements implies their potential as performative public spaces. Here, festival human elements include both ordinary and professional festival participants, such as programmers, directors, producers, distributors, sales agents, filmmakers, film policymakers. Non-human festival elements point to the spatiotemporal aspect of film festivals, host cities and nations, their sociocultural and political contexts, and so on. Stringer thus argues that the film festival is ‘a unique cultural arena that acts as a contact zone for the working-through of unevenly differentiated power relationships [and] a series of diverse, sometimes competing, sometimes cooperating, public sphere’ (ibid.: 138). Here, the public sphere’s meaning tends to be associated more with its cultural functions than with its ideologically binary implications attached to the traditional notion of the Habermasian public sphere and the latter’s criticisms. Specifically, regarding film festivals operating on globally networked festival circuits, he argues further that ‘[festivals] function as a space of mediation, a cultural matrix within which the aims and activities of specific interest groups are negotiated, as well as a place for the establishment and
maintenance of cross-cultural looking relations’ (ibid.: 134). In this light, whether or not film festivals as performative and transcultural public spaces can engender the performative milieus mentioned above depends on how they can differentiate themselves from each other via their carefully maintained thematic and structural identities. Hence, Dayan argues that ‘a film festival is mostly spent answering questions about self-definition, identity, and character’ (2000: 45). Furthermore, Kim insists that ‘[Each] festival claims a raison d’être which includes not only the coverage of identity-oriented themes, but also the endeavour to construct the discursive space where relevant issues can emerge and take shape’ (2005b: 79). It is not only the cinematic diversity inherent in film festivals but also their underlying sociocultural and geopolitical ramifications as well as the ways that audiences appreciate them in situ, that function as a paradox that makes film festivals more sustainable under such concomitantly paradoxical conditions as ‘fragile equilibrium’ (Dayan, 2000: 45) and ‘organized chaos’ (Elsaesser, 2005: 102).

In relation to this, as briefly mentioned above, Daniel Dayan’s anthropological investigation into the performative dynamics that emerge between film festivals and their (both professional and ordinary) participants as unfolded during the Sundance film festival is an interesting example of film festivals’ multiple dynamics. It uncovers how the overall festive ambience is formed through multiple factors that include its ephemeral inhabitants (e.g. both professional and ordinary festivalgoers), urban setting (e.g. Salt Lake City) and publicity activities (e.g. printing festival publications such as offline film trade magazines) (Dayan, 2000). All of these disparate elements are organically combined to engender synergetic outcomes. As a chaotic but organised spectacle – or “carnivalesque” in the Bahktinian term – that is orchestrated through loosely woven, hence permeable and communicable, associations between people and the overall festive milieu surrounding them, festival spaces gradually evolve into being performative in that they become intertwined with one another so as to become organically connected. The aforementioned “fragile equilibrium” that these loose connections form and sustain between film festivals and those temporarily inhabiting their physical spaces signifies film
festivals as both socioculturally bound and perceptually-elastic public spaces. They enable their audiences and publics to experience the ambient and atmospheric sense of public accessibility engendered jointly by film festivals and their surrounding milieus. Or as Thomas Elsaesser emphasises, ‘the chaotically homogeneous [or competitive, yet paradoxically complimentary] ‘transnational and international’ network of film festivals acts as a key ingredient in this development’ in the following manner:

Taken together and in sequence, festivals form a cluster of consecutive international venues, to which films, directors, producers, promoters and press, in varying degrees of density and intensity, migrate, like flocks of birds or a shoal of fish. And not unlike these natural swarm phenomena ... the manner in which information travels, signals are exchanged, opinion hardens and consensus is reached at these festivals appears at once thrillingly unpredictable and yet follow [sic] highly programmed protocols (2005: 87 cited in Evans, 2007: 24).

While seemingly paradoxical, the hierarchical differentiations and ensuing structural inequality or stratification embedded in the world of international film festivals are, nevertheless, the de-facto driving force behind film festivals’ overall performative dynamics. In other words, by and large, it is inevitable for such a structurally intrinsic asymmetry to be symptomatic of a wide range of local and national film festivals held worldwide whereby, paradoxically, each festival attempts to stand out, depending on their respective local and national and thematic identities. This resonates with the wider structural paradigm of film festivals: both inclusive and exclusive dynamics implicit in film festivals’ management of their spatiotemporal dimensions.

2.2.1. Film Festivals as Extraordinary Spaces: Festival Audiences and the Spatial Politics

Bearing everything in mind, according to Thomas Elsaesser’s analysis film festivals’ major functions can be summarised into three aspects: (1) festival as event, (2) distinction and value-addition and (3)
programming and agenda setting (Elsaesser, 2005). His anthropological analysis investigates the loose but interactive engaging relationships that exist between festival spectators’ activities or performances at film festival sites and the role of the festival press as well as programmers. In this context, Elsaesser refers to the genealogical distinctiveness of film festivals in comparison with other traditional festival events by arguing that:

What is a (film) festival? As annual gatherings, for the purpose of reflection and renewal, film festivals partake in the general function of festivals. Festivals are the moments of self-celebration of a community: they may inaugurate the New Year, honor a successful harvest, mark the end of fasting, or observe the return of a special date. Festivals require an occasion, a place and the physical presence of large number of people. The same is true of film festivals. Yet, in their iterative aspect, their many covert and overt hierarchies and special codes, film festivals are also comparable to rituals and ceremonies. Given their occasional levels of excess … they even have something of the unruliness of carnival about them. In anthropology, what distinguishes festivals from ceremonies and rituals is, among other things, the relative/respective role of spectators. The audience is more active if one thinks of film festivals as a carnival, more passive when one compares them to ceremonies. The exclusivity of certain film festivals aligns them closer to rituals, where the initiated are amongst themselves, and barriers cordon off the crowd: at the core, there is a performative act … or the act of handing out the awards. Some film festivals include fans and encourage the presence of the public, others are professionals only, and almost all of them follow elaborate and often arcane accreditation rules (ibid.: 94).

How visibly the collective performances of festival spectators and audiences live in symbiosis with the overall festival ambience hinges on the spatiotemporal dimension of film festivals. In this sense, I suggest that film festivals as spatiotemporally-networked global cultural events are inextricably interwoven with the interests of diverse social, economic and cultural sectors in an attempt by respective film festival host cities to continue to retain a distinctive festival image through competition and cooperation.
In particular, with regard to how film festival host cities create individual festival images, Harbord argues that ‘the festival is a particular manifestation of the way that space is produced as practice [by advertising] cities, [setting] them in competition, region against region, global city against global city’ (2002: 61). In addition to the spatial effects that film festivals as global events are capable of generating under a highly competitive global economy, there are also temporal factors that are detectable: ‘[film festivals’] annual calendar [whereby festivals] set a beat to the rhythm of city living wherever they occur in competition and connection with other festival events’ (ibid.). Stringer adds to her argument that ‘the timetabling, or scheduling, or temporal management of the festival season determines the activities of distinct cities in relation to one another’ (2001: 138). Under such circumstances there are a variety of issues ranging from film festival host nations’ film industries and cultural policies to individual experiences of festivals and others that can also be discussed regarding film professionals as well as ordinary festivalgoers in the global context of commerce, culture and politics. Hence, he suggests that ‘[f]estivals are significant on regional, national, and pan-national levels: they bring visitors to cities, revenues to national film industries, and national film cultures into world cinema system’ (ibid.: 134).

This multifaceted feature of film festivals has its roots in traditional marketplaces, namely festival sites. In this regard, Stallybrass and White (1986) explore the festival site’s societal ramifications by investigating the eighteenth-century European marketplace as an example. They characterise as being ‘[a]t once a bounded enclosure and a site of open commerce, it is both the imagined centre of urban community and its structural interconnection with the network of goods, commodities, markets, sites of commerce and places of production which sustain it’ (ibid.: 27). Harbord further explains that:

A timely reminder that place has been crossed, opened out and produced as a limit through its relationship with ‘elsewhere’ for centuries, this description of the fair of the past also highlights the intensity of those operations in the present. The ‘network’ of global
commerce creates linkages between sites, creating centres and peripheries eclipsing other spaces altogether. More than the hybrid mixing of goods and cultures, the festival as marketplace provides an exemplary instance of how culture, and cultural flows, produce space as places of flow (2002: 60).

In other words, a sense of “controlled freedom and extraordinariness” engendered through cooperative and conflictive relations between festivalgoers and the festival milieu in general is the primary factor through which the distinctive image of the film festival can be maintained. Conversely, the flexible, albeit unstable, ramifications of the film festival’s dynamics illuminate a sense of the carnivalesque (Bakhtin, 1984). Regarding this Bahktinian term, Jamieson explains that ‘[the main premise of the carnivalesque] is the breaking down of social distance and hierarchy, which permits empowering reconnections between people. It is these “transformative potentials” produced by the temporary suspension of everyday life and order of power that provide instances for redefining meaning and social order’ (2004: 68). Meanwhile, Manghani insists that ‘the critical value of the carnival is in its abolishing of the boundaries between the public and the private sphere, between participants and spectators and, critically, in inverting a hierarchy, with fools and outsiders becoming “kings” for the day’ (2006: 17). However, despite the fact that film festivals operate according to certain rules set by either FIAPF (International Federation of Film Producers Associations) or decisions made by those governmental bodies responsible for organising and operating festivals, the aforementioned festival paradigms can also be regarded as a by-product of such tentatively constructed milieus as film festivals themselves. Hence, Eagleton argues that ‘[t]herefore, whereas some attribute the ideal of the carnival with revolutionary powers of transgression, others level criticism at its “licensed” status, which relegates its value of disruption to “permissible rupture of hegemony”’ (1981: 148 cited in Jamieson, 2004: 68). In other words, the festivals’ rather artificially constructed milieus themselves imply consent to certain rules, based on which festivalgoers’ flaneurial and carnivalesque behaviours or performances at festival sites can be controlled in a subliminal manner. This tentative and extraordinary nature of
festival space and its spectacle is also illustrated in part through, for instance, my own observation of
the gradual deconstruction of the Berlinale’s main festival venue during its 58th edition:

On February 19, 2008, two days after the official closing of the 58th Berlinale (February 7-17, 2008), I am now walking on Potsdamer Platz and then passing by Berlinale Palast in the rainy afternoon, on my way to the Schönefeld Airport to catch my flight back to London. Looking rather unfamiliar and even alienated to me, this half-naked image of the once aesthetically spectacular main venue of the Berlinale only the day before yesterday is now disappearing with its festival ambience itself so that it can return to its original function as a three-story stage theatre for musicals and theatrical productions named Stella Musicaltheater. The disappearance of the Berlinale’s huge official logo hung over the theatre alongside that of its previous omnipresence throughout the city of Berlin is to a greater extent an unexpected and even rare scene to me, since I have usually left Berlin on either the day of the festival closing or the day after. My rather immediate departure from Berlin after the festival always led me to miss rare chances to observe the gradual deconstruction of this venue’s glitz and glamour. Mundane and even solitary though it looks after all the festive auras of this levitated festival moody space have evaporated, the Berlinale Palast nevertheless had ephemerally sustained its red-carpeted glamour and spectacle during the festival period. This theatre has always greeted and welcomed many international as well as domestic film stars and their entourages, together with the grinning face of the Berlinale festival director Dieter Kosslick standing in front of its main gate against the chaotic but controlled backdrop of excited crowds waiting outdoors in order to spot all the movie stars with their bare eyes (see Figure 2.2). I myself have also been one of those excited crowds cheering thrillingly together with them, every time we have spotted international and even domestic film and media celebrities walking on the red carpet while being photographed by a corps of photographers with maximum flashlights, shouting their names hysterically. All these festive moods of the Berlinale that have once been at their apex for a short period of time are now disappearing gradually, together with the extraordinary urban tempos that have once been temporarily pulsed in Berlin’s mundane everyday living environments.
This account was reconstructed and summarised on the basis of my own description of Potsdamer Platz after the end of the 58th Berlinale, dated February 19, 2008. Accordingly, this brief observation of the gradual deconstruction of the Berlinale’s festive ambience after its closing reflects in part the ephemerally constructed film festival spectacle that is gradually deconstructed, only to return to normalcy at the end of festivities.

One of the conflicting aspects of the spatial politics unveiled at the festival sites is the ontological and epistemological tension that coexists between different groups of people or institutions with varying film festival interests and agendas. Given these circumstances, boundaries between the public and the private continue to be blurred as societies continue to evolve. Conflictual and even edgy relations emerge among those who coexist within urban spaces given their socioculturally heterogeneous characteristics and in a globalised context that forces fragmented urban spaces to be coherent and even homogenous. Such conflictual relations are managed more efficiently by those who exert control over them, such as national and municipal governments. For instance, a series of private businesses established and run on pre-existing urban public sites designed and built via public-private partnership investment could generate conflict between various vested interests over the use of those
sites, thereby becoming entangled with the issue of who and which parties own the rights to them. In this process, three modes of conflict of interest can be taken into account regarding the three empirical cases developed here:

- **Permeable boundaries between public and private in urban spaces**: Urban regeneration and ensuing gentrification and marginalization in terms of the reoccupation and reevaluation of previously ownerless public places accessible to general publics within cities, through public (e.g. national and municipal governments)-private (e.g. local, national and transnational corporations) partnership, including perceptual contrasts between the nostalgic-retrospective and the innovative-efficient.

- **Permeable boundaries between public and private evident in Q&A sessions**: Blurring – albeit transiently – previously stratified or hierarchical relations between public figures (e.g. filmmakers, actresses and actors and other high-profile film industry professionals) and ordinary people (e.g. local and national citizens and international ordinary audiences, all of whom visit film festivals) during post-film screening Q&A sessions or similar forms of arranged meetings between them (e.g. BIFF’s public events where filmmakers and their actresses and actors show themselves on outdoor stages installed in Nampo-dong and Haeundae respectively, aimed at greeting and introducing themselves to public festival audiences).

- **Permeable boundaries between public and private in festival media’s public roles**: Diversification and democratisation of media platforms synchronised with the sociocultural convergence of media technologies and uses, meaning that conventional boundaries drawn between old and new media start to become blurred.

At this juncture, it is useful to think of epistemologically subtle differences regarding publicly accessible urban spaces by looking at the physical transformation introduced via the boulevards of mid-19th century Paris, in comparison with the festival spaces at Busan (e.g. the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas) and Berlin (e.g. Potsdamer Platz) respectively. As regards the sociopolitical implications of
French urban planner Georges-Eugène Haussmann’s centralized city planning of Paris, Harvey elucidates that:

[The so-called] Hausmannization [i.e. the embourgeoisement of Paris’s city centre] also entailed, however, the reorganization of public space for the far more mundane purpose of facilitating the freer circulation of money, commodities, and people (and hence of capital) throughout the spaces of the city. Here, too, the sheer spectacle of that movement, the hustle and bustle of arts and public conveyances over newly macadamized surfaces, was not devoid of political meanings. Everything seemed to speed up; the stimuli of urban living became, according to many accounts, more and more overwhelming. What Simmel calls “blasé attitude” took ever deeper hold on urban life (at least if we believe the innumerable tales of the flaneur and the dandy on the boulevards). The arrival of the new department stores and the proliferation of cafés […] cabarets, and theaters meant, furthermore, that the sociality of the boulevards was now as much controlled indirectly by the commercial activity around it as by police power (2006: 25).

As will be discussed more in detail in Chapter 4 (on urban gentrification and its implied relationship to film festivals and their host cities as a whole), the felt tension that emerges from publicly accessible spaces constructed through public-private partnerships, such as Potsdamer Platz in Berlin (i.e. blurred, hence elusive, relations between the public and the private and some conflicts of commercial interests ensued in the wake of the use of this urban space), could be taken into account through the example of Haussmann’s centralized urban planning which started during the period of the Second Republic established as a result of the 1851 coup d’état. Other recent examples, like Royal Greenwich Park in London, one of the royal estates open to a wide range of the public, was transformed into one of the main venues for the 2012 London Olympics, which means that its public accessibility to visitors was limited during the games (Horwell, 2012). At this juncture, what becomes crucial, in conjunction with the tension between the public and the private resulting from the penetration of the commercial into these two realms (as shown in the aforementioned examples), is the symbiotic relationship that emerges
between public and commercial spaces (Harvey, 2006). Harvey explicates this symbiotic dynamics between them by arguing that:

The spectacle of the commodity [comes] to dominate across the private/public divide giving a unity to the two. [...] there always lies the symbiotic organization of public/private spaces under the aegis of commodification and spectacle. [To be more specific, t]he character of public space counts for little or nothing politically unless it connects symbiotically with the organization of institutional (in this case, commercial, although in other cases it may be religious or educational institutions) and private spaces. It is the relational connectivity among public, quasipublic, private spaces that counts when it comes to politics in the public sphere. [...] Contestation over the construction, meaning, and organization of public spaces only takes effect, therefore, when it succeeds in exercising a transformative influence over private and commercial spaces. Action on only one of these dimensions will have little meaning in and of itself. Attempts to change one dimension may prove worthless or even counterproductive in the absence connectivity to the others. It is, in the end, the symbiosis among the three [i.e. private, public, and institutional spaces] matters. (ibid.: 27-32; emphasis in the original).

In other words, what is crucial in understanding the complex spatial politics of contemporary international film festivals, lies in how to grasp the spatial reconfiguration of urban public spaces earmarked by municipal governments (e.g. Busan and Berlin) as main venues or areas for holding and stably operating film festivals, through the abovementioned holistic dynamic between public, private and institutional (or commercial) spaces.

### 2.2.2. The Historical Lineage and Development of Film Festivals: European and Non-European Contexts

This section examines the historical lineage and development of contemporary film festivals by looking into its both European and non-European (specifically Asian) contexts, particularly as the postwar
dominance of the former is now being gradually deconstructed and diversified in order to become accessible to the disenfranchised latter under a globalised world order. The emergence of international-scale film festivals in late 1970s and early 1980s Asia, such as the Hong Kong and Tokyo International Film Festivals (HKIFF and TIFF respectively), paved the way for a critical rethinking of the western gaze towards, and the western rediscovery of, Asian films and culture, a process that led to the proliferation of many film festivals in other Asian film producing countries from the mid-1990s onwards. Still under hegemonic influences of major film festivals and industries from Europe and North Americas (Hollywood), apart from Japan and Hong Kong the then fledging film festivals in such countries as South Korea have endeavoured to find a niche in the volatile environment of international film festivals, thereby making their own domestic film markets and cultures self-sustaining and competitive at both a regional and international level.

For instance, from its inception in 1996 the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF or PIFF) adopted a multidimensional programming approach to differentiate itself from its regional counterparts, by encompassing both its domestic and regional realms in order to brand itself as an Asian film festival representing a regional cinematic culture (Ahn, 2008). Its “regionalization or pan-Asian strategy” embraced Asian countries that mainstream film festival programmers once ignored or dismissed as cinematographically unrecognizable and cinema-industrially less viable, such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and so on, alongside internationally recognised film-producing nations like South Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Iran. Films produced by less-recognised Asian countries started to become internationally recognised by utilising BIFF as their main platform, through which they became further accessible and exposed to other international film industries and festivals. Such an Asian cinematic diversity as showcased by BIFF to a wide range of both domestic and international audiences through a differentiated programming strategy also met expectations from stakeholders in international film festivals and industries, as film festivals and industries in Hong Kong and Tokyo (BIFF’s regional competitors)
started to decline from 1997 onwards. The year 1997 is generally considered a politico-economic turning point in Asia as it was the year when Hong Kong was finally handed over by its colonial master Great Britain to the PRC, which heightened politically liberal Hong Kongers’ fear for the communist PRC’s takeover of their lifespaces. Asia in general began to feel the direct impact of the financial crisis and needed to be bailed out by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This historical timing also influenced an axial shift in the Asian cinematic landscape. Like other established film festivals in Europe, BIFF was also founded as a counteractive to the aggressive penetration of Hollywood and Hong Kong commercial films into domestic film markets and culture that led to a homogenisation and standardisation of domestic film audiences’ cinematic experiences. Berry (2003) thereby points to the heavy pressure that Hollywood and the U.S. government put on many national film industries and the resultant detrimental impact on the domestic film industry and culture as a whole in 1980s South Korea.

At the same time, however, BIFF also realised the significance of the Hollywood film industry in the overall workings of international film festivals. It thus extended its pan-Asian programming strategy into the international film festival circuit through close cooperation with European and North American film markets as well as the establishment of its own film market, the Asian Film Market (AFM) with the Pusan Promotion Plan (PPP) and several other BIFF-led coproduction project markets conducted under its operational umbrella. All of these BIFF-devised multinational coproduction platforms aim at promoting and liaising between Korean and Asian filmmakers with European and North American film industry professionals. BIFF’s formation of a regional cinematic network that maintains practical relationships with film industry experts from Europe and North America is an interesting point worth considering in relation to the historical development of international film festivals. Accordingly, BIFF functioned as a catalyst in the proliferation of “specialised” film festivals across Asia, in line with the establishment of a regional cinematic contact zone operative beyond its national and regional boundaries. In addition to its industrial approach operative at a global or what Berry terms “cross-bordering or cross-national” level, BIFF’s emphasis on the active participation of
local audiences in its festivities from its inception in 1996 is another factor that differentiates it from its elitist European counterparts except for some audience-friendly European and North American film festivals, such as the Berlinale, the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR) and the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) (Berry, 2008). This also reflects the gradual transformation of international film festivals from being operationally professionalized and exclusive in their early years into popularised and inclusive events, as evident in the global proliferation of such small and medium-sized specialised film festivals in regions other than Europe and North America, such as BIFF and its regional competitors in Hong Kong and Tokyo and Southeast Asia. In particular, the recent development of digital media technologies in tandem with the structural expansion of film festivals on a global scale contributed to the increased access of ordinary audiences to their festivals: e.g. contemporary film festivals’ active utilisation of their websites and associated online media technologies enabling them to reach a wider range of festival audiences beyond spatiotemporal limitations.

Examples such as BIFF’s pan-Asian programming strategy and continued structural expansion into wider global cinematic flows manifest themselves in the increased recognition of Asian film festivals as fully-functioning competitors within traditionally Euro- and Western-centric international film festival circuits. In part, BIFF’s case also shows the historical contexts of film festivals’ ‘geographically uneven development that characterizes the world of [today’s] international film culture’ (Stringer, 2001: 137). All in all, the historical development of international film festivals is inextricably linked to, and reflects, the recurring question of an asymmetrical hierarchy embedded in the world of international film festivals as a whole, in proportion to their respective programming and physical size, which is being constantly revamped and expanded. In relation to this, Stringer argues that:
Inequality is thus built into the very structure of international film festival circuit. In part, the astonishing growth of such events in the 1980s and beyond may be viewed as the logical result of the global economy’s need to produce a large reservoir of other locations in other cities so as to continually rejuvenate the festival circuit through competition and cooperation (ibid.: 138).

Hence, he highlights the emergence of ‘new core-periphery relations’ in the world of international film festivals that resulted from the disproportionate development of power relations amongst film festivals (ibid.). Under this two-tiered power relationship between big and little festivals, the latter handles ‘specialized audiences and create new opportunities, while [the former], specifically the universal survey festivals, [draws] tried and tested talent and [appeals] to a much wider market in order to legitimize their uniqueness’ (ibid.: 141). At the same time, under their traditional European structure and operational format later spread to other regions, film festivals continue to evolve and adapt themselves to a globalised world order. In other words, ‘[a]s local differences are being erased through globalization, festivals need to be similar to one another, but as novelty is also at premium, the local and particular also becomes very valuable. Film festivals market both conceptual similarity and cultural difference’ (ibid.: 139).

2.2.3. Film Festivals as Public Discursive Platforms for Representing the Nation and the Individual

The public aspects of film festivals have been historically part of high-profile international film festivals characterised as events exclusively intended for film festival and industry professionals, such as Cannes and Venice. For instance, Armatage states in relation to film festival practices of open-air screenings that ‘[e]ven Cannes, the world’s largest industrial festival, not open to the public, provides the Cinema de la Plage with open-air screenings of Official Selection films’ (2008: 35). However, it is also true that these perspectives have long been neglected by traditional film scholars’ focus more on
the textual and aesthetic analysis of films than on the holistic manner in which film festivals are understood in socioculturally specific contexts. In this regard, Courtney Jamison insists in relation to political functions of international film festivals like Cannes and Busan that:

While a substantial amount of research has been completed on international film festivals and politics in film separately, the politics present in international film festivals have not been closely examined. Research chronicling film politics in a specific situation, such as the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the Bush administration, has been explored, but exploring the politics at the actual international film festivals has not been as popular. International film festivals do provide an interesting venue to explore the politics of the films; and also the politics of the judges, critics, and festivals themselves. Each group is permitted to express its political views in their part of the festival. The filmmakers can express and explore political ideas [sic] in their films. The critics can make their opinions and political thoughts known through their comments and reviews (2010: 10-11).

There has been much research on the functions of international film festivals in traditional film studies. They range from Hollywood versus non-Hollywood films, including European films and world cinema such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean films to how pertinent national film industries work closely with high-profile international film festivals as alternative film production-distribution-reception circuits or global art-house film economies. Regarding this, Iordanova argues that ‘Hollywood films do not need the festival network to get to their audiences. Many play at festivals in copies provided by (or rented from) the distributors that have been attached to the project from inception. Most of films made in the other countries, however, depend on festival participation as it secures circulation beyond their original environment’ (2008: 26). In other words, researching films from textual, commercial and industrial perspectives has traditionally prevailed in film studies’ exploration of film festivals. Then interest developed in emerging international film festivals as a valid film studies subject, a topic hitherto seen as complex in nature and understudied. Specifically, the position of international film festivals within
traditional film studies has been seen as taken-for-granted or merely as physical sites for the consumption of various world cinemas. However, once the limited capacities of national cinemas that have been narrowly distributed and viewed by (both ordinary and professional) global audiences beyond national borders is now changing. Small and medium-size international film festivals, especially non-European film festivals held in the Asian region, have recently globally proliferated with the help of the border-crossing development and innovation of media communications technologies (e.g. satellite television, the Internet and associated applications and technologies) and transportation (e.g. air travel). In particular, away from the global dominance of such major European film festivals as Cannes, Berlin and Venice, non-European or Asian (global) cities hosting international-scale film festivals like Hong Kong, Tokyo, Busan, Bangkok and Shanghai are currently burgeoning as the former’s symmetrical regional competitors counterbalance established the Euro- and Western-centric Orientalist gaze at (third) world cinema.

In this process, a paradigmatic shift has emerged in the way that film festivals are comprehended from being initially seen as a “cinema-for-cinema’s-sake” space to being appreciated as a multilayered and integrated space that encompasses multiple aspects of film festivals. These aspects range from film festivals’ symbiotic relationship with respective festival host cities to global film festival networks closely intertwined with aforementioned global cities in the context of raising their international recognition by boosting local and national tourist industries. In addition to these issues, contemporary film festivals transform themselves into pivotal sites for globally promoting both world cinema from Asia and Europe and Hollywood studio films through major international film markets run by high-profile international film festivals and industries (e.g. (1) seven official international film markets: Marché du Film/Cannes, European Film Market (EFM)/Berlin, Asian Film Market (AFM)/Busan, Filmart/Hong Kong, TIFFCOM/Tokyo, Cinemart/Rotterdam and American Film Market (AFM)/USA and (2) two de-facto international film markets: Venice Film Market/Venice and TIFF Industry/Toronto) (see also Peranson, 2009). Given that the genesis of international film festivals
relates primarily to Europe’s postwar reconstruction efforts and their subsequent competition with Hollywood’s monopoly over global film production and distribution, many academic (and journalistic) works dealing with film festivals tended to be concerned with their commercial and industrial aspects.

However, such an industrial approach to the overall workings of international film festivals is more limited when it comes to exploring contemporary film festivals’ dynamics, as today’s festivals start to become interested in the significance of audiences’ participation in their programmed events, thereby justifying their image as audience-friendly and publicly accessible. Besides this, film festivals’ popular venues tend to be the sites where a number of ordinary festivalgoers gather to enjoy the overall festival ambience by simply being “present” at film festival sites during the festival’s duration. As with this, the general public’s interest in film festivals is also accelerated via diverse media coverage of film festivals that aims to expose that general public to the inner-sanctum of international film festival cultures that film festival and industry professionals traditionally dominate. In this sense, it is likely that traditional discourses on “commercial versus art cinema” which have long prevailed in the world of film festivals are gradually becoming extended to encompass discourses on publicness or the public accessibility of film festivals to a wide range of audiences. Furthermore, as the channels for cinematic distribution-dissemination-reception that major film industries in Europe and North America once dominated become further diversified with the emergence of new media and communications technologies, today’s publics can gain more access to film festivals than before. Their increased access to film festivals ultimately results in generating more “niche” channels, whereby a wider range of audiences can experience diverse national films and related national film cultures in many regions other than Europe and North America. Hence, Anderson argues that:

Analyzing the ways in which the new Internet-based technologies are transforming distribution patterns in the creative industries […] for the first time in history blockbusters and niche markets were on a nearly equivalent economic footing. Both are equally worthy
of development from a distribution point of view because the large number of niche products multiplied by even a sales [sic] still results in a viable and powerful economic figure […] (Anderson, 2006, cited in Iordanova, 2008: 6-7).

In this context, what emerges in this process – together with broader implications for the relationship between film festivals and their increased public accessibility – is a substantial role of a once less-spotlighted festival media as a legitimate academic subject by film scholars in mediating the relationship between film festivals and their fragmented audiences to sustain the overall festive ambience. In this sense, de Valck argues that ‘[m]edia are indispensable to film festivals, because the various forms of media coverage constitute the tangible links between the local event of the festival and the global arena of media networks. The effect of media exposure can hardly be underestimated. What happens within the confines of segregated festival spaces will remain unknown in the public sphere without mediated coverage’ (2006: 140).

2.2.3.1. The Emergence of Grassroots Cine Clubs and Film Societies as Alternative Cinematic Public Spaces

In particular, what is distinctive in this context is the metamorphosis of film festivals from being as part of broader nation-building projects into independent artistic spaces following global political upheavals of 1968, as mentioned earlier. That is, for instance, the 1968 student protests over the French government’s decision to shut down the Cinémathèque Française and its broader interference in the autonomy of French film culture on the whole, all of which led to the cancellation of the Cannes film festival the same year (Cowie, 2010). These historical accounts also resonate with Negt and Kluge’s (heterogeneous and proletarian-subaltern) experiential public spheres as opposed to the (homogenous, idealistic and Euro/Western-centric) notion of the Habermasian public sphere. In other words, the notion of publicness can be sensed and formulated experientially on the basis, not of universal
standards, but of sociocultural specificity. Screening uncensored films to mass audiences that have been less accessible to them for political, ideological and institutional reasons is a key role that independently-run film societies and cine clubs played for the cinematic diversity of their respective societies.

There started to appear a gradual transformation of film exhibition cultures from being spatially closed to more open and accessible with the emergence of film festivals in postwar Europe. Wong (2011) explains the historical development of alternative spaces for cinematic experiences worldwide until the emergence of film festivals as expanded and multidimensional platforms on the global cinematic scene from the 1930s onwards. Wong’s academic works on historicising film festivals starts with early film cultures worldwide before the emergence of film festivals. Her contextualisation of film exhibition and experience cultures centres on the emergence of film societies differentiated largely from early forms of film viewing experiences that working class immigrants and the middle classes had at nickelodeons and vaudevilles in the United States during the 1910s and 1920s and their subsequent diversification into film festivals from the 1930s and 1940s onwards (see Hansen, 1991; Wong; 2011). Film societies that flourished in Europe during the 1910s and 1920s (e.g. France, Germany and Britain) in response to the global dominance of the Hollywood film industry over film production, distribution and exhibition played pivotal roles as alternative spaces for small artistic or serious cinemas that failed to be widely distributed to and viewed by mass audiences under the prevailing condition of vertically monopolised global film industries. Wong distinguishes film societies from mass film viewing experiences at nickelodeons and vaudevilles in that:

Unlike the nickelodeons (which were neighbourhood-based) and middle-brow movie palaces, both of which had a relatively impersonal relationship with their audience, these film societies nevertheless formed communities of like-minded cinephiles. Cinema, for those who created the film societies, was not escapist entertainment but an object to be studied and appreciated. Cinema crossed boundaries and challenged established orders […].
These practitioners [of film societies] were projecting themselves as different from the mass working-class or immigrant audience associated with film in the United States as well as middle-brow culture. They wanted different films, different spaces to watch these films, different social and cultural relationship with their fellow filmgoers (and filmmakers). These film societies even became film schools a sort where budding filmmakers could learn the craft of others’ works, a role still prominent in film festivals (2011: 32-3).

European metropolis like Paris and London were the major epicentres of this alternative cinema trend: Club des Amis du Septième Art was founded in 1920, the London Film Society in 1925, both of which played crucial roles in nurturing cultural and institutional foundations that lay behind the establishment of the British Film Institute in 1933, the film library section of the Museum of Modern Art in 1935 and Cinémathèque Française in 1936 (ibid.: 32-6). Or, temporally different though it is, there is nevertheless a case for the genesis of grassroots cine clubs in countries whose film cultures and cultural capacities to manage viable national film industries as well as to organise and hold film festivals have still not been mature enough to be disseminated publicly to the masses.

For instance, since the post-Second World War era until the establishment of BIFF in 1996, ordinary South Koreans’ overall knowledge and experience of global film culture has been to a greater extent narrowly-defined and limited in the wake of the strong presence (and predominance) of Hollywood and Hong Kong commercial films in then South Korean film culture. Regarding this, Kim explains that:

The overall proportion of Hollywood films’ dominance in the South Korean film culture in general since 1955 until 1987 has been 84 per cent (1957) and 49 per cent (1974) and their dominance became further intensified from the substantial onslaught of Hollywood film distributors to South Korea through their direct distribution of Hollywood films (e.g. the commercial release of the Hollywood film Dangerous Liaisons (directed by Stephen Frears) on September 24 in 1988 via UIP’s direct distribution of it to South Korea) (1997: 20-1).
Therefore, as part of their efforts to diversify the hitherto limited experiences of ordinary South Korean audiences in relation to global film culture, BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok and his colleagues as founding members of BIFF published a short-lived academic film journal entitled *Filmic Language* (1989-1995) (see Interview 5). They contributed their critical analysis on then European films they had watched at state censorship-free European cultural centres based in South Korea, such as the Alliance Française (France) and the Goethe Institute (Germany) to this journal, due to their inaccessibility and even rarity among ordinary Korean audiences given the Hollywood and Hong Kong commercial film industry-dominated domestic film consumption. During this period, grassroots cine clubs organised by such cinephiles – or what Kim So-young (2005b) terms “cine-maniacs” – as Kim and his BIFF colleagues proliferated and played a critical role in laying the sociocultural groundwork for a more multifaceted and diversified film culture in South Korea. Their efforts enabled the establishment of international-scale film festivals in cities like Busan, Pucheon, Jeonju and Kwangju. In particular, one interesting factor in the genesis of most international film festivals in Asian countries, such as South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Thailand, is closely linked to grassroots movements aimed at fostering local film cultures via cine clubs organised mainly by European cultural centres from France and Germany, which were easily accessible by university students. For instance, in relation to the overall film culture in Hong Kong before the establishment of the Hong Kong International Film Festival (HKIFF), Wong argues that:

Despite [the low attendance rates and interest in foreign films in the 1950s Hong Kong in general], some audiences still demanded movies beyond those shown in commercial theatres. In 1961, veteran members of the film club started Studio One, which was incorporated the next year as the Film Society of Hong Kong, Limited. One of its objectives was to “promote better appreciation of film as a contribution to artistic and cultural life of the community.” Studio One, the Alliance Française, and the Goethe Institute ran film series that made European production visible in a more cosmopolitan city.
The governmental Urban Council also funded the Phoenix Film Club in 1974; both civic and private entities saw films as cultural activities. Many of these organizations rented venues at the City Hall, a government building next to the harbor that houses performance spaces, libraries, and some services. Built in 1962 in the International style, City Hall remains an inclusive governmental cultural institution that, despite its name, serves no central civic electoral or administrative function; it is a performance space for high cultural events, coupled with libraries and offices (ibid.: 200).

Accordingly, the global emergence in European and North American metropolises of film societies, cine clubs and public institutions as alternative cinematic spaces in the early 1900s paved the way for metamorphosing traditional modes of film viewership and exhibition into contextually thick and integrated cinematic experiences. Given the then average composition of regular members of these early film societies and cine clubs, including film critics and journalists, film academics, filmmakers and wealthy art patrons, film festivals as the extended version of these early cinematic societies and institutions contributed to the expansion and popularisation of once-exclusionary film cultures into the realm of mass audiences.

In a nutshell, there appears a significant difference between the mode of cinematic exhibitions and experiences in the pre-war United States (e.g. nickelodeons for the working classes and foreign immigrants and vaudevilles for the middle-classes) and European countries (e.g. film societies and cine clubs) and the phenomenon of international film festivals that emerged in the postwar period, hence a shift from singular film viewership to integrated forms of cinematic experience in cultural terms. To be more specific, while the former case tends to focus primarily on film production and consumption within the vertically concentrated, hence monopolistic, film studio system, the latter seeks public involvement in building on public cinematic culture to a greater extent. In this sense, what this thesis focuses on is closely associated with the latter case: the inherent lineage of film festivals as developing public (cinematic) communities accessible to a wide range of audiences and publics, enabling the
overall development of local and international cinematic cultures in their host cities and countries in
general. Some of literatures dealing with the historical development of film festivals emphasise their
potential as discursive spaces (or political and even cultural public spheres) to problematize and widely
diffuse geopolitically and culturally sensitive issues on an international scale (see Fehrenbach, 1995; de
Valck, 2006; Evans, 2007; Cowie, 2010; Jamison, 2010; Wong, 2011). Widely talked about and
shareable, these discursively-formed issues are reachable to a wider range of people, particularly with
the steady assistance of contemporary media’s technological advancements that have had a significant
influence on the publicisation of film festivals.

From this perspective that understands them in conjunction with the historical development of their
public functions and their (political and sociocultural) implications, film festivals have been oftentimes
considered as contested, albeit ephemerally, public platforms, where socioculturally and politically
complex local, regional and global issues could be problematized and then deliberated in public and in
which certain national films engage implicitly or explicitly. Film festivals, which could be considered
as ‘the cultural public sphere’ that coexists symbiotically with contemporary political issues (e.g. class
and gender inequality), drawing enormous domestic and international media attention, have had their
public functions and ramifications recognised as an extended or supplementary discursive space
(McGuigan, 2005). Thus, political controversies could be problematized for discussion within this
rather extended version of the traditional literary public sphere generated during the festival periods,
leading to their receiving a certain degree of both domestic and international media attention. For
instance, the Berlinale director Dieter Kosslick publicly defended the competition section screening of
the controversial Hollywood film Bordertown (directed by Gregory Nava) at the 57th Berlinale in 2007.
There was, in his opinion, no problem at all with utilising the Berlinale as a contested public platform
for debating this film’s subject matter to do with femicides in the US-Mexican bordertown Juárez that
American and Mexican governments secretively committed in close cooperation with their respective
national corporations, despite some concerns about the “politicisation” of the Berlinale by becoming
mired in this politically sensitive transnational issue (see Interview 1; see also Collett-White, 2007). There was another occasion that some Eritreans used the Berlinale as a public space for holding a picket protest over the competition section screening of the Austrian-German coproduced film *Feurherz* (directed by Luigi Falorni) at the 58th Berlinale in 2008 for what they claimed to be its negative depiction of Eritrea through its handling of the globally controversial issue of their government’s recruitment of Eritrean children as child soldiers to fight against Somalia (see Figure 2.3).

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 2.3.** Eritreans picketing over the screening of the film *Feuerherz* near the Berlinale Palast at Potsdamer Platz during the 58th Berlinale. Photographed by Hong-Real Lee, February 14, 2008.

Hence, the “political baggage” film festivals had acquired by being perceived as a (political) public sphere sometimes limited a public potential that could otherwise be extended into more diverse research areas. In this sense, McGuigan perceives the cultural public sphere as an extended version of the traditional literary public sphere in which the more comprehensive and broader contexts of societal phenomena are understood through literary works like novels and poetry outweighing the latest and most transient features of political issues per se. More specifically, the ordinary masses tend to understand and rather passively consume political issues to do with the everydayness they experience.
in their own societies, due mainly to the very seriousness with which these issues themselves are
generally understood. The idealistic settings that the notion of the Habermasian public sphere initially
suggested, including as a public site for rational critical discussions about serious subjects like politics,
are distanced to a greater extent from the actual realities that ordinary people undergo in their everyday
living environments. The ironic relations between the ideal and the actual that are embedded in the
notion of the Habermasian public sphere are laid bare and then converge in the cultural public sphere.

Having said that, film festivals could be understood to a certain extent as part of the cultural public
sphere in which ordinary publics or festival audiences can experience and consume the issues
associated with current political upheavals taking place worldwide through films that either fictionally
dramatize or subjectively document in a more popular and entertaining way. Hence, film festival spaces
are distinguished from lectures or political talk shows that deal with serious political issues analytically,
given the former’s intent on popularising serious sociopolitical issues in order to generate more popular
appeal and thereby create a wider range of audiences.

For instance, major (European) film festivals in the post-1968 era have been centre stage in
responding to the turbulent international geopolitics associated with the then U.S. government’s
military intervention in the civil war in Vietnam and the subsequent worldwide anti-war
demonstrations led mainly by university students. Despite their origin as an artistic institution
following the cinematic avant-garde tradition since their emergence in the pre- or post-Second World
War era, film festivals have also constantly adapted themselves, and quickly responded, to the
dramatically transformative nature of international geopolitics. In other words, film festivals have
functioned as an international public platform or a (de-facto) alternative public sphere capable of
forming, disseminating and discussing more fundamental left-wing political concerns hitherto
underrepresented given the global dominance of the Northern hemisphere or the so-called ‘First World’
over international politics (e.g. the Global Southern or so-called ‘Third World’ nations, international
anti-war sentiments and the concomitant issues of anti-communism and postcolonialism). Film festivals
have since reshaped themselves as alternative public spaces for film viewership and cinematic experiences in general, in sync with film festivals’ programming focus which started to shift to programmed films’ “thematic imperatives” after the 1968 protests and subsequent worldwide political upheavals. Namely, not national governments but personality-led (i.e. film festival directors and programmers like Hubert Bals, former director of the International Film Festival Rotterdam, or Erika and Ulrich Gregor, cofounders of the Berlinale’s Forum section) festival programming started taking over many international-scale film festivals, since some political controversies overwhelmed and even disrupted film festivals, by and large instigated by the very subject matter of the films that they programmed (de Valck, 2006).

At this juncture, the historicisation of film festivals as contested public spaces needs to be taken into account in this structural shift in European film festivals. As mentioned earlier and based on de Valck’s and Wong’s historical investigations into the genesis of international film festivals, their respective efforts to chronologically contextualise the history of international film festivals gain common ground in terms of how historically film festivals have transformed themselves from (inter)national collective spaces into autonomous public platforms to engender and disseminate various discourses on a global scale. For instance, de Valck and Wong contextualise the historical transformation of international film festivals by focusing on the then socio-political global situation before and after the 1968 student protests following the de Gaulle government’s decision to shut down the Cinémathèque Française and its subsequent interference in France’s independent film culture as a whole (ibid.; Wong, 2011). One distinctive element that characterises film festivals as public spaces pertains to the thematic factors that work as an ultimate catalyst to enable film festivals to become epicentres of geopolitical issues in public. In this sense, they also agree that the overall paradigm of film festival dynamics shifted after the 1968 demonstrations leading to a boycott and the ultimately cancellation of the Cannes film festival that same year. This historical event provided film festival insiders with the justification for film festivals to become more personality-led autonomous cultural
spaces which were harder to penetrate via national (cultural) politics. In particular, Wong makes an interesting point regarding the emergence of a series of Western film societies as alternative exhibition venues in pre-film festival periods and the subsequent proliferation of them in other regions. She argues that, starting from North American and European film societies that later led to the proliferation of their equivalents in Asia and beyond (e.g. 1960s and 1970s colonial Hong Kong and South Korea from the early 1970s up to the mid-1990s), the emergence and subsequent growth of such film societies and cine clubs provided a crucial foundations for cinematic culture in Europe and Asia respectively in their pre-film festival eras (Wong, 2011).

In this regard, de Valck’s work on the historicisation of Europe’s film festival phenomenon is useful in contextualising film festivals as public spaces, by centring on certain historical events marking them as publicly accessible arenas for discussions like the political public sphere. Marijke de Valck is seen as the first scholar who embarked on a more systemic, integrated and in-depth research on film festivals. Published initially in 2006 as part of her PhD thesis and then as a monograph in the year that followed, her work on the international film festival phenomenon originating in Europe and entitled *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia* played a substantial role in establishing film festival studies as a valued academic theme (see de Valck, 2007). Many works associated with film festivals have previously been published mostly in the supplementary form of either journalistic festival reports as part of online and offline academic publications on film studies (e.g. Screen, Sight and Sound, Film International, Senses of Cinema and so forth) or separate papers in edited books concerned with diverse themes that range from film texts concerned with urban spaces and film industries. In other words, given that most of the works on film festivals engage with diverse fields and are associated directly or indirectly with film studies, de Valck’s comparative research on film festivals is the first integrated attempt to undertake an ethnographic study of the historicisation of film festivals and their sociocultural ramifications. In particular, by categorising major functions or the “values” of film festivals (e.g. geopolitics, media and audiences) based on Thomas Elsaesser’s (2005)
pioneering work on the European film festival phenomenon, de Valck’s research is viewed as the first serious and systematic comparative research on film festivals, focusing on four major film festivals in Berlin, Cannes, Venice and Rotterdam in order to contextualise the historical development of international film festivals. This included the chronological contextualisation of the development and transformation of European film festivals given the pre- and post-1968 sociopolitical upheavals in Europe and beyond.

In particular, tensions arising between national governments and nation-states, and private entities or personalities in film industries as to how films are selected, screened and appreciated at film festivals need to be taken into account when exploring the paradigmatic shift in the overall structure and management of film festivals since 1968. Film festivals have become increasingly contested public spaces that facilitate discussions about domestic political issues on an international scale. What characterises film festivals as contested public spaces has always been closely linked to politically controversial issues (leading festivals to be transformed into political public spheres): e.g. the wider social shifts in Europe and beyond after the 1968 demonstrations against the Vietnam War and the subsequent disruption of film festivals in Cannes and Berlin respectively. In other words, as film festivals’ interests in sociopolitical issues increased from this historical moment onwards, people started to use them as public platforms. For instance, the Berlinale turned into a space for debating global political controversies as a result of boycotts of film screenings of Michael Verhoeven’s o.k. during its 20th edition (June 26-July 7, 1970) and Michael Cimino’s Dear Hunter at its 29th edition (February 20-March 3, 1979) due to some aspects characterising the Vietnamese in a negative way (Cowie, 2010). In addition, the 1968 protests in Paris, the global anti-war movement and subsequent influence on the Cannes film festival in the same year (e.g. blocking the screening of Peter Brook’s anti-Vietnam film Tell Me Lies as a result of clandestine deals made between the US and Vietnamese governments) forced the festival to partially change its festival programming structure to be able to accommodate and reappraise films other than those in competition (Wong, 2011). The momentum in
1968 provided Cannes with discursively elastic spaces capable of accommodating more alternative voices by establishing an independent section, namely *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs* (Directors’ Fortnight) for ‘open and noncompetitive’ films (ibid.: 46). Two years after the incident at Cannes, an equivalent event took place at the Berlinale. In the wake of selecting Michael Verhoeven’s film *o.k.* dealing with a Vietnamese girl raped by American soldiers for the Berlinale’s Competition section in 1970 the festival’s whole structure was disrupted by public protests and demonstrations. This incident led the Berlinale to establish an independent section *Forum*, similar to Cannes’s *Quinzaine des Réalisateurs*. Regarding this, Cowie elucidates that:

The practical consequence of this furore was the establishment of the International Forum for Young Cinema [in 1971], just as Directors’ Fortnight has risen from the chaos of the curtailed festival in Cannes in 1968. Ulrich Gregor, who would be named head of that Forum, took encouragements from the debates over *o.k.* and the role of the jury. “Maybe such days will return. […] The ideas discussed then, the passion, the verve, the radical intellectual fight, and so the sharp criticism directed towards everything established, are a chapter from which we can still draw today, a model to which we should, from time to time, compare ourselves in order to take stock of what has been achieved” (2010: 31).

### 2.2.3.2 Film Festivals as a Public Sphere?

As discussed earlier, the emergence of the Habermasian public sphere and the subsequent proliferation of its critical and alternative conceptual model as part of a continuous critical reconsideration indicates the former’s qualities as a practice, and not entirely as a theoretical model detached from real (urban) settings. Such a recurring tendency can also be taken into account in the way that film festivals transform themselves annually in conjunction with their festival identities attached mainly to their programming strategies. They include specific themes they choose through a careful selection of films: e.g. Asian films and the introduction as well as appreciation of their national film industries to support the production of those films as a whole. Wong argues in relation to HKIFF that:
Thus, even the definition of film itself becomes an issue facing [HKIFF] as it moves into its fourth decade and the world of contemporary cinema. Yet, the festival also functions as a space to see, to experience, and to talk about these questions, within a longer history and a larger system that reconstitutes film each year (2011: 221).

Similarly, many questions raised regarding film festivals’ core themes and concomitant programming strategies that determine their ultimate festival identities reflect, to a certain extent, how the notion of the Habermasian public sphere continues to be reproduced via its intrinsically porous – hence conceptually flexible and easily adaptable – features susceptible to many criticisms regarding its theoretical applicability to the complex nature of contemporary society. Although grounded primarily in a specific historical context (e.g. seventeenth and eighteenth century Western European societies), the Habermasian public sphere nevertheless centres first and foremost on its conceptual impetus, emphasising the universal quality of deliberate rational-critical discussions on certain topics whose thematic relevance can reach the majority of people.

In this sense, a newly emerging debate on the public sphere in terms of film festivals not only as a ‘verbal architecture’ but also as a hierarchical architecture that constitutes the dominating few (e.g. major film festivals’ competition sections and major decision- and tastes-makers such as festival programmers and film industry professionals) and the fragmented many (e.g. subordinate but programmatically autonomous sections and those concerned with them as well as ordinary festival audiences) allows fresh insight into film festivals as a public sphere and public space (Dayan, 2000: 45). For instance, Cindy Wong’s ethnographic quest for seeing film festivals as a public sphere based on the aforementioned context is to a larger extent unique as well as equally susceptible to possible criticism pertaining to its less critical stance on Habermas’s notion of the public sphere and associated debates. Wong argues that:
I believe that even the more traditional film festivals themselves constitute public spheres, in the sense […] that expresses a different vision than that of Hollywood, Bollywood, and other mainstream cinemas. Film festivals evoke a place and position that is very close to the traditional bourgeois public sphere, given the middle-class status and locales in which they foster informed debates and discussions […]. Like coffeehouses and the halls of parliament, given the economic and business aspects of film festivals, they are never pure public spheres as described by Habermas. Yet, their themes of national identity and international relations can certainly echo the most Habermasian of global domains. Theme-specific festivals, then, can shape alternative public spheres, closer to Nancy Fraser’s and Michael Warner’s visions of counterpublics, differentiating themselves from the big, businesslike festivals, or in some instances, competing with them for films and interpretation (2011: 160-1).

Such a line of thought suggests that there exist a wide range of alternative or counterpublics and their existential and operational spaces under a dominant-hegemonic public sphere, which resonates with the possibility that film festivals can be understood in terms of the concept of “contact zones” that the Canadian cultural anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt (1992) proposed in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. Regarding this, she elucidates:

[This concept is defined as] social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived across the globe today. [However, reversely, this colonial encounter also implies] the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination. A “contact” perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers or “travelees,” not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (ibid.: 4-7).
Her notion of contact zones tends to be doubly implicated: harmonious and conflictive simultaneously owing to its asymmetrical nature. In this sense, perceiving film festivals as contact zones implicates not a single and universal public space or sphere but spaces comprising varied forms of competing and cooperative public spaces and spheres with different degrees of sociocultural capacities. In other words, despite frictions emerging from socioculturally asymmetrical encounters between different cultures and societies, they might nevertheless be able to continue to interact with each other in one way or another. This leads them to reach the point where their intrinsic differences could be mutually understood and provide a sustainable and flexible (both harmonious and conflictive) dialogic node thereby facilitating sociocultural interactivity. Likewise, by seeing them as contact zones, they could also be perceived as a social space capable of embracing both asymmetrical and reciprocal relations between different groups of people, parties and institutions having different film festival agendas or interests.

As regards the public dimension of film festivals, one thing I want to consider is why film festivals have rarely been treated as public events. To be more specific, there is a similarity between the rise of heterogeneous alternative public spheres as counterarguments against the idealistic and homogeneous Habermasian public sphere and the underlying focus of this thesis on the public dimension of film festivals. That is to say, the notion of alternative public spheres was organically formulated through its negation of the existence of the universal and idealistic Habermasian public sphere itself, in the sense that the former cannot be strictly seen as a full-fledged conceptual framework but as a generic one generated in response to the latter. Hence, how this thesis tries to investigate the public dimension of film festivals can also be formulated in this light.

2.3. Conclusion

This chapter has examined both conceptual and empirical correlations between film festivals and their public dimension by investigating the historical development of film festivals. Reviewing a series of literatures linked to the notion of publicness that tends to be constantly mutable and reinterpretable to
historically and socioculturally specific contexts of local, national and regional entities, it has focused
mainly on how the perception of publicness in societies is loosely or ambiently formed or constructed
by means of (both verbal and non-verbal) interactions between inhabitants and citizens and their
everyday (urban) living environments. Specifically, the major issue in question here has concerned how
the notion of the idealistic Habermasian public sphere and its ensuing alternative models can be
mutually compatible and reconciled with each other in terms of exploring the public dimension of film
festivals. The former has long been subject to intense criticism regarding its rather idealistic and even
anachronistic qualities as a concept. Against this backdrop an alternative public model started to
emerge that tried to examine more experiential and everyday aspects of modern societies by focusing
on those of socially marginalized classes which the Habermasian public sphere has previously
neglected (e.g. the proletarian and subaltern including women, people of colour, immigrants, and so on).
However, both the Habermasian public sphere and the alternative public model have basically
grounded their thematic imperatives in historical contexts closely associated with politically binary –
and hence ideologically charged – European social contexts. In other words, for them to be more
effectively applicable to broader sociocultural contexts beyond their Eurocentric realms, a more neutral
public model has been taken into account in conjunction with how a multidimensional case as film
festivals can be understood as public spaces with ambient publicness. In order to address this question,
this chapter examined the historical development of international film festivals as publicly engageable
cinematic spaces in conjunction with the genesis and subsequent proliferation of grassroots cine clubs
and film societies, first in European metropolitan centres and later in Asian countries, specifically Hong
Kong and South Korea. In particular, focusing on the momentum that contributed to the eventual shift
in the overall architecture of film festivals, specifically before and after 1968 in France and beyond,
this chapter has explored how the overall programming practices of international film festivals have
been transformed: from cinematic spaces for the national (or nationalistic) projection of films on an
international scale into those upholding artistic autonomy for individual, rather than national, producers
of films. Such a paradigmatic shift has thereby enabled film festivals to become both creatively and
discursively more accommodating and autonomous spaces that can be (to a greater extent) immune to
state-intervention into their festivities in general. Based on this historical context, this chapter has
briefly deliberated on the academic validity of their public dimension through Cindy Wong’s
understanding of film festivals as a public sphere and whose major theoretical framework is grounded
in the experiential notion of proletarian alternative public spheres contrasting with Habermas’s
universal and idealistic one.

In the next chapter I will discuss this thesis’s overall methodological framework which is grounded
in a qualitative approach to understanding how the public dimension of film festivals is deliberated, and
which includes an ethnographic observation of the construction of film festivals.
Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The overall methodological approach for this thesis is how ethnographically film festivals’ public functions or qualities can be analysed. Given the major emphasis on the workings of film festivals through my own participant observations, this research requires multidimensional methodologies to detect and understand multifaceted aspects of contemporary film festivals, just as Porton argues that ‘contemporary major film festivals are now more than venues for screening movies and encouraging camaraderie among cinephiles’ (2009: 2). This holistic approach to the research on film festivals encompasses in-depth interviews with what Andre Bazin called ‘professional festivalgoers [such as] cinema critics [and core film festival staffers]’ as well as with ordinary festivalgoers and my own analysis of festival events and their publicly participate-able and engage-able ambiences (2009 [1955]: 15). This thesis follows the tradition of qualitative research methodology: ethnographic analysis. It utilises three qualitative research methods – in-depth interview, participant observation and archival research – with which to analyse how festival host cities, audience and media play roles in, and contribute to, the transformative construction of the public dimensions of international film festivals by looking at BIFF and the Berlinale as case studies. The total duration of (intensive) fieldwork conducted at the festival sites is four years (2007-2010) which includes the 12th BIFF (October 4-12, 2007; accredited as Press) and the four consecutive editions of the Berlinale from 2007 up to 2010 (accredited as Film Professional at the 58th Berlinale in 2008 and the 60th Berlinale in 2010)⁶ (see Figure 3.1; Appendices 18.1 & 18.2).

⁶ The festival dates for the Berlinale from 2007 until 2010 are as follows: (1) the 57th Berlinale (February 8-18, 2007), (2) the 58th Berlinale (February 7-17, 2008), (3) the 59th Berlinale (February 5-15, 2009) and (4) the 60th Berlinale (February 11-21, 2010).
All the empirical findings collated through my long-term presence at these two film festival sites tend to be characteristic of being rather circumstantial and place-bound, and hence relatively intangible and less quantitatively researchable. They are, by and large, reliant upon my own attempt at reconstructing the “lived-in festival experiences” that I have had at these two festival sites by utilising my own memories and impressions documented in the empirical findings of this research. The three qualitative research methods and the types of data collated with them are as follows:

- **In-depth interview**: I conducted the in-depth interviews with those deeply involved in international film festival industries (i.e. film festival programmers, permanent festival staffers, members of film festival advisory groups and journalists) and ordinary festivalgoers, all of whom I have either met and talked with through pre-arranged appointments made after the festivals had finished or encountered them in situ during the festival periods. The major question raised to all interviewees concerned how the structural expansion of BIFF and the Berlinale over time and the concomitant transformation or gentrification of certain public urban spaces used for their festivities had led to a shift in the perceptions of both the temporary and established inhabitants of their respective host cities and their local and international visitors towards their public dimension, or the degree of their public accessibility. Throughout the period of the research, I conducted interviews with 23 people in total (see Table 3.1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Permanent festival staffers and programmers</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film industry insiders</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary festivalgoers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film scholars</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>23</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.1: Occupations of in-depth interviewees**

Of these, I selected 12 in-depth interviews whose contents were thematically relevant to the thesis (i.e. 4 permanent festival staffers and programmers; 3 journalists; 3 film industry insiders; 2 film and media scholars). I then utilised the rest of them as contextual backgrounds against which to better understand how the world of international film festivals works (see Interviews 1-11). I personally contacted international film industry and festival insiders (e.g. permanent festival staffers and journalists) asking for interviews via email prior to the start of the film festivals, during the festival periods, or after they had finished. Other interviewees mostly consisting of either ordinary festival participants or even film professionals I bumped into at festival sites had been approached and then asked firstly by me if they would allow me to interview them in relation to film festivals. Then, I received written consents from most interviewees via email, given that those interviews had been arranged via email. I received verbal consents from the rest of the interviewees prior to the start of the interviews and their entire interviews were audiovisually recorded.

The reason why the contents of the interviews with other members of the public than film professionals, such as ordinary festivalgoers, have not been more systematically used for the thesis is in part due to the gradual change in the way in which I as an ethnographic researcher see the overall workings of film festivals over time. Most of the fieldwork findings associated with the interviews were gathered at the early stages of my visits to BIFF (the 12th in 2007) and the Berlinale (the 57th in 2007 & the 58th in 2008) and the then major focus of the fieldwork at these two festival sites centred on my on-site observation of the international festival cultures exclusive to film industry and festival insiders (e.g. festival programmers, film journalists, and festival staffers) during the festival’s duration. Thus, except for my participant observation of their verbal and emotional interactions with film professionals through their participation in public dialogue.
in the form of post-film screening Q&As and panel discussions (see Chapter 5), interviewing ordinary festivalgoers at BIFF and the Berlinale was relatively less considered over the course of me conducting the fieldworks at these two festival sites. As a result, I later tried to focus more on them, especially BIFF’s online audiences, by looking into the role the BIFF programmer Kim Ji-seok’s online activities via *Inside BIFF* play in enabling them to indirectly experience the innately exclusive world of international film festivals and the both official and unofficial activities of the stakeholders in it, all of which the former are rarely accessible to (see Chapter 6). In this sense, I myself was also taken into account as one of Kim’s subscribed online readers and public who consume regularly his “personal” experiential stories associated with the world of international film festivals and which were illustrated from his insider’s standpoint. Apart from this, my respective physical presence itself at BIFF and the Berlinale during those festivals’ durations also led me to consider myself one of the on-site general public participating in BIFF and the Berlinale respectively (see Chapter 4).

**Participant observation:** I conducted two types of participant observations at BIFF and the Berlinale: firstly, certain festival events programmed by BIFF and the Berlinale (i.e. the Q&A sessions and panel programmes (see Programmes 1-4.2)), and secondly, certain urban public spaces in Busan and Berlin used for their respective major festival venues and areas (i.e. BIFF: the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas/the Berlinale: Potsdamer Platz and Budapester Strasse). Based on these two in-situ observations during and after the festival periods, I then reconstructed my festival experiences or *experiential memories* about these two festival cities and the overall ways in which their film festivals generated their distinctive festive ambience, in the form of ethnographic writings widely used in the field of anthropology.

**Archival research:** I utilised online festival archival materials that were uploaded on these two film festivals’ official websites (BIFF: www.biff.kr / the Berlinale: www.berlinale.de), with which to investigate how festival media mediate the public dimension of film festivals for both their online and offline festival audiences before, during, and after the festival periods. For conducting this analysis, I chose a specific film festival programmer’s literary contributions to BIFF (i.e. BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok and his *Inside BIFF*) produced exclusively for his Korean-speaking audience.
who constitute his target readers. Of all the editions of Kim’s Inside BIFF published online since 2003 to date, I selected fifteen editions for analysis according to their thematic relevance to this thesis’s major theme (see Appendices 1-16). Given that they were published only in Korean in order to specifically target Korean readers, I drew on them by translating them into English. Apart from these, I also utilised a series of festival dailies exclusively for BIFF and the Berlinale (e.g. The Hollywood Reporter & Cine-21, Variety, and Screen International) and other numerous on- and offline print materials and footage produced by local and international media outlets including newspapers, TV and radio programmes during the festival periods.

In other words, the key methodological approach for this research lies primarily in my attempt at re-enacting my lived-in experiences at the film festival sites as miscellaneously or thickly as possible, as in Clifford Geertz’s anthropological ‘thick description’ approach (1973: 6). In order to do this, it is useful to employ Victor Turner’s anthropological approach of turning his ethnographic data into play works to provide associated impressions and memories recorded during his fieldwork in specific locations and cultures. The crux of his methodology centres upon the ways that more nuanced and detailed understanding of the ethnographic data is made, whereby the readers can imagine and visualise all the tangible and intangible experiences the author himself has made over the course of the fieldwork (Turner, 1982, 1988). Turner’s efforts to re-enact his lived-in experiences by turning them into play works could be in many respects woven into my methodological approach in order to explore the public dimension of film festivals. In spite of some limitations to Turner’s practices on my part due to my lack of expertise in the field of performance and drama, the lived-in experiences I had at film festival sites could nevertheless be re-enacted in the way that they are described and then recorded from my personal viewpoint, dependent on my own capacity to reminisce about circumstantial situations by going back and forth between the past and current memories of them. That is to say, turning ethnographic data into a playscript in itself is an anthropological performance aimed to reflect in a detailed manner the quantitative but also qualitative (e.g. affection, emotional states and ambient
feelings of locations etc.) meanings of the subjects in question. Therefore, I used my own thick descriptions of spatial and sensorial ambiences I experienced at festival events and urban public spaces in general at Busan and Berlin respectively during the festival periods.

With regard to the use of empirical data for the analysis, I need to explain first of all the overall manner of structuring each chapter of this thesis, particularly centring on those linked to empirical data analysis. Grounded primarily in ethnography as its major methodology, this thesis relies largely on the restructured, hence personalised, version of my years-long festival experiences in both Busan and Berlin as a PhD researcher who has maintained a dualistic or situated identity, not only a festival-accredited member of these two film festivals, but also as part of the ordinary festival audience and public. In addition to this, the multidimensional positionality of me as an Asian (e.g. South Korean) PhD researcher ensnared in Eurocentric sociocultural settings (e.g. London and the UK as a whole) can also be taken into account. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning Dipesh Chakrabarty who argues that:

> Our footnotes bear rich testimony to the insights we have derived from [European] knowledge and creativity […]. The everyday paradox of third-world social science is that we find these theories, in spite of their inherent ignorance of ‘us’, eminently useful in understanding our societies. What allowed the modern European sages to develop such clairvoyance with regard to societies of which they were empirically ignorant? Why cannot we, once again, return gaze? (1992: 337-8)

His postcolonial or non-Eurocentric view of hybrid identity and positionality formation briefly reminds me of how I, as a non-European researcher studying in the UK, should maintain my own analytical insight into the Western and Eurocentric tradition of cinematic diversity: film festivals. In particular, given that de Valck argues that ‘film festivals started as a European phenomenon’ (2006: 59), Chakrabarty’s argument motivates me to rethink my position as both an ethnographic researcher and a
semi-professional festivalgoer in exploring how international film festivals as BIFF and the Berlinale can be perceived as experiential public spaces. How effectively can I posit myself as a neutral or, what Hall (1996: 48) calls ‘situational’ observer, when it comes to investigating these two characteristically different (e.g. culturally and geographically) but structurally similar international film festivals? Which methodological frameworks can I employ to explore the unpredictable, hence intangible and unquantifiable, dimension of publicness attached to the overall dynamics of contemporary film festivals that this thesis deals with? Regarding the unpredictability of social interactions in publicly accessible environments, Murdoch suggests that ‘[i]nteractions cannot be framed, actions cannot be distanciated, and associations cannot be made durable in space and time using humans alone as their interactions are too often unpredictable’ (1997: 328). However, such unpredictable and ungraspable factors are a primary subject that qualitative researchers prefer to handle and quantitative researchers try to avoid. Hence, Morley states in relation to his research on cultural studies that ‘the unsaid is always more important than the said…I don’t know what kind of computer can deal with that kind of issue – about the unsaid, or about significant silences or absences’ (2007: 75-6). Devising general paradigms by using validated theoretical frameworks in relation to certain sociocultural phenomena could be one of the primary missions that most academic researchers have always been pursuing. Nevertheless, it is also true that the outcomes which are based solely on theoretical assumptions can no longer legitimize their validities properly without taking into account their empirical aspects. This aspect of my methodological approach is especially important in conducting research on film festivals that requires multidimensional methodologies given certain complex features. In other words, this thesis aims to investigate complex relationships between the spatiotemporal dimensions of these two international festivals as experiential public spaces and associated reciprocal performative interactions of heterogeneous festival audiences.

Grounded in this multifaceted aspect of my positionality as an ethnographic researcher, the fieldnotes recorded in my small handwritten notebooks and laptop were reconstructed largely by
relying on my recollections or a series of my own experiential coordinates or traces that I had sporadically recorded in either a written or verbal-visual form in Busan and Berlin respectively during the festival periods. All of these materials were utilised exhaustively to complete my lived-in memories regarding the overall ambience of festival sites in a comprehensible manner. In this sense, the thesis’s methodological imperative is to a greater extent reflected in my ethnographic analysis of my own lived-in experiences at the 12th BIFF in 2007 and at the four consecutive editions of the Berlinale (57th in 2007-60th in 2010), whose process involves a great deal of my own experiential feelings and impressions about the festival spaces. As Kirsten Hastrup argues, ‘[f]ieldwork is confrontation and dialogue between two parties involved in a joint creation of otherness and selfness. It is the interpersonal, cross-cultural encounter that produces ethnography, comprehending others leaves no one untouched’ (1992: 12). Here, she insists on the importance of the contextual understanding of any given situation that might occur during anthropological fieldworks, arguing that:

It is often stressed that in order to be truly ethnographic, films must present a real-time sequence; to break up time would be a distortion of truth. Going back and forth in time, however, is an all-important parameter in establishing the context of particular events – whatever they are – and the truth must always be relative to context. Time-leaps are part of the language-shadows by which we encircle local signs that have no equivalents in our own language. The stretches of life that we always may be ‘dead’, in the sense that they do not exist anymore, but their social significance must be established by reference to past and future events. Again, visual and textual authority part company from each other, the first one emphasizing instantaneousness and sequence, the second implying ‘meanwhileness’ and conjunction (ibid.: 15-6).

Similarly, during fieldwork at BIFF and the Berlinale, I attempted to grasp the festival sites not as mere physical places, but as transformative, hence perceptually permeable, public spaces where both first-time and regular festival visitors and the built festival environments or spectacles drawing their already
distracted attentions mingle with each other. At this point, it is important to briefly discuss the distinction in definition between place and space made by Michel de Certeau. Hastrup states, following Certeau’s definition, that ‘[a] place is the order of distribution and of relations between elements of whatever kind; it is an instantaneous configuration of positions. By contrast, space is composed of intersections between mobile elements, and is actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it’ (ibid.: 11). Specifically, de Certeau insists that ‘[s]pace occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities’ (1988: 117). Hastrup thus suggests that ‘[a] space is constantly transformed by successive contexts and had nothing of the stability that characterises a place’ (1992: 11). In other words, de Certeau argues that ‘[s]pace is practiced place’ (1988: 117). This way of understanding the organic nature of space that emerges at the festival sites resonates with what Daniela Sandler terms ‘phenomenological perception’ by referring to the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in discussing the transformation of Potsdamer Platz in Berlin (Sandler, 2003: n.p.).

Regarding this, Sandler further explains that:

My definition of spatial experience, or phenomenological perception, is based on [that of] Maurice Merleau-Ponty ... The French philosopher maintains that perception is formed by the corporeal and dynamic experience of inhabiting space. Merleau-Ponty criticizes spatial descriptions that privilege only the visual dimension, and that define the visual register from a fixed, external, impartial point of view (a fictional, omnipresent “eye”). For instance, geometric space, determined by Cartesian coordinates and objective measurements. While objective space is constant and fixed, lived space changes according to subject position, and is informed by the tridimensional presence of the perceiving body (ibid.).

In this sense, the multidimensional nature of the ethnographic manner in which these personalised festival experiences are explored could be materialised equally by multidimensional methodologies in order to reflect the complex dynamics of lived-in experiences I as an ethnographer have had at the
festival sites: e.g. anthropological thick descriptions from the perspective of the heuristic framework. Unearthing an intelligible, hence gaugeable, resultant pattern out of intangible and inexplicable discrete conditions and situations (e.g. the deeply personal state of human emotions and performances responsive to such communicatively performative environments as post-film screening Q&A sessions held during the festival periods) is an enormously challenging work, in light of its subjective process involving various forms of personal or sensorial engagements which I as an ethnographic researcher make at the festival sites. Such subjective factors cannot merely be fused with, and then justify, the complex dynamics of festival experiences without taking into account their underlying sociocultural contexts in a holistic manner. For instance, tacit knowledge of the performative aspects of ordinary festival audiences’ interactions with their counterparts (e.g. filmmakers and Q&A session moderators) or vice versa at film festival Q&A sessions could be scrutinised, only to become sensible to the readers by way of a heuristic approach. Eventually, the reason for this qualitative approach as this research’s main methodology lies in the nature of film festival experiences themselves, experiences that tend to be constructed in an unquantifiable manner contingent upon environmental or extra-cinematic factors (e.g. perceptual transformation of people’s attitudes towards public places in urban environments, festival audiences’ communicative performances during Q&A sessions and the perceptual popularisation of film festival images). That is, affective or emotional attachments of those present at film festival sites to specific locations and places in situ cannot be adequately reconstructed, with the researchers concerned being detached from their lived-in experiences of film festival sites. Accordingly, what I need to do as an ethnographic researcher is to describe my lived-in film festival experiences as thickly as possible, based on what I have gathered at film festival sites through interviews and my own observations of these sites as part of on-site fieldwork.

For instance, I imagine myself and then reconstruct where I have once been during the festival periods and the ensuing impressions of the experienced festival spaces – BIFF in Busan and the Berlinale in Berlin – on the basis of all the lived experiences I have had at these festival sites.
Retrospecting them relies primarily on numerous pictures and digital camera-filmed footage as well as a great deal of written material documented in my fieldnotes. Partial memories of the festive ambience which I myself recorded with the help of digital technologies (e.g. digital camera and portable laptop), are interlaced with unquantifiable in-situ impressions, in order that the overall contour of my lived festival experiences manages to be concretized. In particular, visual materials like still photos, which contain various festival images associated with specific festival events or places I have visited for particular reasons, play a crucial role in providing me with strong motifs and inspirations from which once elusive memories of given experiences at the festival sites can be made gradually sensible (to my readers as well as myself). Limited though they seem in conveying to readers what actually happened at the festival sites owing to their momentary and static qualities, what these photographed or freeze-framed images show, nevertheless, permits readers to be open to a wide range of interpretations which hinge on specific sociocultural backgrounds against which each reader is positioned. However, obtaining immediately satisfactory outcomes from these visual materials coupled with other forms of data collated while conducting fieldwork at the two festival sites is to a greater extent unlikely, due to the permeable and situated nature of ethnographic data that reflect researchers’ or participant observers’ personal views. In this sense, the long-term reflective and cyclical process of familiarising my own empirical data or incubation in heuristic terms could also be taken into account as part of the overall methodological framework of this thesis. Given its ethnographic way of approaching the subjects or themes to be highlighted and examined, this thesis’s methodological framework tends to be differentiable from other traditional research methodologies of film (festival) studies, in relation to how the core subjects or themes in question are approached, deliberated on and analysed. In other words, this thesis is characterised as empirical rather than as conceptually oriented in terms of deliberating and discussing its overall methodological framework, in that it focuses primarily on the empirical or personalised and subjective aspects of my festival experiences at BIFF and the Berlinale.
In the next section I will explain the overall process this thesis has undergone regarding some changes in the overall structure of its major methodological framework since the inception of this doctoral research in 2006.

3.2. Gradual Transformation of the Overall Structure of the Thesis

3.2.1. Why BIFF and the Berlinale?

My initial intention to choose and analyse BIFF and the Berlinale comparatively as the empirical case studies for this thesis was based on the geopolitical implications which their respective host sites – Busan and Berlin – have as cities of politically divided nations in the post-Second World War era and the subsequent Cold War period. I also tried to investigate the political aspects commonly shared by these two festival sites by looking at their respective festival programming strategies that allow films, whose main themes are concerned with the historical process of political divisions and reconciliations, to be exposed to – and discussed by – a wide range of both domestic and international festival audiences. These pertinent discourses could then be formed and actively communicated among festival audiences via film festivals functioning as political public spheres. In other words, at the early stage of my research on film festivals I intended to pay attention to how politically controversial issues or events (e.g. screening North Korean films in South Korea and East German films in West Germany before reunification in 1990) have been raised and discussed by film festivals as an alternative public sphere relatively immune to state censorship and the geopolitically specific limitations of national politics. I then employed the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas’ concept of the public sphere in order to prove the hypothesis: that the film festival is a mutually-interlinked public sphere with miscellaneous communicative activities emerging at festival times in order to generate numerous debates and discussions.
However, having visited these two festival sites for the purpose of conducting fieldwork for four years (2007-2010), I began to gradually realise discrepancies between this thesis’s initial hypothesis and my years-long film festival experiences in situ and pertinent empirical findings collated via interviews and participant observations. Given that my research aims to explore how the public dimension of film festivals can be perceived and then materialised against their programmed thematic backdrops and festival spectacle, I began to pay more attention to the degree of public accessibility and audience-friendliness, two of which BIFF and the Berlinale have as their respective marketable festival images, are differentiable from some major FIAPF-accredited competitive feature film festivals (e.g. Cannes and Venice) and sharable with other important, albeit non-competitive and even not FIAPF-accredited, international film festivals (e.g. Toronto, Rotterdam and Sundance). This means that apart from all the verbal communications conducted among those present at film festival sites over the course of the festival periods, this thesis takes into account as its major focus diverse forms of both their physical and emotional engagements in, and their presence at, the festival sites themselves. Accordingly, this thesis capitalizes on the performative way that those present at the festival sites sense and are integrated naturally into publicly accessible and participatory festival ambiences that both BIFF and the Berlinale provide for them. These aspects are stated as follows:

- **The Gentrification of Urban Public Space**: The changing sense of publicness local and international visitors experience under the process of structural and physical transformation of the festival host cities: the gentrification of public spaces within film festivals (e.g. local residents’ or citizens’ perceptual changes in a sense of publicness or public accessibility originally attached to certain sites designated for BIFF and the Berlinale)

- **The Film Festival Q&A Format and Festival Audiences’ Participatory Tendencies**: Festival audiences’ improvised tendencies of responding to and participating in emotionally engaging ambiences discharged by Q&A sessions: e.g. public audiences’ participation in Q&A sessions and their behavioural modes indoors.
The Role of Media in Film Festivals: Festival media’s roles in engendering a sense of publicness via their ubiquitous presence throughout the festival periods, so as to keep informing festival participants of festivals’ daily operations and maximising the sustainable public image of film festivals during the short festival periods: e.g. the omnipresence of the media around publicly accessible squares in film festival sites and ways that festivalgoers or even passersby sense and respond to them.

Since the start of this research in 2006, its main focus has been devoted to the ethnographic exploration of the public dimension of BIFF and the Berlinale, yet this has shifted from a macro-sociopolitical perspective (i.e. film festivals as a kind of political public sphere) to its micro-anthropological perspective (i.e. performative interactions between film festivals and their host cities, audiences and media). I intend to examine the latter aspect of film festivals by reconstructing my “lived-in” experiences at these film festivals by utilising my own memories and impressions as recorded in the empirical findings.

3.2.2. Transformation of the Main Theoretical Framework

As mentioned above, the original theoretical framework of this thesis was grounded in Habermas’ public sphere, especially on its communicative potential for facilitating ‘rational-critical debate[s] about public issues’ among socio-politically literate members of society (Calhoun, 1992: 1). Using his theory, the thesis also tried to explore the public dimension of film festivals as an ideal public sphere capable of engendering a communicatively discursive and participatory or democratic environment to promote open-ended discussions among their audiences and publics over public, especially political, issues. However, my attempt to focus more on its universal qualities rather than on its historically and socioculturally specific contexts faced some structural limitations inherent in his theory, including its failure to put its idealistic and universal public qualities into practice in the analysis of complex and multilayered features of contemporary societies. More specifically, what the notion of the Habermasian
public sphere failed to reflect was the constantly changing “realities” of contemporary societies. These are, for instance, associated with the hitherto undervalued existence of multiple public spheres constructed and sustained by diverse groups of people in our contemporary societies (i.e. hitherto socially marginalized and suppressed groups, such as ethnic minorities, LGBTs, the poor working classes, women, and the masses and their everydayness in general) and the gradual increase in their representations in societies as a result of the continuous development of media technologies and the concomitant increase in their access to a great deal, and wide range, of information once monopolised by a few elites or what Stuart Hall et al. call ‘primary definer[s]’ in societies (1996: 428). In parallel with this, the fragmented and hence multifaceted nature of publicness in a contemporary context could also be reflected by the overall dynamic of film festivals, especially in terms of their tendency to facilitate further active public participations in their festivities themselves. In other words, the intrinsically limited suitability of the Habermasian public sphere as a conceptual model for researching the public dimension of film festivals in a contemporary context compelled me to consider a more nuanced conceptual approach to the ethnographic exploration of public qualities implicated in the structural and operational workings of contemporary film festivals. To be more specific, I intend to investigate the public workings of film festivals from an anthropological perspective which involves the need for me to have a more personalised ethnographic insight into the “spatial” and the “perceptual” in Busan and Berlin as urban film festival sites. The complex, hence multilayered and gradually fragmented or individualised nature of contemporary urban spaces constituted by their both temporary and long-standing inhabitants’ diverse forms of everyday living spaces and lifestyles in general, makes this thesis take into account a more nuanced conceptual approach to explore the public dimension of BIFF and the Berlinale. This approach encompasses more experiential relations formed between film festivals and public accessibility aimed at facilitating festival audiences’ active participations and natural immersion in the overall festive spectacles as programmed by film festivals themselves. Given the contemporary context of more fragmented and pluralized societies, this thesis
proposes a more experiential notion of publicness borne out of criticisms of the universal and idealistic notion of the Habermasian public sphere. With this context in mind, the resultant overall structure of the thesis’s three main empirical chapters for is outlined as follows:

- **Chapter 3 – Festival Cities:**
  - **Main Theme:** The gentrification of urban festival spaces and its effects on the perceptual manners that locals see changing images of the festival host cities and nations as their long-term everyday living spaces.
  - **Main Area of Study:** Urban studies to examine the transformation of the meaning of publicness originally embedded in publicly accessible spaces within urban environments through urban gentrification phenomenon emerging from film festival host cities.

- **Chapter 4 – Festival Audience:**
  - **Main Theme:** Ordinary festival audiences’ communicative and non-verbal or bodily and emotional performances shown in diverse forms during Q&A sessions.
  - **Main Area of Study:** Studies in cultural anthropology aimed at explaining improvised performances of festival audiences emerging over the course of Q&A sessions, which show how public participatory ambiences are formed.

- **Chapter 5 – Festival Media:**
  - **Main Theme:** Festival media and their functions to form the publicness or publicly accessible festive ambience via their online media platforms (e.g. electronically published newsletters targeting a wide range of on- and offline ordinary festival audiences, spectators or distant observers).
  - **Main Area of Study:** Media studies to explain how public or festival media function as a means to construct and sustain film festivals’ public images appealing to both domestic and international festival audiences.
3.2.3. Fieldwork at BIFF and the Berlinale

The Busan International Film Festival (BIFF)

For the purpose of conducting the fieldwork for the 12th BIFF (October 4-12, 2007), I visited and then stayed in South Korea (mainly based in Busan) for approximately three months (October 2007-January 2008). The entire period of the fieldwork is generally divided into two phases: during and after the 12th BIFF. While the first phase of the fieldwork was focused on my on-site observation of how the overall festival ambience of BIFF is constructed and then maintained through its festival programmes in close cooperation with festival media, the second phase of the fieldwork centred on interviewing BIFF staffers (e.g. programmers and administrative staffers) and insiders (e.g. film journalists and film scholars appointed as special advisers for BIFF) based in Busan and Seoul and conducting archival research on BIFF in general.

The First Phase of Fieldwork: During the 12th BIFF

The main focus of the fieldwork conducted during the 12th BIFF was to make me as a film festival academic directly involved in the overall media operations of BIFF, through which to experience how BIFF creates and then manages its external festival image (and festival ambience in general) given its close cooperation with numerous on- and offline media outlets participating in its 12th edition (e.g. the total number of festival guests accredited as the press participating in the 12th BIFF was 1,695 (domestic: 1,356 + foreign: 339; see PIFF, 2007). More specifically, I, as an accredited member of the Press, have closely observed BIFF’s daily festival media operations by attending some festival media events accessible only to accredited members of the festival, such as press conferences and press film screenings. My daily observations of its media operations during the festival period started by visiting the BIFF Press Center temporarily set up inside a shopping mall in Haeundae, where all the BIFF and other festival media outlets’ daily publication of press materials for promoting BIFF were prepared for,
and distributed to, BIFF’s accredited members of the Press throughout the festival period (see Figure 3.2). These materials ranged from BIFF’s daily schedules pinned on its bulletin board at the Press Center to international film trade magazines (e.g. Variety, Screen International and BIFF Daily) published jointly by the L.A.-based film trade magazine The Hollywood Reporter (THR) and Cine-21 and to local (and national) newspapers (e.g. Busan Ilbo and Kookje Shinmun). In particular, I was directly involved in festival media operations by working as a part-time interpreter hired by both THR and its Korean partner Cine-21 jointly publishing BIFF Daily. My major duty was twofold: firstly, interpreting for THR’s foreign festival correspondents at several evening reception parties who wanted to communicate with the Korean delegations attending them and, secondly, assisting THR correspondents in covering daily highlighted festival events for the BIFF Daily on site.

![Figure 3.2: The 12th BIFF Press Center. Photographed by Hong-Real Lee, October 4, 2007.](image)

However, it was, in actuality, quite rare for them to seek my Korean language service and other associated assistance for their festival coverage throughout the festival period. Since most domestic festival guests (e.g. producers, distributors, sales agents and programmers) were veterans who have been working in international film festivals and industries for a long time, they did not seem to have difficulties in communicating with the foreign guests in English. For instance, an American THR
correspondent for whom I was responsible, was the Beijing-based THR Asia editor in charge of its operations in South and Northeast Asia. Given his expertise in the Asian film and media industries, his professional interest in films screened for BIFF was not entirely limited to Korean films but he was relatively open to Asian films in general, especially those from Chinese-speaking countries. In other words, his being incapable of speaking and understanding Korean was not a serious obstacle to him continuing to carry out his festival coverage activities during the 12th BIFF. Apart from this, my festival accreditation status during the festival period was also rather ambiguous. Although accredited as Press, my research activities within and beyond the BIFF Press Center were basically aimed at closely observing (and experiencing) as an ethnographer the holistically coordinated mechanism of BIFF’s media operations pertaining to the way in which the Press Center operates during the festival period, and not directly responsible for covering BIFF like other domestic and foreign press members. Consequently, my elusive positionality or identity within the Press Center and even THR had an adverse effect on my fieldwork activities at the 12th BIFF as my rather official status not only as the Press but also as a part-time interpreter working for THR failed to make me an independent or neutral observer of BIFF’s overall media operations regarding both indoor and outdoor festival events programmed especially for the general public (e.g. post-film screening Q&A sessions or Guest Visits (GVs), film stars’ outdoor greetings of the general audience, open interactions between film stars including actors and filmmakers and ordinary audiences called Azu-Damdam (Really Calm and Down-To-Earth) and so forth) during the festival period. Despite the aforementioned preliminary arrangements and considerations for me to conduct fieldwork at the 12th BIFF, my research activity during the actual festival period turned out to be largely limited to gathering BIFF-related printed media reports and archival materials.

As a result of such situational constraints, I started rethinking my initial focus on the first phase of the fieldwork by reversing my initial perspective of seeing how BIFF constructs its festival images through its use of media: my own observation of the way in which ordinary festival audiences and
publics (including me) experience and inhabit BIFF as a media-constructed festival, by walking around the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas respectively throughout the period of the 12th BIFF. This research method of walking or wandering around these two main festival sites as urban public spaces in Busan was intended to document my latest on-site experiences at the 12th BIFF, with my past memories of earlier BIFF festivals (e.g. the 1st BIFF held in 1996) as a Busan native compared to them (regarding this “walking-around” method, I will discuss it in more detail in the last section of this chapter). It thus involved my own reconstruction of both the latest and earlier memories of BIFF on the basis of my field notes about my latest walking experience, other archival materials pertinent to the overall history of BIFF (e.g. past media reports about the 1st BIFF published by such local newspapers as *Busan Ilbo* and *Kookje Shinmun*) and several interviews with BIFF staffers and insiders conducted after the 12th BIFF.

*The Second Phase of Fieldwork: After the 12th BIFF*

Making appointments with those professionally involved in BIFF for interviews during the festival period was highly demanding, considering their respective busy schedules managing its daily operations (e.g. attending numerous private business meetings and evening reception parties with their domestic and foreign guests for the purpose of networking, daily readiness for unexpected media reactions to problems with the overall festival operations and many others), let alone their indifference to my academic approach to the overall workings of international film festivals. Hence, the second phase of the fieldwork was focused primarily on personally meeting BIFF staffers and insiders for interviews based in Busan and Seoul respectively. Apart from this, I continued to conduct archival research of BIFF by visiting BIFF HQs in Busan, its Seoul branch office and film-related public bodies in Seoul, such as the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) and the Korean Film Archive (KOFA).
The Berlin International Film Festival (The Berlinale)

I attended the Berlinale as part of my fieldwork for four years, from 2007 to 2010. Of my four visits to the Berlinale for research purposes, I attended the 58th Berlinale in 2008 and the 60th Berlinale in 2010 respectively and was accredited as a Fachbesucher (Film Professional). With this accredited status, I could access all the exclusive services provided by the Berlinale for its accredited members, ranging from unlimited film screenings, whose prices were covered by the accreditation fee (e.g. €60.00 (2008)/€100.00 (2010)), to the use of the festival service centre (e.g. Berlinale Service Center housed in the Daimler Financial Service building on Potsdamer Platz), in which all the print festival publicity and information materials were updated on a daily basis and were also available throughout the festival period. The Berlinale Service Centre serves all the accredited members of the festival, not only issuing festival badges to them, but it also functions as both the resting lounge and the central information centre. However, compared to Press membership, this Fachbesucher status was, in actuality, limitedly in terms of providing access to exclusive festival services and events, considering the Berlinale’s maximum publicity efforts to manage, and draw attention from, the ubiquitous presence of local, national and international media outlets throughout the festival period.

During the 58th Berlinale I focused mainly on making close observations into film screenings and Q&A sessions rather than interviewing those concerned with the festival, through which to investigate correlations between the festival programming strategy and the Berlinale’s overall discursive dynamics. In line with this, I attended the 59th Berlinale in 2009 to observe a special panel programme commemorating the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall aimed at facilitating public audiences encounters with a series of accounts by filmmakers from former Soviet satellite countries in relation to their experiences regarding state-censorship and filmmaking practices, all in their geopolitical contexts. This was also the case for the 60th Berlinale in 2010, during which I attended carefully selected film screenings and panel discussion events that covered issues in North Korean society as seen through the eyes of insiders, such as ethnic (North) Koreans living in either Japan or
China, and on Germany’s Nazi past and its territorial division discussed during the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of German reunification. By contrast, at the 57th Berlinale in 2007 I placed emphasis more on conducting interviews with festival participants coming from various walks of life, due to majorly limited access that I, as an officially unaccredited member of the festival, have been given throughout the festival period. This sense of a complete lack of access to the exclusive festival structure in a reverse sense enabled me to feel obliged to be further connected and to mingle with a variety of both professional (e.g. festival staffers, film producers and film journalists) and ordinary (e.g. film students and ordinary festivalgoers, especially long-standing Berlin residents) festival participants outside its exclusive zone, specifically in public squares and areas utilised as the festival’s main venues (e.g. Potsdamer Platz, Arkaden, and several selected film screening venues in Berlin, like Cinemaxx, Cinestar, Cubix and Arsenal). The main focus of the fieldwork at the 57th Berlinale was on whether or not local ordinary festival audiences including Germans and, specifically Berlin citizens, perceived the Berlinale as an easily accessible public space. Based on this main focus, I conducted on-site interviews with them with several prepared questions. The major themes of these questions were concerned largely with “the pseudo-public image of the film festival and the festival’s strategic emphasis on, and exploitation of, the public accessibility of a wide range of festival audiences,” “the spatial significance of the festival sites in connection with either enhancing or discouraging a multiplicity of communicative or performative interactions between festival participants,” “roles of festival media omnipresent at the festival sites as to forming and inscribing a sense of publicness into local and international festival audiences’ perceptions,” and so on.

3.2.4. Walking Around Festival Sites as a Methodology: Perceptual Memory

The last factor that needs to be discussed as to conducting ethnographic fieldwork at festival areas is my own presence there as an ethnographic researcher wandering around the festival sites like a flaneur. These urban spaces are imbued with diverse forms of both tangible and intangible verves that are
generated through both harmonious and dissonant combinations of the physicality of the festival host cities and the emotions of those present at the festival sites. Nearly all film festivals held on an international scale maintain close relationships with their host locations that constitute the largely “urban cores” of the festival host cities, for instance, the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas in Busan and Budapest Strasse and Potsdamer Platz in Berlin. The symbiotic relations that are invisibly but ambiently sustained between film festivals and their host cities are what ethnographic researchers including myself tend to experience in situ, decode, and materialise into intelligible texts and visuals. Film festivals temporarily create for those present at festival sites an extraordinary ambience that tends to be differentiated largely from their mundane everyday conduct. Unlike their rather singular and purposeful modes of film consumptions at either stand-alone movie theatres or multiplex cinemas during the festival off-seasons, people as festivalgoers – who include both professional and ordinary festival audiences and even mere passersby and accidental spectators proximate to the festival sites – can holistically experience the multidimensional choreography of film festivals and their urban surroundings by “walking around” them during the festival seasons. Walking around the festival areas, I, as an ethnographic researcher, have sensed the spatiality of urban cores ephemerally transformed into festival sites and their living tempos embedded in them. In this process, I could observe and then experience the ambience of in-situ public accessibility that cannot be sensed through books or media reports on film festivals in places distant from the physical festival sites. Such a slow and stoppable way of walking around and sensing the festival areas is the factor that makes “festivalized cities” distinguishable from the ordinary unstoppable flow of those who are moving around their cities, either behind the wheel or by public transportation. In this sense, Craig Taylor talks of “walking-around” as an essential part of urban fabric by using London as an exemplary case study:

If we could make London easier to walk in, it would be great. It would be really beneficial to think about how one does that. Because walking is the most natural way to move. If you
think of transport on a personal scale you have the opportunity to understand what the environment looks like, what it feels like. Walking makes a city human, so cities ought to be for walking and yet we don’t really see walking as a means of getting around. The thing about pedestrians is that we tend to think of them as traffic. So we model them as rather like cars, but actually we want people to stop. That’s a good thing. People stop and they talk and they turn to go into streets: they’re not like cars. We don’t want cars to stop, we do want people to stop. Finding some way to represent how we enjoy stopping is a really important issue. [...] Maybe we need to design a city around making sure that stopping is part of it (2011: 63-4).

Such (spatially and perceptually) holistic movements of human bodies and senses as in “walking-around” function as the means to enable people to feel perceptually and ambiently connected with urban spaces, within which they are moving habitually as part of their everyday lifespaces. Namely, it ties people to a fluid sense of public accessibility within cities whose meaning has gradually weakened since the emergence of modernity in twentieth century European and North American cities. Western cities started to become expanded and modernised given various urban regeneration programmes executed as part of wider postwar reconstruction. At the same time, urban living tempos or rhythms on the whole accelerated in synchronisation with this urban modernisation, in part with the help of modern inventions like public and private modes of transportation including cars, trains and airplanes that contributed to the further acceleration of the speed of human movement within cities and beyond. In other words, the overall spectrum of urban environments coverable by human optics has been largely limited given their imperfect capacity to move around cities mainly by walking during the pre-industrial era. Then the sprawling modernisation of cities worldwide in the postwar era and afterwards began to accelerate and make human optics and movements mobile and even relatively unstoppable through the use of modern transportation. This made the perceptual distance between the mass publics or the urbanites and their spatial surroundings wider. Once slow-paced human eyes sensing (and experiencing) urban fabrics via “walking-around” speeded up and became even momentary, as cities
continued to develop with the passage of time. In light of this, film festivals revive an old-fashioned and natural/habitual culture of “walking-around” by making the once-unstoppable flow of everyday movements of humans in contemporary cities slower and even stoppable momentarily during the festival periods. Through this, they provide extraordinary environments for both their established residents and temporary visitors, where they can experience different aspects of their urban surroundings by walking around them at a slow pace.

In line with this, the multidimensional experiences of the festival areas and their surrounding areas that people such as myself undergo can also be taken into account in terms of reconstructing their lived-in experiences and recollections associated with the festival surroundings via both the past and present positionality, between which their position as ethnographic researchers continues to oscillate.

Regarding this dual positionality or identity, it is worth considering Stuart Hall’s idea of “‘productive’ pole of hybrid [cultural] identity formation” (Hall, 1990, cited in Cooke, 2005: 19). Hall explains this productive formation of cultural identity from a postcolonial perspective grounded in the historically specific context of the identity formation of the Caribbean diaspora, in the way that:

Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematizes the very authority and authenticity to which the term, ‘cultural identity’, lays claims. [...] [A]s well as the many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute ‘what we really are’; or rather – since history has intervened – ‘what we have become’. [In this sense], [c]ultural identity […] is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as ‘being’. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation (1990: 222-5).
On the basis of this, Cooke defines his productive or performative process of identity formation as ‘the individual’s past experience [becoming] a dynamic element in an ever-developing understanding of his or her present-day identity’ (2005: 19). Cooke originally drew on this notion to explain the hybrid identity formation of German national identity or Germanness after the reunification of East and West Germany in 1990. It tends to be characterised as productive and performative in the sense that the respective sociocultural distinctiveness or division of former East and West Germans became gradually blurred and then hybridized to a certain extent. This process of hybrid formation of identity can equally be applied to how my past and present experiences or memories of the two film festivals in Busan and Berlin are merged into a narratively coherent reconstruction of my own lived-in festival experiences, on the basis of my own ethnographic observations of the festival sites by “walking around” them. As an ethnographic researcher, I have walked around both physical and virtual spaces that operate at the film festival sites during the festival periods, through which I was able to reconstruct the overall picture of my lived-in experiences at these two festival sites. By physical spaces I mean both the “urban cores” of the festival host cities (e.g. Nampo-dong and Haeundae in Busan/Potsdamer Platz in Berlin) and the diverse indoor and outdoor festival venues that they temporarily created. By virtual spaces, I mean the recent trend of digitalization in film festival management and operations via the festivals’ active and “smart” use of diverse mobile media technologies that enable the spatiotemporal extension and expansion of festival ambience beyond its official periods, let alone the extent to which a wide range of festival audiences can maintain their perceptual attachments to the festivals themselves.

In this context, reminiscing about both physical (i.e. visiting actual film festival sites in Busan and Berlin for the purpose of conducting fieldworks on site) and virtual (i.e. the use of film festivals’ official websites and their online publications) experiences that I have had at BIFF and the Berlinale during their respective festival periods is the key to the reconstruction of their public dimensions. Accordingly, this practice of walking around the festival sites is one of this thesis’s main research methods, with which I established my own ‘perceptual memory’ about the public or publicly accessible
dimension of Busan and Berlin as urban festival sites that this thesis analyses in its case studies (Seremetakis, 1994: 129, cited in Degen and Rose, 2012: 3283). Seremetakis characterises the idea of perceptual memory in the following way:

[Perceptual memory as a cultural form, is not to be found in the psychic apparatus of a monadic, pre-cultural and ahistorical seer, but is encased and embodied out there in a dispersed surround of created things, surfaces, depths and densities that give back refractions of our own sensory biographies (ibid.).

What Degen and Rose (2012) emphasise, particularly in conjunction with Seremetakis’ characterisation of perceptual memory, is the contextually heterogeneous and situated nature of individual perceptual memory of urban experiencing, compared to the rather generalized and homogeneous construction of collective cultural identity (at either local or national level) and the concomitant indiscriminate memories generated. In this sense, their portrayal of the relationally less fixed and more connected and fluid feature of perceptual memory also resonates with Jones’s characterisation of memory in general:

Memory is a vital ingredient of imagination, emotion, rational reflexivity, and the unconscious/consciousness self itself. […] Memory is ‘on’ and working all the time, in our bodies, our subconscious, through our emotions. It reconfigures moment by moment who we are and how we function. Memory is not just a retrieval of the past from the past, it is always a fresh, new creation where memories are retrieved into the conscious realm and something new is created in that context (Jones, 2003: 27).

By extension, following Walter Benjamin’s idea of social memory actively communicating with a place imbued with it, Till emphasises that ‘memory is not just information that individuals recall or stories being retold in the present. It is not layered time situated in the landscape. Rather, memory is the self-reflexive act of contextualising and continuously digging in the past through place. It is a process
of continually remaking and re-membering the past in the present rather than a process of discovering objective historical “facts”” (2005: 11).

With this context in mind, this thesis attempts to extend the implications of the multilayered way in which perceptual memory works to the more individual (and microscopic) realm, hence the Certeauian sense of what Berry et al. call ‘our urban everyday’ (2013: 7). Therefore, as part of this thesis’s methodology, I will draw on this extended context of perceptual memory and apply it to the “walking-around” practice. Through this, I will explore how people’s (especially locals) sensorial spatial or urban experiencing becomes further multidimensionalised by taking into account its temporality and the following multilayers of their perceived everyday and mundane memories intricately intertwined with urban spaces in which their lifespaces are deeply rooted, through the process of recollecting them.

In the following three chapters, I will thus analyse how the public dimension of BIFF and the Berlinale are constructed and then transformed, by developing three case studies concerned with the gentrification of urban public spaces at film festivals (i.e. BIFF and the Berlinale), communicative performance of film festival audiences and publics post-film screening Q&A sessions (i.e. the Berlinale) and the construction of publicly accessible images of film festivals through festival media (i.e. BIFF) respectively.
Chapter 4. Gentrification of Urban Public Spaces at Film Festivals

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores how a film festival is spatially designed and established to present itself as a cultural and cinematic public space in order to accommodate both local and (inter)national needs. It illustrates the ensuing sensorial shift implicit in the ways that locals perceive the public image of festival sites. Specifically, it investigates how film festival host cities’ short- and long-standing residents and ordinary festivalgoers as a whole undergo tactile and sensorial experiences of the transformation of urban public spaces during the festival periods. I argue that the structural expansion and transformation of (inter)national film festivals affects changing perceptions local residents have of existing images of everyday urban public spaces by examining the selected urban spaces the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF) in South Korea and the Berlin International Film Festival (the Berlinale) in Germany respectively utilise: (1) the Nampo-dong area and the Haeundae area in Busan and (2) Budapester Strasse and Potsdamer Platz in Berlin.

The reason for choosing these two local urban spaces as specific cases is twofold. Firstly, it is arbitrary in light of my personal attachment to, and familiarity with, these two festival host cities Busan (also known as Pusan) and Berlin in relation to my educational background and personal history, as mentioned in this thesis’s introduction. Secondly, it relates to ideologically charged national histories and postwar reconstructions entangled with these two cities, therefore the major reason for choosing them is largely deliberate. The decision to choose them is based on both quantitative and qualitative transformations of film festivals. Accordingly, such structural expansions of film festival host cities have been historically perceived as a common phenomenon that can also be shared by other established film festivals for meeting the ever-growing needs of both domestic and international film industries under ever fiercer competition on global film festival circuits. Julian Stringer explains this constant expansion-oriented competition amongst film festivals as follows:
Any individual film festival strives to remain competitive on two fronts. On the one hand, a sense of stability is crucial to the promotion of events on the [international film festival] circuit – such and such a festival is worth attending because it is established, a regular fixture in the diaries of the great and the good, and so on. On the other hand, expansion is also necessary if the individual festival is not to be left behind by its rivals; festivals are advertised as *Bigger Than Ever, Better Than Ever, Comprising More Films Than Ever* (2001: 138-9).

Furthermore, such physical metamorphosis of film festival sites also tends to imply perceptual change in the existing symbolic image of these spaces in parallel with the socioculturally and historically specific contexts associated with it. For instance, the Berlinale’s main festival area was relocated from Budapester Strasse (and Zoologischer Garten as a whole) where the Berlinale was first founded in 1951 to the once heavily fortified demilitarized zone turned cutting-edge business sector Potsdamer Platz in 2000. In this regard, Janet Harbord characterises this turn-of-the-century relocation as ‘a wider ideological shift [from communism to capitalism, hence] as a metaphoric shift from a socialist-style, comfortless location, to a new commercial centre’, in addition to the transformation in its physical appearance itself (2002: 66).

In the process of their ever-increasing structural expansion and the ensuing gradual change in their urban environment in general, there emerges one common distinctive element between the two film festival sites – Busan and Berlin: a gradual decrease in the publicness or public feelings of existing urban public spaces in these two festival sites, some of which BIFF and the Berlinale have been using since their respective inceptions, leading to their spatial and functional compartmentalisation through urban regeneration and subsequent gentrification. Patrick Simon defines gentrification of an urban environment as ‘a new phase in the structuring of urban space, a reflection in space of economic restructuring, or a strategic criterion for analyzing the building up of social groups and the links between spatial position and the social position’ (Simon, 2005: 212). Sharon Zukin explains the main
reason for the emergence of this phenomenon by arguing that this is ‘because of movement of the rich, well-educated folks, the gentry, into lower-class neighbourhoods and the higher property values that follow them, transforming a “declining” district into an expensive neighbourhood with historic and hipster charm’ (Zukin, 2010: 8). Originating in North America and appearing later in Britain and Northern Europe during the 1970s and then consolidated in most European cities to date, the phenomenon of urban gentrification originally aimed at the positive improvement of old city neighbourhoods. Regarding the historical context of the emergence and subsequent development (and drawbacks) of this phenomenon, Zukin elucidates at length that:

[…] city branding [and urban gentrification in general] as a discipline proper [were] born in the industrial decline and fiscal stress of the 1970s. It was led by efforts in New York, which hit the limits of a diminishing tax base and vanishing bank loans in 1975 and was pushed to the brink of municipal bankruptcy. During the 1980s, with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan promoting an era of pro-business exuberance, cities became more entrepreneurial, too. They chased the mobile capital that was let loose by deregulation of financial markets and was concentrated in the sovereign funds of oil-rich states. [Such a city branding trend was expedited further by globalization. As a result, modern-day cities […] are gentrifying their old quarters, replacing dive bars with Starbucks and turning whatever old buildings remain into malls and museums. There’s big difference between this programmed “authenticity” and the “soul” of a neighbourhood, founded on everyday routines and local character that is so low-key, most residents are not conscious of it at all (2014: n.p.).

In sum, the process of urban gentrification is concerned with ‘not only the operation of the housing market and the economy thereof, but also the characteristics and beliefs behind the attitude of the gentrifiers themselves [as a new social group which can be defined on the basis of its economic position, political practices and cultural attitudes] and […] the interrelationships between economic restructuring and the emergence of new social categories, new housing needs and a new mode of
political expression in the struggle for the preservation of the environment’ (Simon, 2005: 212). Despite its controversial nature warned against by some urban scholars for what Degen calls its ‘purity’ and ‘order’-oriented approach to urban planning, the growing global decrease in the primordial sense of publicness via modern urban planning practices is nevertheless accelerating (2008: 67). In this regard, Degen explains how contemporary urban spaces tend to be ordered and hence become regarded as “pure” in the process of their transformations by referring to the anthropologist Mary Douglas:

[D]irt is essentially disorder. There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder. If we shun dirt, it is not because of craven fear, still less dread or holy terror. Nor do our ideas about disease account for the range of our behaviour in cleaning and avoiding dirt. Dirt offends against order. Eliminating is not a negative movement, but a positive effort to organize the environment (Douglas, 1966: 2 cited in Degen, 2008: 68).

This enables alternative forms of spatial dynamics for experiencing urban public spaces to be generated through their mutual coexistence. Accordingly, Michael Walzer (1986) proposes the concept of single- and open-minded urban space. The phenomenon of compartmentalising urban spaces in the Walzerian sense can be grasped in relation to the structural expansion of film festivals and its ensuing shift in the ways in which urban public spaces are perceived within the context of urban regeneration. First of all, prior to examining Walzer’s concept in more depth and assessing its applicability to spaces in film festivals, I would like to discuss briefly how to approach this subject methodologically.

4.1.1. Research Urban Public Spaces at Film Festivals

This chapter aims to investigate correlations between contemporary urban changes and associated activities that emerge from such cultural events as film festivals and their host cities regarding how urban public spaces can be moulded and then transformed through sensuous experiences that their inhabitants have in situ. What is at stake here is to link the immeasurable sensory dimension of
people’s urban experience to the spatial one provided by film festivals. Ethnographic explorations of the way that mundane and publicly accessible spaces in film festival host cities such as Busan and Berlin are transformed and become spectacularised temporarily and valued during the festival periods, thereby in many respects they pose both a theoretical and empirical challenge given their complexities as research subjects. The ontologically separate but epistemologically linked reciprocal relations of festival host cities to their inhabitants or vice versa are difficult to quantify, given that both urban sites tend to be imbued and intertwined with locally and nationally specific official and unofficial histories which can hardly be characterised in simple terms. Furthermore, the unpredictable and contingent features of exploring how an urban environment is epistemologically experienced or felt by its inhabitants requires multidimensional methodologies, especially in terms of film festivals and their spatiotemporally ephemeral architecture. Accordingly, it was to a greater extent inevitable that this ethnographic research focused on the reconstruction of how I, as an ethnographic researcher, experienced these public spaces through a series of fieldworks I conducted over nearly four years (e.g. BIFF: 2007 and the Berlinale: 2007-2010). Throughout the periods of the fieldwork at the festival sites, I deliberately mingled with ordinary and professional festival participants for the purpose of conducting interviews with them and participant observations of their activities, particularly in regard to how they experienced such spaces at focused venues and public places at these film festivals. In addition to this, I collected various archival sources and officially published documents associated with histories of film festivals and their host cities in order to try to balance these film festival sites’ objective and subjective aspects.

Interviews and official documents were analysed not merely through what was said in them, but also regarding what was left unsaid and suggested. There was always something unquantifiable in the words and descriptions of lived-in feelings or nostalgic memories regarding specific places intricately intertwined with multiple factors such as their inhabitants’ emotional attachment to them that could only be discerned and recognised via subtle changes of interviewees’ interior and exterior voices. As
Degen argues, ‘Simply, in official documents and representations the sensuous discourse which underpin [urban] regeneration processes are not explicitly remarked upon, but rather suggested through their absence [and certain senses] that are not mentioned or are only evoked by non-existence’ (2008: 12). Particularly, given the “inherently partial and, to a certain extent, fictional nature of ethnographic truth”, it is crucial to examine both the theoretical and empirical perspective of these two film festivals in a ‘holistic’ or ‘[descriptively] thick’ way (Clifford, 1986; Jick, 1979: 609). In other words, what is at stake here is a triangular perspective on the application of ethnographic methodologies. This methodological perspective examines multiple views on the sensual implications of relations between film festival spaces and miscellaneous experiences of their participants, thereby ‘work[ing] with the multiple perspectives that correspond to the multiplicity of coexisting, and sometimes directly competing points of view’ (Bourdieu, 1999: 3, cited in Degen, 2008: 12). Hence, it is of utmost concern that, as an ethnographic researcher, I have to make myself prepared for and reflexive in regard to the fluid and rather unpredictable nature of social interactions between urban public spaces and a multiplicity of their inhabitants. At the same time, as a consistent observer or tentative insider I ought to make the best use of my situated positionality as an ethnographic researcher in order to construct a plausible paradigm that encompasses broader contexts of festival participants’ communicative activities, as already mentioned in this thesis’s methodology chapter. The flexible positionality of ethnographic researchers such as myself towards particular situations is derived from the assumption made by Anderson that ‘some social action will never be displayed in the presence of an outsider’ (1987, cited in Hall, 1996: 48). In this sense, the main methodological framework I adopt here follows the triangular pattern of ethnographic fieldwork. Compared to singular modules, this pattern of research is peculiarly effective for ‘[its] greater accuracy’ (Jick, 1979: 602). More specifically, this multidimensional strategy, in which more than one method is used for ensuring the validity of the outcomes produced, ‘enhances our belief that the results are valid and not a methodological artifact’ (Bouchard, 1976: 268, cited in ibid.). Multidimensional methodological tools for the anthropological type of fieldwork undertaken for
this thesis are based on extended participant observations, together with a multiple data collection process that includes in-depth as well as on-site interviews with festival participants, and archival analysis of festival publications.

Firstly, I would like to explore the historical relevance of the rise and fall of public spaces and the historical development of film festivals in the context of urban studies. Then I will examine Michael Walzer’s concept of single-and open-minded space as this chapter’s conceptual point of departure. Lastly, I will analyse two film festival sites as empirical case studies – BIFF: the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas, and the Berlinale: Budapester Strasse and Potsdamer Platz – based on the fieldwork conducted at these sites through my own observations and interviews with those who participated in BIFF and the Berlinale respectively.

4.2. Film Festivals and Urban Public Spaces: *Single-Minded and Open-Minded Spaces*

International film festivals tend to both compete and strategically cooperate with one another in order to survive in the environment where, according to the International Federation of Film Producers Associations (FIAPF), seven to eight hundred official film festivals are held in addition to over a thousand international-scale film festivals in total every year (Iordanova, 2008: 27; Rüling and Pederson, 2010: 318). The international film festival phenomenon originated from European film festivals established mostly in the post-Second World War era, such as Cannes, Berlin and several others (apart from the Venice International Film Festival established in 1932). Elsaesser discusses the origin of international film festival phenomenon:

> Festivals have always been recognized as integral to European cinema, but they have rarely been analyzed as crucial also for the generation of the very categories that here concern me: the author, national cinema, opposition to (or “face to face with) Hollywood. Characterized by geographical-spatial extensions (the sites and cities hosting such film festivals) and particular temporal extensions (the sequential programming of the world’s
major festivals to cover the calendar year across the whole twelve-month annual cycle), the international film festival must be seen as network (with nodes, flows and exchanges) if its importance is to be grasped […]. The locations themselves have to be read symptomatically in relation to their history, politics and ideology, that is, in their typically European contexts of temporal layers and geographical sedimentation (2005: 83-4).

This phenomenon’s intrinsic feature as a “conceptually or organisationally/structurally similar but culturally diverse and different” international film festival format continued to be diversified on a global scale in the wake of the proliferation of international film festivals from the 1970s onwards, particularly in such regions as South East Asia (Stringer, 2001; see also Elsaesser, 2005; de Valck, 2006). These film festivals include the Hong Kong International Film Festival (Hong Kong SAR, established in 1977), the Tokyo International Film Festival (Japan, established in 1985), the Shanghai International Film Festival (PRC, established in 1993), the Busan International Film Festival (South Korea, established in 1996), the Pucheon International Fantastic Film Festival (South Korea, established in 1997), the Bangkok International Film Festival (Thailand, established in 2003) and several others. Consequently, in this process global competition amongst these film festivals is in this process of becoming even fiercer in order that they can attract and secure maximum attention domestically and beyond, leading to their further structural expansion. Regarding this, Davis and Yeh argue that:

A major development in the twenty-first century has been the rise of film festivals as showcases, marketplaces and cultural events. Like elsewhere in the world, Asian film festivals of all kinds are proliferating. They are prime cultural and commercial events – sites for the activities of cultural bureaucrats, governments and international corporations. Today film festivals in Asia compete with each other, not just in programming but also for prime slots in the calendar. Festival directors must ensure their schedules do not clash with the major events of Cannes, Venice, Berlin, Park City and the American Film Market. Given this, we may argue that film festivals have moved beyond their traditional role as
gatekeepers of the art of cinema and ventured onto a new international field of transactions in film co-production, investment, promotion and exhibition. Successful festivals tirelessly revamp themselves to maintain a unique regional, and possibly global, leadership [...]. Another salient aspect is the gliding of [film festival] host cities themselves, as Shanghai, Hong Kong, Tokyo, Pusan [or Busan since 2011], a large Korean port city, all jockey for position as must-visit destination on the festival circuit [...]. Moreover, cities now want to appear as attractive shooting locations, service providers or showcases for new talent (2008: 140-2).

Particularly, in terms of film festival host cities’ continuous efforts to revamp their external image, one distinctive element that needs to be taken into account in relation to the contemporary urban planning and design is how to understand the complex correlations between the ever-growing quantitative and qualitative changes in the organisational and operational structure of international film festivals and the ensuing tangible and intangible impact on their localities. Such impacts are noticeable given that both the festival host cities and those individual festival sites and venues temporally designated within them have long remained physically part of everyday living places for their long-standing inhabitants. In this regard, Stringer argues that the ‘[p]rocess of city planning and spatial planning are clearly important [...]’. Fixing the regional characteristics of festivals through their identification with particular cities requires a consideration of the links they forge between local councils, businesses, governments and communities, as well as some discussion of how all of these relate to global networks of power and influence’ (2001: 141). Accordingly, the structural and thematic efforts of film festivals to maintain their local and regional identities under the internationalised or globalised culture of film festivals and associated industries become more and more conspicuous. Moreover, being heavily influenced by neocapitalism emphasising the ideology of individualism rather than social collectivism, contemporary cities are currently undergoing a decline in the significance of socially bounded public spaces built and then organically grown within cities. Michael Rustin describes this tendency as having been relegated to a ‘nonspace [like] a mere thoroughfare through which individuals moved in pursuit of their private
purposes’ (1986: 486). In particular, and in sync with the rapid sociopolitical change in society, the gradual disappearance of public spaces and their Greek-agonian primordial sense of publicness or public accessibility within cities were further accelerated when the concept of contemporary urban planning and design was introduced in Western Europe and North America during the 1970s.

In this context, a historical transition emerges in urban policymakers’ and designers’ perceptions of the significance of urban public space from its early cohesive and integrated function in ancient times, via the religious-secularist bifurcation in the medieval era, into its despatialisation during early twentieth century modernism. This historical process shows a gradual decrease in perceptual boundaries between the public and the private in contemporary societies since the emergence of modernism or modernist urban design in the early twentieth century and its ensuing influence on every aspect of contemporary lifestyles. Such impacts are associated largely with the shift in the nature of the built urban environment that emphasises the specific movements and dynamisms of its inhabitants. In this regard, Richard Sennett argues that ‘the ability to pass through the urban space at high speeds has undermined the close physical contact between townspeople and their built environment, as had existed throughout history’ (1994, cited in Madanipour, 2003: 144). Nevertheless, under such an interstitial circumstances, those “not too physical but intimate” sites as public social spaces that exist in the form of easily accessible squares or piazzas tend to become even more distinctively presentable. Furthermore, these public social spaces tend to be characterised as ‘[a] space where we share with strangers, people who aren’t our relatives, friends, or work associates [and] space for politics, religion, commerce, sport; space for peaceful coexistence and impersonal encounter [whose character] expresses and also conditions our public life, civic culture, everyday discourse’ (Walzer, 1986: 470). At this juncture, it is worth taking into account Walzer’s conceptualisation of the dual mechanism implicit in the nature of contemporary urban environment as “single-minded and open-minded spaces”. This is closely related to the gradual shift in the ways that existing images or qualities of urban public spaces are projected
into the consciousness of their both temporary and established residents respectively. Walzer defines single- and open-minded spaces respectively as follows:

[There exist two kinds of public space that tend to be to a certain extent present on a continuum within a city]. The first is single-minded space, designed by planners or entrepreneurs who have only one thing in mind, and used by similarly single-minded citizens. Entering space of this sort we are characteristically in a hurry. The second is open-minded space, designed for a variety of uses, including unforeseen and unforeseeable uses, and used by citizens who do different things and are prepared to tolerate, even take an interest in, things they don’t do. When we enter this sort of space, we are characteristically prepared to loiter (ibid.: 470-71; emphasis in the original).

This functionally delineated but interactively reciprocal and even ‘hybrid’ coexistence of these two spaces within modern cities is resonant largely with the functional ways that a series of public spaces in the festival host cities are designated and utilised by film festivals as their festival venues, leading their previous local meanings to be gradually transformative (Harbord, 2002: 40). This multilayered tendency is based on the broader context of urban regeneration initiated from the 1970s onwards with the primary aim to intensify ‘urban renewal that has paid particular attention to the redevelopment and redesign of public space’ (Madanipour, 2003, cited in Degen, 2008: 4). Madanipour’s research emphasises how urban public space is historically defined in cities by focusing on the change in the meaning of public squares in European societies as a result of their structural expansion or restructuring.

In this sense, the ensuing functional compartmentalisation of urban public spaces is gradually materialised via metropolitan governments’ urban planning initiatives conducted in collaboration with programming agendas set by film festival organising groups. The collaborative relationships formed between them are manifested in the multidimensional nature that a film festival site itself has as a tentatively established structure bringing in multiple players for its operation. Rüling and Pederson thus argue that film festivals are temporary organisations that introduce ‘multiple constituents and reflect
divergent sets of values’ such as art, commerce, technology, culture, identity, power, politics and ideology (2010: 319). Mazdon supports their argument by suggesting that film festivals are specific institutions and culture-rooted ‘site[s] of dwelling and traveling’ and places of ‘travel and exchange [on a global scale]’ (2006: 23). For instance, in general there are two distinct festival spaces at major international film festival sites:

(1) Limited accessibility and exclusive or *hurrying* spaces designed for film industry professionals that include film markets, press centres and exclusionary areas used for reception parties and other film industry showcases mostly held at luxury hotels.

(2) Access-friendly and *loitering* public spaces aimed at encouraging the active participation of local festivalgoers, such as nationwide-franchised multiplex cinemas and local stand-alone movie theatres (e.g. for paying customers only) and many festival-related events held at public squares and so on.

In conjunction with the presence of these two spaces at film festival sites, there also emerges a tendency that certain urban areas designated for festival use are compartmentalised according to their respective functions, at the same time these characteristically different spaces coexist in parallel with each other. In this context, Walzer’s conceptualisation of urban public spaces can be employed to explain the perceptual shift in how locals see and sense everyday public spaces that they have long recognised as part of their everyday lifespaces through the gradual functional compartmentalisation of festival spaces following both BIFF’s (its 7th edition in 2002) and the Berlinale’s (its 50th edition in 2000) relocation of their main venues. In light of the tendency that existing public spaces in Busan and Berlin respectively become gradually regenerated and later gentrified, it is useful to examine Walzer’s concept of the rationalization and functionality oriented single-minded space and the integration and active participation oriented open-minded space for two reasons (Walzer, 1986).
Firstly, once easily accessible public places tend to be gradually transformed into being “functionally demarcated” according to individual or grouped festivalgoers’ purposes for film festival visits, as festival host cities both designate and value them as festival venues and festivals themselves expand with the passage of time. In relation to this, I borrow Walzer’s concept to explain film festivals’ dual strategy that aims to accommodate needs from both professional and public groups via the skillful ways in which film festivals manage, utilise and give special meaning to already existing public places.

Secondly, by extension, perceptions of general publics and citizens towards these places tend to become altered and modified either favourably or critically. This tendency depends on the extent to which they think of and remember those public spaces by linking their nostalgic memories of them to current changes in those spaces. However, such spatial and perceptual changes in festival sites could also be seen as natural and even inevitable. This propensity becomes more obvious when considering that the functional compartmentalisation of festival spaces through the gentrification process tends to proceed in parallel with growing demands from the stakeholders in film festivals, as once-fledgling festivals consistently develop in response to ever-fiercer competition on the international film festival circuit. In this sense, Hajer argues at length that:

[Walzer’s conceptualisation of urban public spaces] is a useful distinction. A city centre is only a democratic space, public domain, if it is not only accessible for everyone but if it also has something to offer every citizen or inhabitant. Open-minded space is also an environment in which otherness and strangeness are not continuously experienced as a threat but can trigger off interest. An open-minded approach is fundamentally different from a single-minded one. It emphasizes the positive side of urbanity but not in a naïve, idealistic way. It accepts that the modern city is the *locus classicus* of incompatible realities. The city is a constant search for a balance between changes, threats and experience. Urban life has pleasures and costs. Whatever we try, the citizen will always have a relationship of love and hate with the city. It does not follow that we have to tolerate everything simply because it is inherent to urban life. Yet an open-minded approach would emphasize that the
negative sides are inherent to the city and warns that strategies to contain ‘evil’ or to fight chaos do not necessarily improve the situation but might, in many cases, make the situation worse. Of course, it is important to make judgments as to what should be cherished and what should be contained. The city is made up of various spheres and one should not attempt to rationalize and homogenize their mode of operating. The city centre should be a catalyst for public life, attracting citizens from all spheres. The [urban] council should guarantee that the centre can be a place where this life among strangers can be exciting and stimulating rather than dull and destructive (1993: 68-9).

In other words, meeting balanced demands from both ordinary and professional parties manifests itself in a dichotomous inclusion-exclusion logic and this is symptomatically intertwined with most of fully functioning mainstream international film festivals. Accordingly, the aforementioned tendency is evident, and rather specifically in the case of BIFF, whose recent development and structural expansion via the relocation of its main festival areas from 2002 onwards have led it to become incorporated into the comprehensive global cinematic business operation more and more established in terms of its operational and functional appearance and increasingly similar to major international film festivals. In the next section I will focus on this chapter’s specific case studies of Busan and Berlin on the basis of Walzer’s conceptualisation of urban spaces.

4.3. Experiential Encounter with International Film Festivals: BIFF and the Berlinale

Two distinctively different characteristics of spatial change have appeared in Busan and Berlin as film festival sites: (1) the carefully planned and aesthetically spectacular ceremonial relocation of the main venue of the Berlinale in 2000 from Budapester Strasse to Potsdamer Platz, and (2) the slow and less recognizable one of BIFF, moving from the Nampo-dong area to Haeundae from the early 2000s up to present. This process also works in tandem with other rather diverse factors. These include the respective film festival stakeholders’ different opinions regarding the structural transformations of film festivals, underlying institutional power relations with their respective sociopolitical and cultural
specificities, and the benchmarking of a few established international film festivals by many small and medium-sized fledgling festivals and so on. As regards the implications of the relocation of the festival venues, the decision made by the Berlinale is seen in many respects as ideological and political in the sense that it has German reunification in mind as its underlying theme to signify a wider process of aesthetical and structural urban amelioration or gentrification. In contrast to this, the case for BIFF as a fledgling film festival tends to be closely associated with its decade-long restructuring and expansion due to chronic spatial limitations since its inception in 1996. In other words, film festivals in postwar Europe have a tendency to incorporate a wide range of activities and purposes ranging from cinematic marketing and filmic evaluation to training and education within the wider context of cultural diversity or heterogeneity (Harbord, 2002). With regard to the conditions which film festivals in Europe are based on and, specifically in relation to the Berlinale, Harbord argues that ‘[t]he festival context relies on the subsidized infrastructure of the locality, the state-supported museum, libraries, archives and educational institutions that condition the location of festivals (echoing de Hadeln’s comments on the relocation of the Berlin festival within walking distance of these institutions)’ (ibid.: 73). In parallel, a broad social transition started within South Korean society, from being authoritative to politically and culturally democratic, participatory and decentralized to a certain extent. The establishment of BIFF in 1996 was part of a “cultural movement” in sync with broader social changes during this period (Kim, 2005b; PIFF, 2005). In relation to their respective specific political and sociocultural contexts, the significance of public space in South Korean society seems to be relatively limited compared to Europe. Thus, BIFF Square in Busan tends not to be seen as a widely accessible space, since as a small portion of the Nampo-dong area it has been later symbolically and deliberately designated by the Busan metropolitan government as exclusively allocated and used for BIFF. Unlike the Berlinale, BIFF has been taking a dual approach in regard to its use of main festival locations. It utilised the Haeundae area (HUD) as one of its festival main venues – apart from the Nampo-dong area (NPD) – since its inception in 1996 (e.g. BIFF HQ and its main ceremonial site were originally located at HUD).
festival gradually started to move most of its main festival functions from NPD to HUD for reasons associated with the former’s poor cinematic infrastructure and safety issues around the area from the early 2000s onwards. As mentioned above, BIFF’s decision to relocate its main festival venues is, to a certain extent, associated with broader political and sociocultural shifts in South Korean society. It is also entangled with numerous internal-institutional factors to do with the management of the film festival itself: (1) the newly established civilian government in South Korea, followed by its decentralized policies giving more autonomy to provincial and municipal governments, (2) the growing importance of creative industries as an alternative driving force contributing to the sociopolitical integration of an ideologically-divided South Korean society, and (3) the revitalization of urban spaces via urban regeneration coupled with associated cultural policies.

4.3.1. The Busan International Film Festival

BIFF was established in 1996 as the first South Korean international film festival. Its establishment was planned initially to promote the South Korean movie industry where domestic films took in a mere 20 per cent of the home market in the 1990s, hence a desperately need for a national screen quota system to protect the domestic film industry against the major film market representatives of the United States (Russell, 2004). In other words, there was a growing need felt by those involved in the South Korean movie industry to shield the domestic film industry from western cultural dominance, especially given the Hollywood film industry and the onslaught of globalisation. In this context, it was inevitable that BIFF needed to distinguish itself from other existing international film festivals by promoting its desire to brand domestic films both nationally and beyond. More specifically, Harbord argues that:

[F]ilm […] does not float freely above national borders, but attains part of its value and meaning from its perceived origin and the paths of its circulation. These paths are located within as well as cutting across national borders; to conceive of global flows as outside of the
national omits the tension between national and global economies, the force field in which film circulates (2002: 73)

Here, we can characterise one of the aims that BIFF tries to pursue: the promotion of the ‘[hitherto] internationally unknown’ Korean film industry and culture to the world by overcoming the West’s ‘inability to differentiate its films from those produced by other East Asian countries’ (Ahn, 2003: 15; see also Berry, 1998).

In relation to South Korea’s attempt to maintain an ‘interdependency between the local and the global’, BIFF had another substantial objective in mind: decentralizing the South Korean government’s overall cultural policies focused traditionally on its capital city Seoul by holding an international-scale film festival in Busan (Ahn, 2003: 4). Notwithstanding its advantage as a strategically important port city making a considerable contribution to the South Korean economy, together with its title as the second largest city in South Korea, Busan has long remained a culturally peripheral area. Hence, the establishment of BIFF is also intertwined with the central government’s efforts to ‘promote the international image of [Busan] as the city of culture and arts in [South] Korea’ in line with boosting its economy (Hyun, 2001: 13). This proposition coincides with a strategy exploited by other major international film festivals held in Europe like Rotterdam and Berlin since their respective inceptions: ‘[postwar] urban regeneration’ (Ahn, 2003: 16). Just as the aforementioned European cities suffered from the Second World War, Busan also experienced the Korean War (1950-1953) and most national and cultural infrastructure was annihilated during this period. Therefore, there was a substantial ‘sense of stability’ that Busan as well as postwar European cities endeavoured to achieve (Stringer, 2001: 142). Such a sense as shared by these three cities – Rotterdam, Berlin and Busan – was also applicable to their cultural policies which aimed to establish flourishing cultural events, like international-scale film festivals, and via which they could step forward to become European and East Asian economic and cultural hubs respectively (Bianchini, 1993). In other words, cultural events and the festival images of
the host cities played a crucial role in making these locations cultural focal points on domestic as well as transnational terms.

Despite the common background and motivation that Busan as well as Rotterdam and Berlin share with one another, there are also substantial differences between them in terms of their organisation of film festivals and the extent of governmental support and intervention they experience. For instance, the active support of central and metropolitan governments for the organising and operating of BIFF eventually provided it with the momentum to become a successful global cultural event for fostering Asian cinema and, in an even broader sense, promoted Asian identity to the world. Apart from its role in boosting the South Korean movie industry and improving the image of a culturally peripheral South Korean city that met international standards through urban regeneration, BIFF was ultimately established to promote Asian cinema. BIFF placed a greater emphasis on the creation of a democratic atmosphere in which to ‘discuss the future of Asian cinema and [provide] a ground to discover and support new Asian filmmakers’ in collaboration with film professionals engaging in film industry (Hyun, 2001: 13). Thereby, BIFF was a turning point as well as an opportunity from Asian filmmakers’ point of view. Their films could be discovered by the global film industry’s leading practitioners and professionals largely coming from cinematic infrastructurally-advanced European and North American countries, who are capable of distributing (and effectively exposing) their films on an international level. Thus, Hyun further argues that:

[BIFF was established] to provide a base from which to promote and stimulate the restoration and development of Korean cinema by improving the conditions for the production and distribution of films, and to advance Korean cinema within world cinema. [This event was also initiated] to establish a mutually invested market in Asia and to support Asian film production [as well as] to provide a place for world film professionals to exchange ideas to promote development of the film industry (ibid.).
In this regard, BIFF makes ‘a particular approach to networking, centered on establishing its position as an East Asian hub [responding] successfully to both regional and global imperatives’ (Ahn, 2003: 21). Ahn further insists that ‘whilst PIFF [or BIFF] has appealed to Pan-Asianism and Anti-Hollywood sentiment to generate solidarity, it also manipulated a market-oriented strategy in dealing with the West’ (ibid.). In other words, BIFF could take a unique position in a global cinematic space that most Asian movie industries failed to take given the latter’s lack of movie industry-associated experience and resources and allowing for western dominance of the global film industry, thereby introducing and fostering Asian filmmakers and their works beyond the Asian continent.

In addition, there is another reason why BIFF could stably maintain its international reputation, while at the same time differentiating itself from other international film festivals such as Rotterdam and Berlin (Europe) and Hong Kong (Asia): BIFF could relish its relatively autonomous status as an independent organisation that is less interfered with by central and metropolitan government. This would allow BIFF to take its own initiative of organising and managing its festival in Busan (ibid.: 17). Regarding this, Ahn explains that ‘whilst the Rotterdam and Berlin city council actively redesigned their urban environments, the Busan festival organising committee itself played a leading role in regenerating [Busan]. That is, the European cities rebuilt from above, while [Busan] did so within and below’ (ibid.). In other words, amid the situation where most international-scale film festivals held in Asia, such as the Hong Kong and Tokyo International Film Festivals, were intervened, hence highly influenced, by their central governments, ‘the [BIFF] committee was able to organize cultural events in [Busan] with no pressure from the political bureaucracy’ (ibid.: 18). This was in spite of some negative effects emerging from the relatively premature decentralization policy of the South Korean government.

What is at stake here is to take into account how such urban public spaces as city centres were designated by film festivals as their main festival venues became transformed into both symbolically and nostalgically representative sites. That is to say, what has long been perceived as publicly accessible (hence sharable) by locals becomes gradually exclusionary and inaccessible to them, in the
wake of the continual structural expansion of film festivals and their host cities derived from their successful outcome every year. In the case of BIFF, the Nampo-dong area and its movie street, a densely populated and cramped urban space used as the main festival venue for BIFF from its inception in 1996, generated a sort of unorganised, chaotic and even carnivalesque ambience for both domestic and international festival participants. Here conventional boundaries between the ordinary and the professional have been, all of a sudden, blurred through its structurally intrinsic nature as a cramped and condensed public space during the festival periods. Under these circumstances where not all film festival-associated infrastructures (e.g. hotels and spaces for parties and receptions) could be provided to accommodate festival VIP guests, BIFF then, as a fledgling non-western film festival, did not have to be bound by conventional rules which are commonly applicable to other established international film festivals, namely, an exclusionary and closed festival space became suddenly disorganised and easily permeable to both ordinary and professional festival participants or vice versa. This aspect coincides in many respects with the historical development and transformation of Busan and its parallel impact on the Nampo-dong area in the context of the city having been developed and exploited by its former colonial master, Japan, from the late 19th century onwards, both as a strategically crucial modern commercial port and as an effective sociocultural intermediary and conduit between Korea and Japan.

4.3.1.1. BIFF and the Nampo-dong Area: Historical Formation of Early Modern Theatres

Cannes transforms itself once a year into the most intensively media-spotlighted and noisiest site as the host city of the Cannes International Film Festival held in May every year. During this period, thousands of international film professionals and cinephiles visit there to see and discover the year’s latest film trends and to conduct their film business. Glitzy and glamorous global film stars walk on the red carpet before the Palais des Festivals and surrounded by a huge number of photographers who shout their names to
gain their attention against the backdrop of Cannes’s spectacular Palm Beach. Such an extraordinary festival spectacle is the very factor that makes this small city more attractive to both its international visitors and the outside observers of this internationally prestigious cinematic event. Usually mundane and all-too-familiar public for its long-term local residents in Cannes, such as the main street Boulevard de la Croisette are, all of a sudden, thereby ascribed particular value by international outsiders and tourists as quintessential parts of international festival sites worth remembering and visiting like a pilgrimage to sacred places during the short festival period. However, as the film festival continued to develop and structurally expanded in order to accommodate ever growing numbers of visitors and associated services and amenities with the passage of time, the primordial local and public image of this small city started to gradually dilute and become increasingly internationalized and gentrified, and thereby, ironically, inhabitable to its local people in the end. The reasons for this spatial and perceptual dissipation range from the ever-growing number of foreign expatriates residing in Cannes with flourishing associated service industries catering exclusively for them to concomitant increasing real estate values that locals cannot afford (Turan, 2002; Corless and Darke, 2007).

The account mentioned above is the overall festival mood of the Cannes International Film Festival that I reconstructed with the help of the two journalistic-style descriptions of it written by two London-based professional film critics (Kieron Corless and Chris Darke) and an American film critic and scholar (Kenneth Turan) respectively. This brief description of the French city of Cannes as a film festival site reflects, by and large, the brief but succinct ways that locally-rooted film festivals held on an international scale change and impact on local and public images of the festival host cities in the light of their continuous structural transformations and expansions over time. As the example of how Cannes as a city has been transformed since the festival’s inception in 1939 (officially starting in 1946) shows, understanding the gentrification of urban public space in the context of long-term structural transformations of film festival sites aligns with two factors: firstly, the increase in the monetary and symbolic value of existing urban spaces and, secondly, the gradual shift in the perception of locals
towards those spaces that have been perceived by them previously as publicly accessible and part of their everyday living spaces for a long period of time.

In this regard, BIFF’s original catchment areas as utilised from its inception in 1996, including the Nampo-dong area and its main thoroughfare called the Nampo-dong movie street (later renamed as BIFF Street) and the central meeting point “BIFF Square”, are juxtaposed with newly revamped sites as the Haeundae area that BIFF began to use as one of its main venues in a substantial way from 2002 onwards (i.e. BIFF had used the Haeundae area (e.g. Suyoungman Yachting Station) only as the venue for its opening and closing ceremonies until 2002; see Figure 4.7 (bottom)). The Nampo-dong area, one of the most densely populated and cramped urban cores in Busan, is where modern movie theatres (or theatres screening early silent and non-silent moving pictures for paying audiences) started to be built for their business from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries onwards, leading to having its image become maintained and then consolidated as a thickly packed complex of stand-alone movie theatres and (later on) multiplex cinemas (Hwang and Park, 2002: 235-8). This area has been developed aggressively and artificially since the opening of Busan-Po (the port of Busan) to the outside world from the late nineteenth century up to the present, initially by its former colonial master Japan and then by the authoritarian South Korean government after Korea’s independence from Japan in 1945 (Kim, 2004: 454 & 458-66). As part of the Japanese colonial government’s long-term project to modernise its colonies through forced treaties that aimed at legitimizing and then consolidating the annexation of Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g. the Korea-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce a.k.a. the Treaty of Kanghwa signed in 1876 and the Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty in 1910), the Jung-gu district covering the Nampo-dong area located near the port began to be intensively developed and commercially exploited by Japanese traders coming to Busan. Accordingly, it is of great importance to historically investigate how the cluster of today’s movie theatres in the Nampo-dong area and the Jung-gu district as a whole originated, in order to discover historical links between the Nampo-dong movie street and BIFF’s establishment in 1996. In this regard, Hong (2012a)
suggests that the emergence of a dense cluster of modern movie theatres around the Nampo-dong (and Gwangbok-dong) areas is historically associated with the creation of a settlement area for Japanese expatriates and immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

4.3.1.1.1. Historical Investigation into the Creation of the Japanese Village in Busan: Waegwan and the Japanese Settlement Area near the Port of Busan

First of all, the historically specific context in which Busan was chosen as the city hosting BIFF needs to be taken into account in relation to the city’s innate characteristic as resilient to different forms of external influences, namely sociopolitical and cultural ones. In particular, Busan’s unique feature as an international port city has long been open to foreign influences which can be traced back to its historical and geopolitical relationship with Japan (Hwang and Park, 2002: 235). Geographically proximate to Japan, Busan has been traditionally utilised by the Korean government as a diplomatic buffer zone with Japan from the late 1300s onwards (e.g. the late Koryo Dynasty (918-1392) and the early Chosun Dynasty (1392-1897)). During this period, Korea was frequently attacked by Japanese pirates based on Tsushima, a small island located between Busan and Japan. Most of them came from this tiny Japanese island and caused a great deal of confusion for the Korean government both diplomatically and economically given their looting activities that hindered and damaged the commercial activities of Koreans living near the southern coastal area adjacent to Busan. The Korean government thus took drastic measures to crack down on Japan’s pirate strangleholds in its three invasions of Tsushima Island in 1389 and 1396 during the Koryo Dynasty and in 1419 during the Chosun Dynasty. Then, as part of the resumption of its diplomatic relationship with Japan following these pre-emptive invasions, the Korean government adopted an appeasement policy towards Japan by opening three of its ports to Japan in 1426 (e.g. Naei-Po (previously known as Jae-Po) in Jinhae,
Busan-Po in Busan, and Yum-Po in Ulsan) positioned on Korea’s southern coast and permitted the commercial activities of Japanese people within these areas (see Figure 4.1).⁷

In line with the Korean government’s conciliatory policy conducted in order to decrease the severity of pirate activities, special quarters called *waegwan* were established that provided both trading and living

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⁷ See the official website of the Busan Metropolitan City: http://www.busan.go.kr/04ocean/0405history/06_01_04.jsp (Korean material) (accessed February 10, 2013).
quarters for Japanese people coming to Korea via these three ports. However, as a result of military conflict between Korean navy soldiers and pirates from Tsushima Island in 1541, the two ports in Ulsan and Jinhae respectively were closed and all port-based commercial activities of Japanese people together with waegwans were moved to Busan. Although waegwans had been temporarily closed several times in the wake of Japan’s two full-scale invasions of Korea (1592-1596), the Korean government nevertheless maintained waegwan-based commercial trading activities between Korea and Japan near Busan-Po in a more controlled manner. Ultimately, three waegwans – Jeolyungdo Waegwan (1601-1607), Dumopo Waegwan (1607-1678) and Choryang Waegwan (1678-1876) – have operated in Busan-Po since 1601 until Japan’s forced opening of it to the outside world following the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876 (see Figure 4.1). Then Choryang Waegwan was opened to them and turned into a special area for the settlement of Japanese people a.k.a. the Japanese Settlement Area in the following year (see Figure 4.2). The geopolitical dynamics in the Northeast Asia from the mid-1880s up to the early 1900s contributed considerably to expediting the opening of Busan-Po and the subsequent modernisation or Japanisation of Busan until Korea’s independence from Japan in 1945. In this regard, Japan’s centuries-long sociopolitical interference in the domestic affairs of the hitherto isolationist Korea from the late fourteenth century onwards led the latter to be forcibly opened to the former in 1876 and subsequently annexed in 1910. With this historical context in mind, I will examine in the next section how the opening of Busan-Po to Japan in the late nineteenth century played a role in transforming Nampo-dong and its surrounding areas into the major area for film (and cultural) consumption in Busan and later for the earlier editions of the Busan International Film Festival.

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8 See the official website of Busan Metropolitan City: [http://www.busan.go.kr/04ocean/0405history/06_01_01.jsp](http://www.busan.go.kr/04ocean/0405history/06_01_01.jsp) (Korean material) (accessed February 10, 2013).

9 See the official website of Busan Metropolitan City: [http://www.busan.go.kr/04ocean/0405history/06_01_04.jsp](http://www.busan.go.kr/04ocean/0405history/06_01_04.jsp) (Korean material) (accessed February 10, 2013).
4.3.1.1.2. The Emergence of Korea’s First Modern Theatres in Busan

As a result of the opening of Busan-Po to Japan on February 27, 1876, the commercial activities of Japanese traders were officially permitted within this area and the number of Japanese migrants and visitors residing near the city of Busan started increasing from then onwards. With reference to this, Hong explains that the total number of Japanese people residing in the settlement area near Busan-Po increased from 82 in 1876 to 700 in 1879 and then 2,066 in 1880 in the wake of the Treaty of Kanghwa (forcedly) signed between Korea and Japan in 1876 and following a subsequent series of legal provisions that stipulated official permission for Japanese commercial activities in Busan (and throughout Korea) (2008b: 49). This naturally enabled the formation, expansion and consolidation of Japanese communities in their settlement area proximate to Busan-Po or what Kang called ‘the Japanese village in Busan’ (2012: n.p.). In parallel with the unabated growth of the Japanese population within the settlement area and beyond, the Korean government had to take more active measures to accommodate and manage not merely their ever-growing commercial activities but also their concomitant cultural demands within this area. For instance, such measures can be found in a series of regulations that the then Korean government devised on July 24, 1895, to maintain public order within the Japanese settlement area in relation to the management of programming (theatrical) performances and safety and hygiene problems in theatres (Hong, 2008b: 49).

At this point, Hong’s comprehensive research on the historical genesis of modern movie theatres in Busan is worth referring to, regarding the exploration of the historical context in which the cluster of modern movie theatres emerged and then became settled in the Nampo-dong area and the Jung-gu district as a whole (see Hong, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c, 2009). In this regard, Hong (2008b) suggests that from 1895 onwards, Korea’s first “full-time” theatres could exist as built architectures and engage in business within the Japanese settlement area in Busan and featured interior halls equipped with main stages, audience seats and other amenities needed for servicing their customers. This theatre culture
formed by modernised full-time theatres had previously been rare for Koreans in the late nineteenth century. Regarding Korea’s theatre culture in the pre-opening period, he state that:

Prior to the emergence of the Japanese settlement area near Busan-Po from its opening in 1876 onwards, theatre culture in Korea could be characterised generally as itinerant and nomadic. Theatre (or Theatrical performance) culture in the West has flourished centring upon such proper stages-equipped theatrical buildings for plays as, for instance, Greek amphitheatres or Christian tradition-based architectures in medieval and modern Europe. In contrast to the West’s “settled and stable” theatre culture, however, that in Korea has centred largely upon impromptu theatrical performances organised by groups of itinerant mask-dance performers who migrate from one traditional market to another. Hence, they performed on open spaces situated within traditional markets that they had designated randomly as stages for their performances (ibid.: 48).

From the early 1900s onwards, the first modern theatres screening (silent) moving pictures – e.g. 

*Haeng-jua* (1903), *Songjung-jua* (1903), *Bugui-jua* (1905) and *Busan-jua* (1907) – in Korea were built and operated around the Nampo-dong area in the Jung-gu district, the central location for the commercial and everyday activities of the Japanese settlement area (see Figures 4.2 & 4.3). Run by Japanese owners, they triggered the subsequent proliferation of several stand-alone movie theatres including *Busan Cinema* (since 1934) in Nampo-dong (Choi, 2008). Nearly all the movie theatres established within the Japanese settlement area from the early 1900s up to Korea’s independence from Japan in 1945 had been run by Japanese, except for some theatres built outside this area, and the latter’s influence on Busan’s movie exhibition industry still remained strong during the postwar period.
The increase in the Japanese population in the settlement area in Busan was also in proportion to the demands for facilities and amenities to meet their cultural needs such as theatres, for instance. This also means that, according to Hong, ‘the historical fact that a thick cluster of many movie theatres have been formed and sustained in the Jung-gu district for a long period of time proves that its residents’ cultural demands actually existed and that this area had economic and infrastructural capacities to accommodate them’ (cited in Kim, 2009: n.p.). In total, thirty-six movie theatres were established in the Jung-gu district from the early 1900s up to the present time and most of them were concentrated around the Nampo-dong and Gwangbok-dong areas (see Figure 4.3). The map below shows the Jung-gu district and the modern movie theatres which were and still are in business since the early 1900s up to the early 2000s.

Figure 4.2: Locations of Haeng-jua and other early movie theatres around the Nampo-dong area in the early 1900s. Sources: © Busan Film Commission 2008 (Modified by Hong-Real Lee, February 10, 2013).
The then disproportionately generated cluster of movie theatres in this narrow and densely populated shopping and business area was transformed into a de-facto area representing Busan citizens’ cinematic consumption. The arbitrariness of this area’s founding history became officially recognised later, as the Nampo-dong movie street became spotlighted in sync with the establishment of the first BIFF in 1996. All in all, the emergence of Korea’s first modern movie theatres around the Nampo-dong area in Jung-
gu district from the early 1900s onwards played a pivotal role in shaping today’s Nampo-dong movie street, later renamed as “BIFF Street”, that provided the infrastructural and cultural conditions necessary for the establishment of BIFF in 1996.

In particular, the Nampo-dong area functions as one of Busan’s urban cores and that characterise the de-facto Busan-sung (the mentality of Busan and its citizens) (see Interview 5). As a densely populated and cramped urban space, this area has been formed in the wake of the long-term establishment of many movie theatres and shopping centres which then became concentrated around its port area lined with lively local fishmongers doing their businesses on its rim. In the interview I conducted with Lim Ji-yoon (PPP/AFA manager) and Mina Oak (BIFF programming coordinator), they explained in relation to Busan-sung and its regional implications that:

The ramification that the term Busan-sung has is not only localized regarding the unique characteristics of those who were born and raised in Busan as straightforward and hot-tempered in the way they speak and express themselves to others with their strong vernacular accents. It also implies the complexity of Busan’s sociocultural positionality or identity in South Korea that has been formed against and incessantly compared to its capital city Seoul for a long period of time. Busan, albeit appreciated as the second largest (and industrial) city in South Korea, has long been considered and treated as culturally peripheral and even inferior to Seoul (ibid.).

Seoul, a nearly ten-million strong megalopolis and South Korea’s capital city, is a symbolic by-product of the ‘breathless and condensed’ development-oriented and tyrannical economic policies pursued by authoritarian military governments from the late 1960s until the establishment of the first civilian government in 1993 (Kim, 2005b: 80). This political turning point in South Korean history enabled the decentralization of once highly-centralized state functions through the establishment of eight autonomous metropolitan governments (e.g. Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Daejeon, Jeonju, Kwangju, Inchon and later Ulsan) which are run independently on the basis of administrative powers devolved from the
central government. Nevertheless, the central government is still reliant upon Seoul and the political and sociocultural capital that it had accumulated as Korea’s capital city since the early 1400s to the present. The asymmetrical concentration of political and sociocultural development practices on Seoul resulted in the asymmetrical development of South Korea’s political and sociocultural landscape. As a result, Seoul’s relations with other metropolitan and provincial governments also deteriorated further, as did the political and sociocultural discrepancies between them. For instance, tense and uncomfortable relations between these two cities were detected regarding the establishment of Korea’s first international-scale film festival in Busan in 1996 (PIFF, 2005). Regarding this, BIFF programming coordinator Mina Oak explains that:

There have been strained relations between Busan and Seoul amid the former’s preparatory process of establishing the first BIFF from 1995 on. This led to difficulties and interruptions in collaborations between them that derived mainly from the “regionalism” deeply rooted in South Korea society. Specifically, it derived from long-held antagonistic attitudes of both the Busan metropolitan government and Busan-based film communities towards the then active involvement of those from Seoul in this Busan-based international film festival. Such relations didn’t harm me and other BIFF staffers from Seoul in terms of the overall process of preparing BIFF at a practical level. However, the Busan metropolitan government has frequently complained about the high proportion of BIFF staffers from Seoul, which could mainly have been based on Busan’s relative sense of being culturally inferior to Seoul. Eventually, such a deep-seated sense of Busan’s inferiority to Seoul has translated into the former’s antagonistic attitude towards the latter to a certain extent (see Interview 5).

The fast pace with which the structural growth of (and changes in) BIFF took place from its inception reflects in many ways the wider sociocultural context of the learned, not pre-given, urban vibrancy that the metropolitan city of Busan itself has earned given its previously stigmatized status as cultural periphery and even inferior status compared to Seoul.
However, the Nampo-dong area’s overall cinematic infrastructure continued to deteriorate with the passage of time and reached a tipping point due to its incapacity to accommodate the ever-increasing number of domestic and international festival visitors in the light of the poor quality of movie theatres’ screening capacities and safety measures. Hence, parallel with the construction of Busan Cinema Center a.k.a. Dureraum, completed in 2011, BIFF decided to streamline its once dual festival operations in the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas simultaneously in order to concentrate its main festival functions around the latter area (e.g. Centum City: see Figures 4.7 & 4.8). This long-term project to relocate the festival main venue from Nampo-dong to the Haeundae area has been carried out rather slowly from the early stages of its execution. That is, the complexity of this issue was derived from the Busan metropolitan government’s difficulties in coordinating the respective socio-economic interests of the local communities and polities concerned (e.g. the Jung-gu and Haeundae-gu district offices). Hence, both administrative and consensual hurdles associated with the relocation of BIFF’s main festival venue could be placed in the wider context of the urban regeneration of Busan and the ensuing gentrification of the Haeundae area during the process of BIFF’s structural expansion. In the next section I will examine more closely the gradual dissipation of BIFF’s image as a public cinematic event through its long-term process of relocating its festival main venues from the Nampo-dong area to Haeundae.

4.3.1.2. Film Festival Experiences at BIFF: Walking Around the Nampo-dong and Haeundae Areas

My first international film festival experience was when I attended the first Pusan (or Busan) International Film Festival (September 13-21, 1996). Two days prior to its official closing ceremony, I attended the evening screening of a multinational (i.e. Belgium, France and the UK) coproduced film *The Eighth Day* (*Le Huitième Jour*, directed by Jaco van Dormael) at Buyung Cinema on September 19, 1996. As both a Busan native and a first-time film festivalgoer, I was impressed not only by this
European film as a rare cinematic species and different from most Hollywood and Hong Kong commercial films which I had become accustomed to over a long period of time. What also intrigued me was the fact that I could see a festival programmer’s brief introduction of this film to the attendant audience minutes before the start of the film screening, while I sat before, behind and beside some international film professionals wearing festival ID badges and foreigners in this movie theatre. Apart from this, it was a rare experience for me to see in close proximity such international film stars as the Chinese actress Joan Chen suddenly appearing on the main outdoor stage set up on the BIFF Square for her public greeting to many of those present in, and even passing by, the rather narrow Nampo-dong movie street already congested with not only locals but also young cinephiles coming from all over the country. In addition to this, the idea that I could purchase this film’s ticket at a local bank (e.g. the Busan Bank, one of BIFF’s then major festival sponsors) was also quite new to me. Being briefly informed of this film festival’s programming purpose by, and reliant on, local TV stations’ sketchy advertisements about this film and the film festival as a whole (e.g. MBC Busan and the Pusan Broadcasting Corporation (PSB)), I was flabbergasted by the huge number of people walking around the narrow and cramped Nampo-dong movie street as soon as I arrived there (see Figure 4.4). As one of the local affiliates of the Munhwa Broadcasting Company (MBC), one of the major nationwide territorial TV broadcasting stations in South Korea together with the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) and the Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS), had already started its film festival operations, running special programmes on introducing and promoting BIFF to domestic audiences still unfamiliar with this international cinematic event first held in Busan. Apart from MBC Busan, PSB, another local TV broadcasting station in Busan, was running its live BIFF special show in its own outdoor studio set up on the Nampo-dong movie street during the festival period (Lee, 1996a; see also Figure 4.4 (bottom)).
Figure 4.4: Areal map of the Nampo-dong area. Source: (above) © Google Earth 2011 (Modified by Hong-Real Lee, February 28th, 2011) / (bottom) © PIFF 1996 and © PIFF 1997.

While walking across this rather disorganised traffic-free thoroughfare, I stumbled on some film festival-related publications like film festival dailies – Cine-21/Cine-21 PIFF\textsuperscript{10} – stacked on festival

\textsuperscript{10} Launched in 1995, Cine-21 was the first weekly movie magazine in South Korea and adopted a different approach from other movie-specialised magazines launched in the same period, such as Kino and the foreign licensed Premiere. To discover its target readers by focusing on popular aspects of seeing films meant a wide range of readers rather than the small specialised cine-maniac groups like the other two magazines. During the first BIFF in 1996, Cine-21 published its festival
information booths and local newspapers featuring special editions dealing with the first BIFF (e.g. *Kookje Shinmun* and *Busan Ilbo*) displayed on the newsstands of 24-hour convenient stores. Through this ubiquitous display of festival media publications on the Nampo-dong movie street, I came to learn that, for instance, apart from Busan citizens, many people from other cities and provinces, especially Seoul, visited Busan to experience the first international-scale film festival in South Korea. Local as well as national media sometimes ran intriguing anecdotal stories associated with the festival. One of them reported that some festival visitors having failed to secure their accommodations allegedly slept inside makeshift BIFF information marquees built on the street during the festival period, relying solely on their plastic covers under the warm and even scorching climate of Busan in October. Besides this, all the international media present during the festival period were reported to be surprised by the honest and sincere enthusiasm that cinephiliac festivalgoers showed to both local people and international festival guests against the backdrop of the vibrant festival ambience the first edition of BIFF created (see also Hindes, 1996; Vasudev, 1996; Lee, 1996b, all cited in Ahn, 2008). I was also able to spot some famous Korean actors and actresses who were talking casually with ordinary festivalgoers under the BIFF logo-printed makeshift parasols set up on the Nampo-dong movie street, as if indoor GV’s or Q&A sessions were extended outdoors. All kinds of scenes never seen before unfolded before my eyes during my first visit to the first BIFF in 1996. Initially, most of both local and nationwide media have assessed in the pre-festival season the prospective outcome of this festival rather sceptically based on their prediction that locals in Busan might be indifferent to it. However, their response to this fledgling international film festival held not in Seoul but in Busan, long perceived as a culturally peripheral city in South Korea, eventually proved that the media’s prediction was rather premature. South Koreans’ enthusiastic reactions to this first international-scale film festival in Busan could be felt not only in terms of their festival attendance rate per se (e.g. the total audiences attending the first BIFF was

They were also shown by the way that the audiences demonstrated their enormous interest in, and enthusiasm towards, all the programmed festival events that were run by this festival’s adroit use of cinematic facilities and spaces available in Busan (e.g. (1) the Nampo-dong movie street and its surrounding areas and (2) the partial use of the Haeundae area for the open-air screening at the Suyungman Yachting Station). In particular, the Nampo-dong area and its narrow movie street had remained cramped and densely populated even prior to the establishment of BIFF in 1996 and was perceived by locals as a de-facto contact zone or liminal passage around which innumerable both deliberate and accidental encounters of cinema-goers took place largely on weekends. Then the Nampo-dong area was chosen as BIFF’s main festival venue in 1996 and has remained so up until the early 2000s. During this period, it has played a pivotal role in bridging (both ontologically and epistemologically) the established distance between ordinary festivalgoers and film industry professionals ephemerally every year. As a result, the public’s strong interest in BIFF was, by and large, spontaneous and authentic. Regarding this, Kang Sung-ho, the BIFF general manager, explains in an interview with me that:

… given the fact that the Nampo-dong area would be by far the only place in South Korea where many stand-alone movie theatres in the early 1990s (e.g. Busan Cinema, Daeyung Cinema, Jael Cinema, Kukdo Cinema, and Buyung Cinema: see Figure 7) were highly concentrated, together with several international standard hotels (e.g. Komodo Hotel, Phoenix Hotel, and Busan Hotel) serviceable for foreign film festival guests, the Nampo-dong area was then infrastructurally the most suitable space for holding BIFF (see Interview 2).

Such a loose and easily permeable festival space as the Nampo-dong movie street, which BIFF strategically thematized for executing its festival programmes, implies two conflicting qualities of

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what Daniel Dayan (2000) terms “fragile equilibrium” and Michael Walzer’s (1986) “open-minded space”, albeit in a rather negotiated manner: (1) a multiplicity of unpredictable elements conjured up in combination with those attending and responding to both easily accessible cinematic and non-cinematic spaces programmed by BIFF and its overwhelming festival spectacles and (2) unusually democratic and participatory moods that were then unprecedented in South Korea. At the same time, this festival enabled festivalgoers (including myself) to indirectly sense a more tangible and localized version of globalisation or transnationalisation being materialised tentatively during the short festival period. Walking on the metamorphosed Nampo-dong movie street, I happened to be told by passersby about some rumours that anyone present at the festival site might also be able to meet and casually talk with famous filmmakers at a series of small cafés scattered around the Nampo-dong movie street during the festival period. Such a brief rupture in the once established distance between film directors, stars and Busan citizens (and ordinary South Koreans on the whole) was undoubtedly a unique phenomenon to such those who had previously not experienced international-scale film festivals, including myself. Namely, the abruptly open and permeable festival environment created by BIFF blurred long-held physical and perceptual distances between the ordinary and the extraordinary and enabled both groups to easily mingle with each other, if only transiently.

My last visit to BIFF was for its 12th edition (October 4-12, 2007) for the purpose of conducting the fieldwork for my doctoral research and it was my second visit after its first edition in 1996. As a film festival academic and having been consistently updated about BIFF, I could sense tangibly its spatial transformation upon my arrival at the festival site. The original sense of festival vibrancy having previously been generated by BIFF existing alongside avid responses from festival crowds seemed to remain relatively intact on every corner of the Nampo-dong movie street. Despite this, however, most independently run movie theatres (e.g. Academy Cinema, Jaeil Cinema, Kukdo Cinema, Myungbo Cinema and Buyung Cinema except for Busan Cinema and Daeyung Cinema) had been replaced by franchised multiplex cinemas (see Figure 4.5). According to some BIFF insiders, the overall
infrastructural condition of the Nampo-dong area as a central venue for festival film screenings and other related events was far behind international standards. In an interview with me the BIFF general manager Kang mentioned an anecdotal example concerning this:

It might to a certain extent be feasible to say that the Nampo-dong movie street and BIFF Square could remain as one of BIFF’s main venues symbolically. However, at the same time, it could also be quite problematic that this area continues to be utilised for BIFF in the future, considering a series of incidents that recently happened during the 10th (2005) and the 12th PIFF (2007). This eventually led to the near paralysis of this area and interrupting BIFF events. For instance, South Korean star actors and actresses (e.g. Kang Dong-won for the 10th BIFF and Song Hye-kyo for the 12th BIFF) appeared on a small stage in BIFF Square and at the same time a huge number of people tried to approach the stage as closely as possible to see them. Such chaos resulted in putting these two stars in a risky situation where the stage they were on were nearly collapsed, not to mention that it took a great deal of time for people to cross this narrow street in this densely-populated area. To make matters worse, there was an incident that happened during the 10th BIFF. A female middle school student, a great fan of the South Korean actor Kang Dong-won, fainted after waiting for him on the same spot near the stage from early morning, relying only on a small amount of bread and drinks, until he turned up on the stage accompanying BIFF director Kim Dong-ho. Although, luckily, the emergency medical team present on the site could take swift measures to give her proper medical treatment and deliver her safely to the nearest hospital, BIFF then came to realise the seriousness of problems with Nampo-dong as its main festival venue. Hence, BIFF had to take into account as a priority a series of incidents that happened during the 10th PIFF which was, first and foremost, the safety of festival audiences and festival guests. This ultimately led BIFF to take a decisive measure to move most of its film screenings and ancillary events from Nampo-dong to Haeundae (see Interview 2).
The pre-ceremonial event was taking place at BIFF Square drawing attention from many local people constituting mostly rather disinterested passersby and bystanders who came across this event while being there for other purposes such as shopping and meeting friends, rather than attending the festival event itself. Obviously, it constituted mostly events less associated with BIFF and its cinematic provision, such as inviting famous singers and music bands familiar to South Koreans and the official ceremonial event that bureaucrats from Busan metropolitan government and BIFF officials (e.g. BIFF director Kim, Dong-ho, the mayor of Busan, the mayor of Jung-gu district office and several others) attended to declare the official opening of this year’s BIFF. This once disorganised and chaotic movie street during early editions of BIFF was substantially revamped to provide festival visitors with an even more organised (and international) vista, though most of its attempts seem to me to be superficial and a mere mimicry of other international-scale film festivals. Local vendors that had long been in business on the Nampo-dong movie street now seemed to be controlled by the Jung-gu district office. They were doing their business using parasols printed with the festival logo. All of them had been coordinated by the Jung-gu office as part of its operations to beautify this movie theatre-crammed thoroughfare, appearing as mass-produced commodities: the homogenisation or standardisation of the Nampo-dong.
movie street (or BIFF street) that had once retained its unique, disorganised, but vibrant local flavour. Apart from this, the street itself looked rather organised and less permeable, thereby bereft of its early authentic and even naïve and primordial sense of festivity and vibrancy.

However, the concerted efforts of both the Busan metropolitan government and the Jung-gu district office to rejuvenate the Nampo-dong area for BIFF can be juxtaposed with the way that BIFF insiders think of its future development.

![Image of BIFF Square under renovation for the preparation of the 12th BIFF in 2007. Photographed by Hong-Real Lee, October 3, 2007.](image)

What they continue to mention in this regard is the area’s poor standards and decrepit condition, thereby as one of official festival venues the area will be unable to catch up with latest film consumption trends of the younger generation regarded as the essential constituents of today’s festival spectatorship. BIFF Square and its surrounding area in Nampo-dong were still overly cramped, requiring near constant renovations for it to function as a proper festival venues for BIFF every year (see Figure 4.6). A sense of nostalgia that both ordinary and professional festival audiences
experienced about the early days of BIFF were – to those directly responsible for the organisation and management of BIFF – largely idealistic and even detrimental to the festival’s long-term development given the highly competitive world of international film festivals. As regards chronic problems with the Nampo-dong area, Professor Jin Ki-heng, the BIFF advisory member, conceded that:

The Nampo-dong area cannot function as one of BIFF’s main festival venues anymore, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, the number of cinemas (major multiplex cinemas) and their screens available in this area continue to decrease. Against this backdrop, it is the reality that BIFF cannot rely solely on the Nampo-dong area for its improved and more stable operation. Secondly, the existing cinemas in the Nampo-dong movie street are, by and large, so derelict that their condition is simply unfit for use as proper screening facilities for BIFF…in general (see Interview 3).

In contrast, however, a more glitzy and glamorous pre-ceremonial event was taking place with an even more heightened celebratory ambience on the other side of Busan and distant from the Nampo-dong area. Fireworks were provided around the newly-constructed “PIFF (or BIFF) Pavilion and Village” on the long Haeundae beach which is lined with luxurious hotels. This ceremonial image might even be seen as overlapping with that of the Croisette at the Cannes Film Festival in the minds of many international festival guests, and foreign festival journalists in particular, people who frequently travel to many international film festivals and their ancillary film markets in order to discover hidden cinematic gems films throughout the year (see Figure 4.7). The Haeundae area once partially utilised for the open-air screening of BIFF’s opening and closing films following its official opening and closing ceremonies was now transformed into BIFF’s full-time main festival venue.
This area was equipped with all-encompassing festival facilities and amenities, together with such natural environments as Haeundae’s beautiful beach in order to attract foreign professional festival participants. There were also some criticisms from those who were still nostalgic about BIFF’s older days, particularly regarding the festival’s growing gentrification which led both the general public and like-minded film professionals to start feeling more and more distant from, and less and less accessible to, the festival. However, I also had an impression that this gentrifying tendency was, to a certain extent,
inevitable in order for BIFF to survive at the expense of its long held festival identity as the film festival for the public. In light of BIFF’s use of both the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas as its main festival venues in spite of the physical distance between these two areas (see Figure 4.8), the significance of the Haeundae area has tended to continually increase (e.g. the construction of the Busan Cinema Center as the festival’s new venue in Centrum City situated in the Haeundae area was completed in 2011 and embarked on its operation from the 16th BIFF in the same year).

In this context, it is important to take into account how BIFF has been rethinking its public role and target audience given the contemporary trend of fast-changing multimedia consumption. Those aspects that BIFF has been less interested in – or could not afford to consider during its early editions – such as the glitzy presence of film celebrities and the subsequent media frenzy and ordinary audiences’ responses to them, are now rather ironically or inevitably reinforced by the film festival itself in order to attract young audiences, thereby to maintain and consolidate its public image as the most audience-
friendly film festival next to the Berlinale and the International Film Festival in Rotterdam (IFFR). In sync with the continual expansion of BIFF’s programming and organisational structure, cooperative relations formed and then maintained between BIFF and the Busan metropolitan government and domestic and international film industries are becoming more visible in terms of reinforcing the festival’s programming capacity to accommodate this sizable structural transformation. Nevertheless, according to Cho Bong-kwon, a journalist from Kookje Shinmun based in Busan, some BIFF critics have argued in relation to the recent gentrification of BIFF (and Busan as its festival host city on the whole) in an interview with me that:

BIFF critics are quite sceptical about the tendency that, while the public (in Busan and South Korea as a whole) have been naturally and actively immersed into BIFF as a festival by approaching, meeting and talking with celebrities (e.g. filmmakers and actors and actresses) around the Nampo-dong movie street and in close proximity to them, the former’s status is now becoming gradually relegated from the status of active festival participants to that of unwillingly (and even forcedly) passive gazers who cannot help but gaze merely at what’s happening on the other side of the Haeundae beach where numerous lavish evening reception parties and ceremonies for official festival guests take place at luxury hotels. In other words, the kind of invisible boundaries or barriers between the ordinary public (mainly from Busan) and BIFF started emerging from the moment that all the main BIFF festival functions were moved to the Haeundae area. At this point, the biggest concern that the BIFF critics have in regard to this recent tendency is that “until what moment should BIFF expect Busan citizens to demonstrate their enthusiastic and dedicated support for it, assuming that it becomes more and more gentrified and structurally exclusionary by paying more attention to star actors and actresses than to the general public and its public role” (see Interview 4; emphasis in the original).

At this juncture, the decade-long complication of two overriding but conflicting factors – public accessibility and urban gentrification – which started surfacing after the inception of BIFF in 1996 and the subsequent expansion of its operational and organisational structures, can be considered in
conjunction with the context of the gradual commercialisation of urban public spaces or, in Harvey’s terms, the ‘embourgeoisement of the city center’ in Busan and its concomitant influence on the minds of Busan citizens (Harvey, 2006: 21). Harvey analyses this phenomenon of spatial blurring and perceptual segregation that has emerged in contemporary cities, in connection with, for instance, the reshaping of mid-nineteenth century Paris’s city center (especially its boulevards) by the French urban planner Georges-Eugène Haussmann and its transformative effects on Parisian lifestyles:

The increasing power of commodity itself as spectacle was nowhere better expressed than in the new department stores. The Bon Marché opened in 1852, was the pioneer […]. Such high turnover stores needed a large clientele drawn from all over the city, and new boulevards facilitated such movement. The department stores opened themselves to the boulevards and streets, encouraging entry of the public without obligation to buy. The shop window was organized as an enticement to stop and gaze upon and then enter and buy. The commodities visibly piled high inside the department stores became a spectacle in their own right. The boundary between the public and the private space was rendered porous; the passage between them became easy, although an army of ushers and salespeople (particularly salesgirls) patrolled behaviour in the interior space […]. The effect, however, was to transform the citizen into a mere spectator and consumer. From this standpoint, the passivity of politics was tentatively and at least momentarily secured (ibid.: 25-6; emphasis in the original).

Temporally different though it is, the abovementioned example of the physical reshaping of old Paris, nevertheless, and to a certain extent, applies to the gentrification of BIFF and Busan as a whole, in terms of the perceptual (and positional) shift in the way that ordinary people see urban public spaces which have long been familiar to them as part of their urban everyday, and all due to external forces.

Therefore, in analysing this aspect it is useful to take into account the implication of what Seremetakis (1994) suggests regarding the role of “(locally-rooted) perceiver(s)” who experience multidimensionally and then embody the gradual transformed physicality of urban public spaces over
time, and whose presence they have recognised as intimate local spaces imbued with their individual memories for a long period. She argues that ‘one of the most important ways that ‘the perceiver’ creates the ‘completion’ of a material urban environment is by acts of memory’ (ibid., cited in Degen and Rose, 2012: 3283). To be more specific, Degen and Rose explicate her argument by stating that ‘[s]pecific forms of built [urban] environment afford specific forms of sensory experience. However, while human sensory experience can be understood as being embedded in material environments, and as provoked by specific aspects of them, urban spaces do not create experiences in a straightforward manner’ (2012: 3283). Seremetakis explains the reason for the ambiguous or porous nature of urban spaces by arguing that ‘material culture is neither stable nor fixed, but inherently transitive, demanding connection and completion by the perceiver’ (1994: 7, cited in ibid.). Likewise, Busan citizens’ perceptual memories of BIFF (and Busan as a whole) are saturated and then matured over time, especially since the inception of BIFF in 1996, and they have also undergone their own transformation. This long-term perceptual transformation has been initiated by Busan citizens themselves as the local perceivers who have also witnessed and experienced the long-term physical and perceptual transformation (or gentrification) of their once publicly accessible urban spaces in Busan and the concomitant structural revamping of BIFF’s main festival venues (e.g. the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas). In other words, the physical metamorphosis of their everyday urban environments not merely affects its physicality, but also the minds or perceptions of its inhabitants towards their long-maintained individual urban lifestyles in Busan, in the way that ‘the [aforementioned] reshaping of Paris that Haussmann was undertaking was very much [on a Parisian’s] mind’ (Harvey, 2006: 20).

In this regard, although written in 1869, Baudelaire’s lengthy poem below that romantically describes how asymmetrically Haussmann’s redesigning of Paris’s boulevards in the mid-nineteenth century transformed or diversified then Parisians’ individual perceptions of concomitantly changing urban public spaces, still seems to contain a relevant point which can be linked to the contemporary context of urban gentrification:
That evening, feeling a little tired, you wanted to sit down in front of a new cafés forming the corner of a new boulevard still littered with rubbish but that already displayed proudly its unfinished splendors. The café was dazzling. Even the gas burned with all the ardour of a debut, and lighted with all its might the blinding whiteness of the walls, the expanse of mirrors, the gold cornices and moldings…nymphs and goddesses bearing on their heads piles of fruits, pates and game…all history and all mythology pandering to gluttony.

On the street directly in front of us, a worthy man of about forty, with tired face and greying beard, was standing holding a small boy by the hand and carrying on his arm another little thing, still too weak to walk. He was playing nurse-maid, taking the children for an evening stroll. They were in rags. The three faces were extraordinarily serious, and those six eyes stared fixedly at the new café with admiration, equal in degree but differing in kind according to their ages.

The eyes of the father said: “How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! All the gold of the poor world must have found its way onto those walls.” The eyes of the little boy: How beautiful it is! How beautiful it is! But it is a house where only people who are not like us can go.” As for the baby, he was much too fascinated to express anything but joy – utterly stupid and profound.

Song writers say that pleasure ennobles the soul and softens the heart. The song was right that evening as far as I was concerned. Not only was I touched by this family of eyes, but I was even a little ashamed of our glasses and decanters, too big for our thirst. I turned my eyes to look into yours, dear love, to read my thoughts in them; and as I plunged my eyes into your eyes, so beautiful and so curiously soft, into those green eyes, home of Caprice and governed by the Moon, you said: “Those people are insufferable with their great saucer eyes. Can’t you tell the proprietor to send them away?”

So you see how difficult it is understand one another, my dear angel, how incommunicable thought is, even between two people in love (Baudelaire, 1947 [1869] cited in ibid.: 18-9).

In other words, the shift in perspective of the social class or *positionality* of Parisians in their long-maintained everyday living spaces by such external forces as urban regeneration, as shown in Baudelaire’s poem, is, to a certain extent, similar to the way in which the long-term gentrification
process of BIFF’s physicality and its overall festival atmosphere altered the primordial sentiments of its local festival audiences and publics towards BIFF as a publicly accessible festival space. Specifically, Busan citizens’ perceptual memories of BIFF as gradually formed through their both direct and indirect experiences of it since its inception in 1996 are gradually transformed through the spatial restructuring or functional compartmentalisation of BIFF’s festival spaces. Such changes in their memories about BIFF emerged as its festival structure continued to expand, and hence more and more glamorous and efficient in order to draw maximum attention from both global film industry stakeholders and ordinary festival audiences from all over the world. This phenomenon also reflects Cho’s above mentioned critical view of the gradually distanced relationship that has emerged between BIFF and its local audiences and publics (i.e. the relegation of the status of local audiences from being *active film festival participants* to *unwillingly passive gazers at the film festival*) as a result of the former’s continued structural expansion and the subsequent alienation of the latter’s attachment to the former.

### 4.3.2. The Berlinale and Potsdamer Platz

The birth of the reunited Berlin tends to be woven into the ideologically-charged character of modern European history. Berlin has long served as Germany’s united capital city since the creation of the Prussian Empire in 1871 and after the country’s reunification in 1990, barring the period of its partition into the Federal Republic of Germany (e.g. Bonn) and the German Democratic Republic (e.g. (East) Berlin) (1945-1990) (Häußermann and Strom, 1994; Cochrane, 2006; Läpple, 2006a, 2006b). Therefore it remained the physical location that witnessed and embodied a series of historically significant political upheavals and the ensuing sociopolitical changes in German society. Berlin once functioned both as a political buffer zone and as an ideological battleground from the end of the Second World War, through the Cold War, until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the ensuing reunification in the year that followed. However, it is now ensnared in a situation where its once unique identity as a politically and physically divided city is being transformed into a gradually open-minded
urban space, strengthening its cultural values instead of its once turbulent political capital. In other words, the novelty of Berlin as a once politically-divided and isolated *Inselstadt* (island-city) that led its identity to become susceptible to intense political debates started losing its ideological or thematically specific uniqueness not long after the collapse of Eastern bloc communism. Its once existentially unique quality was thus gradually superseded by a dispersible and permeable cultural dimension that is flexible and mutable to open competition with its global urban counterparts. In this sense, the establishment of the Berlin International Film Festival a.k.a. the Berlinale can be positioned and understood in parallel with the wider geopolitical context of the postwar German history.

The first Berlinale was held in 1951. In the early 1950s, and following the end of the Second World War, the world witnessed fierce ideological confrontations between the Communist East and the Democratic West, reaching its apex in the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. Against the backdrop of this global political upheaval, the establishment of the Berlinale in a politically divided city such as Berlin is understood in line with ‘a particular moment of urban regeneration of Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War’ (Bordwell et al., 1985 cited in Harbord, 2002: 61). Harbord argues that ‘[i]n the moment of postwar regeneration in Europe, the project for Berlin is particularly pertinent […]. The reconstruction of the city, unlike other European sites, involved the task of unifying a city out of a divided organic fabric, to make the part of a whole’ (ibid.). Having been divided by the war victors into four sectors under the temporary trusteeship of their respective military occupying administrations in the postwar era (e.g. West Berlin by the USA, the UK and France respectively and East Berlin by the Soviet Union), Berlin’s ontological and epistemological map is in many respects hard to grasp without taking into account the underlying geopolitical background of Germany in the latter half of the twentieth century. In this light, it is obvious that the Berlinale’s politically-charged image cannot be separated from Berlin’s postwar history.
4.3.2.1. The Berlinale: Walking Around Potsdamer Platz

Every February since 2007 up to 2010, I was quite busy making plans for what to do at the Berlinale as part of conducting fieldwork there. They ranged from the confirmation of my Berlinale accreditation categorised as *Fachbesucher* (film professionals) to festival venues for film screenings and panel discussions that I planned to attend, and the types of interviewees that I had in mind prior to my trip to Berlin, and so on. Unlike BIFF held in summer, during which time the outdoor venues in the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas tended to be excessively crowded, the Berlinale is a truly an indoor film festival held during Berlin’s wet and cold winter.

Whenever I was walking around Potsdamer Platz, the Berlinale’s main festival area, I was always amazed by the sheer spectacular image of this mega urban architecture that houses such cutting-edge buildings as Deutsche Bahn (DB), PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), the minimalist Potsdamer Platz U-Bahn station, Sony Center, the national chain of multiplex cinemas (e.g. Cinestar and Cinemaxx), multi-purpose theatres (e.g. Stella Musicaltheater a.k.a. Berlinale Palast), luxury hotels (e.g. the Hyatt) and restaurants, all of which are housed in Potsdamer Platz (see Figure 4.9). This heavily redeveloped area is today owned by such multinational corporations as Daimler AG\(^{12}\) (e.g. Daimler Financial Services) and Sony Corporation, and was designed as a multipurpose urban area for the financial, business, shopping and leisure sectors. However, Potsdamer Platz was once an abandoned part of Berlin, perceived by Berliners as an ‘inhabitable’ wasteland until German reunification in 1990 (see Figure 4.10).

In the post-Second World War era it was a heavily fortified and barbed-wired border area designated by the then Western occupiers (e.g. the USA, the UK and France) and the Soviet Union respectively as a demilitarized zone between East Berlin and West Berlin. With regard to the historical transformation of Potsdamer Platz until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Choi explains that:
From Hitler’s rise to power in 1933 until the fall of the Wall in 1989, Potsdamer Platz endured multiple cycles of collapse and regeneration. Before World War II it was recognized as the point where “principal east-west and north-south routes in Europe” crossed; but it was completely destroyed during the war, and on August 13, 1961, the Wall was constructed across it, ending the significance as a transportation hub and economic center (2009:18-9).

Potsdamer Platz’s image as a once politically contested “off-limits” urban space, which had embedded deeply in old Berliners (and Germans)’ pre-reunification memories, became gradually transformed into an easily accessible urban public space in post-reunification Germany in the wake of its thorough spatial renovation from the early 1990s onwards.

Figure 4.10: Potsdamer Platz in 1915 (above left), Potsdamer Platz seen from the western-side of the Berlin Wall in 1984 (above right) and Potsdamer Platz under construction in 1996 (bottom). Sources: (above left) © Landesarchiv Berlin 1915 / (above right) © Bundesregierung (Photographed by Klaus Lehnartz, October 1, 1984) / (bottom) © Bundesregierung (Photographed by Lothar Schaack, July 23, 1996).
And the international profile of Potsdamer Platz also increased all of a sudden, upon the relocation in 2000 of the Berlinale’s main festival area to it from Budapester Strasse. The Berlinale’s main festival venues have previously been concentrated in the former West Berlin: Budapester Strasse, where the Zoo Palast, the Berlinale’s main festival theatre, and its surrounding areas (e.g. Zoologischer Garten) have been operative until 1999 (see Figure 4.11). In the year that followed, they started relocation to the redeveloped Potsdamer Platz. Since then this abandoned area has been radically transformed into a well-equipped multifunctional urban district for the leisure and cultural activities of Berliners through a German government-led massive urban regeneration project. However, given that the revamping of Potsdamer Platz aimed at maximising its commercial functions by housing buildings of both national and multinational corporations coupled with many facilities built for the purpose of leisure and entertainment commerce, this area or *commercialised urban public space* from the inception of its redevelopment in the early 1990s can be considered as dedicated to regular visitors using the site either for office work or cultural consumption as its major use, and not for permanent Berlin residents. As a result, the new Potsdamer Platz turns into a lifeless empty place when, for instance, the company offices, multiplex cinemas, restaurants and shopping malls are closed and people leave this area at night. In this sense, it can be said that Potsdamer Platz, a once abandoned demilitarized area bordering the former East and West Berlin during the Cold War era, became re-deserted in the post-reunification era after Western capitalism took it over. On the other hand, however, others also see the new Potsdamer Platz’s dilemma in the way that ‘it is a bustling and thriving [part of Berlin], in some eyes, and a cramped pseudo-suburban mall, in others’ (Ladd, 2000b: 12). In the next section, I will look more closely at the historical development of Potsdamer Platz and the subsequent changes in people’s perceptions towards it.
4.3.2. The Relocation of the Main Festival Area to Potsdamer Platz

The relocation of the Berlinale’s main festival venue to Potsdamer Platz shows, in many respects, an interesting aspect of how a city’s existing original image is transformed through the process of urban
regeneration. Following German reunification in 1990, there emerged a strong need from urban policymakers in Germany to search for mutually consensual ways of reflecting the balanced historical legacies of both the former Federal Republic Germany (West Germany) and the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Berlin, which had acted as the capital of East Germany until German reunification, continued to maintain its status as the new capital of a new united Germany following the decision made by the Bundestag to relocate the West German capital Bonn to Berlin on June 20, 1991 (de Valck, 2006: 91). In particular, the former (West) German Chancellor Willy Brandt played a pivotal role in the political process of deciding Berlin as the new capital of a re-united Germany. Regarding this, Barbara Marshall elucidates that:

> Given his past association with Berlin [as the former mayor of West Berlin (1957-1966)] it was only natural that [Willy] Brandt saw in that city the centre of the unified Germany. For the younger [Social Democratic Party] party members, by contrast, Bonn represented the ‘other’ democratic Federal Republic. Again the votes split alongside the generation divide and although East German delegates naturally opted for Berlin the Bonn faction narrowly won by one vote. However, Brandt was able to make a considerable contribution to the debate on the future of German capital in the Bundestag on 20 June 1991. In one of his last great speeches he pleaded passionately in favor of Berlin. For him the moving of the capital was a powerful symbol of ‘solidarity with the east’ (Marshall, 1997: 148-9).

However, despite the united German government’s continuous efforts to restore and preserve old legacies and the image of the pre-reunification period that had been attached to Berlin, the then biggest concern that German urban policymakers had was how to re-envision and incorporate this new-born Berlin as the capital of the reunited Germany into the new German psyche. As regards the then divided social mood in post-reunification Germany in connection with redesigning Berlin as its new capital, Bisky explains that:
Since the early 1990s, Berlin has, above all, been a huge building site [see Figure 4.10 (bottom)], and architecture often had to grapple with paradoxical expectations: on the one hand, the ‘Planwerk Innenstadt’ [and its official policy widely known as “critical reconstruction” aimed at restoring the lost character of Berlin’s urban environment in the wake of Germany’s experience of war and subsequent territorial division], a decidedly anti-modern re-urbanisation and city-centre revitalisation directive decreed that the ‘historical city’ should be recovered; on the other hand, politicians and residents alike expected the architectural fraternity to create a metropolis of the future (2006: 19; see also Ladd, 2000a, 2000b).

In particular, a common question raised by many in the midst of this national debate was how to overcome Berlin’s constantly transformed, hence (inherently) fragmented and decentralized, urban fabric, which has long been sustained since the birth of modern Germany in the late-nineteenth century (for more information on the history of Berlin and Germany’s polycentralised urban system since the late 19th century, see also Läpple, 2006a, 2006b). He further explains that:

What is even more striking […] is that the city, as people’s living space, does not seem to intersect with the Berlin that is the new representative centre of Germany. City dwellers and citizens evidently inhabit two decidedly distinct spheres. Unlike many other European cities, Berlin has no clearly defined city centre complete with market square, city hall and cathedral. Such central space simply does not exist here (Bisky, 2006: 19).

On the other hand, the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas imposes a more conceptually multidimensional feel on Bisky’s rather partial assessment of the city of Berlin, by arguing that ‘Berlin, first bombed, then divided, is centerless – a collection of centers, some of which are voids’ (Koolhaas, 1995a: 206).

In light of this context, Potsdamer Platz in Berlin was regarded by many as a desirable space in which to address the issue of the gradually diminishing urban identity of Berlin in the post-reunification era, thanks mainly to its pre-reunification legacies: (1) the previous neutral aspect of
Potsdamer Platz such as the demilitarized political buffer zone belonging to neither West Germany nor East Germany after the wall was erected in 1961, and (2) the fact that this space had already functioned as the economic and cultural hub of Berlin and Germany as a whole until the end of the Second World War (Caygill, 1997). Hence, a year after the Berlin wall fell in 1989, Potsdamer Platz, a once deserted and strictly off-limits area, was officially reopened and accessible to the public of both sides. The year that followed saw major international corporations becoming attracted to what was called the Project Potsdamer Platz and which aimed to revitalize a previously geopolitically scarred Berlin, thereby ‘provid[ing] the reappointed capital of a [re]united Germany with a fresh identity in the former no-man’s-land between the East and the West’ (de Valck, 2006: 91). In relation to this, Howard Caygill elaborates that:

[Since] 1991 a great deal has happened on Potsdamer Platz. A flurry of individual competitions within Masterplan [or the Project Potsdamer Platz] have been fought, won and lost producing the designs for the corporate centres of Daimler-Benz, Asea Brown (Boverei) and Sony. These were duly passed down to the public through a concert of press releases and the extremely attractive, subsidized journals produced by the City Forum and the [Berlin] Senate Building and Housing Development. In accord with the procedure of the competitions, the public are kept informed but their participation limited. The list of winning architectural prizes reads as a roll call of the emerging contemporary ‘international style’: Helmut Jahn (Chicago): Sony Center […] Arata Isozaki (Tokyo): Office Block for Daimler-Benz […] Richard Rodgers Partnership (London): Housing and Offices for Daimler-Benz […] Renzo Piano (Milan): Service Center for Daimler-Benz […] Hans Kollhoff (Berlin): Offices and Housing […] (Caygill, 1997: 51; for more information on the redevelopment of Potsdamer Platz in the post-reunification era, see also Ladd, 2000a; 2000b; 2004).

Criticisms also emerged from sceptical architects in relation to the renovation of Potsdamer Platz and its design process (see Schmidt, 1996; Marcuse, 1998; Sandler, 2003). With regard to this, de Valck
adds that ‘[a]cclaimed architects commissioned by Sony and Daimler-Chrysler designed a plaza with high, mirror-glazed buildings, evoking the image of American urban districts of the 1980s (and arousing severe criticisms by advocates of architectural novelty and distinction in the process)’ (2006: 91).

Nevertheless, the major impetus behind urban-branding Berlin in this new light was primarily intended to symbolize Potsdamer Platz as the new centre of a reunited Berlin. However, this grand urban project confronted a problem that, unlike previous commitments made by aforementioned big corporations participating in this mega urban project, they decided not to move their headquarters from the former West Germany to this newly-revamped Potsdamer Platz. For instance, despite the globally competitive strength of German heavy industries, most major corporate headquarters remained in western and southern cities, like Düsseldorf and Stuttgart, and most major banks and media companies are based in Frankfurt and Hamburg respectively. DaimlerChrysler AG was the only major corporation to move, one of whose divisions it plans to place at Potsdamer Platz in Berlin (Ladd, 2000b: 9). This act of abandoning their previous commitments led to an inevitable return to the drawing board in order for planners to come up with a solution to this problem. What the German policymakers instead turned to instead was the significance of Berlin itself as a culturally rich city imbued with valuable sociocultural and historical assets that had remained since German reunification. As a result, the German government decided to modify its focus on developing Potsdamer Platz from being Berlin’s business hub for international corporations to the city’s publicly accessible cultural centre specialising in audiovisual media communications. In terms of its functional restructuring, a series of associated facilities including multiplex cinemas and such public film institutions as the film museum (e.g. Deutsche Kinemathek – Museum für Film und Fernsehen) and associated voluntary and public film institutes (e.g. Arsenal – Institut für Film und Videokunst e.V. (formerly Freunde der Deutschen Kinemathek e.V.) and Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin (dffb)) were constructed near the new Potsdamer Platz until 2000 (see Figure 4.9). The relocation of the Berlinale’s main festival venues
from Budapester Strasse to Potsdamer Platz in the same year paved the way for boosting the latter’s international image in the long run.

The Berlinale’s decision to go ahead with this relocation considerably affected the overall image of Berlin as the capital city of the reunited Germany and the operation of the festival as a whole. In this light, de Valck argues that ‘[a]n historical examination of the use of cinema theatres and their spatial dispersal over/concentration in the city shows locations can be used to promote a certain (political) festival image and control visitor flows’ (2006: 92). The Berlinale is basically an international cultural event whose fixed physical presence has always been based in the former West Berlin until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and German reunification the year that followed. In this regard, de Valck elucidates that:

Before the Wende [the political upheaval as a result of the fall of the Berlin Wall followed by the German reunification], the Berlinale had always been located in West Berlin. In the first year (1951), there were festival screenings in the Titania Palast in Steglitz (also used for the opening), open air screenings in the Waldbühne and special screenings in 21 “Randkinos” on the border with East Berlin. Soon, however, the need was felt for a special festival theatre, preferably located in the area of the Kurfürstendam in close proximity to the festival office at the Budapester Strasse 23 [see Figure 4.11]. For the second festival edition in 1952, festival director Bauer selected the Delphi at the Kantstrasse and the Capitol at the Lehniner Platz. It would not be until 1957 that the Berlinale was granted its own, new festival theatre, equipped with climate control, modern projection facilities and lush interior decoration: the Zoo Palast. The erection of this grand theatre guaranteed that, from then on, the festival heart would be firmly located in the centre of West Berlin. The smaller Delphi would become the main venue of the Internationales Forum des Jungen Films, founded in 1971 (ibid.).
4.3.2.3. Changing Perceptions of the Berlinale’s Publics towards the New Potsdamer Platz and Berlin in General

The relocation of the Berlinale’s main festival area to Potsdamer Platz from Budapester Strasse, which was carried out in the broader context of reshaping Berlin as new capital city of the re-united Germany, also affected the way that Berliners (inclusive of both locals and long-standing residents in Berlin) and frequent visitors to Berlin for the Berlinale (e.g. film professionals and ordinary festivalgoers from Germany and beyond) perceive Berlin’s gradually transformed urban fabric on the basis of their respective long-term memories of it. For instance, Marlies Emmerich, long-time Berlin resident as well as journalist on the Berliner Zeitung, sees the newly-revamped Potsdamer Platz after the relocation in the following way:

Potsdamer Platz and the Berlinale as a whole are a different world, because Berlin is... a poor town... neither so bad nor good, like some other towns in other parts of Germany. If you compare Berlin to [other major Western cities like] New York or London, Berlin is a very poor town. However, Berlin is a rich town, if you compare it to Moscow or Bucharest or other Eastern European cities... especially for me, I can’t even feel any difference at all, if I go to the Zoo Palast [in Budapester Strasse] or Potsdamer Platz... The Potsdamer Platz is [to me] a model city. Though equipped with luxury hotels and multiplex cinemas and shopping malls, [I feel] that’s all it has. Potsdamer Platz doesn’t have normal living spaces. You go to Potsdamer Platz... just for fun. But, there’s no living (i.e. there are no places for permanent residents), though it has a little bit of a cool atmosphere... Although I think some Berliners might not agree with my opinion about Potsdamer Platz, I nevertheless feel Berlin this way (see Interview 7).

Her critical assessment of Potsdamer Platz and Berlin as a Berliner, however, tends to be in contradiction with the way that (first-time) outside visitors to the Berlinale, such as international film professionals, appreciate them. Karin van der Tag, publicist from Belgium and first-time visitor of the
Berlinale, emphasises the spatial efficiency and accessibility of Potsdamer Platz in comparison with the Berlinale’s other festival venues (e.g. Zoo Palast in BudapeSTER Strasse) by stating that:

I think Potsdamer Platz is very compact. Everything is very nearby and it is very easy to get to other places... It doesn’t take me long to find lots of different places near Potsdamer Platz... I think the Berlinale and its use of festival spaces centred around Potsdamer Platz seem to be much geared towards the public, which is good, because this is what the festival is supposed to be as well. In this sense, I think the place (i.e. Potsdamer Platz) itself makes a difference. So, it’s nice that the overall publicly accessible atmosphere of Potsdamer Platz gives a certain feel to it to work. You know, as long as people know where they are going, I think it’s OK for the Berlinale to have other venues in Berlin, such as Zoo Palast in BudapeSTER Strasse, apart from Potsdamer Platz. But, it doesn’t seem to keep the connection. Maybe, it could be as much as everything is near from one to another... It might be easier for people to find their way around (see Interview 8).

However, unlike her rather positive impression of Potsdamer Platz as a professional festival participant of the Berlinale, Greg Latter, South African screenwriter of the film *Goodbye Buffana* (directed by Bille August) and invited to the competition section of the 57th Berlinale, perceives its overall image in a more neutral sense. He states that:

This is my first time in the Berlinale… Nevertheless, my first impression of Potsdamer Platz is… a little bit impersonal. I mean it could be like Los Angeles or it could be anywhere. It doesn’t mean to me… It doesn’t say “Berlin” to me. I think Potsdamer Platz doesn’t seem to have any specific atmosphere (see Interview 9).

His account of Potsdamer Platz and Berlin in general tends to be, in many respects, reminiscent of what Rem Koolhaas thinks of as ‘a new [experiential] pattern of [contemporary urban] migration [...]': the trek from nowhere to nowhere as an exhilarating urban experience’ (Koolhaas, 1995a: 207). In
other words, his account tends to be, in broader terms, associated with the liminal-generic perspective of viewing contemporary cities, based on Koolhaas’s notion of the Generic City. Koolhaas defines the Generic City as ‘the city liberated from the captivity of center, from the straitjacket of identity. The Generic City breaks with this destructive cycle of dependency: it is nothing but a reflection of present need and present ability. It is the city without history. It is big enough for everybody. It is easy. It does not need maintenance. If it gets too small it just expands. If it gets old it just self-destructs and renews. It is equally exciting—or unexciting—everywhere. It is “superficial”—a Hollywood studio lot, it can produce a new identity every Monday morning’ (Koolhaas, 1995b: 1249-50). In other words, Prouty elucidates that:

Like airports, which are modern in exactly the same way, the generic city is a city without an identity—no past, no future, no distinction, no character. The identities of most cities may be located in their centers, but paradoxically, instead of being a fixed essence, the center of the city is often the subject of fretful debate about preserving and developing a city's identity. Meanwhile, outer neighborhoods muddle along, existing as nothing but themselves, but also nothing particularly essential. The generic city, by contrast, is nothingness writ large. It has the desultory blandness of outer boroughs. But this very anonymity means the generic city doesn’t have to cling to an outmoded identity (2009: 2).

At this juncture, what the aforementioned impressions (and retrospection) of three interviewees about Potsdamer Platz and Berlin in general imply can be extended to an even broader debate on “outright urban renewal” versus “self-sustainable urban development, by re-using existing urban infrastructures and areas” through its deliberate linkage to the issue regarding how Busan and Berlin as the cities hosting international film festivals have been transformed in the last decade. The issue of the complete renewal of urban areas into an artificial status or balanced development of their old existing parts as opposed to their new ones, can be applied to how, for instance, the Nampo-dong and Haeundae areas in Busan or Budapester Strasse and Potsdamer Platz in Berlin have been respectively transformed since
BIFF and the Berlinale relocated their respective main festival venues in the early 2000s. In this context, the commonsensical assumption that it could be to a certain extent realistically less viable, hence rather idealistic and even utopian, for a city to perfectly balance the development of both its existing and newly created areas, could lead to a near-perpetual cycle of conflict between these two areas. Conversely, however, this cyclical deep-seated contrast between existing and new urban areas could also, in many respects, be a de-facto driving force that helps equilibrate and even revitalize both the overall metabolism of cities and their inhabitants’ overall living tempos.

With this context in mind, in the next section I will shift my attention to a more macro perspective of how the structural changes in BIFF and the Berlinale affect their respective public dimension embedded in their given main festival areas (i.e. the Haeundae area and Potsdamer Platz), by looking at the latest development of these two film festivals.

4.3.3. Cyclical Process of Progression-Regression of Public Dimension of Film Festivals: BIFF and the Berlinale

Film festivals’ public or publicly accessible dimensions are bound by their urban settings which still remain significant as both spatially and ambiently experienceable constituents that play an integral role in the holistic ways in which their audiences or spectators (re)construct their own festival experiences. Despite the gradual decrease in their spatial and physical significance amid continuous technological advances in new media in the twenty-first century that affect the overall ecology of national, regional and international film industries, film festivals nevertheless remain a crucial cinematic offline space for film exhibition, distribution, production and reception. In particular, film festivals’ intended symbiosis with their urban settings becomes more and more significant as cities continue to grow and respond to the concomitantly increased number of their individual inhabitants or publics who demand more spaces within them, where their cultural needs can be met. At the same time, however, public spaces within cities have become more and more controlled by those with vested interests in them, such as municipal
governments and private property developers, as part of urban regeneration, hence more and more perceptually inaccessible to, and perceived as, gentrified by their inhabitants. Such an increased perceptual inaccessibility on the part of these inhabitants towards the urban public spaces, have long been familiar to them as part of their everyday living spaces, is also projected onto such contemporary film festivals as BIFF and the Berlinale. It centres on their respective transformations in proportion to the urban renewal of their respective festival host cities in part through the relocation of their main festival venues to more efficient and controllable spaces at the expense of their nostalgically open-ended characteristics. In relation to this, let me take the recent changes in BIFF and the Berlinale respectively as examples.

Since the start of my film festival research in 2007, there have been colossal changes in BIFF’s overall operational structure as it entered into its 16th edition in 2011. For instance, BIFF officially ceased to utilise the Nampo-dong area as one of its main festival venues and catchment areas as of 2011.\textsuperscript{13} It also finalized the relocation of all the festival functionalities around the Haeundae area, especially in tandem with the opening of the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City as the new main venue for BIFF, in order to maximise its operational efficiency (see also Kim, 2011; Figure 4.12; Appendix 15 (for the map of bus shuttle service between BIFF Village in Haeundae and Busan Cinema Center in Centum City during the 16th BIFF)).

\textsuperscript{13} Other changes in BIFF as of 2011 are as follow: (1) It changed its official acronym from PIFF (the Pusan International Film Festival) to BIFF (the Busan International Film Festival) in 2011 and (2) the BIFF director Kim Dong-ho resigned his fifteen-year-long directorship and handed it over to his co-director Lee Yong-kwan (Noh, 2011; Son, 2010).
This move can, to a larger extent, be understood within the context of the central government’s long-term commitment to the development and metamorphosis of Busan into a creative city specialising in film and media industries by discarding its previous image of a heavy industry and port city. In this transformative process, the demise of the Nampo-dong area as one of BIFF’s main venues is, in particular, symbolically significant in that it was the very area where the festival started its first edition in 1996 and played a pivotal role in promulgating and solidifying its de-facto publicly accessible image worldwide.

There were significant changes in the Berlinale as well. For instance, it launched its new programme called *Berlinale Goes Kiez* as part of celebrating its 60th edition in 2010 and this programme still goes on to date.\(^{14}\) This programme’s major purpose is, by and large, two-fold. Firstly,

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it aims at expanding the Berlinale’s festival operations to areas that are distant from the festival main venues concentrated mainly around Potsdamer Platz and Sony Center (and Alexanderplatz), thereby facilitating more and more Berliners to be part of its overall festivities (see Figure 4.13).\textsuperscript{15} Secondly, it endeavours to revive and integrate into the Berlinale’s overall festivity hitherto operational old movie theatres scattered around Berlin (e.g. (1) Odeon in Schöneberg, (2) Die Kurbel/Neue Kant Kinos in Charlottenburg, (3) Kino Toni & Tonino in Weißensee, (4) Passage Kino in Neukölln, (5) Union Filmtheater in Köpenick/Friedrichshagen, (6) Yorck in Kreuzberg, (7) Adria in Steglitz, (8) Eva Lichtspiele in Wilmersdorf and several others) (see Figure 4.14).\textsuperscript{16} In relation to this programme, the Berlinale director Dieter Kosslick emphasised that:

Given the recent proliferation and even explosion of massively franchised modern multiplex cinemas, such as Cinemaxx throughout Germany, it is crucial for the Berlinale to become a frontrunner to protect old local (stand-alone) movie theaters located in both the central and outside of Berlin. It wants to revitalize the use of them by public audiences in Berlin and Germany as a whole, as well as to decentralize a heavy concentration of cinemas in the Berlin central. In line with this, the 60th Berlinale programmed \textit{Berlinale Goes Kiez}, through which to provide those who live in the suburban areas of Berlin, hence hard to reach its central area, mostly those from the former East Berlin areas, with chances to see and experience the festival films and its festivity (see Programme 1).\textsuperscript{17}

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\textsuperscript{15} Between Potsdamer Platz and Schöneberg: approx. 4.5km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Charlottenburg: approx. 7km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Weißensee: approx. 11km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Neukölln: approx. 12km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Köpenick/Friedrichshagen: approx. 4km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Kreuzberg: approx. 3km, Between Potsdamer Platz and Steglitz: approx. 8km and Between Potsdamer Platz and Wilmersdorf: approx. 6.5km. Source: © Google Earth 2011 (Date: June 25, 2013, modified by Hong-Real Lee).


\textsuperscript{17} I summarise the comments that the Berlinale director Dieter Kosslick made at the Berlin Talent Campus programme \textit{Berlinale Goes Kiez} during the 60th Berlinale (February 11-21, 2010).
These two recent examples show in part how different BIFF and the Berlinale perceive and utilise the value of their respective festival spaces under the global currency of contemporary film festivals’ continuous structural expansion and renovation. In particular, given that BIFF is now entering into its 18th edition in 2013 while the Berlinale has just finished its 63rd edition the same year, they raise an important question in regard to these two film festivals, from the perspective of how well to balance two conflicting factors in order to maintain them as public spaces in the future: (1) technological innovation and efficiency (spatial-perceptual compartmentalisation) versus nostalgic continuity (spatial-perceptual permeability).
In this sense, Sony Center and Potsdamer Platz on which it and many multiplex cinemas are located in Berlin (see Figure 4.9), and, to a lesser extent, Haeundae beach lined with luxury hotels and restaurants in Busan (see Figure 4.7), manifest how urban public spaces open to all became more and more controlled or “commercialised and privatised” spaces following their long-term physical transformation or *gentrification*. They are, to a certain degree, spaces that control the public accessibility of ordinary publics to them in a subliminal or invisible way. Namely, away from either public or private owners’ direct and visible control over public spaces within cities, commercialised urban public spaces created via public-private partnerships are controlled by such invisible factors as what Allen terms a ‘seductive spatial arrangement’ (2006: 454). He characterises it as ‘where the
experience of being in the space is itself the expression of power [invisibly imposed by its owners on those being present within it]’ on the basis of Lipovetsky’s notion of seduction (ibid.). He explains that:

[S]eduction involves the exploitation of embryonic tastes that are already present by increasing their appeal to those involved. It draws in people by suggesting this rather than that option, and turning an apparently open-ended situation to particular advantage. A seductive presence, in that sense, is apparent from the combination of suggestive practices, experiences and spaces laid out for temptation (Lipovetsky, 1994, cited in ibid.: 448).

By a similar token, such a sense of seemingly inclusive but subliminally controlled festival experience engendered by both BIFF and the Berlinale is equally felt by festivalgoers while being present within these gradually commercialised or gentrified festival sites, as if they were in reality easily accessible to them as public spaces without hindrance. This is, in many respects, also resonant with what the Kookje Shinmun journalist Cho has previously portrayed as the “gradual regression of the status of ordinary festival audiences from active festival participants to forcefully passive gazers” as a result of their changing positionality amid the gentrification of BIFF and urban public spaces in Busan as a whole (see Interview 4). At the same time, aging movie theatres that are still operative in Busan and Berlin respectively are either reused for the festivals as part of preserving their historical legacies and nostalgic memories for their audiences and publics (the Berlinale) or merely demolished for constructing cutting-edge multiplex cinemas aimed at providing better conditions for them to enjoy the festival (BIFF).

4.4. Conclusion

In the space of nearly a month before the start of the 18th BIFF (October 3-12, 2013) I have oftentimes been walking through BIFF Street in Nampo-dong on my way back home.
While being on this overcrowded street about a couple of days before and after its gala opening, I could occasionally overhear passersby saying like “BIFF Square and Nampo-dong on the whole used to be the main catchment site for BIFF” or “Many people have once come to Nampo-dong to watch films before, during and after BIFF (prior to the relocation of BIFF’s main festival venue from the Nampo-dong area to Centum City and the Haeundae area on the whole)”. As of 2011 BIFF Square and the Nampo-dong area in general ceased to function as BIFF’s main festival venue, barring its sole official function to hold the pre-festival ceremony with bureaucrats from the Busan metropolitan government responsible for this area (i.e. the Jung-gu district). Previously, a couple of BIFF-related events had been held there together with this pre-festival ceremony until the opening of the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City for the 16th BIFF in 2011. They included, for instance, film festival screenings using existing cinemas (i.e. mostly, multiplex cinemas) based in Nampo-dong, marquee-based promotional activities collaborating between BIFF and film studies departments of local universities or such international film magazines as Premiers, outdoor greetings of actors and actresses to public audiences and internationally renowned filmmakers’ hand-printing events. In 2013, some of the aforementioned BIFF-related events with a reduced number of festival screenings in the Nampo-dong area are still operating on BIFF Square. Since its relocation of most of the festival functionalities to the Haeundae area and Centum City in 2011, BIFF has continued to downsize the Nampo-dong area’s festival function. For instance, in 2011, when the Busan Cinema Center started its operation as BIFF’s new main venue, the festival decided to entirely exclude the Nampo-dong area in its overall festival operations of that year. In the following year the Nampo-dong has been partially reinstated by BIFF as its auxiliary festival venue, albeit reducing the number of festival film screenings and related events from throughout the entire festival period down to six days, and in 2013 the total number of festival screenings and events at Nampo-dong reduced to four days (Kim, 2013a; 2013b). However, it seems to be destined to remain primarily symbolic as its founding place that some of those who are nostalgic about its early editions are now visiting like a pilgrimage site (see Figure 4.15).18

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18 This is the summary of my latest impression about BIFF Square and the Nampo-dong area on the whole, while staying in Busan in late August, 2013. My temporary stay in Busan coincided with the period of the 18th BIFF, eventually leading to this personal account.
This chapter has explored the gradual changes in the sense of publicness or public accessibility of both locals and outside visitors towards public spaces in cities through urban regeneration and ensuing gentrification. It has also analysed this transformation through its linkage to the recent relocations of BIFF’s and the Berlinale’s main festival venues from their founding, hence nostalgic and relatively open-ended, spaces to newly regenerated, hence efficient and semi-controlled, urban spaces (e.g. BIFF: from the Nampo-dong area to the Haeundae area (the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City)/the Berlinale: from Budapester Strasse (Zoo Palast) to Potsdamer Platz (Berlinale Palast)). Basing its conceptual framework on Michael Walzer’s notion of single-minded and open-minded spaces, this chapter has examined how the gentrification of urban public spaces led to the functional compartmentalisation of festival spaces by comparing the relocations of BIFF’s and the Berlinale’s main festival venues. Therefore, it has argued that the structural expansion and transformation of national and international film festivals affect changing perceptions local residents have of everyday urban public spaces. Especially, by employing two ethnographic methods (i.e. Clifford Geertz’s thick description and Victor Turner’s theatrical reconstruction of ethnographic data), this chapter has reconstructed my own walking festival experiences at BIFF and the Berlinale respectively. In particular, I have reconstructed my own perceptual memories concerning my lived-in festival experiences at these
two film festival sites from a first-person perspective, so that I can explain both the spatial and perceptual transformation of the sense of publicness or public accessibility, which most of ordinary festival audiences and publics (including myself as shown in the example mentioned above) have experienced in situ during the festival periods. This chapter has thus contextualised the spatial (and perceptual) dimension of public accessibility embedded in the main respective festival venues of BIFF and the Berlinale – Nampo-dong and Potsdamer Platz – by investigating their following historical developments:

- **Nampo-dong**: the historical formation of the Japanese settlement area in Busan and the subsequent emergence of film consumption culture adjacent to its port area from the late twentieth century up to the present time and then the dissipation of its publicly accessible dimension after BIFF’s main festival venue being relocated, first to the Haeundae area in 2002 and later to Centum City (e.g. the Busan Cinema Center) in 2011.

- **Potsdamer Platz**: its pasts intricately entangled with Germany’s cold war histories of geopolitical division followed by its ultimate reunification in 1990 and later the Berlinale’s relocation of its main festival venue from Budapester Strasse to Potsdamer Platz in 2000.

Through this historical process, this chapter has explored how the previously progressed public dimension of these two urban festival spaces has been gradually dissipated through such external factors as urban regeneration and consequent gentrification of urban public spaces.

In the next chapter, I will shift my attention from this urbanity-based macro perspective of seeing the structural transformation of the public dimension of film festivals to a more microscopic realm, by looking at film festivals’ unique function aimed exclusively at coordinating and facilitating intimate communications between ordinary festival audiences and professional cineastes, namely post-film screening Q&A sessions.
Chapter 5. Film Festival and Communicational Performances of Festival Audiences

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores how numerous forms of interaction and exchange between ordinary festival audiences and professional cineastes are generated by their verbally and non-verbally communicative engagements with various indoor and outdoor events of film festivals. Of these festival events, it focuses on indoor examples, specifically post-film screening Q&A sessions. I argue that the film festival Q&A format functions to facilitate the active participation of festival audiences in the verbally and non-verbally interactive ambience that it engenders. By Q&A sessions in the context of the film festival format I mean all kinds of indoor and outdoor venues and events that film festivals operate, and where communicational and emotional contacts or exchanges take place. They include post-film screening Q&A sessions, publicly accessible outdoor venues aimed at facilitating meetings between both film professionals and ordinary festival audiences, seminar-style panel programmes, and so on. Even public protests organised and held by interest groups engaging with domestic and international political issues can also be included in this category in that their performances tend to manifest their latent intention of their voices appealing to and communicating with others attending film festivals. In doing so, both indoor and outdoor public venues at film festival sites play a crucial role in materialising festival audiences’ unquantifiable physical and communicative performances of various experiences, as certain issues and themes arise via the films dealing with them. It is film festivals themselves that play a crucial part in managing and then framing or characterising this holistically constructed communicative environment with their own programming operations. Given this, I explore the contingent forms of festival audiences’ communicational participation in BIFF and the Berlinale from an anthropological perspective that sees festival audiences’ public performance at film festival sites as socioculturally constructed. In addition to this, beyond organisational and operational similarities shared by them as international film festivals subjected to accreditation licensing regulations of the
Paris-based FIAPF (the International Federation of Film Producers Associations), BIFF and the Berlinale also establish and then strategically maintain their respective unique climatic conditions memorable to their local and (inter)national visitors every year, by means of their relatively fixed annual festival calendars (e.g. BIFF: Summer (October) and the Berlinale: Winter (February since the 28th Berlinale in 1978; see Cowie, 2010). Hence, I further suggest that temporal and climatic factors could also influence the preferential tendency of festival audiences to opt for where to be for their public engagements during the festival periods.

5.2. Film Festival Q&A Sessions and Performative and Interactive Festival Audiences

A film festival is a space where cinematic visuals and associated discourses that were formed via diverse filmic words and texts that both media and people produce indoors as well as outdoors live in symbiosis with each other. In general, commercial film screenings at national or worldwide multiplex cinemas and local stand-alone movie theatres tend to be aimed at generating maximum profits via mass film consumptions. By contrast, the film festival both as a global event site and as an organisation is in large part holistic in terms of its capability to generate a spatiotemporally ephemeral but thematically condensed and intensive festival ambience that enables various agendas regarding films and global film industries as a whole to be accommodated, managed and communicated with various parties and institutions (Rüling and Pederson, 2010). Rüling and Pederson emphasise the film festival’s industrial networking function by arguing that ‘a large number of diverse industry actors are present at large festival events, and numerous exchanges among actors can be observed in situ’ (ibid.: 322). In this light, ‘the [verbal and non-verbal] exchange and interaction’ between various actors that film festivals facilitate can also be expanded into the realm of ordinary festival audiences, who are capable of having chance-encounters with, and engaging in, various kinds of discussions about festival films and issues generated during the festival’s duration (ibid.).
In this sense, the emergence of such politically sensitive issues as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the 60th Berlinale post-film screening Q&A session discussed below allows ordinary festival audiences, albeit as paying customers, to take part in, and respond to, this discussion session, to the extent that they have their own preliminary agendas and interests for them to engage in this discussion:

On February 16, 2010, inside Screen 4 of Cinemaxx located on Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, I am observing a heated debate being under way between ordinary festival audiences and the Swiss-born director Nicholas Wadimoff of the documentary film *Aisheen* (Still Alive in Gaza) with his Qatari producer Mahmoud Bouneb, two of whom were invited to the Forum section of the 60th Berlinale. The issue they are discussing is on whether or not to be able to maintain an impartial or neutral view in dealing with the occupation and blockade of the Hamas-controlled Gaza Strip in Palestine by the Israeli Defence Force (IDF), especially in terms of making films that handle geopolitically sensitive and controversial issues. One of the audience who identifies herself as a leftist Israeli attending this film’s post-film screening Q&A session criticizes his film for its alleged unilateral and “biased” angle that could possibly run the risk of damaging what she claims to be an objective insight into seeing and reappraising the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She thinks that this film lost its narrative balance needed to take into account both sides of stories, particularly from the Israeli viewpoint. For her comment, she is booed and yelled at by other audiences attending this Q&A session. In response to her claim the director responds by insisting that it is quite legitimate for him as a filmmaker to focus on the sufferings of Palestinians in Gaza, since the documentary was filmed entirely on Palestinian territory. He compares the kind of films handling this internationally-known regional conflict with Israeli films exclusively targeting Israeli nationals as their domestic audiences and concludes that the latter case could be made by interpreting this issue equally from their angle to hype up patriotic and even bellicose sentiments most Israelis might have towards Palestinians. In other words, the director is certain that it is fair for him to tell international audiences a story about Palestinians from the Palestinian perspective. Then, this discussion is relayed by a Moroccan audience sitting next to me and he praises (in German) this film for making the Palestinian question publicised via the Berlinale. Besides, some German audiences present here respond to his comment relatively positively. However, the German moderator of this
Q&A session refuses to translate his comment into English for non-German audiences attending it, because she judges it as a strong political statement. Hence, like the Israeli audience, she is also jeered by the rest of the attending audience (see Programme 2; Filmography 1).

The example mentioned above implies several intriguing factors worth taking into account concerning film festivals’ unique functions that are differentiable from regular movie screenings and normal cinema-going experiences. It shows that certain amounts of time and space (e.g. approximately 30 minutes maximum at the Q&A session at Cinemaxx in Berlin during the 60th Berlinale), albeit sparse and limited, are extra-allocated for facilitating ordinary festival audiences as either active engagers (e.g. the Israeli woman and the Moroccan man) or mere spectators and observers (e.g. the rest of the audience and myself) to take part in relatively controlled discussions (e.g. the German moderator) about issues popular among many (e.g. the everyday lifestyles of Palestinians presented plainly in the film Aisheen (Still Alive in Gaza) itself) or exclusive and specialised for the few (e.g. the Israeli-Palestinian conflict) at the same time. These five disparate elements constituting this scene – (1) space and time, (2) the engaging and the engaged, (3) the programmed schedule, (4) core theme and (5) communicationally performative in terms of festival ambience – seem to interact with one another, showing the holistic way in which various forms of both verbal and non-verbal communications (and engagements) between different ranks of festival participants are performed at this film festival’s Q&A session. Moreover, the extraordinary ambience that film festivals present to all the festival participants as events different from “their everyday lives” is at a premium. The film festival is also a performative space where various groups of people and institutions with different film interests and concerns constantly come into conflict and communicate with one another. This is not only a coherent and harmonious, but also a conflictive and reflexive site that is subject to unpredictable elements that emerge through various forms of interactive encounters between festival audiences and the communicative ambience that film festival sites generate in an improvised, albeit controlled, manner.
This either semi-artificially or semi-naturally created festive ambience tends to be created as a result of film festivals’ pre-planned spatial programming strategies.

In general, a film festival site constitutes a series of both indoor and outdoor public spaces. The indoor spaces include such places as stand-alone movie theatres and multiplex cinemas accessible to limited numbers of paying festival audiences for the purpose of film consumption and, if possible, subsequent (brief) semi-controlled discussions about the films after their screenings. The outdoor spaces are like the ones publicly accessible by all ranks of festival participants, including even uninterested bystanders and passersby, such as festival event venues constructed on public squares that are utilised as main festival catchment areas throughout the festival period. Given that I have spent around four years (2007-2010) attending and observing several Q&A sessions during both the BIFF and Berlinale, I discovered that there are different typologies of festival Q&A sessions with different themes and even different ways in which audiences experience and respond to these cinematic events. Diverse forms of both indoor and outdoor venues utilised to generate an audience-friendly festival atmosphere are temporarily established and sustained via numerous verbal and non-verbal communications between film festivals and their audiences. Here, climatic and geographical factors play a significant role in characterising those venues publicly accessible to festival audiences. For instance, winter (urban) film festivals, like the Berlinale which is held in February every year, operate most of their festival venues indoors due to cold weather, whereas summer film festivals like BIFF which is held in October programme many outdoor events in order to make the best use of their natural environment, such as beaches where those visiting the festival sites are exposed to high doses of dry sunshine (see Figure 5.1).
Apart from these venues established as part of official festival programmes, sometimes localized public protests that civic interest groups organise for sociopolitical causes take place outside of official festival programmes during the festival periods, and these can also be integrated into the film festivals’ discursive ambience overall. The general operational tendency is also affected by the climatic characteristics of festival areas. Hence, the external way in which public demonstrations are executed tends to be “message-oriented”, thereby minimizing the actual number of participants in the case of winter film festivals and “direct action-oriented” maximising the number of them that take place outdoors in the case of summer film festivals (see Figure 5.2). All in all, temporal and climatic factors can influence, to a certain extent, the preferential tendency of festival audiences to determine where to be for their public engagements during festivals. Under these circumstances, on the one hand, some groups of people committed to certain vested interests perceive and utilise public squares as a physical meeting point where their own (sociopolitical) voices are expressed publicly and intersect with each
other. On the other hand, others – not only as active festival audiences but also as passive spectators – participate in themed festival events to engage personally in numerous discussions arising from political issues via film screenings and their subsequent Q&A sessions.

![Image of festival scenes](image1)

**Figure 5.2:** Protesting regarding improving the precarious working conditions of German film industry workers (the 58th Berlinale) and legalizing minimum wages for them (the 60th Berlinale) (above). Scenes of public protests regarding abolishing censorship during the 2nd BIFF (bottom). Sources: (above) Photographed by Hong-Real Lee/ (bottom) © PIFF 1997.

What is at stake here is the correlation between spatiotemporally ephemeral but thematically condensed film festival ambiences and the way that various festival audiences experience and participate in them. All the parties interact with one another and their interests intersect in communicatively performative Q&A sessions as their contact zones. In particular, such a correlation emphasises various forms of audiences’ communicational performances that emerge in parallel with certain festival films-associated themes during indoor and outdoor meetings and contacts between ordinary festival participants or the general public and festival cineastes, all of which take place at given cinematic venues such as post-film screening Q&A sessions. While they are held, film festivals provide audiences with diverse cinematic and extra-cinematic experiences through miscellaneous
indoor and outdoor public places and the venues they designate, where festival film screenings and ancillary events usually take place. Their primary aim is to continually facilitate diverse forms of verbal and non-verbal communications between festival audiences in order to encourage their festival audiences and publics to participate more actively in, and pay more attention to, their programmed festivity as a whole. These publicly (and perceptually) accessible spaces play a crucial role in synthesizing and mediating the audiovisual and aesthetical impact that films generate and associated festival audiences’ interpretative activities. In this regard, the main issue in question is how the performances of festival audiences maintain both their conflicting and cooperative relations with the overall festival ambience regarding the formation of discourses.

5.2.1. Multidimensional Aspects of Festival Audiences’ Communicative Performance

The symbolic significance of presence – or simply “being there” – at film festival sites tends to enable festival audiences to become immersed and then incorporated into the festival as one of those who contribute to the completion of the whole festival spectacle. This leads to generating shared and communal experiences that could become equivalent to ‘a sense of belonging’ or ‘the ‘we-feeling’ of the community’ (Scannell and Cardiff, 1990: 277; Chaney, 1986: 249). As Stringer argues, festival audiences and crowds do not tend to ‘appear to enjoy the show so much as to provide evidence of its existence for worldwide observers’ (2001: 141). Such a view can be understood in terms of the socio-historical manner in which ritual is constructed in contemporary societies. In this sense, Dayan capitalizes on the understanding of the symbolic meaning of ‘spectators’ attendance’ at film festivals in the broader context of their socioculturally bounded ritualistic performance (2000: 44). He thus points to ‘[t]he existence of the festival as a collective performance’ by comparing the relationship between individual activities of festival participants and implicit as well as explicit principles or rules to which they are subliminally subjected (ibid.). Rather than considering festivalgoers as passive participants who are susceptible to the traditional norms or customs of festivals, he focuses on the implicit aspect of
the norms in reference to the symbolic meaning of spectators’ attendance at film festivals. In this regard, Dayan suggests that:

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\text{Festival attendance is witnessed by others, and it conforms to a certain sequence of activities. By attending, you are neither expected to obey a rigid set of injunctions, nor to follow some agenda of your own, regardless of the existence of festival activities around you. 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’ (ibid.).}
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In other words, those attending film festivals and their in-situ presence itself manifest that they are both spectators and active readers of how spatially and discursively film festivals are constructed and work. In this context, Kim Soyoung also underlines his insistence by arguing in relation to the recent growth of film culture in South Korea that:

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\text{There is something in cinephiliac culture that can facilitate the process of identity and subject formation and festival politics. In cinephilia, people are looking for something they desire to see. In the same vein, film festivals based on themes and identities encourage and invite viewers who desire to ‘share’ a relatively vague object of desire they are collectively looking for…In this way, [such a certain circumstance] engages with group-identity processes and individual creative reading activities, both focused on notions of desire defined in terms of cultural politics in given situations (2005b: 89).}
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To be more specific, in line with the fact that Dal explains that the South Korean film industry rose alongside neoliberalism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Kim argues that ‘the [parallel] growth of cinephilia [and] the proliferation of theme-based film festivals alongside with the emergence of identity groups [such as women, homosexuals etc.]’ were also detected (Dal, 2006; ibid.). Accordingly, Kim suggests that ‘[v]arious factors have contributed to the recent proliferation of all kinds of film festivals in South Korea. First, there is cine-mania, the Korean version of cinephilia. Second is the enactment of}
a local self-government system. Third, there has been a shift in the site of Korean activism from the politico-economic to the cultural sphere’ (2005b: 89).

In particular, Dayan draws attention to ‘[the] divergent…centrifugal [and] conflicting’ aspect of individual festival spectators’ contributions to the discursive formation of film festivals as experiential public spaces (2000: 45). Specifically, he suggests that ‘what I was [mainly] looking at was not the harmonious coordination of collective enactment based on shared conceptions [but] a repeated victory over entropy’ (ibid.). What is at stake here is the intensive verbal (and non-verbal) interactions generated by festival audiences’ responses to the ways that they tend to experience both cinematic and extra-cinematic festival spaces, in relation to which Dayan portrays film festivals as ‘verbal architectures’ (ibid.). Such festival audiences’ verbal performances shown over the course of festival periods can be materialised at either outdoor public venues or indoor cinema theatres. At these public spaces, both physical and perceptual boundaries between ordinary festival audiences and film professionals such as filmmakers, actors and actresses, are temporarily blurred by their brief but intensive verbal (and non-verbal) exchanges regarding films and their socioculturally-specific subject matters. Briefly, on the one hand, what Stringer calls ‘a sense of stability [and harmony]’ within the world of international film festivals is still validated as crucial elements that are capable of externally publicising film festivals’ positive images to the world (2001: 138). On the other hand, such a taken-for-granted idea could also be challenged by complex features that film festivals promulgate, considering that ‘[the] unity of [film festivals is] a fragile equilibrium, an encounter between competing definitions; a moment of unison between various solo performances’ (Dayan, 2000: 45).

At this juncture, Edward T. Hall’s anthropological investigation into the tripartite categorisation of human spaces – fixed-feature space, semifixed-feature space and informal space – provides a useful point in deliberating how spatially film festivals and their interactions with festival audiences can be formulated (Hall, 1966: 97-105). Despite a socioculturally-specific (hence temporally limited) context that it implies given being grounded largely in the early urban regeneration of American cities and
ensuing problems concerning cultural differences between diverse ethnic groups, his research on spaces
nevertheless provides an intriguing universal quality to the understanding of ‘social and personal space
and [human beings’] perception of it’, which extends its application to the equivalent dynamics of
contemporary film festivals (ibid.: 1). As briefly mentioned previously, Hall categorised living spaces
as three dimensions according to spatial arrangements (i.e. fixed, semifixed and informal) including
people’s varied interactions with them. In this context, I suggest that film festivals can be perceived as
a socioculturally negotiated combination of both “sociofugal” and “sociopetal” spaces. These two
spatial terms – sociofugal and sociopetal – originated from Hall’s concept of a ‘semifixed-feature
space’ that embraces and manages these two conflicting spatial characteristics of bringing people apart
and together at the same time (ibid.: 101). Thus, given that open and closed spaces coexist within the
festival sites, the city itself is perceived as a sociofugal space where publicly accessible places like
public squares and parks are either naturally or artificially created as sociopetal space that enables
human elements to socially interact with each other within it.

In other words, a cyclical reproduction of both sociofugal and sociopetal encounters between film
festivals and those present under the former’s ephemeral festive ambience works organically in order
that the festivals’ exterior chaotic and disorderly look can be sustained in a controlled manner. An
elusive but perceptually delineated boundary exists between ordinary and professional festival
audiences during the festival periods in terms of the spatial tendency in which each group meets and
gathers together according to their needs. For instance, while the former gather at public film
screenings or adjacent to ticket offices in order to exchange information mainly on films and other
festival events that are easily accessible to them, like Guest Visits (GVs) held indoors during BIFF, the
latter assemble at press offices, festival service centres or evening reception parties where specialised
information on film deals and the industry as a whole are exchanged between them relatively casually.
Accordingly, festival spaces can become organically compartmentalised according to the status of
spatial access (or accreditation) given respectively to these two groups (i.e. ordinary and professional).
At the same time, it can also be said that such synchronised recurrence of both sociofugal and sociopetal interactions are made between diverse strata of festival audiences as unknown others or strangers within urban cores transformed ephemerally into film festival sites in the Simmelian sense of the ‘constant interactions of strangers’ (Lofland, 1973, cited in Emmison and Pederson, 2000: 201).

In this sense, these two terms – sociofugal and sociopetal – also resonate with Daniel Dayan’s anthropological examination of cyclical dynamics of festival sites that work both centrifugally and centripetally and their audiences’ reaction to them. Basically, Dayan emphasises the constantly conflictual aspect regarding how festival audiences interact with both spatial and discursive atmospheres they experience together with their presence at the Sundance Film Festival (2000: 45). For instance, given the brevity of its festivity, the audience (and spectators) is constantly present against the backdrop of Park City’s snow-covered mountainous environment which functions both as a festival host city and as a touristic site, and stand-alone movie theatres and multiplex cinemas utilised for the festival. At the same time, they are also bombarded by (and digest) a huge quantity of filmic lexicons and texts churned out by intensive (print) media publicity operations from the North American film industries and beyond. As such, asymmetrical relations between the festival’s spatial and discursive settings and its festival audiences’ spontaneous, hence contingent, interactions with the former sustain the aforementioned “fragile equilibrium” or “controlled and organized chaos” embedded in its very operative structure that needs to maintain an exterior stability. Under such a spatially and discursively interactive environment provided by film festival sites, Kim argues that “[t]he mode of festival spectatorship that includes discussion materials and seminars mobilizes the process of identity and subjectivity formation. Since a film festival may provide a space for sharing between the viewers, programmers, academics and activists involved, it opens up the possibility of activating the viewers’ subjective reading around the overall rubric put on the agenda by the festival’ (2005b: 89). In particular, Ingawanij suggests that “[festival] format Q&As are often interesting for their unpredictability, insofar as they permit audiences to spontaneously shape the meaning of the film and the event of its screening,
a public sphere of sorts’ (2007: 190). Such publicly accessible extra-cinematic spaces as film festival Q&A sessions created via the convergence of festival audiences’ diverse communicational activities and their physical presence are, by and large, BIFF and the Berlinale’s hallmarks as audience-friendly major international film festivals and thereby differentiable from their international competitors.

5.2.2. Festival Audiences as the Public(s)

Habermas’s conceptualisation of the public sphere has its own theoretical weakness due to a series of problems to do with its anachronistic and universal applicability regarding the context of socioculturally heterogeneous and plural contemporary societies under globalisation. Thus, considering the emergence of a multitude of publics with different thoughts and opinions, not the undifferentiated and homogenous collective masses, in ever-expanded (and simultaneously) fragmented contemporary societies could be useful in understanding the multidimensional characteristics of film festivals as public spaces, specifically, in conjunction with their target audiences and publics and how they act within them. In this sense, the heterogeneous experiences multiple publics have at film festival sites are reflected largely by Negt and Kluge’s radical reconceptualisation of the very notion of the public in the contemporary context. They conceived of a more experiential and divergent (and even conflictual) public sphere based specifically on the sociopolitical context of postwar German society and which followed four aspects:

[1] [An] unstable mixture of different types of organization, corresponding to different stages of economic, technical, and political organization; [2] a site of discursive contestation for and among multiple, diverse, and unequal constituencies; [3] a potentially unpredictable process due to overlaps and conjunctures between different types of publicity and diverse publics; and [4] a category containing a more comprehensive dimension for translating among diverse publics that is grounded in material structures, rather than abstract ideals, of universality (Negt and Kluge, 1993 [1972]: xxviii-xxix).
In line with this, Berry criticizes the conventional notion of the public sphere in his discussion of the People’s Republic of China, arguing that:

The idea of the public sphere is not only inadequate to accommodate this new understanding of publicness, but its impossible ideality makes it an ideological lure rather than a concept with analytical value. If public space is theorized in contrast to the public sphere as produced by power relationships among multiple social actors and multiple in its variation, then we may have a more precise way of describing different types of public space and public activity than the either/or impossible standard of the public sphere (2010: 108-9).

Such immeasurable and contingent nature of multiple publics’ (or ordinary festival audiences’) communicative performances at festival sites becomes contextualised through the media’s attempts at differentiating their performances from stereotypically exclusionary images or cultures of professional film festival communities shown during the festival periods. The reason for this is that media can continue to subject film festivals to intensive public scrutiny regarding their exclusive-inclusive operation paradigm. Media’s careful production and dissemination of diverse textual and audiovisual messages in association with what is going on during the festival periods and the resultant festival audiences’ perception of it contribute largely to streamlining the incongruence of overall film festival ambiances into sanitized but relatively sensible and readable discourses for most festival participants. In this light, the ubiquitous presence of various local and (inter)national media outlets at film festival sites plays a pivotal role in mediating relations embedded between film festivals and their audiences according to their respective differentiated agenda-setting regimes (Harbord, 2002; de Valck, 2006).

With regard to film festival audiences’ behavioural characteristics in association with the International Film Festival in Rotterdam (IFFR), de Valck attempts to categorise types of film festival audiences according to their main motivations to participate in film festivals: (1) the lone list-maker, (2) the
highlight seeker, (3) the specialist/professional, (4) the leisure visitor, (5) the social tourist and (6) the volunteer (2005: 103-5). This orderly categorisation based on her tactile experiences at IFFR is broadly useful in grasping the multilayered ways in which disparate festival audiences interact with spatiotemporally ephemeral but thematically condensed ambiences that film festivals strategically create.

5.3. Film Festival Audiences and the Film Festival Q&A Format

Q&A sessions at film festivals tend to be, by and large, structurally standardized and operationally formulaic, given the way in which they are generally run during the short festival periods. This propensity seems to be universally applicable to nearly all film festivals. The following items provide the basic framework of the film festival Q&A format:

(1) Introduction of a film’s director and, if available, actors and actresses to attending festival audiences via Q&A moderators – e.g. most moderators tend to be those who are experts/practitioners in film industries or academia and media sectors. They include film festival programmers in charge of festival programme sections they designed, film academics, film producers and, sometimes, interpreters, mainly due to their excellent command of English and event coordination skills.
(2) Brief explanation of how the director conceptualised the main ideas of his or her film and any anecdotal or behind-the-scenes stories associated with the whole process of filmmaking as facilitated by the Q&A moderator’s initiative prior to the start of the substantive part of the Q&A session with festival audiences.
(3) Approximately thirty minutes or shorter exchange of questions and answers between the filmmaker and his or her festival audiences under the moderator’s minimal intervention

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19 There is also another way of categorising the types of festival participants the 2006 Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF) suggests regarding the relationship between film festivals and cinephiliac culture: (1) the diehard, (2) the festival staffer, (3) the cineaste, (4) the stargazers and (5) the scenester (Czach, 2010: 141).
into these mutual communications so that the Q&A session can be run smoothly and finish on time.

(4) Wrapping up the Q&A session with brief concluding remarks by the moderator and guests for the sake of the next festival audience waiting outside of the screening room to attend the next film screening.

Under this standardized structure, diverse themes and communicational and emotional performances during the festival periods are engendered via numerous tangible and intangible contacts and exchanges between human and non-human festival elements – e.g. both ordinary and professional festival participants as the human festival elements, and all the events and spaces provided by film festivals and their host cities as the non-human festival elements. At this juncture, the reason for the overall ways in which festival audiences participate in Q&A sessions and film festivals in general can be described as a performance grounded in the anthropological conceptual distinction between activity and performance made by Daniel Dayan’s perspective. He outlines that:

The word ‘performance’ can be used as a synonym of ‘activity’ but adds an essential nuance to them. Speaking of ‘performance’ instead of ‘activity’ points to the fact that all social activities are modeled on cultural scripts. Some are explicitly so, many are implicitly so because the corresponding scripts are only known intuitively […]. Any social encounter involves at least two complementary performances, coordinated by social rules. Any gathering involves multiple performances, coordinated by collective rules. Whenever people interact, they know what it is they are doing even if they do not have a name for it. Anthropologists try to identify performances, to coin names to designate them, to unravel the scripts they perform. They try also to identify rules, to propose a grammar of encounters, a rhetoric of gatherings (Dayan, 2000: 43).

In other words, daily activities we normally perform in our everydayness tend to be ruled by either visible or invisible and unquantifiable norms that exist through socially acceptable consensus. This
A film festival, as compared to a regular movie screening, is even more detached from the everyday experience: it takes place but once a year, it presents films ‘for the first time’ and has extras such as the presence of guests (‘stars’) and the creating of a more communal, more festive and, in many ways, more significant context by way of animation, presentation and the simulation of a certain ‘ambience’ (2004: 221, cited in Koven, 2008).

In this context, the structurally similar but culturally diverse framework that Julian Stringer (2001) suggests in conjunction with the overall structural dynamics of international film festivals is generally
applied to every aspect of international film festivals’ operational strategies. The sense of unexpectedness and extraordinariness emerges mostly from the structurally fixed but thematically and performatively contingent and even permeable ambience via non-linear relationships formed between film professionals, moderators and audiences, which were blended either harmoniously or conflictingly. Their respective cross-bordering roles, regardless of their conventionally given order which was analysed in studies on media audience and reception (i.e. primary definers as encoders-secondary definers as intermediaries-their active receivers as decoders), can thus be applied equally to the dynamics of the film festival Q&A format. This incorporates the tendency in existing studies on media audience-media producer relations in the context of media consumption and (re)production that focus largely on their ideological and stratified aspects in terms of the degree of access to information (Hall et al., 1996). In this sense, employing the theory of media audience and reception in this chapter’s exploration of the relations between film festivals and their ordinary audiences and publics is viable in applying the intrinsically polemical but symbiotic relations between media audience and media producer to the ways in which festival participants at Q&A sessions as part of media events organised by film festivals interact with one another. More specifically, the film festival Q&A format is basically different from that of TV live broadcasting programmes targeting a wide range of audiences. Despite that, the former has some common ground with the latter: Q&As tend to be organised and run by either film festivals themselves or certain third independent parties (e.g. film experts, film industry professionals, journalists, architects, and so forth) officially invited by film festivals as specialist moderators in the form of TV live talk shows that film festival staffers record simultaneously using portable video cameras. In particular, unlike live-broadcast official press conferences held several hours prior to the screening of films invited to the competition section of, for instance, the Berlinale both online and through huge outdoor screens installed at designated public spaces for film festivals, audiovisual feeds of post-film screening Q&A sessions tend to end up becoming ‘one-time only’ media events. Hence, no official film festival records are made for post-film screening Q&A sessions either to
be (online) broadcasted live for the majority of ordinary festivalgoers during the festival periods or to be digitally archived for those who want to access them during festival off-seasons or for other purposes (e.g. academic research or internal use). The only way for the festival audience to experience and record Q&A sessions is to have to wait for this extraordinary moment patiently inside cinemas until the end of the film screening.

In this context, the film festival Q&A format generally makes invisible reciprocal interactions between film professionals, Q&A moderators and attending audiences, in contrast to the intrinsically indirect and immeasurable nature of media audience-media producer relations that tend to exist statistically in the form of, for instance, TV viewership ratings or movie box office results. At this point, interpretative modes of media messages and the relations between their disparate interpreters or decoders as theorized by Stuart Hall can be taken into account in discussing the following question: how do festival audiences in general interact with each other at Q&A sessions, according to, not only the characteristics of festival locations and themes, but also the relationship between ordinary audiences and festival guests whose intrinsically vertical nature becomes gradually blurred or horizontal via verbal and non-verbal contact? In the next section I will briefly explain Hall’s encoding-decoding model and its conceptual applicability to the film festival Q&A format.

5.3.1. The Mode of Encoding and Decoding Messages

Many traditional positivist social scientists based mainly in the USA, such as Lazarsfeld and Merton, insisted that audiences were widely regarded as passive receivers of media messages with a high reliance on mass media-mediated messages. However, other scholars from the Frankfurt School, largely constituted by Jewish immigrants who had escaped to the United States from the Nazi totalitarianism, such as Horkheimer and Adorno, endeavoured to create a more critical approach to the reading of mediated messages. They criticized the former’s transparent (hence uncritical and linear) approach to it, for which they recognised media audiences as active receivers and interpreters of those
mediated messages which had long been manipulated by established mass media. In this light, Stuart Hall (1996), heavily influenced by the Frankfurt School critical tradition of audience reception studies, proposes the active audience theory to insist that – differentiated from the traditional linear “sender-message-receiver” process – audiences actively read media messages based on their own specific cultural and social backgrounds and, hence, their interpretations tend to be polysemic. In particular, he emphasises the discursive process by which audiences engage themselves in reading implicit media messages, not passively consumed outcomes. In other words, in spite of the substantial control and influence of established media on audiences’ media reception and consumption, the de-facto significant interpretative parameter upon which they tend to rely is, nevertheless, to a great extent ‘the cultural implications of [audiences’] presence’ (Tomlinson, 1991:57, cited in Campell and Kean, 2006: 301).

In this regard, Hall’s “encoding/decoding model” is based primarily upon the reciprocally operating discursive process that is engendered by way of audiences’ active interpretative activities over implicit/latent meanings of various media texts. This process tends to rely on (and be influenced) by specific sociocultural contexts and concomitant experiences that individual audiences undergo in their everyday lifespaces. Hall thus argues that:

Any society/culture tends with varying degrees of closure to impose its classifications of the social and cultural and political world. These constitute a dominant cultural order, though it is neither univocal nor uncontested. This question of the ‘structure of discourses in dominance’ is a crucial point. The different areas of social life appear to be mapped out into discursive domains, hierarchically organized into dominant preferred meanings (1996: 45-6).

According to conventional media theories, such a politically and socioculturally dominant circumstance tends to be, by and large, deterministic and even hypodermic in relation to the obvious and transparent outcomes retrieved via the passive ways in which audiences consume mediated messages or the
dominant preferred meanings that mass media produce in a highly controlled manner. Hall characterises the realm of preferred meanings as ‘[having] the whole social order embedded in them as a set of meanings, practices and beliefs: the everyday knowledge of social structures, of “how things work for all practical purposes in this culture”, the rank order of power and interest and the structure of legitimation, limits and sanctions’ (ibid.: 46). What also emerges from this is the issue regarding who takes a dominant position to set these preferred meanings in the production of mediated messages. Hall et al. thus define primary definers, which is gleaned from Becker’s (1967) notion of the “hierarchy of credibility,” as follows:

[The media] tend to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society’s institutional order [in an impartial manner]. [This dominant institutional structure create primary definers] in powerful or high-status positions in society who offer opinions about controversial topics will have their definitions accepted, because such spokesmen are understood to have access to more accurate and more specialized information on particular topics than the majority of the population […]. The important point about the structured relationship between the media and the primary institutional definers is that it permits the institutional definers to establish the initial definition or primary interpretation of the topic in question (1996: 427-8).

In other words, primary definitions set by the primary definers predetermine the thematic limit for all the talks and debates by setting their own primary agendas for any emergent issues. Thereby any contributions made by those other than primary definers tend to become irrelevant or secondary at best. In this context, the media are not placed in a dominant position as to the production of meaningful messages, nor are they entirely subordinate to primary definers. In this regard, they insist that:

[…] in a critical sense, the media are frequently not the ‘primary definers’ of news events at all; their structural relationship to power has the effect of making them play a crucial but
secondary role in reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access, as of right, to the media as ‘accredited sources’. From this point of view, in the moment of news production, the media stand in a position of structured subordination to the primary definers (ibid: 428.).

Thus, in order to clarify all the misinterpretations which these preferred meanings and the linear or transparent process of media reception could generate at a deeper or latent level, ‘we must refer, through the codes, to the orders of social life, of economic and political power and ideology’ (ibid.). In this light, John Fiske explains “the codes” in the context of how television dramas tend to mediate reality:

The point is that ‘reality’ is already encoded, or rather the only way we can perceive and make sense of reality is by the codes of our culture. There may be an objective, empiricist reality out there, but there is no universal, objective way of perceiving and making sense of it. What passes for reality in any culture is the product of the culture codes, so ‘reality’ is already encoded, it is never ‘raw.’ If [some pieces] of encoded reality is televised, the technical codes and representational conventions of the medium are brought to bear upon it so as to make it (a) transmittable technologically and (b) appropriate cultural text for its audiences. Some of the social codes which constitute our reality are relatively precisely definable in terms of the medium through which they are expressed – skin, color, dress, hair, facial expression, and so on (1996: 134-5).

Therefore, the latent and connotative meanings hidden in polysemic media messages contain various political, economic and cultural codes, and can be interpreted depending on which interpretative position or code audiences take in reading media messages. In this regard, Hall suggests three types of interpretative positions: (1) dominant-hegemonic code, (2) negotiated code and (3) oppositional code. Hall elucidates that:
[When] the viewer takes the connoted meaning form, say, a television newscast or current affairs programme full and straight, and decodes the messages in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded, we might say that the viewer is operating inside the dominant code. This is the ideal-typical case of ‘perfectly transparent communication’ – or as close as we are likely to come to it ‘for all practical purposes’. [...] *The negotiated code or position* [contains] a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements: it acknowledges the legitimacy of the hegemonic definitions to make the grand significations (abstract), while, at a more restricted, situational (situated) level, it makes its own ground rules – it operates with exceptions to the rule. [*The oppositional code* refers to the situation where] it is possible for a viewer perfectly to understand both the literal and connotative inflection given by a discourse but to decode the message in a globally contrary way. [This is] the point when [politically controversial] events which are normally signified and decoded in a negotiated way begin to be given an oppositional reading (1996: 47-9).

With this context in mind, Hall’s three modes of interpretative codes can also, to a certain extent, be applied to the ways in which mutual interactions between film professionals (i.e. filmmakers and producers), moderators and ordinary festival audiences are played out within the framework of the film festival Q&A format: non-linear or positionally flexible relations formed between these three groups under an externally formulaic structure of the film festival Q&A format, like those between producers of mediated messages and their receivers in Hall’s theory of encoding/decoding. At the same time, one thing that emerges clearly from the film festival Q&A format in comparison with conventional interpretative modes in the media is the tangible and, to a certain extent, measurable “affective” aspect of reciprocal contacts and exchanges among those participating in Q&A sessions. More specifically, in contrast to the distanced nature of TV audiences to the media themselves that the former usually experience, the presence of audiences at film festival Q&A sessions tends to be visible by being enmeshed with both invited guests and the overall festival ambience, with a minimum degree of distance between them maintained during the sessions.
In the case of film festivals’ Q&A sessions, there exists already a clearly visible boundary between ordinary festival audiences and VIP festival guests invited to this communicative and emotionally performative venue: higher-status people sit on the stage, directing their eyes downwards towards lower-status people seated in the audience area. However, the distinctive difference between an extraordinary festival environment and an everyday normal environment is that festival audiences can still enjoy the Q&A sessions as an extension of the film screening. Namely, all the conversational and discussion activities performed by the festival guests and moderators that unfold on the main stage could also be perceived as part of the whole performance of the festival event. Except for brief durations during which festival audiences are in general given a few opportunities to directly ask festival guests about their films, the general way in which Q&A sessions operate and are managed tend to be subject to (official) control by the festivals themselves. For instance, all conversations with festival guests start via the arbitration of the Q&A moderators, and at the same time these situations are passively viewed by festival audiences. All in all, film festivals’ hierarchical nature is embedded in their overall structure and atmosphere and still remains intact to a certain extent. Against this intrinsically stratified backdrop, the limited liberty (or limited level of freedom to freely interact with VIP festival guests) can be exercised by the festival audiences present at the Q&A sessions with their inquiries regarding films and other related (and even personal) issues associated with film directors. Sometimes, what others might otherwise perceive as “unacceptable” in everyday normal contexts, becomes “acceptable” as long as certain rules or etiquette is observed during the Q&A sessions.

Regarding this, there is a case that some politically vocal audiences attack other attending audiences and even those festival guests invited for the Q&A sessions in a verbally and gesturally aggressive manner. For instance, this is the case for the Q&A session of the documentary film *Shitkat Haarchion* (Film Unfinished) at the 60th Berlinale, during which some of the attending audience and Yael Hersonski, director of this documentary film, started arguing over the possibility and even suitability of juxtaposing the then miserable lives of Polish Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto with the
catastrophic situation of the Gaza Strip in Palestine (see Programme 3; Filmography 2). A German audience member (female) remarked about how ridiculous the comparison between the Warsaw Ghetto and the Gaza Strip is, given that this documentary depicts historical facts about this ghetto. On the contrary, another German audience member (male) at this Q&A session was heavily criticized and then booed by the rest of the audience, due to what they thought of as his rather anachronistic comparison between these two historical issues. He simply reignited the debate on what the previous audience described as “a ridiculous comparison” between the Warsaw Ghetto and the Gaza Strip blockaded by huge fences that the Israeli government erected. Some even yelled at him like “Oh my god…Shut up, please” or “Shiiii”, to which he responded by shouting like “Let me finish my question…You, shut up…”. Then the moderator of this Q&A session tried to calm down those quarrelling over this issue and asked them to be more respectful to each other and then to return to the main topic pertinent to this film. All these socially unacceptable behaviours are temporarily allowed during the festival periods which are carnivalesque and extraordinary, thereby distant from everyday normal situations, albeit in a rather limited and controlled manner. In this case, this Q&A session’s moderator tried to focus the main discussion more on the film itself than on contemporary international politics concerned with the implications of the Israeli-Palestinian issue and its possible links to the Nazi Warsaw Ghetto, as in the case of the Q&A session on Aisheen (Still Alive in Gaza) outlined in the introduction of this chapter.

At this juncture, there is a difference between the contextual atmospherics that these two Q&A sessions imply in relation to their respective subject matters. Shtikat Haarchion showed to its audience appalling images of how the Nazis (and Germans on the whole) isolated and then forced Polish Jews to die of hunger in the tiny Jewish ghetto set up in Warsaw, and the moral code this film seemed to prevent them from over-generalizing and even interpreting this historical fact in a reductionist way.

The legacy of the Third Reich was so powerfully stigmatized in the minds of this audience, mostly German, that this film’s core message itself had to be understood just as it was as a historically proven non-negotiable fact. In contrast to the case of Shtikat Haarchion, however, when a similar question
was raised by a female Israeli audience member during the Q&A session of *Aisheen*, she was heavily criticized by both the audience and its director. Its moderator tried to avoid the film’s politically divisive aspects in order to focus the overall discussion of this Q&A session on the film itself, just as the moderator of *Shtikat Haarchion* did. Then, the once extraordinarily tense atmosphere that prevailed during these Q&A sessions gradually lessened, as soon as they stopped for the sake of both the next film screening scheduled to take place in the same space.

As these two examples show, over the course of Q&A sessions (thirty minutes maximum and extendable depending on circumstances) the epistemological boundary that exists between the festival audiences, mostly individual “strangers”, tends to be blurred. Their relationships become even friendlier and more casual, given that individual audiences are temporarily housed in a physical space utilised for film screenings and following Q&A sessions that they aim to attend and relish as part of the festive spectacle. Moreover, even without performing any conspicuous communicative activities (both verbal and non-verbal), these “strangers” tend to be satisfied even with their presence itself that lies right in the middle of such intense conversations and discussion environment as Q&A sessions. In this context, Lyn Lofland’s research on the ways in which the urbanite experience modern urban spaces is a useful source with which to analyse the fluid characteristics of urban festival sites on the basis of my own observational method of seeing and being part of the Q&A sessions. Lofland emphasises that:

> To live in a city is, among many other things, to live surrounded by large numbers of persons whom one does not know. To experience the city is, among many other things, to experience anonymity. To cope with the city is, among many other things, to cope with strangers. […] A stranger is anyone personally unknown to the actor of reference, but visually available to him (1973, cited in Emmison and Smith, 2000: 201).
In relation to festival audiences perceived as individual “unknown others or strangers”, anonymity is also a key element that can explain the rather liberal ambience of the Q&A sessions. Given the psychological burdens and pressures that they might have while being constantly conscious of other people’s either deliberate or accidental gazes towards them, especially the gaze of those who might be able to recognise their presence personally, could be removed by sustainable relationships between all the festival audiences as “strangers” based on the condition of anonymity. Despite the presence of festival ID wearing groups of film journalists and other film professionals who might be relatively easily identifiable through their IDs, the darkened space hosting the Q&A sessions relies merely on dimmed lights that still prevent most of those present there as “strangers” from being immediately recognised from one another (see Figure 5.3).

![Figure 5.3: Festival guests and audiences/spectators at The Q&A sessions during the 60th Berlinale. Filmed and captioned by Hong-Real Lee.](image)

This anonymous condition that is temporarily endowed on festival audiences and spectators while attending the Q&A sessions could be equivalent to the cinephiliac experiences that cinephiles acquire by totally immersing themselves into what film festivals cinematically provide for them. Regarding this, Liz Czach suggests that “[i]t is the darkened theater that is the privileged site of the cinephiliac encounter between screen and spectator[s]” (2010: 140). That is, they should be ‘in a movie theater, seated in the dark among anonymous strangers’ so that they can experience such a cinephiliac encounter (Sontag, 1996: 61 cited in ibid.).
In this context, a series of captioned scenes from selected Q&A sessions that I myself have attended and filmed \textit{in situ} with my digital camera can be analysed from the standpoint of how those present interact with each other and their spatial and emotional surroundings. Focusing on both the gestural and emotional manner of the audiences’ communicative and semi-theatrical performances, the next section explores the contingent nature of these performances which are the outcome of the convergence of various human and non-human festival elements that combine into a holistic theatricality, including how invisible but perceptual social connections between people and their spatial surroundings can be made in the short-term and inside spaces that were given special values for Q&A sessions. The specific case study this chapter analyses is concerned with two Q&A sessions for the film titled \textit{Sona, the Other Myself}, a film that was officially invited to the Forum section of the 60th Berlinale (see Programmes 4.1 & 4.2; Filmography 4). During the festival period I have attended the screening of this film and its following Q&A session twice (i.e. the FIAPF regulation stipulates that a film officially invited to competitive international film festivals licensed by FIAPF (including the Berlinale) is permitted to be screened twice maximum during the festival periods). It is also clear how differently ordinary audiences present at each film screening and the following Q&A sessions of this film interact with its director, Yang Young-hee, through their active participation in, or passive observation of, discussions between the festival guests and the Q&A moderators about her film. Attending and observing two characteristically different Q&A sessions for the same film provides valuable grounds for a comparative analysis of this case study.

5.4. \textbf{Analysis: Director Yang Young-hee and Sona, the Other Myself}

As mentioned earlier, this chapter’s case study is a close analysis of the transformative tendency of how director Yang Young-hee (hereafter Yang) responds to her audiences and publics regarding her film \textit{Sona, the Other Myself} during its two Q&A sessions held during the 60 Berlinale in 2010. Against the backdrop of the overall interaction between them, this section examines Yang’s emotional changes.
that emerge through her interactions with the audiences, while sharing personal stories about her family members living in Japan and North Korea respectively. These are shared with them who are first and foremost “strangers” to her before they are her audience and public. A series of captioned consecutive sequences showing her emotional changes demonstrate that her emotional frequency was further amplified by her engagement with her audience and public as other strangers who have been attentive to her stories throughout the Q&A sessions. In this sense, what appears from both the communicative and affective interactions between Yang and her audience and public evident during the Q&A sessions is also taken into account to a lesser extent. This is the form of theatrical performance that paying audiences attend to see and be a performative part of, sitting in their seats in a bit distance from the main stage where the actors perform their acts. In other words, as part of the ad-hoc extension of the film screening, Yang’s two Q&A sessions about *Sona, the Other Myself* (or *Goodbye Pyongyang*) (1) February 12, 2010 and (2) February 20, 2010) manifest how organically Yang and her audience perform their respective (socioculturally-scripted) acts under certain spaces temporarily designated and then valued by the Berlinale itself, just as Daniel Dayan suggested in his ethnographic research on the Sundance Film Festival above. Such reciprocal performances of them unveiled during the Q&A sessions show the ambient publicness formed through a loose combination of both human and non-human festival elements.

### 5.4.1. Director Yang Young-hee and the Q&A sessions of *Sona, the Other Myself* at the 58th Berlinale

On February 12, 2010, the Q&A session of the documentary film *Sona, the Other Myself* (renamed later as *Goodbye, Pyongyang* on its theatrical release the same year) is being held inside Screen 4 at Cinemaxx, located on Potsdamer Platz. Prior to its start, director Yang Young-hee stood at the entrance of the screening room, receiving guests and greeting every audience member entering it. Never mind that I said “hello” to her in Korean and she responded to me in Korean very kindly as well. I am sitting
in the third row from the front and BIFF director Kim Dong-ho and deputy BIFF director Jay Jeon are sitting in the front row, busy talking to guests sitting next to them. Their presence at the screening itself reflects her close and collaborative relations with BIFF during the process of completing her film. The fact that the seats for the evening screening of *Sona, the Other Myself* were fully taken proves the increased attention that the attending audience give to this film’s central theme: director Yang’s nearly fifteen-years-long (e.g. 1995-2010) personalised observation into the ordinary lifestyle of North Koreans and the ethnic Korean community affiliated politically with the North Korean government in Japan through personal histories of her family. Furthermore, most of the audience attending this film screening seem to be German, specifically from Berlin (impacted from overhearing a brief conversation in German between two middle-aged women sitting in front of me as to difficulties of getting to Potsdamer Platz from Krumme Strasse given heavy snow, possibly the residential area in Berlin where one of the ladies resides in). Yang, an ethnic Korean born and raised in Osaka, Japan, is talking of her personal attachment to this film in that it is primarily about her family members living in North Korea and Japan due to her father’s close connections with the North Korean government as a high-ranking member of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan a.k.a. the North Korean Association (NKA).

In particular, premiering this film to her audiences at the Berlinale (e.g. its world-premiere took place at the 14th Busan International Film Festival (October 8-16, 2009)) must be personally sentimental for Yang. It is her own autobiographical account about her late brother and father and her other family members still living in North Korea and, in a broader sense, about her ideologically-charged family background which is closely intertwined with the contemporary history of the divided Korean peninsula. She was thus sometimes “weeping” and “silent for a while” over the course of this Q&A session, with large applauses coming from her audience (see Figure 5.4). The growing popularity of this film at the Berlinale is based on two reasons. Firstly, it was screened at the 60th Berlinale held

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amid a high tension in the Korean peninsula in the wake of the North Korean government’s astonishing confession to the international community over restarting the process of producing highly enriched uranium (HEU) and plutonium for its alleged nuclear armament, whose controversial nature tends to lead to a spotlighting of any topics associated with North Korea. Most discussions about this topic resulted in heated debates among the audience over discrepancies between the North Korean regime’s version of realities in North Korea and what people outside of North Korea are actually told by the international media about North Korea. Secondly, her previous film *Dear Pyongyang* (see Filmography 3) had been screened at the Forum section of the 56th Berlinale (9-19 February, 2006), as a result of which the screening of her latest film, again at the Berlinale could be easily compared with the former.

![Figure 5.4: Q&A session of *Sona, the Other Myself* at the 60th Berlinale (February 12, 2010). Filmed and captioned by Hong-Real Lee, February 12, 2010.](image)

Although *Dear Pyongyang* details the story of her family members similar to *Sona, the Other Myself* screened at the 60th Berlinale, the former’s angle was nevertheless to a certain extent different from the latter. More specifically, *Dear Pyongyang* focuses more on her father’s connection with North Korea
than on her family members (e.g. her niece named Sona) in North Korea. Therefore, this Q&A session tends to be dominated by what festival audiences were already been thematically familiar with: the subtle differences between *Dear Pyongyang* and its sequel *Sona, the Other Myself*.

What is thematically dominant over the course of this session is the film’s indispensable connection to the earlier *Dear Pyongyang*. Some questions raised by the audience to Yang are concerned mainly with the reason why the North Korean authorities did not allow her to enter North Korea following the screening of *Dear Pyongyang* at international film festivals such as BIFF and the Berlinale. Regarding this issue, she simply responds by insisting that ‘I want to ask them back, because it is not about the politics but about my family story’ (see Programme 4.1). However, given that she is becoming heavily emotional for a series of scenes in *Sona, the Other Myself*, showing her recently deceased father and eldest brother at its first screening at the 60th Berlinale, most discussion between her and her audience at this Q&A session tends to be dominated by nostalgic memories that she had about her late family members in North Korea. In particular, she tries to reminisce about her late brother, who was a musical genius and died of manic depression in Pyongyang, North Korea, by linking her memories of him to Berlin. Her eldest brother always wanted to see the performance of Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in his lifetime. Then her German audience raised similar questions about the possibility that her family members still living in North Korea could be put in a dangerous situation as their identities were revealed in this film as a result of its screening at the Berlinale which took place without authorization from the North Korean government. To this question, Yang responds by insisting that she tries to correct wrong images of the lives of ordinary North Koreans through this film’s ethnographic observation of ordinary lives of her family members in Pyongyang, in spite of possible pressures and even persecution from the North Korean government towards them. She also really appreciates the brave acts that they have shown to her. All in all, she emphasises the narrow but allegorical and even candid and intimate nature of documentary filmmaking vis-à-vis its capability of showing the blunt character of ordinary lives in Pyongyang, by providing the following account:
I just showed you the black-out scene at the end of this film as a result of the lack of electricity and energy in North Korea. It was really a black-out. It happens very often. And, also, the reason why I put that scene at the last part of this film was the black-out scene is really the reality of my family in North Korea. Nonetheless, Sona was saying “glorious black-out”, seemingly playing with their reality in a positive manner. Or, how can I say? “Please don’t forget us after you go back to Japan”, “The black-out, but we are still alive”, or “We are trying to be better”. That image is equated with the way I imagine my family members or many North Koreans as a whole who try to survive under such harsh living conditions (ibid.).

In addition to this, Yang also tells her audiences and public a behind-the-scenes episode recounting how senior NKA members in Osaka perceived and judged her films. Especially, she concedes to the audiences that she had to face multiple difficulties after her films had been screened at international film festivals such as the Berlinale. They include possible damage to her family members in North Korea and the repeated rejection by North Korean authorities of her entry into Pyongyang as a result of her film’s negative depiction of North Korean society in general. She states that:

After *Dear Pyongyang*, I was officially told by the North Korean association in Japan to write an apology note or an apology letter about *Dear Pyongyang* to them and, of course, I didn’t. How can I apologize about making this film? That was my own decision. Making films about family members is really a difficult choice, but I just knew that I couldn’t write this apology note, and then, I think what they didn’t like about my film was that in that country, in that socialist system, the individual voice is not good, is not allowed. It’s more difficult, I guess, right now. The North Korean government only wants to show to the outside world that kind of parade or mass game or children’s performances. They are really well-trained. But, what else can I say about this? When I went to the theatre or the stadium [in Pyongyang] to watch those kinds of performances, they always said, “Go ahead, go ahead”, “Please, please, film them with your video camera”. But, my major interest is in… people’s real voices. Even, I don’t think they seem to be real…voices. That’s why Sona asked me in this film to “shut down”, you know, turn off my camera. When I was holding
the camera, [Sona, my family members and the NKA members] tended to be quite cautious about talking about my film *Dear Pyongyang*. But, when I put down my video camera, they started talking more and more, deeper, of course. And then... maybe, someday, Sona and I will make a fictional film or something about the kind of hidden stories which I couldn’t show through my documentary films. These kinds of stories will be more interesting, I guess. Otherwise, everything is going to be like just a superficial story. I still believe my film is not about the country, but our family... very private and a very, very tiny story. But, you know, everybody is really interested in the political or history (ibid.).

On February 20, 2010, a more in-depth discussion on the issue of North Korea through *Sona, the Other Myself* continued at its second and last screening held in Screen 7 at Cubix Cinema located on Alexanderplatz. Unlike the first discussion at Cinemaxx, the Q&A session this time is accompanied by the Forum director Christoph Terchechte as its moderator (see Figure 5.5).

![Figure 5.5: The Q&A session of *Sona, the Other Myself* at the 60th Berlinale (February 20, 2010). Filmed and captioned by Hong-Real Lee, February 20, 2010.](image)

It tends to be, by and large, different from its previous session from the perspective of its content and the festival audience’s reactions. While the first one tended to be focus on Yang’s personal attachment to this film in relation to its depiction of her family members living in Osaka and Pyongyang respectively, its second Q&A session concentrates more on discussing current political issues that entangle Japan and North Korea. This Q&A session’s main topic centres on the abduction of Japanese citizens by the North Korean regime, Korean communities in Osaka and Japan as a whole, and the
1960s repatriation project jointly done by the Japanese and North Korean Red Cross (for more
information about the lives of ethnic Koreans in Japan and the 1960s repatriation project, see Morris-
Suzuki, 2007). Besides, it is interesting for me to see some audience members including myself at this
second Q&A session who had earlier attended the first session held at Cinemaxx, Potsdamer Platz.
Those consecutively attending the screening of Sona, the Other Myself are largely dominant in the
discussion and play a pivotal role in maintaining its contextual consistency during the session. In this
sense, certain characteristics tend to emerge from certain audiences according to the main objectives of
their attendance at the Berlinale, and they can be seen as constituting two of types of audiences
categorised by de Valck: the lone list-maker and the highlight seeker. de Valck explains these two
types of festival audiences as follows:

The lone list-maker thoroughly prepares his/her festival visit. The program is thoroughly
perused and chosen titles are meticulously composed into a tight schedule that barely
allows for commuting between cinema theaters or a quick snack between films. The lone
list-maker typically does not take the preferences or itineraries of others into consideration,
but follows his/her own tastes that may range from festival toppers to experimental work.
Exchanges and discussions on films occur during stolen moments with acquaintances or
friends. The lone list maker makes a great effort to find time for a multi-day visit to the
festival to see as many films as possible. […] The highlight seeker also prepares his/her
festival visit, but consciously considers and collects the tips of others in order to not [sic]
miss any festival highlights. Highlight seekers select established names and are susceptible
to pre-festival publications and specials that put certain topics and films on the agenda.
They are also on the lookout for the hottest hits that are coming via other festivals and find
pleasure in having seeing [sic.] them before they hit the (art house) theaters (2005: 103;
emphasis in the original).

In particularly, Yang briefly but intensively talks of controversies that have arisen within the circle of
NKA members in Osaka in the wake of the screening of her first film Dear Pyongyang at the 56th
Berlinale in 2006. She explains to the audience that her father was the first high-level official within NKA who threw an “honest” or, precisely, “skeptical and negative” view on the repatriation of ethnic Koreans living in Japan to North Korea by conceding that, with hindsight, NKA should not have sent them to North Korea in the 1960s. Questions raised by the audience reflect the ambience of the Q&A session whose themes were in the same context as the answers she gave to them: Yang’s complex national identity (i.e. ethnic North Korean born and raised in Japan) and the ethnic Korean communities in Japan on the whole, politically divisive orientations demonstrated off-the-record among NKA members regarding the repatriation issue and the policies of the North Korean government, the general image of ordinary ethnic Koreans living in Japan, and inter-Korean relations. In particular, one of the second-time attending audience members speaks of his experiences of having met and chatted with a Japanese teacher in Osaka as to how the Korean community in Osaka perceives Dear Pyongyang and the impacts this film made on it. In response to this question Yang answers that:

Well…I didn’t try to make a film criticizing North Korea. But, at the same time, I wanted to be honest with what is actually going on in North Korea. So, it was really, really difficult for me to balance my ultimate position on how to make films about this. Nevertheless, I tried to show a sort of positive side of North Korea, such as people laughing, eating and working in their everyday lives, not just parading…just an ordinary lifestyle. As to responses from NKA, there tended to be divided opinions even within the members of NKA regarding the screening of Dear Pyongyang. Their initial responses to this film seemed to be obviously cold and “officially” critical like “Mmm…that could be a problem”, or “We cannot support [Yang], because the government in Pyongyang didn’t like the film”. Some of the NKA members even called up my parents to warn them directly like “Your daughter is really a troublemaker. She shouldn’t open this Pandora’s Box or something”. For “the return [or repatriation] project” executed in the 1960s made more than 90,000 Koreans in Japan immigrate to North Korea because of the poverty or discrimination most Koreans then had to face in Japan. There was substantial propaganda about this project. But, it was co-produced by the North Korean Red Cross and the Japanese Red Cross.
means both governments agreed with that project. Now, it’s a kind of topic both governments really don’t want to talk about in public, because there exist so many hidden troubles [in relation to this repatriation project]. Many people were said to have disappeared after moving to North Korea. So, I touched on something [a taboo] issue or something (see Programme 4.2).

With regard to a more in-depth question on the repatriation project raised by this audience, Yang even tends to be quite straightforward in terms of asking her father in the film about how he assessed it in retrospect. She continues that:

Well, I forgot to tell you another reason why the North Korean government or [the NKA] members didn’t like [Dear Pyongyang]. In the previous film I asked my father a really heavy question I initially wanted to avoid, like “Did you regret sending your three sons to North Korea?” I fully understood his then political position. [He said] “No”. And since then he devoted all of his time and energy to protecting his sons and their families in North Korea. During the filming, my father answered to this heavy question regrettably: “Well…now, I think that [our generation in the 1960s] were too young and then I had an overly positive side of image or future towards North Korea. And I never imagined that my conviction towards North Korea went badly like the current situation in North Korea. And I also think that, although the situation there is still ongoing, and hence not complete yet, I nevertheless feel that I shouldn’t have sent them to North Korea”. My father’s revelation was controversial and even a shock to NKA as a whole, because it was the first time that [the NKA] insiders such as my father candidly expressed their individual voices concerning the return project (ibid.).

Despite the seemingly political nature of this Q&A session and the frictions she has had with the North Korean authorities, Yang eventually tries to impart into the minds of these attending audiences a sense of intimacy through her personal or off-the-record memories of her late father and current family members in North Korea in general. Such a naturally created intimate relation between her and her audiences via discussions – or brief but mutual communicative contacts and exchanges during the
Q&A session – tends to generate empathic emotions. In this sense, an audience member from the United States raises a question about her late father’s position within NKA and the general perceptions Japanese have towards ethnic Koreans and their history associated with the 1960s return project. This broad question plays a role in resurfacing the long forgotten critical discourse on returnees living in both Japan and North Korea. Yang responds to him quite honestly that:

Well, my father is in a high-ranking position in NKA’s Osaka office. But, the lives of my father [and the NKA members in general] were never better. There are so many things not in common between them at every level of social life in Japan. The official political system is a sort of distorted socialism or Kim Jung-Ilism [which my late father and the NKA members avidly uphold], but it is the thing I haven’t fully experienced, because I have been left with my parents in Japan since sending my three brothers to Pyongyang. But, their real lives are really based on neoliberal capitalism in Japan. Hence, my father was in that position and North Koreans repatriated from Japan were called returnees. Among those people classified as returnees in North Korea, my brothers are treated a bit better than other returnees, because their parents totally devoted their lives to working for the North Korean association. But, the reality is that their lifestyles are relatively different from other ordinary North Koreans in Pyongyang and who don’t depend on their parents’ [sociopolitical] position in North Korean society, but on whether or not they could get foreign money [like Japanese yen or US dollars]. So, there is a scene in *Sona, the Other Myself* when my mom was packing and sending the parcel, [albeit really small], to our family members in Pyongyang. If you see *Dear Pyongyang*, you can see a much bigger parcel. Although my parents are not so rich, they have nevertheless been sending them parcels [containing food and necessities] with Japanese money constantly since their departure to Pyongyang. These efforts of my parents help them a lot. They are everything and the only thing keeping them still alive in Pyongyang [because of the current poverty-stricken situation in North Korea]. The overall living standard of my brothers is relatively better than other returnees there. Nevertheless, returnees [tend to be still classified and stigmatized as] those who have experienced capitalism in Japan. Returnees in Korean mean “kuikuk-ja” ( 귀국자 ) or “kikokusha” in Japanese. Their status is lower than the commoners
or general North Koreans. That’s why my brothers really have to make a big effort to be equal with other North Korean natives. It’s a little bit complicated. But, just as my brothers, Koreans like us (including myself) are an ethnic minority in Japan. We are not equal with general Japanese people. Thus, we need to make substantial efforts to survive in Japanese society (ibid.).

The intertextual consistency in her two films – *Dear Pyongyang* (2005) and *Sona, the Other Myself* (2010) – screened at the Berlinale regarding the issue of North Korea is detectable through the analysis of these two Q&A sessions. Initially characteristic of being off-the-record or appealing emotionally to festival audiences given the director’s complex histories of her family members living in Pyongyang, the Q&A session becomes more associated with on-the-record political questions on the historical and current status of ethnic Koreans in Japan. Specifically, the main topic that emerges from these two sessions is by and large concerned with the issue of the 1960s repatriation project jointly executed by the quadripartite groups (e.g. the Japanese government, the South Korean government, the North Korean government and the Red Cross). Here, these two Q&A sessions for *Sona, the Other Myself* function as an alternative public platform, where ordinary festival audiences attending them are able to become intimate, albeit transiently, with the overall behind-the-scenes process of how the hitherto unheard stories about her rare family history have been developed in the form of feature-length documentary films, by directly meeting and publicly talking with its director over the course of these two sessions.

5.5. **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined both verbal and non-verbal communicative interactions between ordinary and professional festivalgoers in such festival inner-structures as post-film screening Q&A sessions. With this question in mind, it has been argued that the film festival Q&A format functions as a discursive means of facilitating the active participation of festival audiences in its verbally and
emotionally engaging public atmospheres. This chapter’s case study has analysed two consecutive Q&A sessions of director Yang Young-hee’s film *Sona, the Other Myself* held during the 60th Berlinale in 2010. Through them, the gradual transformation of Yang’s emotional interactions with her audiences and publics during these Q&A sessions have been compared to show how temporary boundaries between the private and the public were blurred to generate empathic relations between her and her audiences and publics through their unhindered verbal and non-verbal contacts. In particular, the analysis has shown that Yang’s changing emotional level given her film’s depiction of her family members living in Japan and North Korea respectively resulted in engendering a sense of empathy among her audiences and publics towards her as an ordinary person who are not significantly dissimilar from them in the long run. The way in which she interacted with her audiences at the Q&A sessions resulted in demythologizing her hitherto mythologised and less approachable image as one of the Berlinale’s international festival guests, albeit ephemerally. This chapter has thus shown how pre-existing perceptual boundaries between Yang and her audience and public prior to the Q&A sessions are blurred momentarily to become non-verbally or empathically bonded with each other, which resulted in generating a publicly sharable (festival) milieu for both of them during the two consecutive Q&A sessions of *Sona, the Other Myself*.

In particular, such socially less-acceptable behaviour as publicly disrespecting and even swearing at others due to differences in interest and opinions, as shown earlier in the Q&A sessions of two films *Aisheen* (Still Alive in Gaza) and *Shiktat Haarchion* (Film Unfinished), have been to a certain extent acceptable during the short Q&A sessions. They can be understood within a broader context of the carnivalesque and “emotional-and-affective-rather-than-rational-and-deliberative” atmospherics of festivals in general as public spaces (Berlant, 2004: 450, cited in Armatage, 2008: 39). In this sense, both verbally and non-verbally accidental and random encounters temporarily enacted among “strangers” in the dimmed and darkened space of multiplex cinemas enable them to be emotionally or affectively linked with one another, through which to engender what Berlant terms the ‘high level of
[reciprocal] interaction’ (ibid.). Such reciprocity formed among those present largely as “strangers” during the Q&A sessions then accompanies a certain degree of interruption and distraction that was engendered through various forms of their accidental communicative encounters. In this sense, the practice of open-air screenings at some international film festivals (e.g. Busan and Locarno) that Armatage (2008) has shown, resonates to a certain extent with that of post-film screening Q&A sessions, though they are structurally different in general – the former as outdoor event and the latter as indoor event. Controlled in a limited way though their verbal and non-verbal communicative activities or actions might be held indoors, (paying) audiences nevertheless relish the equivalent of festival (and carnivalesque) atmospherics that open-air screenings normally generate, together with the on-site spectators’ spontaneous responses to them, creating a cacophonous ambience engendered through their non-verbal or paralinguistic Q&A session performances. This structurally different but characteristically similar pattern that the film festival Q&A format and the practice of opening-air screenings have in common, also resonates with Stringer’s insistence frequently mentioned elsewhere in this thesis that ‘film festivals market both conceptual similarity and cultural difference’, in the sense that modes of audience participation in, and responses to, both indoor Q&A sessions and open-air screenings are largely similar (i.e. spontaneous, emotionally immersive and interruptive, albeit the former being more rationally logical than the latter given the former’s means of communication) despite their structurally intrinsic differences (2001: 139). Likewise, emotional interactions or both verbal and non-verbal communications performed between Yang and her audience and publics during the Q&A sessions analysed above tended to be semi-theatrically performed or performatively constructed in the sense that their mutual interactions or communications are publicly unfolded in designated Q&A spaces. In this sense, Yang’s gradually transformative reactions to her audience have influenced their emotional state towards her (i.e. sympathetic immersion) over the course of the Q&A sessions. Specifically, emotionally immersive and spontaneous engagements between them have formed an organic sense of ambient publicness or public accessibility.
In the next chapter, I will extend the spatial and physical realm of film festivals’ public or publicly-accessible dimension to the virtual (i.e. major online digital media) realm by exploring how film festivals utilise electronic festival media and thereby both perceptually and discursively popularise their traditionally exclusionary image for audiences.
Chapter 6. Film Festivals and Festival Media

6.1. Introduction

As the final aspect of film festivals that this thesis explores, this chapter scrutinises how festival media function to publicise or popularise the innately closed and exclusive features of film festivals to ordinary audiences and publics and the subsequent sociocultural ramifications of their public functions. It focuses especially on ordinary festival audiences who consume innately specialised knowledge about international film and festival culture that the festivals themselves reproduce online as “film festival readers and publics”, so as to enable their public or popular images to appeal to a wider range of ordinary audiences. Film festivals have been traditionally heavily reliant on media in order to promulgate and publicise their internal festival images externally. Media produce and circulate among film (festival) industry professionals various issues that range from the latest news on film trade and business to specialised reviews on international film industries and consumption cultures. In other words, it is the presence of festival media at the film festival sites that play a pivotal role in exposing and then popularising to the public what international film festival and industry professionals could otherwise have frequently internally or privately talked about with one another during the festival periods and beyond. Stories about film festival insiders become partially available to a wide range of ordinary festival participants and audiences and even the general public equally interested in them by means of various festival publications produced by festival media. They encompass primarily, not only printed material published both offline and online, but also online media platforms which film festivals operate on their respective official websites. All in all, festival media provide festival audiences with ample contexts peculiar to films and other ancillary festival events so that film festivals can contextualise and accessorise their audiences’ entire festival experiences in a more intelligible manner. In this contextualisation process, film festival insiders such as academics or critics turned festival programmers play important roles in further expanding the festival experiences of loyal audiences
beyond the officially scheduled festival periods. Those insiders’ roles become more conspicuous through their prolific literary contributions to this contextualising process given the manner in which their readers and publics might be able to gratify the specialised contributors’ ‘lived-in’ and ‘embodied’ or their in-situ festival experiences (Moores, 2012: 45-6).

The main focus of this chapter is thus twofold: firstly, the BIFF newsletter published on its official website semi-periodically (e.g. approximately once every two weeks) and, secondly, one of its contributors, BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok (hereafter programmer Kim or Kim), is responsible for one of this newsletter’s sub-sections entitled Inside BIFF (previously Inside PIFF). His casual and intimate manner of composing and delivering through Inside BIFF his personal experiences about numerous international film festivals to his online or electronic readers and publics, specifically those who are mainly domestic festival audiences able to read, speak and comprehend the Korean language, is largely distinguishable from how BIFF normally executes its media operations for local and national festival audiences and publics and beyond.

In this context, programmer Kim’s literary activities extend into cyberspace and engender a peculiar form of alternative discursive space that is capable of accommodating what BIFF could not otherwise afford to on-the-record due to its spatiotemporal (i.e. ephemeral festival times and physical spaces) and thematic (i.e. careful or limited selection process in programming festival films) constraints. This alternative festival space is in certain respects characteristically differentiated from how social activism-oriented film festivals, such as the globally franchised Human Rights Watch Film Festival and similar sorts, are understood generally as alternative public spaces. Specifically, the latter case is established mainly for the purpose of igniting debates on certain sociopolitically controversial issues (e.g. such human rights and humanitarian crisis-associated issues as poverty, xenophobia, ethnic conflicts, liberal/humanitarian interventionism and so forth), thereby raising actionable awareness of them on an international scale. In this regard, Iordanova argues that:
[Activist film festivals] are engaged in an effort to correct the record on a certain issue by highlighting lesser known aspects for the benefit of improved public understanding. They are driven by intentionality, be it to increase awareness, to expose, to warn, to prevent sometimes change the course of events. [Besides], they embody the belief that film is powerful enough to have an impact (2013: 13).

On the contrary, the alternative festival space created through Kim’s periodical literary contributions to the BIFF newsletter is unique for two reasons. Firstly, *Inside BIFF* in the BIFF newsletter was designed strategically to target domestic festival audiences as part of BIFF’s wider pedagogic initiative that aims at enlightening culturally those who have previously been less accessible to the broader contexts of how the world of international film festivals work and where BIFF positions itself within this realm. Hence, he tends to be oftentimes reluctant to exploit this discursive alternative space for the purpose of discussing controversial issues peculiar to domestic politics that might irritate local and national sentiments. Conversely, however, he is inclined to raise hotly debated issues within international film festival communities per se with his readers and publics, in order to facilitate deliberations and discussions about them. For instance, sensitive political issues that concern an Iranian filmmaker Mohsen Makhmalbaf are quite frequently mentioned and discussed by the programmer Kim, not only given his personal interest in politically controversial issues, but also for his personal relationship with him. Mohsen Makhmalbaf is currently working in exile outside of Iran due to the Iranian government’s draconian censorship of his films and its subsequent political persecution of him. Given the underlying contexts concerned with the political hardships he has been experiencing, he emphasises Mohsen Makhmalbaf as one of his “international buddies” and his close and intimate relationship with BIFF through *Inside BIFF*. Kim also runs stories about Mohsen Makhmalbaf (almost as a series) in *Inside BIFF* (see Appendices 1, 2, 4). Furthermore, the political situation peculiar to state-sanctioned censorship and political persecution imposed on this anti-government Iranian film filmmaker are some of the few issues which he actively engages with, not
only as a film festival programmer, but also as a sociopolitically vocal commentator who tries to represent the voices of the Asian film industries for the Western-centric world of international film festivals. Secondly, as the innately internalized – and hence exclusionary and professionalized – gaze of film festival insiders towards international film festival culture on the whole can be exposed to and shared by ordinary festival audiences through his stories run in *Inside BIFF*.

With this context in mind, I argue that BIFF’s attempt at popularly contextualising the festival experiences of its ordinary audiences and publics with the smart use of its auxiliary electronic media platforms facilitates and further consolidates their active participation and interest in the festival, leading to engendering a perceptually more intimate relationship between BIFF and its distant (online) audiences. In particular, apart from film festival media’s widely known characteristics as largely serving the tastes and interests of film industry professionals and institutions, it is also the key to investigating how film festivals approach and manage their target audiences in a more personalised and intimate manner. That is, it is film festivals’ dexterous utilisation of online media to facilitate their ordinary audiences casual integration into overall participatory and publicly accessible atmospheres that they engender. In this sense, this chapter explores how quasi-simultaneously the sense of public accessibility and its subsequent perceptual or affective ties with film festivals can be formed and then delivered to ordinary festival audiences through such film festival insiders’ online literary activities. As a case study, I would like to analyse programmer Kim’s *Inside BIFF* that runs serial stories or reports on his experiences about international film festivals as a film festival insider. They include his numerous contacts with international film festival programmers and directors from Asia and Europe as well as with Asian filmmakers interested in introducing and exposing their films to international audiences through BIFF. His “specialised” festival experiences are hardly accessible to ordinary festival audiences, while his *Inside BIFF* stories that deal with them are selectively and even partially delivered to his readers and publics in a manner that partly downplays their innate exclusivity. The major reason for selecting Kim’s online activities for this chapter’s case study lies in the symbolic
significance of his position as a film festival programmer within BIFF itself and within Asian film festivals and industries in general. Namely, he takes a central or authorial position in designing and characterising BIFF’s overall programming (and festival) narratives: he is ultimately one of BIFF’s major authors (festival programmers) who create and then help to generate both thematic and festive narratives every year. They tend to be determined following his nearly round-the-year travels to numerous international film festivals and national film industries (mainly in Asian regions) in order to “rediscover” and introduce previously overlooked original films, including their national film industries and cultures. Kim’s whole process which characterises BIFF through his Inside BIFF stories is taken into account when examining film festivals’ dual discursive operations (i.e. official and unofficial) through their reliance on both old and new media. Accordingly, what this chapter endeavours to capitalize on is the latter case concerning the mode of film festivals’ popular communications by analysing Kim’s online literary or discursive activities as manifested in Inside BIFF and the BIFF newsletter in general. Through this case study, this chapter investigates the role that his online literary activities play in demythologizing hitherto closed and even overly-mythologised images of the professional inner-circles of those working for international film festivals and the global film industry, to his ordinary festival audiences and publics. In the next section, I will introduce the latest festival media trends at international film festivals and discuss their publicly accessible ramifications.

6.2. The Overview of the Contemporary Media Operations at Film Festivals

On May 18, 2012, my eyes are glued to my laptop screen in order to browse through the special section of The Hollywood Reporter’s website dedicated to this year’s Cannes International Film Festival (May 16-27, 2012). On it, I can download for free its festival daily magazine serviceable during the festival period only. On the first day of the festival, nearly all the spaces of The Hollywood Reporter’s festival daily magazine a.k.a. THR Cannes Daily (see Figure 6.1) are occupied by numerous advertisements of market and
press film screenings that take place both at the Marché du Film operating as its international film market arm and somewhere else in Cannes. Besides this, numerous ads on the films’ production and distribution companies or their respective national film councils and commissions that promote their national film industries can also be found easily in this festival daily. The intensive level of the festival’s publicity operations that these advertisements demonstrate is even visibly (and apparently) identifiable by comparison with this festival daily’s first day and its following day editions as to their respective total page numbers: 128 pages versus 72 pages (and the total page number of the festival daily continues to decrease as the festival and its film market approach the closing date of the festival). Then there follow some featured articles regarding the opening film (e.g. the interview with the director of the opening film for the 65th Cannes: *Moonrise Kingdom* (2012) directed by Wes Anderson) and the overall glitzy and glamorous atmosphere of the festival’s red carpet ceremony. Festival articles on Cannes’s opening event accompany film critics’ responses to the screening of the opening film as a world-premiere and a series of special reviews on selected booming or gradually recuperating national and regional film industries (e.g. South Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia and Eastern Europe). Partial though they usually seem, all the visual images and words that *THR Cannes Daily* features still provide me with useful, albeit fragmented and even elusive, clues and hypertextual hints regarding what Thompson terms ‘non-local [or] trans-local’ links through which to envision the overall spatiality of the festival site and its festive ambience that I am observing at a far distance (1995: 246, cited in Moores, 2005: 31). It even looks as though I am loitering like a festival media-assisted virtual flaneur around the real exclusionary festival spaces in Cannes, whose overall festive atmosphere *THR Cannes Daily* sketches with its featured articles. This can be in a larger sense understood holistically in conjunction with the multidimensional nature of film festivals. Nevertheless, my exclusive dependence on the electronically published festival dailies and various other mediated images that the Cannes film festival produces still limits my own capacity to envisage and then fully reconstruct its “lived-in” festival experiences. Such a perceptual limitation deteriorates further under the circumstance where I am now being detached entirely from the physicality of its festival site nestled on the sunny Croisette, relying solely on all the journalistic provisions available on this online festival daily.

On the contrary, the *THR* festival dailies published during BIFF and the Berlinale (e.g. *THR Busan Daily* and *THR Berlin Daily*) (see Figure 6.1) make my retrospection or
imagination regarding these two festival sites even more multidimensional, hence more realistic, since I myself have experienced these two festival sites in situ for several years. Not only have I sensed these tangibly with my fingers and flicked through the pages of either THR Berlin Daily or THR Busan Daily published and distributed freely to every festival participant present at festival press and service centres or publicly accessible open spaces used as festival venues. I have also experienced both Busan and Berlin as urban festival spaces that entail ‘links between the shape and experience of cities and the meanings that their citizens read off screens into their own lives’ (Wong and McDonogh, 2001: 108). Namely, my festival experiences of the two respective urban sites in Busan and Berlin were constructed holistically and implied the hybrid aspect of urban anthropology that includes ‘not only mass media but urban visual expression, distribution, spectatorship, and active readings as vital and powerful components of urban life’ (ibid.). They are also integrated into my own retrospective or contemporaneous visualisation of festival experiences at Busan and Berlin respectively through print and visual materials that both the film festivals and local and national and international media outlets produce online.

Whenever the season of major international film festivals approaches, one of my routines from the inception of my research on both BIFF and the Berlinale in 2007 is to enter The Hollywood Reporter’s website (www.hollywoodreporter.com). On this website, I browse through its special sub-section dedicated exclusively to the specific film festivals that this international film trade magazine places a special spotlight on (e.g. THR as either festival or market dailies covers major global film events that include Cannes (May), Toronto (September), Busan (October), Tokyo (October), AFM (American Film Market: November), Berlin (February) and Hong Kong Filmart (March)). In such cases as the abovementioned example I do not plan to attend either one or both of the festivals (i.e. BIFF and the Berlinale), what this website provides me with are festival media materials which I rely on heavily coupled with its free-downloadable festival dailies published in a PDF format.
Through these online materials published by *The Hollywood Reporter*, I can experience indirectly, and update myself with, the latest news on the overall atmosphere within the ever-changing world of international film festivals and the latest trends in the global film industry in general, although its contents as an international film trade magazine are, by and large, editorially limited to the year’s international film trades and concomitant industries. The degree of my reliance on these electronically published festival dailies tends to increase further in the case of film festivals that I have never experienced before. My sense of curiosity is thus amplified and centred upon such film festivals as the Cannes that I have never experienced *in situ*. This elusive sense enables me to perceive it as an imaginary and even highly mythologised event that I am capable of envisioning by relying predominantly on both written descriptions and visual illustrations which *The Hollywood Reporter*’s (THR) festival dailies and its competitors, such as *Variety* and *Screen International*, produce in conjunction with what’s going on during the festival period. Instead of flicking through them with saliva-wetted fingers, browsing through the web pages of *THR* festival dailies either by moving a mouse or by touching a red-coloured tab on my laptop computer enables me to experience the
integrated festival atmosphere that the Cannes film festival creates both verbally and visually, even from a location physically distant from Cannes.

This chapter explores correlations between the public dimension of film festivals and the aspects which media contribute to, regarding the recent digitalization of film festival operations becoming emotionally attached to their assumed – as well as statistically existing – audiences. In this section, let me briefly show the latest modes of contemporary film festival communications in new media environments. Here, media play significant roles in forming and characterising the overall image of film festivals. Given film festivals’ peculiar nature as operationally place-bound and temporally ephemeral, they tend to have been heavily reliant on media’s capabilities to select, frame, produce and disseminate frequently talked about festival issues to both professional and ordinary festival audiences during those festivals’ durations. However, an opportunity emerges in the way that film festivals utilise media: they adroitly exploit interactive online media such as social networking services and various other forms of online media platforms in order to reach a wide range of film festival audiences. In this context, Marijke de Valck insisted in an interview with me that the virtual or online media-mediated film festival experience would not entirely exceed the sense of spatial physicality that the festival site itself generates: even in the heavily mediatised and fragmented contemporary societies under globalisation, film festivals would still remain as sole urban public spaces where various forms of both physical and perceptual encounters between professional and ordinary festival participants can take place in situ, albeit ephemerally (see Interview 10). However, despite that film festivals’ place-boundedness is their unique feature differentiable from general modes of people’s cinema-going experiences, she also admits the increasing technological convergence of digital media as an irreversible phenomenon that has enormous influence on the way in which contemporary film festivals publicise themselves (or are publicised) externally given their close cooperation with local and international media outlets (de Valck, 2008).
For instance, a distinctive trend that emerged, in particular, from the 2012 edition of *THR Cannes Daily* as well as other festival dailies published for this specific year’s Cannes film festival, is their active initiative to provide their respective readers and publics with more diverse and interactive communication services via mobile multimedia platforms, not as the primary privilege of Blackberry users from North America as in the past (see Figure 6.2). *The Hollywood Reporter* provides its readers and publics, especially iPad and smart phone users, with free applications for them to readily browse through its latest news contents on Cannes 2012.21 Another example is *Variety*’s live daily broadcasts (e.g. from 1:00 pm EST every day during the festival’s duration) and its twenty-minute-long online talk show entitled *VARIETY LIVE @ CANNES*. During this show, two British hosts – Jane Witherspoon, former BBC and ITV news presenter, and Jason Solomons, film critic of *The Guardian*, sketch Cannes’s daily festival atmosphere. On this online show, these two British hosts not only introduce to their online audiences highlights of the day, but they also invite film celebrities and professionals at Cannes 2012 onto their show to “chat” with them regarding how they enjoy Cannes in general, together with promoting their films at the festival. They run this show in a comfortable manner equivalent to the format of morning TV shows on British television, like the BBC’s *Breakfast* and ITV’s *This Morning*.22 This online talk show broadcasts live in fifteen foreign languages following its Q&A sessions, during which its online audiences are able to participate in this show by sending in their questions and comments via Twitter.

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In addition, the emergence of social networking media as an effective means of communications for film festivals has compelled established media to technologically expand their traditional means of reaching their audiences, in order that they can adapt themselves to fast changing contemporary media environments. In this sense, it is interesting to see the 2012 *THR Cannes Daily* start referring to quotes from either the “tweets” of film professionals associated with Cannes or “festival blogs” run by film journalists who regularly chronicle the whole festival throughout its duration. For instance, Gregg Kilday, *THR* correspondent, reports that:

Of course, it’s a long way from the red-carpeted steps of the Palais to the Academy Awards, and most years, movies that cause a stir in Cannes in May are mere afterthoughts by the time the Oscars roll around in February […] “Marion Cotillard excels,” tweeted Toronto critic Peter Howell, “Oscar honors possible.” David Poland of moviecitynews.com tweeted, “Cotillard and the screenplay will be Oscar nominated.” The critics were even more elusive when *Amour* arrived May 20. Oscar-ologist Sasha Stone blogged the film “is probably headed straight for Oscar’s foreign-language race, where it will likely win” (2012: 1).

Accordingly, film festivals endeavour to adapt themselves to the fast-changing new media environment by ushering in cutting-edge communications technologies as well as competing with existing traditional
media platforms. The widely talked about “hottest” means of communications (e.g. mostly social network-based mobile media gadgets, such as smartphones and portable tablets) are mobilized over the course of the festival. Through them, the latest news and information on global film festivals and associated industries can be delivered in a timely manner to key stakeholders in international film industries. Hence, as mentioned earlier, new trends of festival communications continue to emerge, which aim to strengthen the level of interactivity and reciprocity between film festivals and their audiences given a traditional festival spectacle still heavily reliant on festival host cities’ solid ground. More specifically, in general the aforementioned social network and new digital media emerge as effective communicational tools through which to gradually bridge the epistemological distance between ordinary festival audiences and the film industry and festival professionals as part of materialising public accessibility within festival sites.

Figure 6.3: Outdoor LED screens installed at Berlinale Palast and Sony Center in Potsdamer Platz during the 58th Berlinale (above) and at BIFF Square of Nampo-dong during the 12th BIFF (bottom). Source: Photographed by Hong-Real Lee.
Apart from them, (relatively) traditional media operations are also executed. For instance, numerous audiovisual images of film festivals are transmitted ambiently via huge outdoor LED screens installed at the main catchment areas in Busan and Berlin respectively and they are ubiquitously present and disseminated to those – including festival audiences and even disinterested bystanders and passersby – present in the vicinity of the festival sites (see Figure 6.3). Together with such a heavily mediatised environment, the international film trade magazines and their festival dailies published both online and offline continue to make those present at festival sites feel as if they are in actuality “part of the festivity”.

However, this technologically deterministic view on the near-ubiquitous availability and diffusion of festival media to the public throughout festival periods should also be juxtaposed with the more comprehensive question of how they are mobilized within physical festival sites and utilised by their users. That is to say, these two conflicting views imply the need to understand holistically the ways in which festival media’s operations at the sites and film festival communications function in general as a (cooperating and completing) ecosystem. Regarding this, Wong insists that:

Any new technology that has been nurtured and accepted by many poses challenging dimensions to how film festivals are organized and used by their different constituents. It would be naïve to simply see new virtual technologies as liberating and opening new venues for all. It would be equally naïve to see that the virtual world will take away the aura of physical festivals. A similar argument might have been made for television or DVDs, both ultimately became part of the transformation and lives of festivals (2011: 62-3).

Ideally, the trend of advanced digital media technologies that expand discursive spaces for public audiences’ active involvements in film festivals’ popular-communicational operations could be appreciated as egalitarian and democratically participatory. At the same time, they could also be criticized for their ineffectiveness in measuring the authentic values of given films’ cinematic quality
by overly popularising and dumbing these down, resting largely on the general publics’ cinematic
tastes. Regarding this, Thom Powers, an internationally renowned film festival programmer and
consultant, laments that:

Sometimes it drives me nuts, like at Cannes where a film has been 10 years in the making
and people put a thumbs up or thumbs down on it two minutes after it comes out. I don’t
think Twitter is a good venue for passing judgment on things. It is a good venue for
pointing at things (Costa, 2012: n.p.).

Nevertheless, appraising the possibility that social network media can facilitate the more active (and
democratic) participation of the general public in film festivals, largely follows as a precondition the
consideration of the socioculturally specific contexts which most of locally rooted (i.e. cities)
international-scale film festivals are subject to. In this sense, meeting the need to take into account
these two conflicting elements (i.e. digitalization of festival media technologies versus their users and
film festival’s physical environment and underlying sociocultural contexts to which they are subject) in
the context of the globalisation of film festivals, coincides with extended discussions of glocalisation
and even the ‘coeval development’ of local specificities under globalisation and transnationalisation, in
regard to where film festivals should be situated (Berry, 2013: 111). Specifically, in conjunction with
his ethnographic case study of Shanghai’s everyday public screen culture and public space, Berry
elucidates this term by arguing that:

[…] the local usages that can be observed are not a “global” adaptation of a Western or
metropolitan standard but part of a pattern of coeval development of local uses under
conditions of rapid proliferation of new media technologies around the world. […] [In
other words], the local may not be a kind of resistance to or adaptation of a global standard
but part of a pattern of coeval development. This coeval development occurs under
conditions where some new media technologies are circulating too rapidly around the globe to think about a Western standard and local followers (ibid.: 111-30).

With this context in mind, what is at issue here is the exploration of the nature of mediation within the dynamics or ecosystem of film festival communications in relation to how the sense of public accessibility and publicness is organically generated, deliberately constructed or “staged” through various forms of festival media, both broadcast and print. More specifically, some suitable questions could be raised, such as “what media, especially which public media, are present during the festival periods?,” and “how do they operate and what is the relationship to film festivals themselves?”. These questions could be associated with identifying and exploring the power relationships underlying media and film festivals shown implicitly through media’s complicity (i.e. publicity for film festivals) or contestation (i.e. challenges to film festivals’ pre-determined editorial lines) of film festivals. Namely, it is the relationship between film festivals’ own media, traditional media and emerging alternative (or internet-based) media that could be worth looking into.

Thus, in order to carry out this exploration, it is useful to analyse how film festivals run their own websites, especially their electronic newsletters that aim to supply a wide range of festival audiences with information regarding what is going on during the festival periods. For instance, as will be repeatedly mentioned as this chapter’s case study, BIFF periodically publishes its own electronic newsletter for both its Korean and Korean language-literate audiences. What is distinctive in this festival newsletter is that one of its sub-sections entitled Inside BIFF is contributed solely by programmer Kim, a column that aims to explain in a rather casual and intimate tone the latest news about what has been and is currently going on within the world of international film festivals based on his personal experiences of having attended numerous festivals as an international film festival insider. This kind of film festival expert’s activities is, in many respects, effective in making traditionally formal (i.e. rigid) communicational relationships between film festivals and their ordinary audiences
and publics more informal (i.e. intimate), as they show in part how Kim’s *Inside BIFF* as festival media communicates with his audiences and publics differentially from the modes of other traditional festival media operations. More specifically, the organic convergence of interactive digital media platforms with the festival sites’ ephemeral place-boundedness enables film festivals to consolidate further their external festival images over the course of the festival periods. Such a holistically operative media environment active at the festival sites transforms film festivals into a communicationally fluid and mobile space. This space is sustained through encounters between those present *in situ* (especially ordinary festivalgoers) and the milieu of specialised film knowledge that festival media create against the ephemerally constructed festive and carnivalesque, albeit organised and controlled, atmosphere of film festivals (see also ‘the ordered disorder’ (Featherstone, 1991: 82) and ‘the orchestrated chaos [and] the performed orderly sociality’ (Jamieson, 2004: 70)).

In the multidimensional atmosphere that festival media construct in concert with physical festival spaces, there are both professional and ordinary festivalgoers walking around freely like ‘free-floating flâneur[s]’ (Narkunas, 2001: 155; see also Eagleton, 1981; Friedberg, 1993; Harbord, 2002). At the same time, they willingly contribute their individual presence to the overall festive ambience simply by walking around the festival sites and interacting and communicating with the ubiquitous presence of festival media there during the festival periods. As mentioned in the Introduction, festival media includes huge outdoor LED screens installed at festival catchment areas such as main festival theatres and public squares, banners of festival films with official logos attached to them, festival information booths and centres distributing festival dailies and other information concerned with film festivals, publicly usable computers which can access festival websites, and so on. Such a relationally permeable and flexible festival environment enables people to feel encouraged to become relatively interactive and open-minded regarding their new forms of encounter with “strangers”, primarily in relation to films and their associated themes as ‘the *raison d’être* of the [film] festivals’ (Wong, 2011: 65). Hence,
as regards such blurred and casual relations formed between festival participants as strangers within the festival sites, let me take as an example what I personally experienced during the 58th Berlinale:

On February 8, 2008, during the 58th Berlinale I came across Richard Moore, acting director of the Melbourne International Film Festival (MIFF), inside the multiplex cinema Cinestar housed in Sony Center, one of the venues screening films for the European Film Market (EFM). He visited the Berlinale with his festival programmers to hunt for films for MIFF which was to be held in late July of the same year. Asked about the degree to which he was involved in the overall process of programming films for MIFF in a rather casual and spontaneous interview with him, he responded generously to my question by saying that he was involved as actively as his programmers were with the sole aim to discover “good films”. He also emphasised to me that MIFF was also running a co-production market with a relatively big capacity to deal with films from all over the world. In particular, regarding how film markets function within international film festivals, he has just come from the Rotterdam Film Festival where he attended the Cinemart for the same reason he had attended this year’s Berlinale. Apart from the Cinemart and EFM, he told me that he also plans to visit the Marché du Film at the Cannes film festival this May.

Regarding the last question about what international film festivals mean to you in general as an insider in the global film industry, he told me that they were superficially and structurally similar, but differed sometimes slightly, sometimes massively, from the perspective of festival programming. Although I introduced myself to him as a PhD researcher prior to this brief spontaneous interview, whose status could not be his core interest in this year’s Berlinale, he, nevertheless, generously spared me nearly fifteen minutes for this interview and then promised to continue to have this discussion with me later, prior to his departure to Australia (see Interview 11).

Likewise, the relational permeability or fluidity that characterises film festivals as a tentatively sociable (and interactive) space during the festival periods is organically engendered through accidental or deliberate encounters among those who have been present and then constructed in situ as either “anonymous, hence unpredictable, publics” or “their publics”. Such flexible features of film festivals
are further expanded and then maintained at the post-festival stage through the symbiosis of interactive media with film festival spaces and those who are both ontologically present (i.e. offline) and epistemologically lingering (i.e. online) within these spaces. At this juncture, what I intend to focus primarily on is the intermediary role of festival media (mainly online festival publications) in contemporary film festivals having traditionally been heavily reliant upon mass media for the purpose of publicity. As mentioned earlier, they include, for instance, the electronically published BIFF newsletter to its subscribed readers and other literary contributions of festival programmers to BIFF as uploaded on its official website for the purpose of forming and cultivating a wider readership through the contributors’ specialised knowledge about the world of international film festivals. In other words, they are produced by film festivals themselves in order to bridge epistemological gaps between the audiences and the festival itself that have already been widened in the wake of the recent structural expansion and gentrification of international film festivals.

Thus, this section focuses particularly on how BIFF performs its online media operations in order to get ordinary audiences involved in the choreography of building up and consolidating its perceptual friendliness and intimacy until the date of its opening and beyond. The key to this process is that BIFF provides its festival audiences and readers with opportunities to gratify the degree of personal emotions and attachment that film festival insiders like Kim might have courtesy of BIFF and its position within the world of international film festivals during his official visits to numerous festivals and national film industries. At this juncture, the socioculturally and historically specific “public or publicly accessible dimension” of film festivals could be differentially presented and materialised by BIFF and the Berlinale respectively, given their conceptually or structurally similar but socioculturally different qualities, as Stringer (2001) suggests in Chapters 2 and 4 regarding film festival’s operational frameworks in general. More specifically, the overall exploration of the public dimension of film festivals through BIFF and the Berlinale is conducted by focusing largely on their respective sociocultural contexts, which present them as urban (and, in broader terms, national) public spaces.
closely intertwined with their physical (i.e. the physical transformation of film festival sites and host cities) and subjective histories (i.e. the historical backgrounds of the changing everyday urban (festival) atmospheres which both locals and outside visitors experience and sense in situ). This approach thus goes hand in hand with the traditional emphasis that cultural studies places on historically contextualising the object in question. The sociocultural and historical specificities that each festival uniquely possesses are regarded as an indicator of the concomitant characteristics and perceptual as well as behavioural patterns of festival audiences responding to the new media environment that film festivals provide for them and which can be differentially sensed and measured.

In this sense, it is useful to examine the sociocultural convergence of digital media technologies as de Valck (2008) has suggested, which also means that conventional boundaries between old and new media start to gradually blur, only to be reconfigured. Specifically, a more holistic approach to understanding festival media is needed to explain the changes in the contemporary media landscape. Conversely, ever more fragmented and diversified qualities that emerge from the tendency of contemporary audiences’ media consumption and society overall should also be taken into account given the integrated media environment of the twenty-first century. In such a dynamic and integrated contemporary media environment, social network-based media platforms proliferate exponentially in order to serve the ever more fragmented and diverse tastes of their users as active media audiences. In this context, the next section will discuss how the notion of publicness and its relationship with contemporary digital media and their users and audiences can be reconsidered concerning the perceptual popularisation and publicisation of film festivals via online communicational modes.

6.2.1. Emotional and Affective Publicness in the Age of New Media

As online digital media exert powerful influence on nearly every corner of our everyday lives in contemporary advanced societies, while traditional media’s roles are gradually being redefined and finessed under the shifting ground of contemporary digital media and its concomitant technologies.
Thus, for instance, the British media scholar James Curran explores the traditional role of public media that need to be reconsidered and revised in conjunction with the advances of media technologies and the extent to which they influence our lifestyles (Curran, 2011; Curran et al., 2012). His recent work analyses the sociocultural ramifications of public media and their central role by criticizing and reappraising the overestimated and even exaggerated impact of the internet on our contemporary lifestyles in general. Specifically, he argues that the public roles of traditional “old” media have a tendency to be gradually superseded by “new” online and digital media due to the latter’s capacity to appeal to more diverse and wider layers of social groups and institutions. Furthermore, this aspect can also be understood in line with the colossal changes in the manner of media coverage of film festivals which are influenced equally by contemporary multimedia environments affecting almost all aspects of society. Such a sense of contemporary media environments-inflicted susceptibility or vulnerability, and even inevitability, affects the global film festival world, leading to ameliorating film festivals’ sense of festivity in a more durable and subtle manner: this includes contemporary film festivals’ active use of online media technologies, not only to digitalize their archival and programming managements but also to shorten the perceptual distance between film festivals and their audiences and publics. Thanks to recent technological breakthroughs in media and communications sectors, various news reports on film festivals are nowadays produced online in real-time and in tandem with conventional day-to-day offline media operations through the publication of film festival dailies and traditional broadsheets.

Another factor that needs to be taken into account here regards the concept of the public sphere or public spaces in a contemporary sense and which is differentiated from its classical Habermasian version and other alternative public models formulated in line with this. That is, the notion of public spaces should be reformulated given digital media-saturated environments that are not entirely reliant on Habermas’s face-to-face reciprocal communications between media and their users regarding the contexts of film festivals’ use of their festival spaces and media. Warning against assuming that the
Habermasian notion of the public sphere is a universally applicable concept, Berry emphasises a multidimensional approach to the understanding of public spaces, arguing that:

[...] a full range of public spaces and the differences constituting them can only be grasped by a multidimensional understanding of public space and the variety of forces producing it. By adopting such an approach, it may not only be possible to grasp the full range of differences distinguishing the public spaces produced by different electronic elsewheres. It may also be more possible to resist the kind of binary and ideologically invested thinking that results in the stigmatizing of one society as “free” and others as “not free”, so commonly associated with the discourse around the “public sphere” (2010: 112).

In other words, rather than the universal and even idealistic nature of communications performed within the public sphere as Habermas initially suggested, this thesis examines the more fragmented, hence multilayered and multidirectional, nature of communications affected largely by new media technologies and their smart uses in the twenty-first century. Connected and disconnected at the same time – or in other words ‘entropic’, these thinly (i.e. tangibly or performatively) attached but actively (i.e. intangibly or affectively) engaged near-instantaneous communications through social network services, such as Facebook, Twitter and many other forms of reciprocally interactive online media, enable us to rethink the traditional role of public spaces (Nielson, 2002). Here, Nielson defines and then makes the concept of the entropy explicit in the context of the reappraised implication and significance of superfluous landscapes in urban environments in the following way:

*Entropy* designates the condition of similarity or dedifferentiation and the inevitable movement towards a still higher level of disorganization that any physical system describes. Because almost no energy, resources, or intention is invested in them (after their construction), superfluous landscapes of the contemporary city metaphorically move towards a state of the totally undifferentiated. This condition of both chaos and standstill leads to an emptying out and destabilization of meaning – and a situation of radical
openness, conceptually as well as concretely perceived (2002: 59-60; emphasis in the original).

Namely, this new mode of mediated communications can inject an interstitial but ceaselessly interchangeable sense of reciprocal communications into the traditional notion of public spaces equivalent to Greek agora-style public squares. We need to rethink the ramifications that public spaces have in the twenty-first century context of the technological innovations of contemporary communications. For instance, the spatial significance of film festival sites regarding the degree of festival audiences’ omnipresence and participation in film festival venues and events is a good indicator. Given this, we can figure out how film festivals exploit them as mediated festival spectacles aimed at maximising the exterior publicisation of festivals’ public images. Public spaces that have previously looked mundane to their long-standing inhabitants gain special meanings or values through media’s intent on framing and projecting them in a manner thematically differentiated from their everydayness: the festive ambience can revitalise the “temporarily” dormant urban vitality internalised in the festival host cities. This kind of festival media operation could be found in a series of live broadcasts of the opening and closing ceremonies at both the Berlin and Busan International Film Festivals via their respective nationwide territorial TV broadcasters (ZDF/3Sat: the Berlinale, MBC/SBS: BIFF) as well as festivals’ official websites and domestic internet portal sites (NAVER and DAUM in South Korea).

In particular, given the rather specialised aspect that film festivals acquired due to their close relationship with global film industries via international film markets operating as auxiliary or independent venues, festival media play a crucial role in constructing and then maintaining the festivals’ publicly accessible images in order to enable ordinary festival audiences and publics to continue to have their own sense of belonging to the festivals. Here, central public squares and the areas the film festivals use as their main venues respectively, such as BIFF Square in BIFF and
Potsdamer Platz in the Berlinale, gain added value under the perceptually oxymoronic “inclusiveness-exclusiveness” paradigm embedded in the overall structural dynamics of film festivals. Hence, Wong insists that ‘[f]ilm festivals are […] open and closed, allowing access to different groups of people, valuing certain voices over others, and juxtaposing different texts and agendas of interpretation’ (2011: 165). In other words, the extent to which public squares or areas are taken advantage of and acquire added value in the wake of their public use as part of the overall festival operations, indicates the pseudo-public images of these two film festivals as spectacles. The audiovisual spectacles created at these two festival sites are then concretized further through several journalistic publications documentating international film festivals, including international film trade magazines (e.g. The Hollywood Reporter, Screen International and Variety) and several other local and national newspapers, as well as film festival reviews from erudite film journals (e.g. Film International, Screen, Sight and Sound and Sense of Cinema). These respective contributions to film festivals eventually lead to multi-medial architectures being implanted in the overall structure of these festivals.

Take the 58th Berlinale (February 7-17, 2008) as an example. During the festival season, anyone present in the vicinity of the main festival sites can easily sense the ubiquitous presence of gigantic outdoor LED screens fixed to selected theatres to exclusively broadcast news about festival film screenings or which are installed inside arcades in Berlin, as shown earlier. Hence, any festival audiences and even bystanders or passersby proximate to this area are able to encounter – and thus become familiarised with – the mediated festival ambience itself. Besides this, they are easily exposed to the official logos of ZDF, the joint official broadcasters for the Berlinale, and those of other official corporate sponsors for the festival (e.g. Volkswagen, BMW (as of the 60th Berlinale (February 11-21, 2010), L’Oreal, and T-Mobile) that are dispersed throughout the city during the festival period (Figure 6.4).
Limited though their direct access might be to such exclusionary media events as press conferences, official awarding ceremonies and numerous reception parties, ordinary festivalgoers are nevertheless able to gratify the Berlinale’s “oxygen of exclusivity” in part through their presence via being exposed either accidentally or willingly to these outdoor screens installed near the main entrance of Berlinale Palast or inside Sony Center.

6.2.2. Mediated Interconnectedness via Social Network Media: BIFF and its Audience

Traditionally, media have implied and assumed audiences at all times. The issue of audiences’ interpretative capabilities via their media consumptions was thus central to both mainstream and alternative media at the outset. Even old-fashioned Althusserian ideas tend to be relevant in the contemporary context in the sense of understanding how these kinds of media hail people as their audiences when they read them. The traditional roles of mainstream media for film festivals tend to be, by and large, binary in the sense that they are provided for and serve their target readers differentially according to who and what they are and how they relate to film festivals in general. To be more specific, these media – primarily print such as film trade magazines, newspapers, and specialised periodicals for cinephiles or the specialised minority (i.e. film connoisseurship by cinephiles and
cinephiliac film scholars) – tend to be juxtaposed with other medial means in order to serve the popular tastes of the ordinary majority in the manner of high/avant-garde art versus low/popular art. In this context, it is interesting to think of the ramifications regarding how online media might function as a useful means to facilitate the participatory atmosphere or public participation of ordinary festival audiences.

At this juncture, what I focus on specifically is the (potential) capability of BIFF and the world of international film festivals in general to be connected with their local and national audiences via their best use of online media: how does the sense of intimacy become gradually saturated and then “naturalized” into their audiences’ perceptions through these media? In this sense, how BIFF carries out its online operations by maintaining an intimate relationship with its audiences is seen as a good opportunity to explore how film festivals can formulate their public accessibility and a resultant sense of publicness. Accordingly, the sense of belonging, allegiance to and involvement in film festivals could be formed in the minds of their audiences or their publics in broader terms. On the other hand, what needs to be equally taken into account is that this “immersion” process can fall equally into the latent consolidation and naturalization of established media powers and their dominant discourses in the minds of ordinary media users, at least to a certain extent. More specifically, the tendency for film festivals to maximise their popular and publicly accessible image relating to their audiences using the diverse old and new communicational means available to them is, conversely, prone to further strengthening festivals’ intrinsically hierarchical and hegemonic structures by amplifying and then subliminally routinising audiences’ sense of allegiance towards them as their festivals. Furthermore, by seeking to popularise its intrinsically exclusionary image as an international film industry event – in part via programmer Kim’s *Inside BIFF* – BIFF can also camouflage and then consolidate further its innately “closed” structure in line with other national and regional film industries through Kim building on the layering of his readers and public becoming more loyal to BIFF through his online activities.

The issue in question here concerns how film festivals utilise online digital technologies and the
concomitant ramifications of BIFF’s spatiotemporal dimension: e.g. his active use of online digital media to communicate with his audiences or readers as *his publics* in Hannayian terms. By “public”, Alastair Hannay intends the sense in which it can only become a socioculturally specific and concrete term by being linked to specific groups of people, each of whom have specific interests or purposes that justify their respective existence in respective societies or cultures to which they belong as legitimate members. In other words, “public” is to a greater extent a socioculturally situated and flexible term. Hence, in order to explain the situated and flexible, albeit complex and even “parasitic”, nature of this term, Hannay takes as an example the situation where Mark Anthony made a speech for Caesar’s funeral at the Roman forum:

[….] Mark Anthony’s audiences in the forum though, as was argued, not the public was nevertheless *a* public. It was *his* public. In some pedantic sense it would have been that even if his appeal had been greeted by boos and jeering. Just as the ruined forum today, by becoming a focus of attention for tourists, forms the latter in a manner of speaking, and however transiently, into *its* public, so too simply by lending him their ears, those who were present when Mark Anthony held his funeral oration formed *his* public. But this public became his also in a stronger and more significant sense. If he first caught its ear, for which he only had to raise his voice, what he later held was its mind. Once he ‘perceived’, as Plutarch has it, that it had become ‘infinitely affected with what he had said’, this audience was truly ‘his’ (2005: 26-7).

Likewise, what can also be considered at this point in the Hannayian sense of “public” concerns how BIFF and its online (festival) media operations locate and then construct as its publics the majority of festival audiences who are disproportionately dispersed, hence elusively identifiable, in both online and offline terms. In particular, the substantive focus here is on how Kim’s online activities via *Inside BIFF* enable BIFF to construct and then further strengthen its public dimension so that the festival’s popular image can appeal to a wider range of his festival audiences or readers as his publics. More specifically,
I see his (target) readers and audiences in general as his online or electronic public who consume his writings uploaded on *Inside BIFF*, as part of his broad anonymous readership or fandom that exists online and beyond their territorial (and ontological) limitations. Therefore, I term them Kim’s “electronic readers and publics”. In the next section, I will examine more closely his *Inside BIFF* and the BIFF newsletter as part of this case study.

### 6.3. Case Study – Film Festivals’ Electronic Newsletters: The BIFF Newsletter and *Inside BIFF*

Most major international film festivals publish their own electronic newsletters to be emailed to their respective online subscribers as their festival audiences and readers on a regular basis. They play an intermediary role in keeping their readers regularly updated about the round-the-year preparatory processes of their film festivals during the off-season and summarise news on their daily operations during the festival periods. As soon as festivals start, in general their publicity operations tend to run in full swing by producing and widely disseminating electronic newsletters and other various forms of film festival-related information to their online or electronic readers and publics on a daily basis. The accessibility to film festivals via the net and even the conjectural number of their audience beyond spatiotemporal constraints has been amplified significantly, since festivals started adapting to the contemporary new media environment by converging new media technologies with their conventional festival publicity operations in close collaboration with the international film trade press. This trend coincides with the timely emergence and exponential proliferation of social network-based media, coupled with such internet-based activities as film (festival) blogs run by renowned film journalists and film scholars – e.g. the late film critic Roger Ebert’s blog (www.rogerebert.com) or the St Andrews University-based film festival scholar Dina Iordanova’s *DinaView* (www.dinaview.com). With reference to the increased influence of these social network-based mobile media technologies devoted to international film festivals, Peter Cowie elucidates in a lengthy manner that:
The breathless accelerations in technology exert a powerful influence on the world’s major festivals today. “Word-of-mouth” has always dictated the survival (or demise) of a studio film in its second week at the box-office, but now social networking systems like Twitter mean that cinemagoers can dispatch their premature verdict on a movie within half an hour of its starting on its very first day. Before the screening has ended, hundreds of “tweets” may have condemned it to likely oblivion. At the Berlinale, journalists are under pressure not just to file for their newspapers and – at more leisure – magazines, but also to the online services of their various publications. Everything at the festival has become more intense, due to the availability of fast communications. Using mobile phones and emails, a buyer moving from the EFM to his hotel in Potsdamer Platz can accomplish infinitely more in a short time than he could have done a quarter of a century ago. Executives have migrated from writing formal letters, usually dictated to a secretary, to sending emails, to sending SMS texts. Everyone can be reached everywhere, whether it be in restaurants or even in rest rooms. There is less and less possibility for reflection or relaxation. Even press conferences are, from necessity, shorter than they were some years ago (2010: 131-32).

In other words, the mobile communication milieus that contemporary film festivals generate and maintain in close collaboration with their ‘sponsoring societies’ are reliant on these new communications technologies, in turn, ultimately enabling enormous changes in traditional film festival communication paradigms (Wong, 2011: 102). Wong grounds these sponsoring societies in Rick Altman’s idea of ‘the sponsoring society […] where critics and theorists always participate in and further the work of various institutions [that include] production companies, exhibition practices, the critical establishment, and government agencies that parallel many festival-related institutions’ (Altman, 1999: 12 & 91, cited in ibid.). For instance, the L.A.-based *Hollywood Reporter* publishes on- and offline its own festival dailies targeting major film festivals (e.g. Cannes, Berlin, and BIFF) during the festival periods. Its online version, published in a PDF file, can also be downloaded and freely accessed by anyone, albeit strictly during the festival periods, as mentioned earlier. *Variety* also runs its special section for either the Cannes or Berlin film festivals on its website where its international
correspondent-contributed “festival blogs” follow all the daily events with their rather detailed personal comments on what has happened behind-the-scenes together with events-related video footage they themselves filmed and uploaded in real-time. In addition to them, other film festivals that are perceived as internationally prestigious but less-highlighted due to their absence of film market functions tend to make the best use of online media platforms for the sake of their festival publicities. For instance, of several high-profile international film festivals, the BFI London Film Festival launched a Facebook homepage for 52th edition (15-30 October, 2008) and started utilising it actively, given that no major festival trade magazines publish their own London Film Festival dailies on a full scale equivalent to those for Cannes, Berlin and even Busan.

With this context in mind, in this section I analyse BIFF’s cultivation of its popular image in order that the organisation appeals to an ordinary audience, one that has emerged in part from Kim’s online literary activities for BIFF. I examine the electronically published BIFF newsletter’s sub-section Inside BIFF, for whose entire contents he is responsible. For this online discursive space he is granted a great deal of liberty to formulate and express his personal ideas and experiences concerning the overall operational dynamics of international film festivals which has generally been less accessible and exposed to ordinary festival audiences and the general public. Inside BIFF enables its electronic readers and publics to read between the lines of BIFF’s monthly updated official schedules concerning its regular festival preparation process that are published on the BIFF website in the form of bullet-pointed brief headlines. BIFF’s openness or transparency policy, in which the official working schedules of its core staffs (e.g. festival programmers and festival directors) that could otherwise only be circulated for internal use, are publicised online to an extent that is unprecedented compared even with other major film festivals like the Berlinale. In other words, of several permanent BIFF staffs’ official schedules briefly summarised on the BIFF website, Kim’s is both quantitatively and qualitatively expanded by Inside BIFF, and is more detailed, contextualised and familiarised to his electronic readers and public. In this process, the epistemological distance between BIFF and its
festival audiences scattered on- and offline due to the former’s innately hierarchical structure can be gradually bridged. Prior to the substantial start of the analysis, let us briefly outline this section’s underlying methodological framework.

6.3.1. Methodology – Positional Transformation of Myself from a Researcher into an Ordinary Reader

This chapter examines its case study by looking at the chronologically ordered online archives of programmer Kim’s literary contributions to the BIFF newsletter available on the BIFF official website (http://post.biff.kr/). What I pay especial attention to is one of its sub-sections called *Kim Ji-seok’s Inside BIFF or Cinema Story* (*Kim Ji Seok-eu-Inside BIFF or Younghwa-iyagi*) a.k.a. *Inside BIFF*. Kim periodically (e.g. every two weeks on average) contributes his “personal perspectives” through his professionally analytical but reader-friendly manner of story-telling, focusing on his extensive human networking activities that he conducts in order to maintain his up-close-and-personal relationships with those belonging to the international film industry and festival inner-circles, such as festival programmers, film producers and filmmakers. This editorially independent space created and sustained solely by Kim thematically overlaps and is sometimes repetitive, given the cyclical nature of film festivals held annually in general. This processual propensity leads to him continually reproducing issues frequently discussed among the international film industry and festival professionals. For instance, as the BIFF programmer responsible for rediscovering and canonizing Asian cinema and its creators, Kim reviews, contextualises and updates the overall condition of film productions from those Asian nations he covers (e.g. the PRC, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Iran and other regional players often ignored by leading Western film industries together with their festival programmers and critics), within the broader context of how the overall mechanics of international film festivals relate to this. Against the overall backdrop of international film culture, Kim “talks” in a friendly manner to his electronic readers and public about his lived-in experiences of this rather exclusive and closed film
festival world via his idiosyncratic way of composing stories riddled with his own ‘experiential accomplishment[s]’ at numerous international film festivals (Moores, 2012: 45). Moores coins the term “experiential accomplishment” based on Yi-Fu Tuan’s characterisation of place as ‘[binding] people and environment (including media environments) [not straightforwardly, but multisensorially]’ (ibid.).

In this sense, Kim’s way of connecting online with his (assumed and even conjectural) electronic readers and public in the form of “friendly talk” can be inferred from Yi-Fu Tuan’s (1996) theoretical distinction between “conversation” and “talk” within the contemporary context of the mobile communications environment. Regarding this, Morley explains that:

> [T]he geographer Yi Fu-Tuan distinguishes between “conversation” (the substantive discussion of events and issues – discourse of the “cosmos”) and “talk” (the phatic exchange of gossip, principally designed to maintain group solidarity, which Tuan calls a “discourse of the hearth”) (2010: 12).

In this context, most of Kim’s stories tend to start with him sketching the broader picture of the world of international film festivals and its associated industries, and then following up on his attempts to associate with it via his personal contacts, meetings and conversations with a series of high-profile figures whom he describes as his personal “buddies” in other national film industries and international film festivals. It can thus be argued that in the Tuanian sense Kim attempts to “talk” to (or chat with) his electronic readers and public in order to share with them his personal festival experiences imbued with intriguing behind-the-scenes stories. This propensity can also be differentiated from the Berlinale in light of its rather rationalized or conventional manner of operating its online communicational means. That is, the overall contents of the Berlinale’s website (www.berlinale.de) are informationally well-packaged for its users by updating them with the festival’s annual reviews and all related audiovisual archives. Accordingly, the whole process of film festivals’ efforts to make their external images
become both physically and perceptually more accessible and approachable for their ordinary festival audiences and publics, contributes to the perceptual popularisation and publicisation of film festivals.

Under this condition there have been some changes in my choice of, and methodological approach to, this chapter’s subject. My initial fieldwork plan for BIFF and the Berlinale respectively started from my curiosity regarding the closed and exclusionary culture of global film industry professionals who regularly attend international film festivals. This curiosity resulted from my experiences of having been oftentimes rejected by film festival staffers due to my then “unaccredited” status during my visit to the 57th Berlinale (February 8-18, 2007). These experiences as an unaccredited festivalgoer and the subsequent sense of alienation I felt are juxtaposable with its latter editions (e.g. the 58th and 60th Berlinale) and the 12th BIFF (October 4-12, 2007), all of which I attended as an accredited member of the festival. This felt juxtaposition or discrepancy was derived from the rather enhanced extent to which I could access what I had previously been excluded from: (1) my entry into the Berlinale Press Center housed in the Grand Hyatt Hotel adjacent to the Berlinale Palast and the Berlinale Service Center exclusively for all accredited members of the Berlinale, or (2) my access to numerous exclusive reception parties and working with film journalists from *The Hollywood Reporter* during BIFF, and so on. My experiences at the Berlinale thus hinged on the type of accreditation which led me to expand my initial attention to how festival media cover and expose international film festivals’ inner-sanctum as inaccessible to the general public. Namely, at the early stage of my doctoral research I planned to examine how media cover and reflect the overall elitist culture of film festival inner-circles, given the general public’s or ordinary festival audiences’ highly predictable interest in sneaking a peek at the veiled culture of global film stars and big names in the global film industries during the festival periods. In this process, however, I had to face some difficulties in getting access to the overall inner-workings of the film festivals in question, namely BIFF and the Berlinale. It was generally rare for me, albeit accredited either as a film professionals or press – to belong to and become welcome in their stratified environments. For instance, it is hardly possible for me to attend and observe their overall
programming processes designed and executed internally, unless I worked for BIFF as one of its part-time or full-time staffers. Eventually, my years-long fieldwork conducted at these two film festivals notwithstanding, I failed to achieve the initial research objective mentioned above.

In this sense, it was opportune that I could encounter programmer Kim’s Inside BIFF that ran episodic stories about what he personally experienced as a global film festival insider in relation to the global film festival and industry cultures and BIFF’s position within them. His easily comprehensible manner of disclosing snippets of the closed and hidden world of international film festival professionals and their working environments to his electronic readers and public enabled me to become indirectly familiar with and experience the inner-sanctum of BIFF and international film festivals on the whole. In other words, Kim’s stories manifested, albeit partially, for his readers the exclusionary inner-workings of international film festivals through his personalised optics. Not only as a semi-professional but also as an ordinary festivalgoer, I could not help but become immersed into and gratified by Kim’s experiences as informally rephrased and reproduced as travelogue-style casual writings, given my lack of access to the festival’s inner-workings, like any other ordinary festivalgoer. At this point, my initial omniscient position as an ethnographic researcher became gradually blurred, only to be synonymous to a certain extent with the position taken, possibly, by his ordinary readers and public. This strategic detour from being grounded directly in the empirical findings of fieldwork at the festival sites to online archival analysis resulted from my necessity and desperation for the lack of empirical findings pertaining to this chapter’s initial focus as mentioned above. Accordingly, this positional transformation affects the overall analysis of this chapter’s case study.

6.3.2. The Analysis – Inside BIFF

As mentioned above, Kim’s Inside BIFF relays issues that tend to be thematically repetitive and overlap in relation to BIFF’s yearly practices regarding preparing its festival. They engage with Kim’s round-the-year preparatory process hunting for films at numerous international film festivals in order to
shortlist them for BIFF’s world and international-premieres every year. In addition to this, the column also runs frequently episodic stories that illustrate rather mundane everyday aspects of Kim’s business trips to many an international film festival. Those stories range from his private meetings with filmmakers/film producers/actors and those actresses/festival programmers active mainly in Asian countries to his personal interest in, and preference for, for instance, walking around (mainly Asian) festival host cities and sites to procure original soundtrack CDs that have not yet been introduced to his electronic readers and public in Korea and so forth. Against the backdrop of BIFF’s monthly schedule published on its official website (see Appendix 17), Kim thus specifies this summarised schedule with relatively detailed essays written on the basis of his diverse lived-in experiences accumulated during his business trips to international film festivals and other relevant events. Tracing his (urban) festival itineraries through *Inside BIFF* and the BIFF newsletter in general enables his electronic readers and public to envision and then gratify the overall working mechanics of international film festivals. In other words, Kim’s *Inside BIFF* helps not only to multidimensionalise his electronic readers and public’s knowledge of it, but also to contextualise their BIFF-centred understanding of the world of international film festivals on the whole.

This section is made up of the following thematic categories as commonly found in his *Inside BIFF*:

- **General introduction of the latest cinematic trends emergent at international film festivals (see Appendices 2, 5, 8, 9, 12, 14):** Kim generally introduces and updates the latest trends of international film festivals and associated industries for the purpose of contextualising or “multidimensionalising” his readers’ indirect film festival experiences as well as of educating majorities of ordinary festival audiences who have been less accessible to international film festival culture beyond their national boundaries (e.g. news on international film festivals that he has visited for his official businesses, ranging from those on films that he “newly discovered” and then shortlisted to be officially invited to BIFF, to general trends of film productions, primarily in Asia, and so on). Through this, Kim briefly
sketches latest conditions of international film festivals and their respective national film industries. All of which are based upon his hands-on experience of meeting his international colleagues or “buddies” and maintaining his personal relationships and networks with them (e.g. film festival programmers, independent filmmakers and national film policymakers from their respective national film councils or commissions).

**BIFF’s annual festival preparation (see Appendices 6, 10, 11, 14, 16):** Kim runs featured stories associated with recent changes and developments in BIFF’s organisational and operational structure. For instance, they include his serial reports (1) on BIFF’s structural expansion resulting from the relocation of its main venue and constructing such new cinematic infrastructures to be used exclusively for BIFF such as the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City of the Haeundae area, (2) on BIFF’s contributions and transfer of its expertise on decades-long film festival organisation and management to Asian countries interested in establishing their own film festivals, but lacking institutional and infrastructural frameworks (e.g. Vietnam and Kazakhstan) or (3) on BIFF’s ongoing progress of programming its annual festivity through “sneak previews” of a series of films included previously on his shortlist, in particular, Kim’s sneak preview of BIFF’s annual programming plan a couple of weeks before the official start of the festival which aims at discussing and analysing it within the context of current structural developments of international film festivals in its regional competitors (e.g. Hong Kong, Tokyo, Shanghai, Bangkok, Rotterdam, Rome and Dubai).

**Stories on his international “buddies” in international film festivals and industries (see Appendices 1-4, 12, 13):** Kim regularly runs stories about his personal relationships with his international “buddies”, including film festival programmers and filmmakers that were formed primarily following their films being officially invited to BIFF. For instance, such internationally renowned film auteurs as the Iranian directors Abbas Kiarostami and Mohsen Makhmalbaf and several others (mainly from Asia) are frequently mentioned and talked about by Kim in relation to recent progress of their cinematic works and domestic political situations to which they are subjected due to subject matters of their films. Not only does he contact them in a rather casual manner to update for his electronic readers and public regarding ongoing film productions that his international associates are working on, in order to conduct “quality-checks” for their works on a regular basis as part of his annual
preparatory process of shortlisting films for BIFF, but he also does as part of his sociopolitically vocal stance towards regions or nations whose film productions he places under the spotlight programmingly. This includes Asian regions that most western film festivals shun given the former’s less sustainable film industries followed by their low-quality film productions (strictly) according to the latter’s standards. Kim’s informal correspondences and meetings with his Asian international associates on a regular basis regarding their projects in progress have two implications. Firstly, it is his programming strategy that aims to avoid direct competition with other high-profile film festivals by focusing on national film industries in which its competitors have not been actively interested. Secondly, he tries to generate public discussion regarding the predicaments of the abovementioned filmmakers who have long been subject to politically motivated censorship by their national government due to the anti-government and sociologically controversial subject matters with which these filmmakers engage cinematographically (e.g. the Iranian government’s political repression against those who are sociopolitically vocal in regard to the freedom of expression in Iran, like Mohsen Makhmalbaf and Abbas Kiarostami).

**Diversification or Internationalisation of Film Consumption Culture in South Korea (see Appendices 7-9):** Kim occasionally runs his experiential stories about the world of international film festivals that accompany his extra-introduction to his electronic readers and publics of original soundtrack CDs of world cinema that he has personally procured during his business trips to festivals (e.g. Malaysia, the PRC and Japan). His activities of this sort can be to a certain extent understood as part of a broader initiative by him and BIFF (e.g. BIFF itself as cultural movement in South Korea) to further diversify and even internationalise or “Europeanise” Korean audiences’ rather limited spectrum of knowledge regarding international film culture.

The aforementioned four themes that programmer Kim frequently handles through *Inside BIFF* demonstrate his primary intent to expose his electronic readers and public to the closed world of international film festivals via his personalised gaze. Metaphorically speaking, the commoners (ordinary festival audiences and the general public as a whole) manage to look sneakily into the interior
of the whole glitzy and glamorous party for what Peter Baker calls ‘[the] charmed circle of the great and the good, [namely] a jet-setting elite of filmmakers, cultural attachés, distributors, royalty, and journalists’, thanks to one of the invited guests like Kim who deliberately leaves the door ajar for them (1966, cited in Stringer, 2001: 137). However, Kim does not merely stay at the level of passively lecturing his electronic readers and public about this overly mythologised aspect of how international film festivals and their inner-workings operate. In other words, by utilising Inside BIFF, he tries to demythologise it, only for it to become routine and more familiar to them. At the same time, through Inside BIFF, “the great and the good” with whom Kim maintains friendly relations, such as his close international buddies or acquaintances, and the exclusive “quarters” for them built into film festivals gradually lose the extraordinary aura that has previously been held up to mass audiences as something mystical.

As an international film festival and industry insider, Kim provides his electronic readers and public with a rare chance to peak at the overall ways in which the world of international film festivals (and the inner-circle of film professionals involved in it) work. They focus on stories that concern Kim maintaining personal networks with his international “buddies” who are also those who belong professionally to the inner-circle of international film festivals and industry, as he does. However, apart from themes concerned with what’s going on among international film professionals “on the record” during the festival period, he also tells his electronic readers and public about behind-the-scenes stories in the anecdotal way that emphasises personal aspects of those perceived generally as senior public figures in the international film festival scene. For instance, Kim reveals to them via Inside BIFF that one of major reasons for the Taiwanese film auteur Hou Hsiao-hsien to attend BIFF is allegedly to taste Korean cuisine (see Appendix 13), together with stories on a famous Taiwanese actress (e.g. Yang Gui-mei) who was invited to his house for dinner and her motherly affection for his youngest son (see Appendix 4). Besides them, nearly all the stories Kim runs in Inside BIFF have a tendency to be produced in a casual way and use an easily comprehensible tone, irrespective of the themes concerned.
He also talks of personal meetings or parties with his Iranian “buddies” which were organised rather randomly, resulting in producing interesting “episodic happenings” (see Appendices 1-3). This perceptually reciprocal condition blurs the existing public-private boundary through both its contents and the intimate tone he generates, reflecting to a certain extent Charlotte Brunsdon’s notion of ‘[the] paradox of the privacy in pubic’ (Brunsdon, 2010: 207). She grounds this notion in Marc Augé’s ethnographic observation of the paradoxical manner in which daily commuters inhabit the underground spaces of the Paris Métro as part of their everyday life space. Both the ontologically and epistemologically alternating dynamics that this space generates via ceaseless brief encounters of people and their emotions blurs the existing public-private divide. Augé characterises this as

[…] the ritual paradox: it is always lived individually and subjectively; only individual itineraries give a reality, and yet it is eminently social, the same for everyone, conferring on each person this minimum of collective identity through which a community is defined (Augé, 2002: 30, cited in ibid.).

Her notion reflects Kim’s positionally alternating status as both an international film festival insider, hence a highly public figure in this field, and an individual in the process of recording his lived-in experiences of film festivals and then producing them as coherent stories comprehensible to his electronic readers and public. At this point, two perspectives can be taken into account regarding the ways in which this notion is perceived in relation to the overall workings of film festivals:

- **The exterior perspective**: the ubiquitousness of publicly available or open spaces (e.g. public squares and parks located within main festival venue areas that are designated for film festivals) and audiovisually mediated images and signs dispersed throughout centres of urban areas that enable frequent chance encounters of people “being there”. In addition, there is the subsequent transformative shaping of (contemporary) urban environments and their both temporary and long-standing inhabitants contrasting with the backdrop of
contemporary ambient media, such as huge outdoor billboards and LED screens fixed on the top of high-rise buildings, to which they are continually subjected as accidental audiences and even chance encounters encompassing bystanders and passersby on the streets.

- **The interior perspective**: the situated positionality of such international film festival insiders as Kim as an international film festival and industry professional whose private realms his electronic readers and public perceive to a certain extent as “public affairs”.

In the next section, I will have a closer look at his primary intention to discursively popularise for his electronic readers and public the world of international film festivals by focusing on the interior perspective under the following three categories: (1) the demythologisation of the closed and exclusionary world of international film festivals, (2) the multidimensionalisation of his readers’ and public’s understanding of the overall workings of international film festivals, and (3) the retrospection of cinephiliac culture in South Korea via his occasional introduction to them of world cinema through original soundtrack CDs.

### 6.3.2.1. The Demythologisation of BIFF through its Policy for Transparency and Public Accessibility

*Inside BIFF* relies primarily on stories that Kim produces together with some related pictures taken by either BIFF or Kim himself and which are attached to them. Although comprised, first and foremost, of texts, his stories in *Inside BIFF* nevertheless intend to deliver his (emotionally) intimate tone to his electronic readers and public as if he were casually talking to them as his “buddies” equivalent to his international ones working in the inner-sanctum of the international film festival and industry business. In this process, words or texts that once remained static become multidimensionalised or *spatiotemporalised* by his intimate writing style which uses visual means to colour his stories, only for his electronic readers and public to become further familiarised and thereby routinised to them.
Specifically, together with the casual rhetorics embedded in his “storytelling” in *Inside BIFF*, he endeavours to demythologise the excessively mythologised world of international film festival and industry professionals by allowing the former to take a glimpse and then to gratify the latter’s space or realm for their professional activities before, during, and after the festival periods. This enables his electronic readers and public to realise that these film professionals’ ostensibly exclusive realm within festivals and beyond is not (to a certain extent) dissimilar from that of the majority of ordinary civilians in terms of how both groups perform their routines within their respective working or living realms. Namely, ordinary festivalgoers still perceive the overall image of the former’s working realm or space within the festival site as a hidden and exclusive crucible similar to VIP membership lounges at international airports. Nevertheless, such film festival insiders’ personalised accounts as those of Kim function partly as a popular means able to maintain perceptually ‘at-a-distance ties’ between him and his electronic readers and public which are disproportionately dispersed online (Aksoy and Robins, 2010: 184). For instance, Kim introduces his *experientially accomplished* stories with some pictures that illustrate how mundanely public figures of BIFF as his colleagues spend their times officially and unofficially during the Cannes film festival. One picture shows BIFF director Kim Dong-ho and his festival staffers, including his deputy festival director and programmer, having their breakfast in a privately rented apartment in Cannes, still putting on their sleeping gowns (see Figure 6.5; Appendix 11).
Figure 6.5: BIFF director Kim Dong-ho having a breakfast with his senior staffers during the 61st Cannes Film Festival. Source: © PIFF 2008.

Through this picture, programmer Kim reveals to his electronic readers and public their private spheres in which he stays with his BIFF staffers during the festival period, with his comments concerned this, such as “BIFF director Kim Dong-ho usually wakes up in the morning due to the clinking sounds reverberating throughout the flat, which some of his staffers make with dishes, while busy preparing for breakfast”. There are other chronicles of how programmer Kim carries out his daily schedule on a selected day during the 59th Cannes film festival in 2006 (see Figure 6.6; Appendix 5). Brief and partial though it seems, his festival itinerary of meeting people and attending market screenings at the Marché du Film nevertheless speaks to his electronic readers and public regarding his rather trivial but publicly appealable character, such as, for instance, how hard it was for him to catch up with all the schedules and his own brief sketch of places where he has been.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>Meeting with Iranian film production companies, CMI and SMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>Meeting with Thai film production company, GHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Iranian film <em>Journey to Hidalu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Japanese film <em>Vanished</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Malaysian film <em>Rain Dogs</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Saudi Arabian film <em>Kief Halak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Indian film <em>Mixed Double</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>Dinner with Hayashi Kanako, director of the Tokyo Film-X Festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:15</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Taiwanese film <em>Silk</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.6: BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok’s schedule at the 59th Cannes in 2006. Source: © PIFF 2006.**

On top of this, in the first and third editions of *Inside BIFF* published in 2007 (see Appendices 7 & 9), Kim starts with briefing his electronic readers and public regarding such internal affairs as official meetings between the BIFF organising committee and the Busan metropolitan government that have been held to discuss and determine the official approval of BIFF’s annual budget and other extra subsidies the municipal and central governments have earmarked for BIFF each year. With three pictures unveiling how these official meetings between BIFF and the Busan municipal authorities were held (see Figure 6.7), he tries to make the overall administrative decision-making process associated
with BIFF as transparent as possible to his electronic readers and public. Such details as the recent change in BIFF’s organisational structure (e.g. (1) the adoption of a co-festival directorship by appointing deputy BIFF director Lee Yong-kwan as the co-festival director working together with the then acting festival director Kim Dong-ho, and (2) the restructuring of the BIFF programming team and other positions in the festival’s general administration sections) are introduced by Kim for his electronic readers and public as if they were in an equal position as the former.

![Official meetings held between BIFF and the Busan metropolitan government. Source: © PIFF 2007.](image)

Namely, by exploiting the spaces of *Inside BIFF*, Kim briefly illustrates to his electronic readers and public how he, as a BIFF insider, has experienced BIFF’s internal operations that tend not to be normally disclosed in public. Through this, they manage to become acquainted in part with the official affairs associated with BIFF through his rather direct gaze regarding its throughout-the-year programming preparations and which he reproduces narratively: the recurrent blurring of the conventional boundary drawn between the public and private through the programmer Kim’s fluid positionality is implicit in his personalised description of BIFF’s official events. Partial and even
superficial though their contents seem to be, these two examples of Inside BIFF could nevertheless be seen as the only communicational channel through which ordinary BIFF audiences and publics are able to be informed by one of BIFF insiders of the festival’s internal workings which are usually veiled from the public.

In this context, what becomes conspicuous through the aforementioned examples lies in Kim’s intent to enable his electronic readers and public to experience the “demythologisation” of BIFF’s inner circle. This process works by oscillation and the continual reciprocation between ‘sacralization and desacralization’ in their perceptions of the overall images and dynamics of BIFF and international film festivals on the whole (Hubert and Mauss, 1964 [1898], cited in Bell, 1997: 26). Hubert and Mauss explain that:

An essentially profane offering is made sacred [sacralization] – consecrated, in effect – in order to act as the means of communication and communion between the sacred and profane worlds. At the conclusion of the rite, however, a process of desacralization reestablishes the necessary distinctions between these two worlds that make up day-to-day reality (ibid.).

In other words, while “sacralization” points to the process of leaving the ordinary state and entering the extraordinary, “desacralization” entails leaving the extraordinary state and returning to the ordinary one. Likewise, what Kim tries to do here is to deliberately embed his casual (authorial) tones into all the stories he produces for Inside BIFF so that his electronic readers and public are able to perceive and experience them more critically and multidimensionally. This line of thought is originally appropriated from the literatures concerned with the studies on transnational migrations and diasporic communications, in regard to transnational media technologies’ capacities to materialise and then maintain an “imagined at-a-distance ties or links” between transnational diasporic communities (Aksoy and Robins, 2010). In this sense, a clear difference between BIFF and the Berlinale emerges.
here: while BIFF tries to strike an editorial balance between its official and unofficial stories through which to allow its festival audiences or readers to see its overall festival operations in a more critical and multidimensional way, the Berlinale tends to dedicate itself to its official side by embedding its popular side into perceptions of its audiences as a given thematic backdrop. As previously mentioned, the Berlinale’s website functions mainly as an official resource whereby official documents concerned with its overall festival operations can be accessed by its festival audiences and public in the form of official press releases. In contrast, however, BIFF’s principal aim is to make its sightlines on level terms with those of its (ordinary) festival audiences and public by popularising its internal festival operations thought to be quite mundane and even indifferent to them due to their specialised subject matter.

Concerning BIFF’s policy regarding transparency and public accessibility, it is also intriguing to briefly ponder its (probable) relations to BIFF director Kim Dong-ho’s past occupational background in order to understand the unique context of how BIFF’s publicly accessible or anti-establishment image has been constructed. BIFF director Kim, as a retired high-ranking civil servant, could be seen as overlapping with the past authoritarian image of the South Korean government constructed and then naturalized after a nearly three decades-long litany of three consecutive authoritarian regimes. He has previously served as (1) the Vice Minister of the Ministry of Culture and Sports from April 21, 1992, until March 3, 1993, and later as (2) the chairman of the Korea Performance and Ethics Board (KPEB: later renamed the Korea Media Rating Board (KMRB) as of 1999) from March 18, 1993, until March 21, 1995.23 His political capital accumulated during his stints as a longtime bureaucrat in the Ministry of Culture has been undeniably helpful for BIFF to manage its festival operations relatively unhindered by interference from the municipal and central governments from its inception in 1996. In this sense, the case of BIFF director Kim is interesting in that his previous authoritative position as a government...

Official in charge of censoring foreign films as well as domestic film productions has been ironic given that it was the very beneficial factor that helped BIFF bypass government censorship. Namely, this sudden metamorphosis of his status from the chairman of KPEB, whose authority used to be detrimental to the cultivation of a sustainable film culture in South Korea, into the BIFF director beneficial to it reflects the generally nepotistic culture of bureaucrats in South Korea. Regarding this, BIFF programming coordinator Mina Oak explains that:

BIFF director Kim Dong-ho’s extensive domestic and international human networks formed through his stints as the former Vice Minister of the Ministry of Culture as well as the former chairman of the Korea Performance and Ethics Board (KPEB) actually helped BIFF either secure its annual budget from the central government. Besides, they were also quite effective in preventing lower-level civil servants of the Busan metropolitan government (and the central government) from their unnecessary bureaucratic or political interference with BIFF’s overall management and operations (see Interview 5).

In other words, the unique nature of South Korea’s nepotistic culture ironically played a crucial part in laying the advantageous ground for the stable operation of South Korea’s first international-scale film festival held in Busan from its inception in 1996. At the same time, it can be assumed that BIFF itself has endeavoured to decontaminate its initial image as an international film festival helmed by the former KPEB bureaucrat previously responsible for film censorship, in order to be externally presentable to its audience and public as open and transparent, hence differentiable from the generally closed culture of civil servants in South Korea. In this regard, Mina Oak added that ‘BIFF director Kim himself is also a bit cautious about openly talking of his past stints as the chairman of KPEB with others externally and even internally with the BIFF staffers, considering his then role that could have been perceived to a certain extent as unfavourable to the development of Korean cinema in general given his association with censorship’ (ibid.).
6.3.2.2. The Multidimensional Understanding of the Overall Operational Mechanics of Film Festivals

As discussed earlier, ordinary festival audiences are given opportunities to experience other international film festivals and cinematic cultures as a whole through a festival insider’s personalised accounts of individual experiences of them as published in programmer Kim’s Inside BIFF. Apparently, the insider’s views on international film festivals are perceived to a greater extent as subjective in the sense that they usually tell their readers and public their version of an event or events concerned by exploiting highly mobile contemporary media spaces: their personalised experiences of international film festivals as highly public figures or “insiders” in the field of international film festivals and industries.

Occasionally, one festival insider’s personalised or “subjective” view on a certain event held at a certain international film festival functions as a vital conduit through which his or her side of this event can considered by others in a more multilayered or critical manner. For instance, in the second edition of Inside BIFF published on April 10, 2007 (see Appendix 8), Kim commented on how he saw the 2007 Hong Kong International Film Festival (HKIFF) and the recent expansion of its spatiotemporal structure that caused frictions between HKIFF and the Hong Kong SAR government. As a both an outside observer and vocal commentator on the Asian film industry and who participated in HKIFF as one of its jury members, Kim critically assesses how this recent structural change affects the future of HKIFF as a whole through Inside BIFF. In this regard, he elucidates his experience of the 2007 HKIFF in a lengthy passage:

From 19-28 March, 2007, I attended the Hong Kong International Film Festival as one of its jury members appointed to evaluate the final selection of films submitted to both the Asian Film Awards (AFA) and HKIFF. Launching the first AFA this year, HKIFF seemed to me not only to be endeavouring to revamp and promote Hong Kong as the hub of the Asian film industry domestically and beyond, but also to rejuvenate the recently depressed
mood of HKIFF on the whole. HKIFF’s recent bold initiatives seem successful on its surface, given the strong presence of internationally renowned Asian cineastes (e.g. actors and actresses: Rain, Lee Byung-hun, Song Kang-ho, Maggie Cue, Miki Nakatani etc. / filmmakers: Park Chan-wook, Bong Joon-ho, Zia Zhangke, Jafar Panahi etc.) that spotlighted this year’s festivity. Nevertheless, I feel a bit disappointed about the final list of this year’s AFA recipients, since most of the recipients came from countries in Northeast Asia (e.g. South Korea, Japan and the People’s Republic of China/the Hong Kong SAR), leading films from non-Northeast Asian countries to be seen as peripheral to a greater extent. Such a view was also widely shared by non-Northeast Asian journalists who attended to cover this award ceremony. I hope the next edition of AFA will focus more on encompassing a wider range of countries and regions in Asia in terms of selecting and handing out awards to films.

However, there still exists a more urgent issue that needs to be addressed in relation to the 2007 HKIFF, as HKIFF itself was put in trouble by the HKIFF organising committee by concentrating nearly all its administrative (and financial) resources on launching this year’s AFA, making the preparation of the actual film festival itself negligible. For instance, despite the fact that the 2007 HKIFF started on March 19, its central festival office opened on March 24. This caused a bit of administrative chaos regarding the overall management of such international and domestic festival guests as festival programmers and journalists: inconveniences both in the use of video rooms by film professionals and in the distribution of guest packages and guest IDs to them. To make matters worse, festival guest IDs had to be collected in the film market (Filmart), not in the central festival office (where festival guests normally collect their festival packages). Hence, on March 26 I met the HKIFF programmer Jacob Wong for lunch to ask him about this matter and others concerned with the recent structural change in HKIFF as a whole. Jacob and I are close “buddies” talking quite honestly about various matters concerning our respective festivals. It turned out that the core problem of this year’s HKIFF lay with the Hong Kong SAR government’s plan to put HKIFF under the auspices of the former’s Hong Kong Entertainment Expo. According to Jacob, the Hong Kong government wanted to hold, from this year on, HKIFF and its Filmart as part of the Entertainment Expo’s ancillary events. Hence, the opening date of HKIFF was set on March 19 and the government ordered HKIFF to launch the Asian Film Award. Every year the Hong Kong government subsidizes HKIFF to approximately seven million Hong Kong dollars for its annual festivity. However, this year the government
earmarked an extra five million Hong Kong dollars exclusively for launching AFA. This decision brought about a huge stir regarding the festival’s preparatory operations. HKIFF’s opening date is normally determined to be set around the Easter season whose date this year is on April 8. HKIFF was thus supposed to be originally held around this date this year. However, problems arose as a result of the Hong Kong government’s decision to set the start date for this year’s HKIFF by adjusting it to the date of the Entertainment Expo; HKIFF had difficulties in securing enough spaces and theatres for film screenings and festival events concerned. The main festival venues for HKIFF are the Hong Kong Cultural Center and the City Hall, but they have already been fully booked for other events between mid- and late-March this year. As a result, notwithstanding its start on March 19, HKIFF was forced into the situation where it had to use other theatres until March 27 by abandoning use of its original main festival venues. Furthermore, this year’s HKIFF became the longest-run film festival in the world by being held for 23 days. I cautiously predict that such concerns of HKIFF might continue even during its next edition (see Appendix 8).

Kim’s personal account on the 2007 HKIFF reveals a different perspective between HKIFF insiders and a professional outside observer like himself, who also has some international film festival “buddies” working for HKIFF. For instance, those insiders such as his international “buddies” include the HKIFF programmer Jacob Wong and his sister Cindy Wong whose husband also works for HKIFF as its English-language editor. Cindy Wong, who is at the same time the author of the book *Film Festivals: Culture, People and Power on the Global Screen*, has her own version of the 2007 HKIFF in her book. In particular, an excerpt from Wong’s ethnographic fieldnotes on the 2007 HKIFF are included in this book, allowing her readers to gain a carefully-summarised glimpse of how HKIFF prepares its festival internally and is then received by both its ordinary and professional festivalgoers afterwards, together with her personalised, hence subjective, view on it as one of its insiders. In addition to this, her own assessment on the 2007 HKIFF can also be compared with Kim’s aforementioned critical appraisal on this same event. In relation to this, she states that:
By the mid-march, red carpets are out at the Convention Center in Wanchai, built for the 1997 Handover and the Cultural Centre across the harbor in Tsim Sha Tsui. Actor Tony Leung is the ambassador for the Film Expo, which kicks off the festival. Critics, filmmakers, financiers, and stars arrive for the film financing forum and the deals to be made at the Filmart (which used to be a separate event). Many stay for the glamour of the first Asian Film Awards. And all these events are wrapped into a cultural calendar that will host weeks of markets and expositions dealing with Hong Kong design, music, and other arts, claiming a place for Hong Kong as a design / marketing center for Asia to complement its finance and services roles. We take my teenage daughter and her friend to the opening ceremony for the Expo and the AFA ceremony. They find it dull, with too many bureaucrats talking and two few glamorous stars, despite the special award for longtime Hong Kong star Josephine Hsiao. When Rain shows up, his fans scream wildly and flash homemade signs, but they leave when he fails to win an award. By the end of the evening, it seems almost every Asian film industry wins some award, with best picture going to the popular Korean horror film *The Host*. And Hong Kong has pulled off the awards before this honor can be claimed by Korea or Australia, who have similar programs in the works. With the film festival now officially underway, minor problems and discoveries crop up constantly. Some spectators are still not getting tickets they ordered through the new online booking system, distracting busy staffers. Some of the prints are not as solid or finished as they should be. […] Some old-timers, who had observed the festival for a long time, lament that it is not what it used to be – too commercialized, too many red carpets … Yet, audiences stay after the film or Q&A with filmmakers from around the world and coffeeshops at the Cultural Centre and the universities are always packed with people talking about discoveries and disappointments (Wong, 2011: 191-2).

At this point, Kim’s critical appraisal on the 2007 HKIFF functions as an effective resource, through which I, as one of his electronic readers and public, can figure it out in a more multidimensional manner by comparing it with Cindy Wong’s ethnographic observation of the same event.
6.3.2.3. Retrospection on Cinephiliac Culture in South Korea: Chung Eun-eim's FM Cinema and Cultural Center Generations

Some editions of Kim’s Inside BIFF introduce its electronic readers and public to original film soundtracks which had been largely inaccessible by most South Koreans for logistical and technical reasons, mainly those from Asian countries (e.g. India, the PRC and Japan) (see Appendices 7-9). Most OSTs have been obtained by him during his visits to these countries largely for two purposes: firstly, “excavating and rediscovering” world cinema in Asian countries whose cinematic values major film festivals and industries (mostly in the West) had previously underestimated and, secondly, providing his electronic readers and public with broader historical contexts for international film festival-fostered world cinema. For instance, Kim introduces them to two Bollywood film soundtracks which he had acquired during his business trip to Malaysia (e.g. Jaage Hain in Guru (2006, directed by Mani Ratnam), and Salaam-E-Ishq (A Tribute to Love) (2007, directed by Nikhil Advani)) or he randomly selected what he valued as two important Chinese OSTs (e.g. Reflection of the Moon (二泉映月 (1979), directed by Yan Jizhou (嚴寄洲)) and Ode to the Yellow River (黄河頌) in Yellow River Cantata (黄色的合唱 (1955), directed by Lu Ban (呂班)) for his personal desire to share this music with them. In addition, he also selected for them two Japanese OSTs associated with films that had once been officially invited to BIFF (e.g. Saturation (飽和) in Everything About Lily Chou-Chou (2001, directed by Shunji Iwai) and The Girl in Byakkoya (白虎野の娘) in Paprika (2006, directed by Satoshi Kon)).

In this sense, Kim’s introducing to his electronic readers and public original soundtracks of world cinema via Inside BIFF could be associated indirectly with his own desire to nostalgically connect them with the way in which he himself as a young cinephile in 1970s and 1980s South Korea has been influenced by world cinemas before the start of his professional career as a BIFF programmer. At the same time, this mini-initiative of his could also be understood within the broader context of the gradual emergence and then consolidation of cinephiliac culture in late 1980s and early 1990s South Korea and
which has been influenced by both official and unofficial channels during its pre-international film festival era: the emergence of (1) cinema-specialised radio programme and (2) underground cine-clubs and film societies focusing on European cultural centres based in South Korea, such as the Goethe Institute and the Alliance Française. In particular, regarding the former case, a night-time radio programme called *Chung Eun-eim’s FM Cinema Music* specialised in playing original soundtracks with cinema-historically rich commentaries on them, has been aired nationwide by the Munhwa Broadcasting Company (MBC) for around two-and-a-half years (November 2, 1992-April 1, 1995) (see Figure 6.8)\(^{24}\) and was very popular among cinephiles in early 1990s South Korea until the establishment of BIFF in 1996.

![Chung Eun-eim](http://www.worldost.com/html_new/chung_photo.html)


This radio programme and its DJ Chung Eun-eim influenced then young cinephiles (including myself) as one of few existing cinematic channels through which their insatiable need to devour world cinemas managed to be met under the situation where Hollywood and Hong Kong commercial films had long maintained their strong presence in the then film-viewership of South Korea. DJ Chung has regularly invited to her programme film-specialist guests such as renowned South Korean film critics and

filmmakers for their film-historically rich commentaries on OST-associated world cinemas that had
previously been rarely accessible to the general public in South Korea. In particular, given the then
rarity of public media channels handling the latest news on the global circulation and reception of
world cinema via international film festivals, Chung Eun-eim’s FM Cinema Music has played a pivotal
role in introducing its listeners to associated cinematic discourses.

For instance, DJ Chung has regularly invited to her programme Jung sung-il\textsuperscript{25}, one of the most
prominent film critics in South Korea, in order to offer to listeners his insightful analysis of new
cinematic trends and discourses emerging from major international film festivals, such as the rise of
“Fifth Generation” Chinese filmmakers through international film festivals in the early 1990s and the
historical assessment of Chinese cinema (see also Jung, 1993). Given that the Internet has not been yet
widely reachable to the majority of South Koreans in the early 1990s, updating the latest news on
international film festivals on a regular basis must have been difficult without their heavy reliance on
film professionals or professional cinephiles like the film critic Jung, who devoured a great deal of
(film) festival-related discourses via several renowned international film journals (e.g. Cahiers du
Cinéma and Sight and Sound), film trade magazines, and frequent travel to international film festivals.
In this sense, it can be said that in the pre-Internet (and pre-international film festival) era of South
Korea, Chung Eun-eim’s FM Cinema Music has maintained and then expanded on a popular level its
overall programming format equivalent to that of film festivals forming and disseminating new
cinematic discourses to their both domestic and international stakeholders. By extension, it can also be
said that DJ Chung’s radio programme, coupled with the emergence of cine-clubs and film societies in
South Korea from the early 1970s onwards and up to the mid-1990s, has played an embryonic role in

\textsuperscript{25} Jung Sung-il has worked for the weekly film-criticism magazine Kino as its editor-in-chief from 1995 until 2000. During
des these periods his analytical writings in this serious film magazine was editorially equivalent to famous European film
magazines, such as Cahiers du Cinéma in France and Sight and Sound in Britain, have also been popular among then young
cinephiles or cine-maniacs majoring in film studies, hence forming a distinctive layer of cine-mania readership in South
forming groups of what Kim (2005b) terms “cine-mania”, the South Korean equivalent of European cinephiles. This radio programme has later consolidated them as an active human force who contributed to the revitalization of South Korean film culture, which timed with the establishment of BIFF in 1996 as the first international-scale film festival in South Korea.

Regarding the latter case, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the initial emergence of cine-clubs (and film societies) in South Korea from the 1970s up to the 1990s has been closely linked to film programmes provided by European cultural centres based in South Korea, such as the Alliance Française and the Goethe Institute (Nam, 1998). In 1970s and 1980s South Korean society which was still under martial law, these organisations played a crucial part as a censorship-free zone, hence a safe haven for those aspiring to experience new cinematic trends (especially from Europe) by bypassing government censorship imposed on the thematic and aesthetical subjects of foreign films. These cultural centres provided them with cultural spaces not only for experiencing European films and new trends emerging from them, but also for studying them. For instance, “Visual Age” (youngsang-shidae) was formed in 1975 by six veteran filmmakers (e.g. Ha Gil-jong, Lee Jang-ho, Kim Ho-sun, Lee Won-se, Hyun In-sik and Hong Pa) who had frequently visited the Alliance Française to experience the 1960s French Nouvelle Vague movement. In 1977 a more systematic cine club was founded by three film studies academics (e.g. Kim Jung-oak from Jungang University, Jung Yong-tak from Hanyang University and Ahn Byung-seop from Dankuk University) in the Alliance Française and that coordinated film screenings and subsequent discussions about them on a weekly basis for its frequent visitors and participants (ibid.; Ahn, 2001). This cine club has been to an extent equivalent to ‘Cercle du Cinéma’ of Cinémathèque Française in Paris of whose film programmes Henri Langlois had been in charge, thereby attracting many cinephiles who would later become prominent French filmmakers and critics (e.g. Françoise Truffaut, Jean Luc Godard, Luc Besson and many others) (Ahn, 1993: 198). Together with the Alliance Française, the Goethe Institute has also actively supported the formation of cine-clubs, eventually resulting in the birth of “The Eastern-Western Cinema Friendship Club” (dongseoyang-
youngwha-donguhoe) in 1978 that had around three hundred members consisting mainly of filmmakers and students (Nam, 1998; Ahn, 2001). This club was later reborn as “the (Film) Research Club” (yeongu-hoe) by a group of university students interested in films during the year that followed (Nam, 1998). These included Jay Jeon, currently BIFF’s deputy director as well as the former BIFF programmer in European cinema, and the film critic Jung Sung-il (ibid.).

These two European cultural centres have functioned as public spaces for both individual and collective film viewership and education. They have also played a crucial role in producing so-called ‘cultural center generations’ (ibid.) including programmer Kim himself, later helping to lay healthy ground for the emergence of a sustainable film culture in South Korea as initiated by these two representational cine clubs until the establishment of BIFF.

6.4. Conclusion

On September 2, 2013, BIFF announced the gala opening and closing films for its 18th edition (October 3-12, 2013). This year’s opener is the Bhutanese film *Vara: A Blessing* directed by Buddhist monk and filmmaker Khyentse Norbu. It might probably be quite rare for many of you to be able to see a Bhutanese film world-premiered as the opening film of any other major international film festivals than BIFF. It is actually true, especially given that the former like Cannes, Berlin and Venice usually open their festivals quite lavishly by world-premiering Hollywood (blockbuster) films as part of their respective “out of competition” sections together with red-carpet ceremonies of Hollywood film stars in order to maximise both domestic and international attentions of festival media shown to them. In particular, with regard to the fact that BIFF even selected a Korean independent film titled *The Dinner* (directed by Kim Dong-hyun) to close its 18th edition, a local TV broadcaster in Busan appreciated in its morning programme (e.g. KBS Busan Morning News – broadcasting time and date: 08:00 am/ September 17, 2013) this forthcoming festival’s overall programming as “continuously adhering to its founding principle of (re)discovering
and promoting new Asian films”.

In addition to them, programmer Kim also has some intriguing episodes to introduce to its electronic readers and public through his *Inside BIFF* (or *BIFF topa-bogi* a.k.a. *Letters from BIFF Programmers*) regarding its behind-the-scenes selection process of this film. Firstly, it will be the first time in the entire history of BIFF that its opening film is to be world-premiered without the attendance of its director (Khyentse Norbu) at the festival’s opening night for his personal reasons (e.g. his ascetic practice in cave with his followers already scheduled before BIFF’s official selection of his film as its opening film). Alternatively, his advance recorded message is scheduled to be delivered to the audiences on the day of the 18th BIFF’s opening night by being projected on the huge outdoor screen of the Busan Cinema Center’s BIFF Theater. Kim sounds pretty certain that the audience will understand this unprecedented but historical moment.

Secondly, BIFF’s internal selection process of Khyentse Norbu’s film as its opening film also shows in part the randomness or arbitrariness of BIFF’s programming activities that are normally not exposed to its ordinary audiences in public. During his two-day-long visit to Korea for his scheduled sermons at two Buddhist temples in Seoul, he happened to receive a phone call from programmer Kim while having dinner with the Korean documentary filmmaker Lim Soon-rye. She recommended him to send his new film to this year’s BIFF over this dinner and then she called Kim to put Khyentse Norbu through to him in order to let them discuss more in detail the matter on the possibility for this film to be selected to open the 18th BIFF. As a matter of fact, he had occasionally been informed of Khyentse Norbu’s new film project in progress through the Taiwanese auteur filmmaker Hou Hsiao-hsien, one of his international buddies, who had met and then befriended him staying in Taiwan for his film’s post-production there. In particular, being still undecided over several candidates shortlisted for the opening film, Kim eventually finalized this matter through this rather accidentally arranged phone conversation by director Lim with Khyentse Norbu (see Appendix 16 (Korean version); Lee, 2013).

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26 On the next day (October 4, 2013) after this film world-premiered at the opening of the 18th BIFF, Kim Yi-suk, professor of film studies at Dongeu University, described in his column of *Kookje Shinmun* BIFF’s selection of Khyentse Norbu’s *Vara: A Blessing* as its opening film as ‘the expression of BIFF’s will to reconceptualise (or reconsolidate) its festival identity’ (Kim, 2013: 3).
This chapter has extended film festivals’ offline (spatial) realm of public dimension onto their online (medial) domain. For this, it analysed the roles of festival media in the process of the perceptual popularisation and publicisation of film festivals by scrutinising how media and their recent technological advancements contribute to publicising and popularising the innately exclusive image of film festivals regarding their diverse audience layers. This chapter has focused on ordinary festival audiences who consume as film festival readers and publics popularised knowledge about innately specialised international film and festival culture reproduced online by the festivals themselves. As a case study, it has examined how BIFF popularises its innately exclusionary image as an international film festival to its audience and public and then maintains its relationship with them beyond its offline realm by looking into its online operations. It has thus focused on BIFF’s electronically published newsletter and its sub-section *Inside BIFF* of which BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok has long been and still is in editorial charge to date. Kim’s online activities via *Inside BIFF* have played an intermediary role in familiarising his electronic readers and public with BIFF’s round-the-year festival programming routines that are deemed to greater extent “exclusionary” in the sense that they show the overall manner in which BIFF is being prepared internally (e.g. Kim’s regular updates on attending other film festivals and national film industries to shortlist films to be premiered for BIFF). Internally circulated to and read by both domestic and international film professionals as the target readers for their subject matter, his regular updates on BIFF staffers’ monthly schedules concerned with their regular business trips to other film festivals and their programming works in progress are now made available to the public online. That is, Kim’s *Inside BIFF* and the BIFF newsletter in general have manifested the main purpose of BIFF’s policy as an openness concerned with issues of transparency, not secrecy, for the majority of the general public as part of the festival’s founding principle of being as publicly accessible to its audience as possible, specifically in relation to BIFF’s internal preparatory works in progress, just as the aforementioned anecdotal example of the 18th BIFF’s selection process of its opening and closing films has shown. Accordingly, this chapter has argued that festivals use new
media to facilitate ordinary festival audiences’ or the general public’s engagement with the film festival experience and culture.

In this context, my analysis on the online Inside BIFF has shown that its primary function has always been and still is to enlighten the majority of the Korean public regarding the overall cultures and trends of international film festivals that tend to be still less accessible and even unfamiliar to them. The establishment of BIFF in 1996 and its subsequent impact on modes of mass audiences’ cinematic experiences in South Korea in general have been closely linked to the festival’s pedagogic role as part of the broader cultural movement the founding members of BIFF endeavoured to cultivate in South Korean society. Themes frequently handled by Inside BIFF include an overview of how international film festival circuits work and related detail on influential personalities in international film festivals and their national film industries, all of which tend to be barely accessible to ordinary festival audiences in South Korea. In line with this, what led Kim’s Inside BIFF to become quite so distinctive were his discursive efforts to popularise for his electronic readers and public the intrinsically

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exclusionary and closed nature of the world of international film festivals. Considerably limited in their access to the inner-workings of international film festivals and their associated industries, ordinary festival audiences could gain lived-in festival experience of such festival insiders or film professionals as Kim via his regular literary contributions to the BIFF newsletter.
Chapter 7. Conclusion: Film Festivals as Multi-Cinematic Spaces with Gradually Dissipated but Fragmented Publicness

This thesis has examined the public dimension of film festivals by analysing three extra-cinematic spaces or realms that illustrate the overall dynamics of contemporary international film festivals as public spaces, including festival urban environments, audiences’ communicative performances at film festival Q&A sessions and the mediation of publicness via festival media. The research has approached film festivals in a different light from that of traditional film professionals (film scholars and industry practitioners). This differentiated point of view is concerned with how film festivals construct their own sense of publicness and are then gradually transformed through the mutual interactions or “invisible and intangible interactive performances” between these three realms. By taking this view into account, this thesis’s introduction (Chapter 1) has argued that film festivals are socioculturally bound and perceptually elastic public spaces that enable their audiences or publics to experience the ambient and environmental sense of public accessibility engendered jointly by film festivals and their surrounding milieus. Accordingly, as part of seeing film festivals in this new light, this thesis has employed the notion of “public spaces” to explore the more flowing and liquid nature of publicness in ever more fragmented contemporary societies under the conditions of globalisation or transnationalisation that emerge in the overall dynamics of contemporary international film festivals. Their complexity or multidimensionality as a research subject that can make it more difficult to measure contemporary film festivals’ socioculturally or anthropologically constructed public dimension has required me to employ ethnographic and qualitative research methods. In order to better understand the multilayered dimension of contemporary film festivals, urban, media and anthropological studies have been employed in each chapter’s analysis. Two international film festivals held in South Korea and Germany respectively, BIFF and the Berlinale, have been chosen as the thesis’s main research subjects.
In particular, the methodological approach used to analyse each subject in question (e.g. Chapter 3) has focused on reconstructing how I, as an ethnographic researcher, developed long-term experience and closely observed in situ the overall workings of the aforementioned three extra-cinematic factors evident in film festivals and their urban settings. This reconstruction of lived-in festival experiences has involved years-long (2007-2010) fieldwork conducted at film festival sites in Busan and Berlin and analysis of this after returning to London. On-the-scene fieldwork and the subsequent analysis of empirical findings, together with deliberation on the thesis’s methodological framework, have gradually changed during the long-term research process. This thesis has adopted Clifford Geertz’s anthropological analysis of empirical findings via thick descriptions and Victor Turner’s anthropology-based methodological approach of reconstructing into the form of play works or readable narratives ethnographic data and associated impressions and memories recorded during the fieldworks at specific locations and cultures, all of which are useful in analysing the performative nature of the ethnographic researcher’s lived experiences at film festival sites.

The historical transformation of film festivals from a single cinematic avant-garde space into a multi-cinematic space that encompasses the entire realm of global film industries and media sectors on the whole (i.e. exhibition, distribution, production and reception) has required us to have a more multidimensionalised understanding about the overall workings of film festivals. At the same time, however, the tendency for film festivals to continue to have their operational and organisational structures expanded given the competition among them (both as competitors and as cooperators) has made them a more exclusionary (in a commercialised and gentrified sense) as well as a less inclusive (publicly inaccessible) space. Given that the active participation of ordinary festival audiences and cinephiles in festival spectacle and their ubiquitous presence are also an integral part of the ultimate completion of the festival environment (except for film professionals-only film festivals, such as Cannes), this thesis has tried to revisit the primordial sense of public accessibility or publicness historically traceable from the Greek era up to contemporary societies. In addition, this thesis’s attempt
to draw a holistic picture of film festivals’ atmosphere and ambience has introduced factors other than films per se into its ethnographic way of seeing festivals based on the extra-cinematic elements mentioned above. Hence, this thesis has reconsidered the idealistic notion of the Habermasian public sphere in order to discuss the ever more fragmented and heterogeneous features of contemporary societies and in contrast to the seventeenth and eighteenth century European societies that Habermas initially examined. The disproportionate proliferation of diverse alternative public spheres in more realistically and experientially conceived societies than those treated by Habermas has enabled the interdisciplinary expansion of the notion of publicness into diverse sociocultural contexts. Likewise, this thesis has focused more on the sociocultural contexts in which film festivals relate to their implicit public dimension than on previous debates on their political ramifications that are, by and large, derived from the emergence of proletarian, subaltern and alternative public spheres that Oskar Negt, Alexander Kluge and other scholars (e.g. Richard Sennett, Craig Calhoun, Nancy Fraser, Miriam Hansen, and David Harvey) have discussed, centring on their political implications. Specifically, this thesis has explored how the meaning of publicness is constructed perceptually and experientially, and then transformed, by looking at three (deliberately) selected “spaces” implicit in the overall working dynamics of film festivals, including urban, performative and mediated spaces as mentioned above.

These empirical issues have been examined under the notion of publicness as the thesis’s central conceptual framework. Having in mind the contemporary context of more fragmented and pluralized societies, this thesis has proposed a more experiential notion of publicness borne out of criticisms posed against the universal and idealistic notion of the Habermasian public sphere. Habermas’s notion of the public sphere and the subsequent alternative public models critical of his own public models mentioned above are the main intellectual works that this thesis engages with in terms of contextualising the overall genealogy of experiential and performative publicness.

Namely, their politicisation of public spheres and subsequent distancing from the everyday living context of contemporary societies have required us to deliberate on a more neutral dimension of
publicness applicable to the diverse contexts of everyday life space of general publics and their sociocultural conditions. Therefore, as suggested above, this thesis has adopted Chris Berry’s (2010) notion of public spaces so that the notion of publicness can be applied to more complex and multidimensionalised sociocultural settings in diverse local, national and regional contexts, such as those against which contemporary film festivals are positioned given an ever more globalised or transnationalised world. Specifically, by exploring public dimensions of non-Western cultures in the context of “electronic elsewheres”, Chris Berry (2010) has criticized the notion of the Habermasian public sphere as idealistic and detached from realities of other socioculturally specific cultures other than Habermas’s Euro- and Western-centric context. Hence, he has proposed a more neutral term “public spaces” with which to reflect more fluid and transcultural public dimensions of diverse societies, not limited by discourses that the politically charged and socioculturally delineated term “(public) sphere” often suggests. In other words, Berry’s use of “public spaces” as a more neutral and flexible term could replace the notion of the Habermasian public sphere given its applicability to more diverse sociocultural situations than the latter. Accordingly, as grounded in this reconsideration of the notion of publicness under ever more decentralized and fragmented contemporary societies, this thesis has explored how film festivals transform themselves in order to be understood in public dimensions, in contrast to the existing themes that dominate film festival research to date. In this context, I have also suggested “ambient publicness” based on Artur Lugmayr’s (2007) research on ambient media in order to characterise contemporary festival media as integrated media practices that exploit diverse forms of both online and offline audiovisual media infrastructures that continue to be ubiquitous – hence audiovisually detectable or “ambient” in Lugmayr’s terms – on and around festival sites during the festival period. Therefore, his notion of ambient publicness has been taken into account in effectively explaining today’s fluid and integrated media environment and its capability of changing the manner in which humans are publicly linked to their mediated environments.
Having taken all this into account, Chapter 2’s literature review detailed the public dimension of film festivals by looking at their historical development since their emergence in the post-Second World War era. In particular, the gradual metamorphosis of the film festival into a more artistically autonomous cultural institution from a nationally representative public institution after the global outbreak of anti-Vietnam war movements in 1968 and the subsequent move against state censorship of festival films’ (politically controversial) subject matters, rapidly snowballed into overall restructuring of international film festivals on a global basis. Such a sudden shift was ignited in the wake of the disruption of the Cannes film festival in 1968 and the near collapse of the Berlinale the year that followed. From then onwards, a series of independent non-competitive festival programming sections started to appear at major European film festivals (e.g. Quinzaine des Réalisateurs (Director’s Fortnight) at Cannes and Forum at the Berlinale). They have functioned as alternative cinematic spaces and, to a certain extent, “political non-places” capable of accommodating more diverse and experimental cinematic expressions and sociopolitical voices that had once been shunned and even suppressed by national governments. To a greater extent their influence has also been global, particularly in the context of the proliferation of non-competitive specialised film festivals in other regions, especially in Asia. Specifically, the rise of independent and underground cine-clubs and film societies working closely with European cultural institutions established as part of their national governments’ overseas cultural diplomacies in East Asian nations including, for instance, Hong Kong and South Korea, have played an integral part as alternative public spaces equivalent to those that exist independently at Cannes and the Berlinale. These grassroots cinematic movements have played a crucial role in laying the grounds for viable national film cultures organically cultivable in Hong Kong and South Korea respectively, whose efforts eventually translated into the establishment of HKIFF in 1977 and BIFF in 1996. Both the conceptual and historical contexts outlined in the literature review have scrutinised three case studies concerning the abovementioned three extra-cinematic factors – e.g. festival urban environments (Chapter 4), both verbal and non-verbal communicational performances of
festival audiences at film festival Q&A sessions (Chapter 5), and the mediation of publicness via festival media (Chapter 6) – by means of the overall workings of BIFF and the Berlinale.

Chapter 4 has investigated the gradual historical changes in the notion of publicness or the public accessibility of both locals and outside visitors to public spaces in cities through urban regeneration and ensuing gentrification. It has also analysed this issue by linking it to the recent relocations of BIFF’s and the Berlinale’s main festival venues from their founding, hence nostalgic and relatively open, spaces to newly regenerated, hence efficient and semi-controlled, urban spaces. Grounding its conceptual framework in Michael Walzer’s notion of single-minded and open-minded spaces, this chapter has discussed how the gentrification of urban public spaces has led to the functional compartmentalisation of festival spaces by comparatively examining these two cases. Thus, it has argued that the physical and structural expansion and transformation of national and international film festivals affects local residents’ changing perceptions of everyday urban public spaces. In particular, by employing Geertz’s thick description and Turner’s theatrical reconstruction of ethnographic data as its main methodology, this chapter has reconstructed my own walking experiences at the 12th BIFF in 2007 and the four consecutive editions of the Berlinale (from the 57th Berlinale in 2007 until the 60th in 2010) respectively. I conducted the narrative reconstruction of my own memories and lived-in festival experiences from a first person perspective, whereby I explain the transformation of the sense of publicness or public accessibility most ordinary festival audiences might have experienced in situ. In particular, this chapter has contextualised the spatial dimension of public accessibility embedded in the respective main festival venues of BIFF and the Berlinale, specifically Nampo-dong and Potsdamer Platz, by investigating their historical development. Through this historical process, this chapter has explored how previous public (or publicly accessible) images of these two urban festival spaces have been gradually transformed or dissipated for local (and outside visitors) in the wake of urban regeneration and the consequent gentrification of urban public spaces.
By narrowing this macro-urban perspective on film festivals’ public dimension down to a micro scale focused on the realm of festival sites, Chapter 5 has analysed the performative and communicative activities of both ordinary and professional festivalgoers within such festival inner-structures as Q&A sessions. Specifically, this chapter centres its conceptual framework on the performative manner in which those attending Q&A sessions at film festivals (e.g. the Berlinale) interact and exchange with one another in the light of both their verbal and non-verbal communicative engagements in discussions conducted after film screenings. On the basis of this, it has argued that the film festival Q&A format functions as a discursive means of facilitating the active participation of festival audiences in its both verbally and emotionally engaging public atmospheres. This chapter has analysed two case studies based on consecutive Q&A sessions dealing with director Yang Young-hee’s film *Sona, the Other Myself* a.k.a. *Goodbye Pyongyang* during the 60th Berlinale in 2010. The gradual transformation of the director’s emotional interactions with her audiences during these Q&A sessions have been compared in order to show how boundaries between the private and the public were blurred temporarily to generate unhindered verbal and non-verbal communicational contacts between her and her audiences.

Chapter 6 extended film festivals’ offline (spatial) public dimension into their online (medial) realm. It analysed the roles of festival media in the process of perceptual popularisation and publicisation of film festivals by scrutinising how media and their recent technological advances contribute to publicising and popularising the innately exclusive image of film festivals among their diverse and layered audiences. This chapter has focused, especially, on ordinary festival audiences who consume as electronic film festival readers and publics the popularised knowledge about innately specialised international film and festival culture reproduced online by the festivals themselves. Its case study examines the electronic newsletter that BIFF itself publishes on its official website semi-periodically: one of its sub-sections is called *Inside BIFF* for which BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok is responsible as one of the newsletter’s major contributors. Accordingly, the thesis has argued that
festivals use new media to facilitate ordinary festival audiences’ or the general public’ engagement with the film festival experience and culture as a whole.

In conclusion, this thesis has examined how film festivals sustain their public or publicly accessible dimension by examining their urban, communicatively performative and medial aspects that have emerged from BIFF and the Berlinale respectively. At this point, it is inevitable that contemporary film festivals continue to rejuvenate themselves by structurally expanding and systematizing their festival functionalities in order to survive in the highly competitive world of international film festivals. The subsequent tendency for them to become even glitzier and more glamorous in order to draw the attention of their professional stakeholders in the international film businesses is now leading to the de-facto dissipation of primordial public images that they have constructed in their early festival editions, as shown in the case of BIFF. Especially, the positional (and perspectival) shift of ordinary festival audiences from active festival participants to passive festival gazers that followed in the wake of the gentrification of BIFF’s festival venues reflects the continued erosion of most contemporary international film festivals’ publicly accessible dimension. On the other hand, however, this phenomenon also illustrates the tendency of contemporary film festivals’ continually compartmentalised/fragmented or specialised/individualised aura of public accessibility. In other words, just as film festivals gradually transition from a singular cinephiliac space to a multi-cinematic space as a full-service film festival that encompasses diverse aspects of film and media sectors, their public dimension becomes less and less open-ended and more localized in terms of certain on- and offline spaces designated by film festivals as their major festival venues and areas. For instance, since its relocation of main venues away from Nampo-dong to Haeundae, BIFF has programmed parts of its offline festival sites to enable, albeit in an ephemeral way, ordinary festival audiences’ active participation in its festive spectacle, such as Azu-Damdam (Really Calm and Down-To-Earth: outdoor (and sometimes indoor) open discussion between film stars/star filmmakers and ordinary audiences) and Film Stars’ Outdoor Greeting of their Audience (see Figure 7.1).
As discussed earlier, there is also the case of film festival insiders’ endeavours to expose in part to their readers and publics personalised accounts regarding how they have experienced the inner-circle of international film festivals which they are professionally involved in, such as programmer Kim’s online publication of *Inside BIFF*. Take the latest development of BIFF in this regard. Coinciding with the opening of the Busan Cinema Center as its new main festival venue in 2011, BIFF started to substantially strengthen its discursive function by launching the Busan Cinema Forum (BCF) that organises a three-day-long international academic conference during the festival period every year. BCF invited film scholars and practitioners from all over the world to present their works, based on which they would produce significant academic discourses associated with world cinema and film festivals on a global basis. BIFF website lauds BCF (later expanded and renamed as the BIFF Conference and Forum (BC&F) as of 2013) as ‘the world [sic] first international conference which takes place at Film Festival [sic] and aims to spearhead the world-class scholars and experts. The key value of Conference [sic] would be collaboration across film studies with various scientific topics in literature, media, science, sports or so’ (BIFF, 2013: n.p.; see also Loist and de Valck, 2011).
Launching BCF also resonates to a greater extent with BIFF founding members’ ultimate desire to pursue BIFF as an intellectually serious (and rich) film festival, as current BIFF director Lee Yong-kwan emphasised in an interview with me in 2007 as well as Kim indirectly in *Inside BIFF* (see Appendix 12, Interview 6). Furthermore, in an interview in 2007 BIFF Research Institute Director Kang Sung-ho (formerly, BIFF general manager) briefly presented to me his intention or wish to organise someday an academic conference as part of BIFF programmes, though there have been some operational difficulties for the festival to select and sustainably manage this event every year (see Interview 2). The latest edition of BCF (October 9-11, 2013) held during the period of the 18th BIFF was run in two sections: BIFF Conference and BIFF Forum (BC&F). In particular, the latter event invited internationally renowned film experts including such filmmakers and academics as the Chinese director Zia Zhangke and Professor Dina Iordanova from the University of St Andrews (UK) to share their thoughts with ordinary audiences in public in the form of public panels or Q&A sessions similar to the way that the Berlinale’s Berlin Talent Campus is currently running its public panel programmes open to the (paying) general public.28

In this sense, Kim describes BIFF’s publicly accessible milieu by comparing it to Cannes in a rather idealistic manner:

BIFF has designed and operated its patently distinctive programmes to facilitate as many ordinary audiences as possible to actively participate in the festival that aim first and foremost at generating audience-friendly festival environment where they and festival VIP guests can naturally meet and be mingled with one another (e.g. GVs, *Open Talk, Cinema Together, Film Stars’ Outdoor Greeting to Audience* and so forth). […] Frankly speaking, film festivals like BIFF are to a greater extent rare in the world of international film festivals on the whole and such a high degree of accessibility [and audience-friendliness] as that of BIFF is closely associated with its identity. For instance, to put it metaphorically, if the Cannes film festival is a temple, BIFF is both an open market and an agora. Gods

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descend onto the temple once a year during the Cannes festival and the worldly or humans pay their respects to them. However, they do not talk with each other at all and all the communications between them happen only through the mediation of angels (e.g. festival media) [hovering around the festival site]. On the contrary, however, there virtually exists no difference and even discrimination between them at BIFF: those at BIFF are all treated as humans, [hence as equal entities]. Whenever the market opens once a year at BIFF, all ranks of humans gather together there to celebrate and enjoy this open-ended festivity. There all sorts of talks and discussions about films take place lively. Sometimes, the sage [e.g. VIP guests at GV\textsc{s} or post-film screening Q&A sessions, master classes and many other spaces where they and ordinary festival audiences or their publics can meet together] among them provide the masses with some wisdoms (see Appendix 14).

In this context, it can be said that the Berlinale is also, to a certain extent, placed on an equal footing with BIFF regarding the former’s audience-friendliness as opposed to the Cannes film festival. However, most international film festivals continue to revamp themselves given volatile and competitive conditions between each other and in an attempt to gain maximum attention from both domestic and international media and film industries, all in order to survive. Concomitantly, their operational structures are also becoming more systemised and compartmentalised such that their continuous structural expansion can remain (relatively) manageable and controllable.

**Discussion for Future Research**

This thesis has placed an emphasis more on the everyday and mundane aspect of how a perceptually public dimension or publicness is constructed at film festival sites than on its politically contested nature. Specifically, rather than a traditional public-private binary opposition, the perceptually blurred (and permeable) relations between these two conflicting realms have been explored through the organic manner in which the aforementioned three extra-cinematic factors interact with one another in the physical spaces or urban settings that film festivals are given to execute their festival operations.
running generally for ten days, more or less. At this juncture, prior to wrapping up the conclusion, let me briefly discuss as a future research subject the issue of film festivals as public cultural events subject to domestic politics. What is at stake here is the recent politically charged debate that the South Korean government has ignited in relation to its ideological stigmatization of several international-scale film festivals held in South Korea and the overall South Korean film community.

Ideologicalisation of International-Scale Film Festivals in South Korea

The proliferation of international-scale film festivals in South Korea since the establishment of BIFF in 1996 has played a pivotal role in further rejuvenating, diversifying and internationalising a South Korean film culture that had once been dominated by Hollywood blockbusters and Hong Kong commercial films and their underlying commercialised industries. In parallel with this, certain degrees of socioculturally and even politically progressive voices that had once been strictly controlled and “censored” by a series of military junta-dominated authoritarian governments in South Korea could be expressed in part through these international film festivals that were relatively immune to the former’s political influences on them, at least during the brief span of their festivities. In particular, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 4 regarding the historical development of BIFF, the timely establishment of South Korea’s first civilian government in 1993 and its subsequent drive to decentralize or democratize highly centralized government functions played a crucial part in cultivating a positive shift in South Korea’s film culture and South Korean society as a whole. With regard to this, Wong underlines the leftist proclivity of film festivals in general by referring to Roland Barthes (1957)’s study of myth:

[…] film festivals (especially issue-oriented events) are, by and large, sites of leftist or liberal practices. Here, I am reminded of the observation of Roland Barthes in his study of myth that those on the Right tend to not question the myths and actually reproduce them to constantly reinforce their constructed meanings. On the other hand, film festivals celebrate innovations, breaking new ground, question the status quo – the myth. This partly explains
why film festivals, by and large, remain on the fringe of mainstream society and the political Right does not see a need to voice their ideas through film festivals. The mainstream film industry very much expresses the myths that sustain the established ethos; therefore, despite protests, those on the Right see few gains in promoting their point of view in film festivals (2011: 161).

Having this context in mind, the conservative administration run by the businessman turned president Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013) after the reign of two consecutive progressive administrations (the late presidents Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003) and Roh Mu-hyun (2003-2008)) embarked on its ideological onslaught aimed at overhauling the hitherto socioculturally and politically liberal cultural landscape in South Korea since the previous two liberal governments. One of the Lee administration’s attempts tended to be politically motivated in that it aimed to neutralize leftist elements in South Korea’s cultural realm in order to restore and further consolidate its conservative tendencies. Some of the major victims of this draconian measure were the leftist group of cineastes in film and cultural communities and international film festivals held in South Korea, especially BIFF whose international status as a “political non-place” had long played a crucial role in its being considered relatively immune to the government’s political influence since its inception in 1996. Despite such a special status and immunity from government’s censorship that it relished as an international film festival in South Korea, BIFF has also gone through some difficulties in programming its festival events when dealing with politically sensitive issues. For instance, Professor Jin Ki-heng, the member of the BIFF Advisory Group, conceded that:

In the past […] in the middle of preparing its eighth edition in 2003 (October 2-10, 2003), PIFF [(or BIFF)] had a great deal of difficulties in planning and running a series of special programmes on North Korean films, since the then National Intelligence Service (NIS) didn’t permit PIFF to proceed with showcasing these events. PIFF then received enormous
political pressures from NIS wanting to prevent PIFF from going ahead with its plan for screening North Korean films (see Interview 3).

Within this context, contentious issues that have recently stirred the South Korean film community are, by and large, two-fold: (1) internal frictions between film festivals and their programmers over adhering to independent and autonomous festival programming and (2) the current right-wing government’s ideological stigmatization of film festivals as “far left-wingers” or “communist sympathizers and pro-North Korea groups” conspiring to turn South Korean society into a politically progressive state. In relation to the second issue, leading international-scale film festivals in South Korea (e.g., BIFF, JIFF and PiFan) and the South Korean film community overall have been threatened by the current conservative government in terms of reducing their annual budgets by labelling them as “politically radical groups” since it took office in 2008 (Cho, 2012).

Specifically, in September 2008 a South Korean right-wing cultural organisation named the “Future Culture Forum” (FCF: *mirae-munhwaporum*) submitted to the Select Committee of Culture, Sports, Tourism and Media under the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea its independent investigation report entitled “Cultural Policy of the New Government” (*saejungbu-eumunhwajungchaek*) (Park and Moon, 2009). FCF was founded in October 2006 by right-wing figures in the culture and arts scene of South Korea who supported the idea of democracy and neo-liberalism (its permanent president is Professor Jung Yong-tak, Hanyang University, Seoul) (ibi.). This report was designed to reappraise the current South Korean cultural community following the inauguration of the Lee Myung-bak administration in 2008. It discussed government-subsidized film policy and administrative bodies, such as the Korean Film Council (KOFIC), alongside its regional branches and internationally-held domestic film festivals including the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF), the Jeonju International Film Festival (JIFF) and the Pucheon International Fantastic Film Festival (PiFan), labelled as ‘public cultural bodies run by leftist [and ideologically suspicious] groups’ (Sung, 2010:...
n.p.). In particular, one section of this report is dedicated to what FCF considers as chronic problems which had long influenced the current South Korean film community and recommended subsequent government measures needed in the foreseeable future. The major problems stated in this report are largely three-fold:

(1) The film community has been acting as the frontal base of leftist cultural movements in South Korea.
(2) Major film festivals in South Korea including BIFF and PiFan and many a film and cultural policy body including the Seoul Film Council and the Busan Film Council are run predominantly by leftist film community groups.
(3) Those groups have long been getting actively involved in numerous leftist cultural movements to shake the founding cultural principle (and identity) of the Republic of Korea that include the abolishment of the National Security Law, their active involvements in demonstrations to oppose the Free Trade Agreement between South Korea and the United States as well as mad cow disease-ridden beefs imported from the United States (ibid.).

FCF’s suggestions regarding measures to be taken to deal with the aforementioned issues are three-fold:

(1) Streamlining the current horizontal structure of the Korean Film Council into becoming the vertical structure that is capable of strengthening the authority of its chairman by amending the current the Motion Picture Law (or the law concerning the promotion of films and videos in South Korea).
(2) Stabilising film communities in South Korea by purging “leftist personalities” working for film festivals and other film-related public bodies (e.g. purging those left-wing personalities to the extent that the latter’s original organisations and functions remain intact).
(3) Securing financial resources in order to form large-scale funds for the promotion of the South Korean film industry (ibid.).
In 2010 the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST), which continued to increase its total subsidies earmarked for supporting international film festivals held in South Korea annually until 2009, decided all of a sudden to reduce them from an estimated KRW 4.2 billion (US$ 4.2 million) down to KRW 3.5 billion (US$ 3.5 million) according to the outcome of an achievements-based assessment report on international film festivals held in South Korea which was authored by the Reviewing Board of Supporting International Film Festivals under the auspices of MCST (Kim, 2010). MCST is currently supporting six international film festivals held in South Korea. They include the Busan International Film Festival, the Jeonju International Film Festival, the Pucheon International Fantastic Film Festival, the Seoul Women’s Film Festival, the Jecheon International Music & Film Festival and the Seoul International Youth Film Festival (ibid.). Ironically, in 2010 MCST secured by far the largest annual budget it has ever received from the central government: KRW 3,174,700,000,000 (US$3,174,700,000) (ibid.). This decision eventually led MCST to partially cut its subsidies for BIFF, JIFF, the Seoul Women’s Film Festival, PiFan, and the Seoul International Youth Film Festival respectively. Their respective budgets for the year 2010 following the decision of MCST to cut its subsidies of international film festivals held in South Korea were as follows:

- **The Busan International Film Festival**: KRW 1.5 billion-US$ 1.5 million (KRW 300 million-US$ 300,000 reduction from the 2009 budget).
- **The Jeonju International Film Festival**: KRW 700 million-US$ 700,000 (KRW 300 million-US$ 300,000 reduction from the 2009 budget).
- **The Pucheon International Fantastic Film Festival**: KRW 450 million-US$ 450,000 (KRW 50 million-US$ 50,000 reduction from the 2009 budget).
- **The Seoul Women’s Film Festival**: KRW 300 million-US$ 300,000 (KRW 100 million-US$ 100,000 reduction from the 2009 budget).
- **The Seoul International Youth Film Festival**: KRW 200 million-US$ 200,000 (KRW 50 million-US$ 50,000 reduction from the 2009 budget).
The Jecheon International Music & Film Festival: KRW 250 million-US$ 250,000 (the same as the 2009 budget) (ibid.).

This knee-jerk and politically-motivated decision caused widespread concern across the entire South Korean film community. One of its biggest victims was said to be BIFF, which was surprising in light of its decades-long contribution to the development and promotion of the South Korean film industry and Asian cinema as a whole, in addition to its international recognition as the de-facto international South Korean film festival since its inception in 1996. As regards this, BIFF’s executive programmer Kim Ji-seok lamented that:

Additional sponsors for BIFF need to be looked for, not to mention the consideration of austerity measures through which to reduce 10 per cent of every department’s annual budgets […] I feel really disappointed by MCST’s decision, particularly given that major film festivals in Europe, such as Cannes and Berlin, are supported consistently and in a stable way by their respective governments due mainly to their appreciation of those film festivals making considerable considerations to enhancing their cultural industries and national images on the whole (ibid.).

The South Korean government’s politicisation of domestic film festivals and film communities as a whole has even extended into a more localized context. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 4, relations between Busan and Seoul have been strained with regard to holding the first international film festival in South Korea in the mid-1990s. These strained relations have recently resurfaced and been translated into rather ideological debates, regarding the legalization of Busan as a specialised city for film and media industries and the subsequent response of conservative groups in South Korea to this. For instance, on July 30, 2009, a right-wing group of senior figures in the South Korean film community called the Committee for Opposing the Relocation of Film Institutions to Busan (CORFIB) announced
its official statement in protest against an editorial run by *Busan Ilbo* on the same day, in which CORFIB objected that:

BIFF is about to go ahead with its campaign to receive one million signatures that enables the Special Law of Promoting Cities as Asian Audiovisual and Cultural Hubs [(hereafter the Media City Special Law)] proposed by the conservative Grand National Party MP Yu Jae-jung to be legislated, through which Busan could be selected and developed as one of the audiovisual media-specialised cities in the foreseeable future. This act could be undoubtedly perceived as constituting BIFF’s intention of making Busan dominate the entire film community in South Korea. Busan-based MPs (e.g. MP Yu Jae-jung and the leader of the National Assembly MP Kim Hyung-oh) deeply involved in the preparation of legislating the Media City Special Law should thus be strenuously reminded that they cannot survive any longer without taking into account Seoul (or if neglecting and isolating Seoul). CORFIB is firmly certain that they won’t be easily falling into these unfounded arguments of left-wing figures within BIFF given the situation where there are always “gangs of NOSAMO” hidden behind all the projects of moving public film institutions (e.g. the Korean Film Council (KOFIC), the Korea Media Rating Board (KMRB) and the National Namyangju Filming Center) to Busan (Park and Moon, 2009: n.p.).

Grounded in the pretext that BIFF’s “leftist” core members, many of whom were thought to be reform-minded and politically progressive NOSAMO members, caused deterioration in the relations

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29 NOSAMO (*Rohmuhyunul-Samohaneun-Moim*) is a Korean acronym that stands for a group of people who love the president Roh Mu-Hyun. The so-called “386 Generation”, which represents symbolically the groups of politically progressive people in the South Korean politics, played a pivotal role in the emergence of this civic political group in South Korea in the early 2000s. Political activities of the 386 Generation became particularly distinctive through its formation of an Internet-based civic political group called NOSAMO supporting and then decisively helping the then progressive presidential candidate Roh Mu-Hyun be elected in the 2002 South Korean presidential election, when the South Korean government’s IT policy was at its apex. Regarding the meaning of the 386 Generation, Kang explains that:

The number 3 stands for the fact that they are now in their 30s. The number 8 indicates that they went to colleges and universities in the 1980s. The number 6 represents that they were born in the 1960s…They [for instance] experienced the Kwangju massacre as high school kids, and they believe that the U.S. is partly responsible for this
between these two cities – Busan and Seoul – regarding the relocation of Seoul-based public film institutions to Busan, CORFIB threatened BIFF with holding a large-scale anti-BIFF demonstration during the festival period, unless BIFF accepted its proposal. This recent row could be traced back to the policy of decentralizing institutions based in Seoul that the previous Roh Mu-hyun administration adopted to materialise a balanced regional development in South Korea by devolving some state functionaries to provincial areas including Busan that had long remained culturally peripheral. Concerning this, BIFF director Kim Dong-ho responded to CORFIB by arguing that:

While CORFIB continues to designate me as a NOSAMO member, I make it crystal clear that I have nothing to do with NOSAMO at all and that the production of a series of state-policies and the concomitant legislation enabling this movement to be materialised is first and foremost as a result of BIFF’s international success followed by the self-sustaining growth of Busan as the main audiovisual media city in South Korea […] In relation to the anti-BIFF demonstration that CORFIB is planning to execute during the course of the festival times, I am not too concerned about them. For protests or demonstrations of these sorts are as a matter of fact quite common in other international film festivals like Cannes [and Berlin]. But, I do think that legislating the Special Law for the Media City is not as simple as they imagine. Although there have been several other special laws of similar nature legislated for media cities in South Korea (e.g. Kwangju was an exceptional case in which President Roh Mu-Hyun himself took an initiative in enabling this special law for Kwangju to be legislated for political reasons associated with its historical significance as the city of the 1980 Democratic Uprising against the authoritative military regime), the special law for Busan won’t nevertheless be legislated easily. Moreover, I think that the degree to which the BIFF-initiated signature campaign is able to influence the legislation of this special law will be really minuscule (ibid.).

massacre by ignoring or permitting the intervention of the military. They also are the people who set fire to the U.S. Cultural Agency in Kwangju and [Busan], so they are anti-American (2005: 46).
Having taken everything into account, it can be argued that film festivals have long been seen as a socio-politically free and liberal space where certain levels of freedom of speech and expression are ephemerally guaranteed during the festival periods, hence immune to pressure from domestic politics. Such freedom of (political) expression and an overall culture protecting it, which many of international film festivals cultivate, albeit temporarily during their festival periods, can also be gleaned in part from the comments that Martin Blaney, the Berlin-based foreign correspondent of *Screen International*, made in connection with the Berlinale:

Dieter Kosslick, [current director of the Berlinale], spoke most extensively about music and the lives of children as the key themes in [the 58th Berlinale]’s programme – later, he said that music films only made up approx. 14 titles of 400, so that the emphasis was exaggerated – but he had set this stone rolling himself (no pun intended, [in connection with the presence of the Rolling Stones at the world premiere of the film *Shine A Light* (directed by Martin Scorsese) at this year’s Berlinale]!). Berlin always was political – in the days of the Cold War as a bridgehead between East and West, and it continues to be since the [current] festival director is more at home in issues than talking about the film aesthetics (given that we had 40 years of 1968 – student movement, Vietnam – it was to be expected that there would still be a political dimension – i.e. sidebar on *The Vietnam War in US Cinema*, choice of Costa Gavras as jury president, and selection of the first documentary film ever for Competition (e.g. the director Errol Morris’s film *Standard Operating Procedure*). Remember last year (2007) at the independent juries’ ceremony – when you came with me – when Kosslick defended his decision to show *Bordertown* (directed by Gregory Nava) and said that the subject matter was so important that he saw no problem in using the festival as a forum to reach the world media (see Interview 1).

In particular, it is interesting to observe and analyse the case of South Korean international film festivals held in partnership with both the private sector and their respective metropolitan and central governments, particularly in conjunction with the recent frictions between politically progressive film festivals and film communities and a politically conservative central government and its policies.
designed to promote the overall film industry and culture in the South Korean society. Furthermore, the ideological friction between these two parties has a tendency to generate harmful effects that instigate internal divisions and separations within the film community, reigniting rightwing ideological debates aimed at attacking politically progressive members within the film communities. The politically conservative and economically austere climate in South Korea since the creation of the pro-US and pro-Japanese administration headed by President Lee Myung-bak in 2008 resonates, in broader terms, with the gradual decline in the sense of publicness or communality in an increasingly fragmented and complex contemporary society. This defies the singular, universal and even idealistic features upon which the Habermasian seventeenth to eighteenth century Western European bourgeois public sphere was initially based.

The main point I intend to make regarding these two controversial issues is that the start of my own question about the continually declining public role of film festivals is in many respects equivalent to those of the traditional public media (i.e. local and national TV and radio broadcasting) that previously guaranteed a certain level of accessibility to available public information to their publics or public audiences. The causality behind this gradual vanishing public aura of international-scale cultural events such as South Korean international film festivals goes hand in hand with the extent to which South Korean society has socio-culturally and politically transformed itself, specifically against the backdrop of a global liberalization and decentralization that have impacted on almost all societies from the early 1990s onwards. In this regard, the continued regression of film festivals’ public dimension that this thesis has discussed from an urban perspective (e.g. Chapter 4) has been extended into the highly contested political realm, an issue that needs to be discussed at further length elsewhere.


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Q&A and Panel Programmes

**Programme 1: Sixty for the Future**

[*][Date and Time]: February 18, 2010 / 11:00.

[*][Festival Venue and Section]: HAU 1 / Berlin Talent Campus-Retrospective.

[*][Moderator]: Peter Cowie.

[*][Panelists]: Dieter Kosslick, Michel Ciment, Gesine Strempel and Hans-Christoph Blumenberg.

**Programme 2: Aisheen (Still Alive in Gaza)**

[*][Date and Time]: February 16, 2010 / 19:30.

[*][Festival Venue and Section]: Cinemaxx (Screen 4) / Forum.

[*][Duration of Q&A]: 30 min. 27 sec.

**Programme 3: Shtikat Haarchion (Film Unfinished)**

[*][Date and Time]: February 15, 2010 / 14:30.

[*][Festival Venue and Section]: Cinestar (Screen 7) / Panorama.

[*][Duration of Q&A]: 18 min. 30 sec.

**Programme 4.1: Sona, the Other Myself**

[*][Date and Time]: February 12, 2010 / 19:30.

[*][Festival Venue and Section]: Cinemaxx (Screen 4) / Forum.

[*][Duration of Q&A]: 28 min.

**Programme 4.2: Sona, the Other Myself**

[*][Date and Time]: February 20, 2010 / 15:00.

[*][Festival Venue and Section]: Cubix (Screen 7) / Forum.

[*][Duration of Q&A]: 30 min.16 sec.

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30 All the accounts associated with the Q&As and panel programmes shown in this thesis are based on the transcribed contents of my own participant observation of these festival events held during the 60th Berlinale (February 11-21, 2010).
Filmography

- **Filmography 1: Aisheen (Still Alive in Gaza)**

  [*][Details]: Director: Nicholas Wadimoff / Switzerland, Qatar / 2010 / 86 min.
  
  [*][Film Review]: ‘A situation report from the Gaza Strip in February 2009, just one month after the end of Israel’s military offensive. Destruction everywhere. The bombs did not even spare the theme park. The ghost train is out of order. But hasn’t Gaza itself become a ghost town? Yes and no. Amid ruins, grief and despair, there are people who refuse to give up. Calmly and unspectacularly, without analysis or agitation, this film shows what it means to rebuild one’s life and daily common existence in a destroyed region that is cut off by an ongoing blockade. It transmits diverse impressions and voices from Gaza: children who have lost their relatives and young people who do not feel like taking a compulsory vacation, clowns who despite the nearby rocket fire still manage to make children laugh, and the politically-committed Darg Team rappers whose music is polarizing. It not only shows places such as the border crossing into Egypt, the hospital, the UN Food Distribution Center, the smugglers’ tunnels and the refugee camps, but also the beach and the zoo. That’s where the skeleton of a whale is being reconstructed. A beautiful image, despite everything’ (see Kohler, 2010: 9).

- **Filmography 2: Shtikat Haarchion (Film Unfinished)**

  [*][Details]: Director: Yael Hersonski / Israel, Germany / 2010 / 89 min.
  
  [*][Film Review]: ‘This is the story of a film that was never finished. A rough cut, stored in Germany’s Federal Film Archive, is all that remains. It is the longest film that the Nazi’s propaganda team ever filmed in the Warsaw ghetto. Filmed shortly before the deportation of the ghetto’s inhabitants, it contains elaborately dramatised scenes describing the allegedly luxurious lives of Jews in the ghetto which are juxtaposed with shots of hunger, death and the suffering of other inhabitants. It is not known why this propaganda film was made, or who was meant to see it. Some of this film material turned up as ‘archive footage’ after the war in documentaries about the Warsaw ghetto. For her film, Yael Hersonski has conducted interviews with people who remember the filming of this propaganda film; she has also sought, and found, diaries written by ghetto inhabitants, and even discovered the records of the film cameraman’s interrogation. All these testimonials provide evidence of the cynicism with which the film was made. But they also call into question the uncritical use of such images. Yael Hersonski: “More than other forms of witnessing such as oral testimony and written documents, images, by nature, remain open to interpretation and are capable of conveying much more than people are able or willing...’
to see. Archival footage of the Holocaust marks the beginning of the systematic cinematic documentation of war crimes. After the world had visually witnessed something of the catastrophe, the images were no longer what they had been before. Something had changed, a certain human shield was removed, and slowly, the veil of numbness that had obscured the inconceivable and concealed its true horror was lifted’ (Berlinale, 2010: 262-3).

- **Filmography 3: Dear Pyongyang**

  [Details]: Director: Yang Young-hee (or Yang Yong-hi) / Japan/ 2005 / 107 min.

  [*][Film Review]: ‘Dear Pyongyang is an account of the reconstruction of the bonds of affection between a father and daughter that had been sundered by the father’s political choices. Director Yang Yong-hi [or Yang Young-hee] is a second-generation ethnic Korean born and raised in Japan to a Korean mother born in Japan and a father born on Jeju Island [of South Korea] who emigrated to Japan when he was fifteen years old. Having lived through the period of Japan’s imperial domination of Korea, Korea’s independence and division, and the Korean War, Yang’s father chose North Korean nationality and devoted his life to political activity in support of the North Korean regime led by Kim Il-Sung and Kim Jong-II. Thirty years ago, as teenagers, Yang’s three older brothers went to North Korea as “returnees”. Yang first visited North Korea when she was seventeen and was the first of her family to see her brothers in eleven years. Her stay in Pyongyang gave her an opportunity to experience the reality of life in “The City of Revolution”. For the past twenty years she has made repeated visits to North Korea and has recorded the lives of her divided family members, who live (concurrently) in two very different worlds’ (PIFF/Berlinale, 2005/2006: 70-1).

- **Filmography 4: Sona, the Other Myself**

  [Details]: Director: Yang Young-Hee (or Yang Yong-hi)/ Japan-South Korea (Coproduction)/ 2010 / 82 min.

  [*][Film Review]: ‘In Dear Pyongyang, Yang Yong-hi [or Yang Young-hee] tells the story of her family, a story that takes place between Japan and North Korea. In that film, the focus of attention was her father, who sent his three sons into the supposed socialist paradise in the 70s, tearing the family apart irrevocably in the process. Sona, the Other Myself shifts its gaze to the filmmaker’s niece, who grew up in a society where there is no opportunity to make choices. As a young girl, Yang experienced the pain of having her older brothers stolen from her from one day to the next. She compares her own story, which has been marked by several different cultures, with that of Sona. Do her sporadic appearances in an otherwise insular world make life harder or easier for Sona? The rare family
gatherings in Pyongyang, which the film lovingly observes over more than a decade, seldom come across as light-hearted, the impending farewell hanging over every outing, over every shared meal. There’s something just as forced about using Japanese yen to buy ice cream and pasta in the North Korean Intershop as there is about the hymns to the great leader, which Sona is already singing as a small child. The film tells of the longing for a true common ground, whilst being aware that it doesn’t exist’ (Terhechte, 2010: 115).

**Personal Interviews**

- **Interview 1**: Martin Blaney (Berlin-based correspondent for Germany, Austria and Switzerland at *Screen International*) – March 10, 2008 (email correspondence).

- **Interview 2**: Kang Sung-ho (BIFF general manager) – December 28, 2007 at the BIFF HQs in Busan, South Korea (audio-recorded).

- **Interview 3**: Jin Ki-heng (professor of the Visual Media Department at the Pusan University of Foreign Studies (PUFS) and the member of the BIFF Advisory Group) – October 25, 2007 at his Office in PUFS, Busan, South Korea (audio-recorded).

- **Interview 4**: Cho Bong-kwon (journalist from *Kookje Shinmun*) – December 27, 2007 at the *Kookje Shinmun* Headquarters, Busan, South Korea (audio-recorded).

- **Interview 5**: Lim Ji-yoon (PPP manager and Asian Film Market (AFM)) and Mina Oak (BIFF programming coordinator) – November 22, 2007 at the BIFF Office in Seoul (audio-recorded).

- **Interview 6**: Lee Yong-kwan (former BIFF programmer for Korean cinema / current BIFF director) – December 12, 2007 at the BIFF HQs, Busan, South Korea (audio-recorded).
• **Interview 7:** Marlies Emmerich (journalist of the Berliner Zeitung) – February 15, 2007 (during the 57th Berlin International Film Festival) at the lobby of the theatre Urania, Berlin, Germany (audio and visual-recorded).

• **Interview 8:** Karin van der Tag (publicist from Belgium) – February 11, 2007 (during the 57th Berlin International Film Festival) at Starbucks in Potsdamer Platz, Berlin, Germany (audio and visual-recorded).

• **Interview 9:** Greg Latter (screenwriter from South Africa) – February 14, 2007 (during the 57th Berlin International Film Festival) at Arkaden in Potsdamer Platz, Berlin, Germany (audio and visual-recorded).

• **Interview 10:** Dr. Marijke de Valck (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands) – March 17, 2007 at Starbucks in Bayswater, London, UK (note-taken without being audio and visual-recorded).

• **Interview 11:** Richard Moore (festival director of the Melbourne International Film Festival (MIFF)) – February 8, 2008 (during the 58th Berlin International Film Festival) at the Cinestar Multiplex in Potsdamer Platz, Berlin, Germany (note-taken without being audio and visual-recorded).
위기일발, ‘Verorab’를 공개하라!

카메라를 든 성자, 호모선 마호발브는 이번 부산국제영화제 참가 이후로 더 많은 추종자(?)를 거느리게 되었습니다. 그를 만날 때마다 그의 인품에 경이로움을 느끼는 필자 역시 그러했습니다. 마호발브 감독을 초청하는 데 있어, 응해는 특히 여러 가지 어려운 상황이 많았었습니다. 우선 비행기 티켓이 문제였습니다. 그는 응해 부산국제영화제가 제정한 ‘응해의 아시아영화인상’의 수상자였고, 따라서 당연히 비즈니스 클래스로 초청해야 할 케이스였습니다. 그런데, 그의 맘대로 했다는 비행기로 부산국제영화제를 참가하게 되었고, 투 사람의 자리를 애여버리는 것은 이에 어색해서 두 사람 다에게 이코노미 클래스를 제공했습니다. 문제는 응해 뉴 크라셔상 심사위원으로 초청된 자파르 파나히였습니다. 저희 영화제 규정상 뉴 크라셔상 심사위원은 부산국제영화제를 제공하기로 되어있습니다. 자파르 파나히 역시 그런 기준에 따라 비즈니스 클래스를 제공하였지만, 문제는 서울과 테헤란 사이에 일주일에 한 회는 없는 노선 관계상 자파르 파나히와 마호발브 부녀를 같은 비행기에 태워야 하는 상황이 생겨 버린 것입니다. 사실, 반대로, 내일 밤으로 보나, 마호발브가 파나히와 모다는 훨씬 빠른 길이었습니다. 그래서, 부라부라 마호발브에게 상황을 설명하고 당사의 비행기 티켓을 비즈니스 클래스로 상황 조정해 주겠다는 연락을 보냈습니다. 그러니 그의 답은 “전혀 신경 쓰지 마라, 나는 헤어져 멀리에 있어 기가 되는 것이 다 충분하다”라는 것이었습니다. 사실 초청 게스트 중에 까탈스럽게 구는 게스트들이 위낙 많았지만, 초청 팀에서는 까당하고 있던 것이었습니다. 그런데, 마호발브의 그러한 E-메일을 받고 난 뒤, 초청 됨 스트레스는 모두가 그의 지지를 기해 왔다갔다하는 것으로, 점점 놀라운 사람이나지 않으셨나요?

그런데, 문제는 그 상황에서 마호발브가 부산국제영화제에 참가할 수 있는지가 되었습니다. 부산국제영화제 참가를 포기할 것을 권유했습니다. 마호발브는 그러한 상황을 설명하고 어sł케 하는 것이 좋겠느냐는 E-메일을 보내달었습니다. 저는 난감했지만, 한국에서 주사를 추가로 맡으면 되지 않겠느냐는 답장을 보냈습니다. 그리고, 마호발브는 그려서 하고 부산국제영화제를 참가하겠다는 겁니다. 그런데, 전혀 예상 못했던 문제가 생겼었습니다. 저희 스팀이 그를 데리고 중합병원에 갔는데, 주사약이 없다는 것입니다. 한국에서는 광진병원, 혼자 약을 찾기 어려운데, 드디어 발견하니, 저는 그 근소한 뿌리까지 쫓아간 결과를 보셨을 것입니다. 바로 그 사례가 되었습니다. 그러나, 저와 한 시간 동안 페르시아에 관한 이야기를 나누었습니다. 물론 착하고는 몰랐던 만큼, 초조, 걱정이 더 컸었습니다. 아무튼, 주사약은 몇 시간 뒤에 등장했습니다. 부산국제영화제에서 참가하기로 하셨습니다. 하지만 그 특별한 경우에는, 부산국제영화제 축제에서, 그를 더 본다니, 맞았다고 말했습니다. 그는 그 소식을 듣고 거의 매진 상태에서 쫓아서 부산영화제를 참가하여, 마호발브가 참가해 있는 화보를 담아갔습니다. 반면에, 그를 대신해서 테헤란에 초청해 주었습니다. 돌아온, 페르시아로 가신 후에, 나중에 이야기하십니다.

이곳에서, 그의 손의 화제에 대한 인물의 이름은, 그런 상황에 대비해 마련된 E-메일을 보내달는 것 같습니다. 그리고, 그의 사례는 이러한 헤비에 관한 이야기로, 힘들게 하는 것입니다. 저는 그 사례를 보니, 그의 양심과 의료에 대한 깊은 생각을 하는 것이 필요할 것입니다. 그의 사례는, 그의 양심과 의료에 대한 깊은 생각을 하는 것이 필요할 것입니다. 그의 사례는, 그의 양심과 의료에 대한 깊은 생각을 하는 것이 필요할 것입니다.
 tạm 혈압 증세 때문이라는 것이었습니다. 그리고는 미안하지만, 오픈 토크를 마흐말바프 감독 없이 진행해 달라는 요청을 하는 것이었습니다. 아무튼, 오픈 토크를 무사히 끝내고 다시 호텔로 달려갔습니다. 그런데, 다행히도 마흐말바프 감독은 상태가 호전되어 있었고, 하나와 세디그 바르막 감독들과 함께 높은 저녁식사를 할 수 있었습니다. 10월 7일 하루는 그렇게 긴장과 불안 속에서 자다가고 있었었습니다.

자칫 생명이 위태로울 수도 있는 상황에서도 침착하고 평온한 모습을 보여준 마흐말바프 감독은, 그래서 또 한번 저에게 깊은 인상을 남겨주고 떠났습니다. 늘, 남을 배려하고 자신의 재능을 남에게 나누어 주는 뛰어난 마음씨의 마흐말바프 감독을, 저는 그래서 ‘카메라를 든 성자’라 부릅니다. 한가지 아쉬움은 자신의 재능을 남에게 나누어 주는 일에만 몰두하다 보니 정작 자신의 작품을 만들 기회를 얻지 못하고 있다는 것입니다. 내년에는 그가 직접 연출한 신작으로 부산영화제에서 다시 만나기를 기대합니다.

[Summary]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers two anecdotal stories to do with the Iranian director Mohsen Makhmalbaf during his visit to the 8th PIFF (October 2-10, 2003). Its main theme is concerned with his humble and down-to-earth behaviours as an internationally renowned filmmaker that have been shown to programmer Kim and other PIFF staffers.

(1) PIFF has faced some problems with its official invitation of him to the 8th PIFF, specifically in relation to PIFF’s standard procedure of sending flight tickets to its VIP guests. In 2003 PIFF selected Mohsen Makhmalbaf as the recipient of the its Asia Filmmaker of the Year Award, for which PIFF was supposed to send the business-class flight ticket to him according to the festival’s standard protocol for its VIP guests. However, since it coincidently invited his daughter Hana to this year’s festival as well, PIFF decided to send them economy-class tickets in order for them to travel from Iran to South Korea together on board. Here arose a problem. PIFF invited another Iranian filmmaker Jafar Panahi as one of the jury members for its New Currents section and sent a business-class ticket to jury members accordingly. But, due to the fact that there was only one flight schedule between Teheran and Seoul every week, the Makhmalbafs and Jafar Panahi had to take the same flight bound for Seoul. As a matter of fact, Mohsen Makhmalbaf’s international reputation as a filmmaker was higher than that of Jafar Panahi. Eventually, PIFF hurriedly contacted him to upgrade his flight ticket from economy-class to business class. And he emailed back to PIFF by saying “Don’t worry. I would better travel to Korea, sitting right next to my daughter Hana”. PIFF was quite worried about this matter, since there had been many of VIP guests who were quite demanding in relation to the grade of flight tickets sent to them. Mohsen Makhmalbaf’s positive response to this matter was a big relief to PIFF and the staffers from the invitation department have been his avid supporters since then.
The second story about Mohsen Makhmalbaf was quite a serious one. He has been bitten by an itinerant dog near his office in Teheran just before his departure to Korea for attending this year’s PIFF. In fact, a number of itinerant rabid dogs are arising as a serious social problem in Iran. While trying to feed this dog which could have been hungry for a long period of time near his office, he was said to be bitten. He went to the hospital right away after this happened and was shot even five antibiotic jabs. And on the next day he spotted this dog again wandering near his office and this time he fed it by wearing the hand-gloves. Other people could have tried to avoid this rabid dog. What a great human being he is! However, a more serious problem to PIFF was about whether or not Mohsen Makhmalbaf can attend this year’s PIFF for this incident. The doctor in Teheran advised him not to attend the festival this time, since his condition could be otherwise deteriorated in case it cannot be timely treated with enough doses of injections. Mohsen Makhmalbaf emailed programmer Kim regarding this matter and Kim rather embarrassingly answered him by saying that he could be additionally given the jabs as instructed by the doctor in Teheran. Hence, he finally attended this year’s PIFF and one of the PIFF staffers took him to a hospital nearby as soon as he arrived in Seoul. However, a really serious problem happened: the jabs for the rabid-dog disease in South Korea were quite difficult to obtain due to its rarity unlike Iran. Being literally panicked, Kim started looking for the jabs through Seoul. And in the meantime he ran to the hotel where Mohsen Makhmalbaf was staying in order to calm him down for this emergency situation. However, unlike Kim’s worries, Mohsen Makhmalbaf was calmly reading Persian poems in his room and even discussed them with him there for about an hour. And finally the jabs could be obtained from the Center for Rare Medicines that has just opened in November last year. The name of the medication was Verorab, possibly unforgettable to Kim once and for all.

Such calmness and humbleness that Mohsen Makhmalbaf has showed to Kim and the PIFF staffers even under the situation where his condition could have become life-threatening was quite impressive. Accordingly, Kim calls him the saint carrying a camera for his thoughtfulness and warm-heartedness to everyone.
김지석 프로그래머의 영화이야기 – 파지르 영화제 후일담 (1)

오랜만에 인사 드리는군요. 많은 분들이 10주년을 맞는 올해의 부산영화제에 대해 기대 많이 하고 계신다고 들었습니다. 그러니, 저희도 열심히 의미 있고 기억에 남을만한 행사를 기획하는데 더려서 써내고 있습니다. 이미, 대부분의 기획은 내부 검토를 거쳐 확정이 되었고, 이를 현실화 시키는 데에 매진하고 있습니다. 상세한 내용은 다음 뉴스레터에서 알려드리도록 하겠습니다.

지난 1,2월 두 달 동안 집행위원장을 비롯한 프로그래머들은 열심히 올해의 작품선정을 위해 혈이르고 있었습니다. 김동호위원장님과 전양준 프로그래머는 선단스를 시작으로 로델담, 예테보리, 베타함을 닦아 오셨고, 저는 방폭과 테헤란을 닦아 왔습니다. 오늘은 지난 1월 31일부터 2월 10일까지 테헤란에서 열렸던 제23회 파지르영화제에 관한 소식을 전해 드리겠습니다. 파지르영화제는 1979년의 이슬람혁명을 기념하기 위해 만든 영화제로, 경쟁 영화제이기는 하지만 대부분의 해외 게스트는 주로 이란영화 산책을 보기 위해 파지르영화제를 찾습니다. 저녁예의는 아닌데요. 지난 10여 년 동안 파지르영화제에 참가하는 한국인은 늘 저 혼자였습니다. 그런데, 올해는 마크에 한국에서 예니메이션 회사와 수입회사 한 곳이 참가함으로써 격세지감을 느끼게 하였습니다.

사실, 파지르영화제는 영화제로서는 별도의 의미가 없는 곳입니다. 우선, 해외.Movie를 가는 것 조차 쉽지가 않습니다. 매주 월요일에 테헤란으로 가는 직장노선이 있는 기기는 하지만, 일정상 탑승이 없었습니다. 왜냐하면, 해외 게스트를 위한 이란영화 상영이 금요일부터 시작되었기 때문입니다. 해서, 힘겨운 경로에서 가야 했는데 복랑에서 6시간을 기다린 다음에야 겨우 테헤란으로 가는 이안항공편을 탈 수가 있었습니다.

파지르영화제는 해외 게스트들에게 매우 친절하기는 하지만, 좀 독특한 이란영화 상영 시스템을 가지고 있습니다. 우선, 해외 게스트를 위해 이란영화를 상영하는 극장을 따로 마련해 둔다. 올해의 경우는 좌측(이란어와 청소년 침 CONTRIBUTORS의 초기작이 이곳에서 만들어 왔습니다)의 극장에서 상영이 이루어졌습니다. 때문에, 이란의 관객들과 함께 즐기면서 영화를 보는 기회가 많았습니다. 물론, 일반 관객에게 갈 수도 있지만, 이란영화 산책을 보는 것이 참가의 주목적인데다가 자막 때문에 기어도 어렵습니다. 대부분의 이란영화 작품들이 영어자막을 갖추지 않은 상태에서 상영되기 때문입니다. 해외 게스트용 극장을 따로 마련하는 이유도 여기에 있습니다. 동시간대로 해주기 때문이죠. 하루에 4편에서 6편씩 이어폰을 끼고 동시간대를 통해 영화를 보려면 사전 엄청난 고역이죠. 해서, 지난 수년간 초직위 측에 제발 다음부터는 영어자막을 넣어달라고 당부하였지만 개선될 기미가 전혀 보이지 않네요.

게스트를 위한 호텔은 카를 극장에서 걸어서 5분 거리에 있었습니다. 지난 시간 이후에는 갈 곳도 아리없어서 영화제 내내 호텔과 극장만 가다 갔다 하는 일정을 보냈습니다. 잘 아시다시피 이란에서는 손이 급지되어 있고, 교통편이 불편하기 때문에 어디 가기도 힘들기 때문입니다. 특히, 택시가 그러한데, 대개는 소위 노선택시(그것도 송객이 다 차야 떠나는)라 택시가 허들이고 택시기밖에 방법이 없는 데 아마저도 밤 12시가 넘으면 대부분 끝장입니다. 자야, 만약에 말 사람들이나 친구들이 애기해서 편하게 되지만, 그렇지 못한 게스트들은 대략 난간 그 자체였습니다.

저는 이번에 아바스 키야로스탄의 집으로 가서 그를 만나 올해의 부분영화제와 관련하여 몇 가지 중요한 이야기를 나누었고, 성과도 있었습니다. 그 구체적인 내용에 대해서는 다음 뉴스레터에서 소개해 드리도록 하겠습니다. 그리고, 마호말바흐 필름하우스에 가서 해외업무를 맡고 있는 모함마드 사피리를 만났습니다. 현재, 마호말바흐 필름하우스는 폐쇄된 상태입니다. [칸다하르] 이후 정부와의

[Summary]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers the story about his visit to the 23rd Fajr International Film Festival (IFF) in Teheran, Iran (January 30- February 10, 2005) as part of programming the 10th BIFF (October 6-14, 2005).

In the last two months (January and February) PIFF director Kim Dong-ho and his programmers have been busy attending many international film festivals to select films for this year’s PIFF. PIFF director Kim and programmer Jay Jeon have attended Sundance, Rotterdam, Göteborg (Gothenburg) and Berlin, and programmer Kim has attended Bangkok and Teheran. Established for celebrating Iran’s Islamic revolution in 1979, PIFF is a competitive film festival, but many foreign programmers visit this film festival to see Iran’s newly released domestic films. Programmer Kim has always been the only Korean attending PIFF. Although PIFF is relatively friendly to foreign guests, it nevertheless maintains quite a distinctive system for them: it runs a special theatre for screening Iranian films exclusively for its foreign guests. This year those films were screened at the Kanun theatre (the Institute for Intellectual Development of Children and Young Adults) where Abbas Kiarostami’s early works have been produced). Hence, it was difficult for him to enjoy the film screenings together with ordinary Iranian audiences. Though he could go to ordinary film theatres, Iranian new films at these theatres were screened with no English subtitle in general. On the contrary, PIFF-run special film theatre for the Iranian new films interpreted simultaneously them for its foreign guests, which was the main reason that Kim and other foreign programmers went to this special theatre. However, it was quite demanding for him to watch approximately four to six films a day by being reliant only on the earphones for the simultaneous interpretation of those films. Despite his and other foreign
guests’ strong request to FIFF’s organising committee for screening those Iranian films with English subtitle, it did not seem to accept their request. Kim met and discussed with Abbas Kiarostami some important matters concerned with BIFF during the festival period. He will talk more about the details on them in the next edition of *Inside BIFF*. And then he visited Mohsen Makhmalbaf’s film office. His office is currently being closed, since he can no longer produce films in Iran after his relationship with the Iranian government being strained due to his film *Kandahar* (2001). Thus, he is currently making his film in Tajikistan and will go to India for his next film. His family members are also scattered around the world: his wife in Tajikistan, his son in London and his two daughters in Paris. Hence, Kim could talk to Mohsen Makhmalbaf only on the phone. As soon as he heard Mohsen Makhmalbaf’s voice, he suddenly became sad and then kept shouting to him on the phone “I love you!”, promising him to meet together in India sooner or later. There were many other stories that Kim could not reveal through *Inside PIFF* in relation to the current situation of Mohsen Makhmalbaf.
지난 번 글에서 제가 테헤란에서 알바스 키아로스타미와 만난 이야기를 잠깐 드린 적이 있습니다. 그 글에서 키아로스타미와 중요한 사항을 의논하였다고 썼었지요. 오늘은 그 논의사항 중 한가지만 말씀 드리도록 하겠습니다.

이란의 거장 ‘알바스 키아로스타미’ 감독의

그런데, 저에게는 이 작품과 관련하여 후일담이 있습니다. 저는 1995년부터 거의 매년 이란을 방문하고 있습니다. 그때마다 이란의 친구들에게 사브지안의 귀환을 묻곤 했습니다. 그가 영화감독이 되는 모습을 무려보고 싶었기 때문입니다. 하지만, 그 누구도 그 소식을 이어오는 이는 없었습니다. 간간히 TV 방송에서 일하고 있다는 편지와 전문가가 되었다는 소문만 들었을 뿐입니다. 그런데, 올해 저희 부산국제영화제에서 10주년을 맞이 준비중인 ‘관객을 위한 특별 프로그램’ 중에서 이 [클로즈 엽]을 상영하기로 하셨습니다. 해서, 저는 키아로스타미를 만나 저의 오랜 꿈을 성사시키기로 하였습니다. 사브지안을 찾아서 그를 찾아 감독이 되게 하는 것이었습니다. 장관을 만들라는 여건이 힘들어졌고, 대신 단편을 만들게 하자는 것이 저의 의향이었습니다. 제작은 저와 친한 사이이면서 이란의 삼척과 제작이 머리아저스 자니무리의 ‘베네가르’사에서 만들어주기로 협의까지 허락해 주셨습니다. 제작비는 관광을 한국의 수입자가 사는 조건으로 일부 증량을 하기로 했습니다. 키아로스타미 역시 이 프로젝트에 많은 관심을 보였고, 자신이 직접 사브지안을 수도였다고 하였습니다. 그를 위해 사너리오까지 써줄 의향도 있다고 하셨습니다. 이야기가 지난 2월 테헤란의 키아로스타미의 집에서 나누었던 논의의 내용입니다.

이 프로젝트가 성사되되, [클로즈 엽]과 사브지안의 작품을 동시에 상영하고 키아로스타미와 사브지안을 함께 무대에 올려 관객과의 대화를 하게 되는 것이었습니다. 그러려니vides하여 많은 감동적인 이야기를 할 수 있었습니다. 제가 마호말바프와 관련 써던 글 중에 “하늘에서 떠오르는 노래”라는 글이 있지요. 이 주제에 맡겨 보는 토론을 할 수 있었던 것이지요.


P.S. 만에 하나, 이 계획이 무산되더라도 저는 너무 놀랄라지는 않습니다. 이렇게 복권을 머리 갈아놓아야 하는 재 입장, 이해하시겠죠?

Summary: This edition of *Inside PIFF* (or *BIFF*) talks of the details on what programmer Kim and the Iranian director Abbas Kiarostami have previously discussed together at the 23rd Fajr International Film Festival (January 30–February 10, 2005) that *Inside BIFF* briefly introduced in its 2005-2 edition (Publishing Date: February 25, 2005).
Abbas Kiarostami’s film Close-Up (1990) has been selected by Cine-21 as one of the best ten Asian films as part of celebrating its 10th anniversary. This film is about an Iranian boy named Sabzian who got caught and jailed for deceptively impersonating the film director Mohsen Makhmalbaf. And programmer Kim has a behind-the-scenes story about this Iranian boy. Kim has visited Iran nearly every year since 1995 and has quite often asked his friends in Iran about him whenever visiting there. Nevertheless, he has not heard about his whereabouts at all except for some lingering rumours that he might have intermittently worked for a TV station or have been driving a truck for a living. And for celebrating its 10th anniversary, PIFF has already planned to screen Close-Up as part of its special programme for PIFF audiences. Hence, Kim determined to make his dream come true together with Abbas Kiarostami while visiting Iran: he wanted to make Sabzian debut as a film director through his close collaboration with Abbas Kiarostami. To be more specific, Kiarostami and Kim wanted Sabzian to make his own short-length film, for which Kim contacted his friends in the Iranian film industries to help Sabzian with his first film production. In particular, Kiarostami even promised to write the script for Sabzian’s debut film. These were what Kiarostami and Kim have discussed so far at Kiarostami’s house in Teheran in February, 2011. If this project went ahead as planned, Kiarostami’s Close-Up and Sabzian’s film could be screened together during the 10th PIFF (October 6-14, 2005), through which memorable discussions between these two Iranian filmmakers and PIFF audiences could be made in the end. However, they could not materialise this project in the end for Sabzian’s personal reasons. That is, one important thing that both Kiarostami and Kim neglected as to Sabzian was his personality. Although it was not appropriate for Kim to detail his personality in public through Inside PIFF, what he only could say about this happening was nevertheless the fact that Kiarostami and he finally found out Sabzian, but this project could not go ahead for his personal reasons. Despite this, Kiarostami and Kim are looking for an alternative to this project by Kiarostami making a documentary about young Iranian people who want to be filmmakers like Sabzian. And Kim sounded quite positive in bringing this alternative project to fruition. At the same time, however, he also requested his readers not to be overly disappointed about him and BIFF as a whole, if this projected would not be materialised in the end for the abovementioned extraordinary situation concerned with Sabzian.
김지석의 영화이야기

오랜만에 인사 드립니다.
먼저, 올해 저희 영화제를 성원해 주신 여러분께 머리 숙여 감사 드립니다. 개인적으로도 어느 해보다 힘들었던 한 해였습니다. 절직하셔지만, 행사도 많았고 개스토 대폭 높이 시간을 본 단위로 포개어 서야 하는 날들이 많았습니다. 물론, 우리 위원장님의 실석적인 스케줄에 비할 바는 아니지만 말입니다.


아무튼 올해 영화제는 이례자마음 일이었습니다. 제가 걱정했던 일들 가운데 인상적이었던 사건들을 하나하나 빼어 보겠습니다.

하나, 스즈키 세이준, 산소통 매고 방문하다

스즈키 세이준 감독은 올해 연세가 82 세 이상입니다. 어쩌면 [오�페라타]의 그가 작가 작품이 될지도 모르겠다는 생각 때문에 작품과 함께 감독도 초청했습니다. 그러나, 처음에 제작사에서 감독의 깊이 때문에 힘들겠다는 연락을 해왔습니다. 대신, 주연배우 오다키리 초 초청해 달라고도 했고. 오다기리 초도 좋지만, 저는 감독을 기 초청하고 싶었습니다. (나중에, 못마진 오다기리 초은 결국 촬영 스케줄 때문에 못 왔습니다.) 그리고, 헨드 프린팅을 하고 싶었습니다. 결국 저희의 거듭된 요청을 제작사에서 받아들이서 감독이 오기로 하였는데요, 감독이 산소통 가지고 가야 합니다 (그건 것도 8개), 산소통 반이 가능한 경주알을 맡아서 달리는 요청을 해 왔습니다. 저는 처음에 산소통 이야기가 단지 간단히 나쁘다는 상상적 표현이라도 되는 생각을 했습니다. 그런데, 진짜 산소통을 들고 온다고 하니 이거 보통 일이 아니군나 라는 생각이 들었습니다. 아까운, 감독은 저희 영화제를 방문했고, 헨드 프린팅 행사 및 관객과의 대화, 인터뷰 등 모든 일정을 소류하고 돌아갔습니다. 그리고, 사무관 관객들에게 갖은 인상을 남겼습니다. 그래도, 실제로 옆에서는 헨드 스즈키 세이준 감독은 호흡곤란 외에는 비교적 건강한 편이었습니다. 그리고, 곤짜 감독과는 시중 출고고 귀여운 모습을 보여 주었습니다. 헨드 프린팅 행사가 있던 날, 전담 사무관을 하면서 제가 이미 부러 스즈키 감독보다 헨드 프린팅을 놓게 하느니나 놀람을 하기로 하였습니다. 영화감독으로 보면 스즈키 세이준 감독이 약간 선배이거나도, 헨드 프린팅 행사 직전에는 무대 앞에서 감독의 넥타이를 헤내어 매시고서는 장난으로 웃으시는 등 귀여운 (?) 모습도 보이셨습니다.

하나, 카이로스마티, 이들을 더 머물다 돌아가다

카이로스마티 감독은 비행기 스케줄 때문에 힘들어 이틀을 더 머물다 돌아갔습니다. 그보다 보다, 그 분과 식사할 수 있어서 이라기할 시간이 많았습니다. 이번에 <클로즈업>과 다큐멘터리 <대망인 사브지안의 영화학교>를 보신 분은 아시지겠지만, 후자의 경우 카이로스마티 감독과 제가 함께 진행한 프로젝트였습니다. 하지만, 안타깝게도 <클로즈업>과 다큐멘터리의 주인공인 사브지안이 3 주전에 타계했다는 소식을 접하게 되었습니다. 카이로스마티 감독은 귀국 후에 사브지안의 추모식을 직접 처리 중이었다고 하였습니다. 사실, 카이로스마티 감독은 저희는 가까운 사이이기는 하지만 그 동안 과 근본하고 철학적, 사상을 많은 인상을 받았습니다. 그런데, 이내에 또 다른 그의 연모를 발견할 수 있었습니다. 다양한 아버지의 모습과 아이가 들어가는 중년의 모습, 또 그는 아들 이야기도 매우 흥미로웠는데요, 그의 아이들이 현재 영화 일을 하고 있습니다. 주로 다큐멘터리를 만들고 있는데요, 18 살 때 아버지 결혼 뜻나
부산영화제가 관객을 즐겁게 만드는 이의를 끌어모으는 행사를 연내 곳곳에 전시하는 것으로 시간을 보냈습니다. 하지만, 오랜만에 만날 수 있는 이여로운 시간이 너무도 좋았다고 하니군요. 그리고, 제가 대표적인 간간이함을 맛보게 돼서도 웃었습니다. 다름에 제가 대표적인 학교의 축제를 둘러싼 작품도 있었습니다(하나의 음식 가운데 제가 제일 좋아하는 음식이 바로 압구식입니다). 아무나 나이가 들어가면서 친근한 모습으로 변해가는 카리오스마 감독의 모습이 너무도 보기에 좋았습니다.

## 특히에 대한 수단으로 본다면

본문은 별도 개의치 않은 이상한 형식이 있었으나, 이를 구실은 과장해서 대형의 생활상에 좀 소홀한 측면이 있었던 것이지, 이런 부분을 매개리게 처리하지 못한 점을 반성하고 있습니다. 하지만, 본문의 대부분은 대부분의 경우와 같은 흔한 사례 중 해석하는 것으로 시간을 보냈습니다. 그리고, 자기 날치기를 삼장히 자랑한 합니다(대만선에 문서는 물론 사진까지 실린 적이 있습니다). 이번에도 8월 8일 날 저녁에 영화제 대행사를 하시며, 영화제를 주최하고자 하셨습니다. 저의 스케줄 때문에 1시간 반 밖에 같을 것이라는 뜻이었지만, 영화제대행사 제대행사자는 제대행사에서 준비한 스펙은 모두 시청자들이 보십시오. 원래 생각이 흥미로웠기 때문에 소문난 분들이 아니지만, 참석자들에게 스스로 모금이dh이었고, 만_MORE_고객들에게 보냅니다. 간단히 말도 안 통하셔서 제대행사에 나누는 모습을 보며 심각하기도 하고, 또 한편으로는 결론을 끝 내게 되지 않았거나 하는 생각도 들었습니다(하나의 작가마음입니다). 사실 제대행사 중에는 좀 따르는 분들도 있지만, 영화제 관객들이 좋아하는 것에 연어 있는 분들도 있었습니다. 이런 분들을 만난다면 그야말로 좋을 것이라고 영화제 일하는 맘을 난دين.

## 특히에 대한 수단으로 본다면

우리 자봉분들을 늘고 가까운 마음을 가지고 있지만, 올해는 특히 감사의 마음이 큽니다. 사실, 자봉을 모집하면 선발된 분들이 가져온 상정상 빼지는 분들이 큽니다. 그렇기 때문에 수많은 분들이 즐거운 모습을 보이며, 이른바 '의미있는 감사의 마음'이 큽니다. 우리 영화제 자봉분들의 성명이란가 하면, 특별은 지난 10년간 많은 변화를 겪어 왔습니다. 초기에는 알게 되어 영화제가 좋아서 자봉하는 분들이 많았던 반면, 오랜동안 그 자체가 좋아서 자봉하는 분들이 많은 것 같습니다. 그래서, 현재의 영화제를 알아보는 자봉분이 초창기와 비해 좋아하는 것도 사실이고, 그런데, 이 자봉분들이 우리 스펙의 몇몇이 생각하지 못했던 '자봉문화'(제대행사해용이자)를 만들고 있습니다. 누가 시켜서 하는 것도 아니고, 기대한 것도 아닌 '자봉문화' 말입니다. 그것은 우리 영화제 자봉분들이 이제는 스펙의 일을 보좌하는 단순한 수동적인 여유자이자, 스스로 영화제 문명의 한 축을 만들어가는 단계로까지 진화하였다는 것을 의미합니다. 폐막식 날 있던 말입니다. 잘 아시다시피, 옛해 폐막사는 관객과 함께 하는 파티로 처리 쳐졌고, 3천여 명의 관객이 페막피장인 요트기장으로 계속될 것이라고 들었습니다. 모든 찬서유지에 찬성이 없었죠. 잠시 후, 먼저 자봉 나가는 관객들이 있었습니다. 그런데, 그 순간 놀라운 일이 벌어졌습니다. 자봉분들이 스스로 통로를 만들어서 손을 꺼내 음악에 맞춰 춤을 추면서 사는 관객분들에게 일제히 '감사의 마음'이라고 하시기 시작했습니다. 그린데, 입구 쪽에서 입장하는 관객들에게 설문을 나누어 B 주관 자봉분들도 손을 펴서 시작했고, 그 과정 관객들에게도 자봉분들과 악수를 하며 사기한 표정을 지었습니다. 다른 분들은 어떤지 모르겠지만, 저에게는 정말 감동적인 경험이었습니다(결과는 여정이 순조라고 그 청현이 미뤄올려 결과가 많이 참패 였습니다). 약간의 교통비와 여러 가지 선물에 제대로 드리지 못한데, 그렇게 황홀하게 꽤까지 최선의 희망을 가진 모습이 너무나 인상적이었습니다. 부산영화제가 아무리 규모가 커지고 위상이 높아지면도 변함없이 지켜지고 싶은 것, 즉 ‘사람들이나는 영화제’는 끝까지 지킬 수 있겠다는 생각을 하게 되었습니다. 이번 덕분 두 자봉분들을 정말 '세세게장 자봉이riba를 뒤로 되지 않았습니까?
[자가 비평] 마호말바흐와의 관계를 아시는 분도 계시리라 믿습니다만, 지난 2년 동안 만날 수 없었습니다. 그 동안 연락은 계속 주고받았지만, 그가 거의 명령적 신세로 전락한 안타까운 소식을 접하고도 아무것도 도와줄 수 없는 제 자신이 외당스러울 때도 있었습니다. 그 동안 마호말바흐가 축도한 인물관계에에서는 작품이 있긴 있긴 해도 해마다 참가하였기 때문에 만날 수 있었지만, 최근 간과 사이가 나서자서 이제는 전에도 가족들을 볼 수가 없게 되었습니다. 다만, 이번 작품 [贊, 철학]과 관련해서도 마호말바흐 감독을 초청하였지만 현재 만들고 있는 작품 때문에 참가가 힘들다는 연락을 받았었던 터라 그를 만날 기대를 않고 있었습니다. 그런데, 그가 감자기 마음을 바쳐 부산에 나타난 것입니다. 그렇게 만 걸을 와서 단 사흘간 머물고 그는 떠나셨습니다. 말을 하지 않아도 그가 왜 왔는지는 알 수 있었습니다. 호텔에 그가 도착할 때 저는 먼저 가서 기다리고 있었습니다. 그가 차에서 내리자 우리는 몇 분 동안을 캐안하고 있었습니다. 그 몇 분 사이에 말이 없었는데는 말씀 드리지 않겠습니다. 창페에서, 그는 어 onData한 이웃집 삼촌의 아미자와 밖에 바ывать는 성자의 모습 모두를 감직하고 있었습니다. 그리고, 그 사이에 일어난 일들에 대해서 자세히 들을 수 있었습니다. 현재는 프랑스 여권을 신청한 상태이고, 결과는 아직 알 수 없다고 하였습니다. 만약, 그가 프랑스 여권을 얻지 못하고 이란으로 돌아간다면 바로 감독이, 아마도 평생 바꿔 세상을 보기 힘들지도 모른다고 하였습니다. 하지만, 그는 ‘국경 없는 의사처럼 국경 없는 감독’이 되더라도 영화를 계속 만들겠다고 하였습니다. 그리고, GV 가 있던 날, 이란여 통역이 있는데도 꼭 그는 저더러 사회와 (영어)통역을 해달라고 하였고, 저는 기꺼이 그렇게 하였습니다. 아마도, 그 GV에 참석하였던 분들은 마호말바흐의 인품과 영화관에 다시 한번 같은 인상을 받았으리라 믿습니다. 그리고, 이튿날, 그는 다시 풀짝 떠났습니다. 이제 그는 인도에서 촬영을 마친 신작의 편집 작업에 몰두하였습니다. 이 신작은 아마도 내년 베를린영화제에서 첫 선을 보일 것 같습니다. 단순히 ‘거장’이라는 표현만으로 채워지지 않는 마호말바흐의 위대함은 두고두고 되새기게 됩니다.

[Translation (Partial)]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers five episodes concerned with the 10th PIFF (October 6-14, 2005). However, for the thematic relevancy of this thesis, three episodes of them were selected for translation.

‘[…] [Abbas Kiarostami Stayed in Busan for Two More Days]: Abbas Kiarostami had to stay in Busan for two more days after the closing of the 10th PIFF due to his flight schedule back to Tehran. Naturally could I have more time to talk with him, having meals together. As some of you who attended the screenings of Close-Up (1990) and Film School of Hossein Sabzian (2005) might probably know, the latter one was the project that Abbas Kiarostami and I had programmed for this year’s PIFF. However, we received the sad news that the protagonist of these two films Sabzian passed away three weeks ago. He told me that he plans to hold a small memorial for Sabzian’s death as soon as returning to Teheran. As a matter of fact, he and I had been close friends for many years, but he had always impressed me as a bit serious philosopher. However, this time he showed me a bit different sides of his character: on the one hand, a warm-hearted fatherly figure and an aging middle-aged man, on the other. What particularly intrigued me was his story about his son currently following his father’s path as a filmmaker, especially in documentary filmmaking. His son was independent of his parents about 18 years ago and one of
major reasons for him to having left his father, Kiarostami said, was that he was sick and tired of having to be put under this father’s shadows all the time. For this, his son even attempted to change his family name, though he eventually failed to do due to his family’s strong objection against it […]. Through Kiarostami’s rather candid confession and concern about his son, I could feel his [unconditional] love for his son. At the press conference for the New Currents Awards, he was a bit reluctant to announce the final awardees in public in front of a corps of domestic and international media, since he told me that he might not be able to read them properly due to his gradually aging eyesight. That was the moment when I myself could see his previously established image as a cinematic maestro suddenly become transformed into that of a comfortable-looking uncle who could be easily found in any ordinary neighborhoods. For two days after the closing of the 10th PIFF he has spent most of his time walking around beach areas except for his brief visit to the Jagalchi Fish Market. Kiarostami told me that he was really satisfied with staying in Busan for two extra days, since he hasn’t had such relaxed time for a long time, together with ganjang-gaejang (raw crabs marinated with soybean and hot chilly paper sauces) I treated him. He even promised to me that he will cook for me “abgusht” when I visit Teheran next time (this is my favorite Iranian dish!). Anyway, I felt really happy to see Kiarostami transforming himself gradually into a more intimate and milder figure as he gets older and older.

[Yang Gui-mei Finally Met Her Korean Boyfriend in Busan]: Frankly speaking, during this year’s PIFF the Taiwanese delegations have had some complaints regarding our treatment to them. We also admit our rather negligent treatment of them, as more Taiwanese delegations attended this year’s PIFF than last year’s, for which we are sincerely sorry to them. However, Yang Gui-mei did not seem to be too much bothered by this, since she finally could meet her Korean boyfriend in Busan. Who is her boyfriend? Actually, her darling in Korea is my son. He is a second-year elementary school student and she always meets him not only in Busan but also in Taiwan, because she loves him so much. She sometimes boasts him as her boyfriend (even a picture of her and my son taken together has once been run in Taiwanese newspapers as well!).
As always, during the festival period (i.e. on October 8, 2005) I have invited Yang Gui-mei, Tsai Ming-liang and Lee Kang-sheng to my house for dinner. Although we didn’t have enough time to enjoy this dinner together due to my schedule, she nevertheless looked quite happy for the fact that she could meet him and then give him a present she had prepared in Taiwan prior to her visit to this year’s PIFF. Although her good personality has already been well-known to many [in the world of international film businesses and festivals], she always impresses me a great deal through her [rather] down-to-earth image shown to me despite her official image as one of most celebrated stars in Taiwan. Besides, staring at her trying to communicate with my son notwithstanding palpable linguistic and cultural barriers existent between them, I even feel that it is time she would need to get married soon (by the way, she is still single!). Although there are actually many of festival guests who are quite demanding to us, those such as Yang Gui-mei and Tsai Ming Liang have natural-born humbleness and good personality. Eventually, it is them who always make me feel willing to work for PIFF with pleasure.

[…] [Encounter with Mohsen Makhmalbaf in Busan]: As you might have known, if having already been informed of the long-term friendship sustained between me Mohsen Makhmalbaf [through several past editions of Inside BIFF], we couldn’t meet each other for nearly two years. we have been meanwhile in touch with each other on and off, I nevertheless have sometimes felt frustrated about myself for the reality that there was so far nothing I could do for him being currently in exile [because of the Iranian government’s political repressions against him]. Previously, I had been occasionally able to meet the Makhmalbafs at the Cannes, since they had been attending the Cannes every year even without their films being officially invited to it. However, as a result of the recent strained relationship between them and the Cannes fest can I no longer meet them there. To make the matters worse, I was about to give up my hope to see Makhmalbaf at this year’s PIFF. For he had already responded to me that it would be quite difficult for him to attend the festival this year due to his ongoing film project, in spite of his new film Sex and Philosophy (2005) having already been officially invited to it. However, at the last minute he changed his mind and decided to visit PIFF in the end. Despite his long travel from Teheran to Busan, Makhmalbaf has stayed in Busan just for four days and I intuitively sensed why he overturned his previous decision to come here. When he arrived at the hotel in Busan, I had already been there waiting for him. As soon as he got off before its front gate, we kept hugging [and crying] with each other for several minutes (I seek your understanding for me unable to detail what precisely happened to us at that time personal reasons: too much ashamed). He maintained his dual image both as that of a comfortable and intimate uncle living next door and as that of a persecuted saint, just as he had always been. And I could hear from him more in detail what had happened to him during his two-year absence [in the world of international film
festivals]. He told me that his application for the French passport is currently being processed, awaiting its result so far. If this application is not accepted, he was quite concerned that he might have to return to Iran where he might be incarcerated possibly for good. Nevertheless, he quite confidently said to me that he will continue to make films irrespective of his current difficult situation, even if he might become a filmmaker without borders like Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders). And on the day of the GV (Guest Visit) with Makhmalbaf, he personally asked me to be his both English interpreter and GV coordinator, even if we had already hired a professional Persian interpreter for him. Of course, I did it for him with my pleasure. I assume that those having attended the GV must have been strongly impressed by both his humility/good character and his own philosophy on filmmaking. And then he returned to Teheran on the next day. He will be for the time being focusing on editing his new film which he has just finished filming in India. I think that this film might be able to be world-premiered at the Berlinale next year. Makhmalbaf’s greatness that cannot be fully praised and appreciated simply by calling him “the [cinematic] maestro” will continue to be reminded of [and frequently talked about by many]’.
지난 5월 16일부터 27일까지 칸영화제를 다녀왔습니다. 그 동안 국내외 언론을 통해 경쟁부문 초청작들을 포함한 각종 소식들을 신속하게 광범위하게 전하셨으리라 믿습니다. 오늘은 부산국제영화제 프로그래머로서 칸에서 겪었던 일들과 에피소드를 소개하고자 합니다.

언젠가 지면을 통해 말씀드린 바 있지만, 저는 공식 상영작에 대해서는 크게 관심이 없습니다. 마켓 배지를 가지고 주로 마켓 상영작들을 찾아 다닙니다. 물론 대체적으로는 상업영화가 소개되기는 하지만, 가끔 마켓 상영작 중에 뚜렷한 보석을 발견하기 때문이죠. 그리고, 마켓에 참가한 아시아 지역 회사들은 필수적으로 방문을 합니다. 이때는 어떤 회사가 어떤 위치에 부스를 내는 기를 환히 막을 필요가 없습니다. 마켓 부스를 즐겨 찾는 이유는 마켓 상영에 포함되지 않은 작품이나, 앞으로 나올 작품들에 대한 생생한 정보를 얻을 수 있기 때문이죠. 아시아 지역 회사들 부스의 관계자들 역시 이제는 제가 찾아가면 알아서 신작 스크리너를 순순히 내놓습니다. 그런데, 올해는 마켓 상영작의 수준이 예년만큼 뛰어나서 실망스러웠습니다. 그래도, 제가 하루에 평균 6편을 마켓 극장에서 보고, 50여 편의 스크리너를 받아왔으니까 합하면 110 편 정도의 신작을 보았거나 스크리너를 입수한 것입니다.

한 자리에서 이런 성과를 거둔다는 것은 분명 쉬운 일은 아니죠. 제가 칸을 반드시 가야 하는 이유가 거기에 있습니다. 또 하나 중요한 임무는 각종 리셉션에 참가하는 것입니다. 무슨 파티를 즐기려는 것이 아니라, 되도록 많은 사람들 만나서 정보를 구하려고 하는 것이지요. 올해는 특히, 새로운 컨셉 마켓에 진출한 아시아계 회사들이 많이서 반갑기는 했지만 한편으로는 힘들었습니다. 저희
영화제가 올해 새롭게 출범시키는 아시아 영화의 새로운 스태프들에게 이들 회사를 소개시키는 일도 중요한 임무중의 하나였습니다. 다행히, 대부분의 회사들과 영화관련 국가 기관들이 아시아 핀름마켓 채택을 하시어 서비스를 받침으로써 큰 케미가 되었습니다. 이로써, 올해에서 긴장 을란 몇몇 수작들과 부스와 리셉션에서 만난 수많은 아시아 영화인들과의 만남이 이번 칸에서 거둔 커다란 성과였습니다.

올해 칸에서 확실히 아시아영화의 성장세는 눈부셨습니다. 비록, 공식 초청작은 예년에 비해 줄어 들었지만, 아시아에서는 매우 활발한 활동들을 보여주었습니다. 베트남, 필리핀 등 새롭게 칸 이전에 전출한 국가들도 그렇거나와, 공주(태국), 문화부감독관(인도네시아, 대만) 등이 자국영화 세일즈를 위해 리셉션에 참가하는 열의를 보여주기도 하였습니다. 제 개인적으로는 베트남의 새로운 네트워크를 개척한 것이 가장 큰 수확이었습니다. 그동안 당았던 이나 민류연보 감독 등 확실한 네트워크가 있기는 하였으나, 최근 활동이 줄어들고 해외에 거주하는 관계로 원활한 관계로 보이지는 못하였습니다. 그런데, 이년에 ‘베트남 미디어’와 새롭게 관계를 만들면서 보다 확실한 네트워크를 구축할 수 있었습니다. 두 편의 산적영화를 월드 프리미어로 확보한 것도 수확이었고요. 열흘 동안에 이러한 스케줄을 소화해 내는 것이 쉬운 일은 아닙니다. 칸에서의 저의 하루 일과를 잠깐 소개해 드리죠(5월 24 일자).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>시간</th>
<th>이벤트</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>이란영화사 CMI, SMI 미팅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>태국영화사 GTH 미팅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>이란영화 ‘Journey to Hidalu’ 관람</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>일본영화 ‘Vanished’ 관람</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>말레이시아영화 ‘Rain Dogs’ 관람</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>사우디 아라비아 영화 ‘Kief Halak’ 관람</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:00</td>
<td>인도영화 ‘Mixed Double’ 관람</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>도쿄필름엑스영화제 하야시 카나코 집행위원장 저녁 식사</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:15</td>
<td>대만영화 ‘Silk’ 관람</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

하지만 이것은 끝이 아닙니다. 영화제 기간 동안 약 30 종이 넘는 데일리가 매일 발행되는데요, 그 중 영어판 데일리 5 종 정도를 챙겨 두었다가 잠자리에 들기 전에 체크해야 합니다. 새로운 소식이나 스케줄 변경 사항을 미리 파악해 두어야 하기 때문입니다.

그런데, 저만 이런 스케줄을 소화하는 것이 아닙니다. 오히려 저 스케줄은 양반감독의 하루 일정은 더 백합받습니다. 워낙 미세가 많은기 때문에요. 그런데, 매일 이런 스케줄을 가진 내내 소화하시는니. 위원장님은 호텔에서 묵으시고, 저와 전양준 프로그래머는 아파트에서 기거를 하는데, 위원장님이나 전 프로그래머의 경우 매일 아침 8시 반에 시작되는
기자시사를 빼놓지 않고 보기 때문에 7시 이전에 무조건 일어납니다. 취침시간은 보통 2~3시경이고요. 가히 살인적인 스케줄이라 할만 하지 않습니까? 저의 경우 매일 상영 시작이 대개 9시 15분 경이라 약간의 여유가 있는 편이지만, 부엌에서 아침상 차리는 소리 때문에 늦 비슷한 시간에 일어날 수 밖에 없었습니다. 그래서, 침을 한번 깔다 오면 2~3kg 정도 몸무게가 빠집니다. 하지만 둘러오는 날, 제 가방에 수북하게 쌓여 있는 자료와 스크리너를 생각하면 입가에 미소가 점로 생겨납니다. 농사 지으시는 분들, 기울긴이 하는 기분이라고나 할까요?

저는 여절 후 다시 중국과 대만 출장을 갑니다. 눈에 번쩍 뜬 좋은 작품들 많이 찾아서 돌아오도록 하겠습니다. 그리고 다시 한번 글을 올리도록 하겠습니다.

[Translation (Full)]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers programmer Kim’s personal experience of the 59th Cannes Film Festival (May 17-28, 2006).

‘From 16-27 May I attended the Cannes Film Festival. I assume that by now you have already been comprehensively and timely informed of this year’s list of films officially invited to its competition section and news concerned with them via various media channels. This time, let me introduce you what I as a film festival programmer have experienced this year’s Cannes fest and some episodes associated with them. As I have already mentioned, I am not considerably interested in the Cannes’s official selection of films for its competition section. My main interest in the Cannes is, by and large, to visit its film market Marché du Film with my market badge. Though commercial films are most of the time screened [for those working in international film businesses including film sales persons, distributors and producers] at the film market, nevertheless, I frequently visit there, since I can sometimes unexpectedly discover “jewels” out of them there. Particularly, visiting the market booths of
Asian film companies that participate in Marché du Film has always been a priority and obligatory to me since I began to attend the Cannes fest. I am visiting them so often that I am now even able to pinpoint he exact locations of their booths at the market. The main reason why I frequently visit the Cannes film market is that there I can get the latest and “freshest” information on films that were either excluded from the market screenings or are to be commercially released soon. [Unlike old days when I visited them as a programmer of PIFF not well-known to those in international film businesses in its earlier editions], these days, they are quite willingly giving me the screeners of their soon-to-be-released films whenever visiting their market booths. However, I was quite disappointed about this year’s level of films screened at the market in comparing it to the last year. Nevertheless, the fact that on average I saw about six films a day and received around fifty screeners at Marché du Film means that in total I either saw around 110 new films or their screeners during this year’s Cannes festival.

It is not an easy task to achieve such outcomes at one place at all, which is why I must visit the Cannes every year. Another important task of mine in the Cannes is to attend various reception parties held during the festival period. Rather than enjoying parties, I visit there to meet as many people [or stakeholders in the world of international film industries and festivals] as possible and obtain from them valuable information concerned with films. At this year’s Cannes fest there have been particularly many Asian film companies newly participating in the market, which has been [physically] quite demanding to me. One of my important tasks at the market was to make introduced to them the new staff of the Asian Film Market (AFM) newly launched by PIFF this year. Fortunately, many of these Asian film companies and film-related government bodies [(e.g. film commissions and councils)] quite positively responded to AFM with their desire to participate in it this year. All in all,
discovering some “cinematic jewels” and meeting a number of cineastes at the market booths at Marché du Film are the most significant achievement I made at this year’s Cannes film festival.

The recent growth of Asian films has been particularly conspicuous at this year’s Cannes festival. While the overall number of Asian films invited to the Cannes’s official sections decreased a bit this year, they have shown their strong presence at its film market. As with such countries newly participating in the Cannes as Vietnam and the Philippines, the Thai princess and the Indonesian and Taiwanese culture ministers have actively participated in the film market for the sales of their respective national films [and industries]. What I personally value as the most significant achievement in this regard was to forge a new network with Vietnam. Though I had already been constantly networking with such prominent Vietnamese filmmakers as Dang Nhat Minh or Minh Yuen Bo, I have recently been hardly able to contact them, since their filmmaking activities haven’t been quite active or they are currently living overseas. Under this rather dormant situation, I [and PIFF as a whole] could forge a more consolidated network with Vietnam through establishing a new relationship with Vietnam Media. Apart from this, securing two new Vietnamese films to be screened for PIFF as world premieres was another achievement I could make at this year’s Cannes. As a matter of fact, carrying out my schedules in such a pace is never an easy task to do. At this moment, let me introduce as an example my daily schedules dated on May 24 at this year’s Cannes to you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09:00</td>
<td>Meeting with Iranian film production companies, CMI and SMI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09:30</td>
<td>Meeting with Thai film production company, GHT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Iranian film Journey to Hidalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Japanese film Vanished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Malaysian film Rain Dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Saudi Arabian film Kief Halak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18:00</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Indian film Mixed Double</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:00</td>
<td>Dinner with Hayashi Kanako, director of the Tokyo Film-X Festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:15</td>
<td>Attending the screening of the Taiwanese film Silk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, my daily schedule mentioned above is not the finalized one. Approximately thirty kinds of festival dailies are published and distributed to the festival participants during the Cannes. Of them, I have to secure around five festival dailies published in English and browse through their contents before going to bed, because I need to check out new information [on films] and changes in [market screening] schedules beforehand.

![Image of people at the Cannes film festival]

However, I am not the only one who carries out such a busy schedule at the Cannes. Mine cannot be comparable to that of PIFF director Kim Dong-ho, since he has a number of scheduled meetings during the festival period. PIFF director Kim stays at a hotel and the programmer Jay Jeon and I at a rented apartment. PIFF director Kim and Jay Jeon have to get up at around seven to attend press screenings starting at eight o’clock in the morning. They sleep for around two to three hours on average during the festival period. What a lethal festival schedule theirs must be! Compared to theirs, my schedule is relatively less busy, since the market screenings starts at 09:15. Nevertheless, I cannot but help wake up together with them due to the sound of preparing breakfast that comes from the kitchen. Hence, I normally lose around two to three kilos of my weight after the Cannes film festival. Nonetheless, I always feel relieved and excited whenever imagining that my festival bag will be imbued with a big pile of film screeners and materials concerned in the course of the festival. Such a feeling could be to a greater extent equivalent to that of farmers harvesting their yields in autumn. I am going to visit the PRC and Taiwan sooner or later in order to look for and discover many good and eye-catching films there. See you soon.'
김지석의 영화이야기

11회 영화제가 끝난 지 벌써 두 달여가 지나고 연말이 되었습니다. 지난 영화제 때 여러 분들께서 보내 주신 성원에 대해 다시 한번 감사드립니다.

올해 영화제가 끝난 뒤, 저희 사무국에서는 올해의 결과를 분석하고 내년을 위한 준비작업에 이르 들어갔습니다. 특히, 올해는 마켓이 새로 출범하였기 때문에 그에 대한 국내외의 평가에 대해 철저히 리サーチ를 하고 있습니다. 그리고, 내년도의 영화제 주변환경 변화에 대해 연구와 논의를 거듭하고 있습니다. 그래야만 내년도 부산국제영화제의 목표 설정을 보다 명확히 할 수 있으니까요. 저희는 내년도 세계의 영화제와 마켓의 판도 변화가 심각할 것이며, 경쟁도 보다 치열해 될 것이라고 판단하고 있습니다.

먼저, 올해 출범하면서 우리 영화제와 남쪽이 겹쳐서 서로간에 혼동이었던 로마영화제 있습니다. 로마영화제는 출범 당시부터 논란이 많았던 영화제입니다. 기존의 A급 영화제인 베니스영화제가 나머지 두 예비급 영화제인 칸, 베를린영화제에 밀리는 상황에서 또 다른 A급 영화제를 창설하는 것이 과연 옳은 일인가 하는 논란이 바로 그것입니다.

특히, 베니스영화제 집행위원장인 마르코 뮬러가 정부에 마켓을 만들어 달라고 계속 요구를 하였음에도 불구하고 무시당하고 있는 상황에서 로마영화제가 생겨서 논란은 더 커졌습니다. 왜냐하면, 로마영화제가 비즈니스 스토리트, 뉴 시네마 네트워크 등 정식 마켓은 아니지만 부분적으로 마켓 기능을 도입하였기 때문입니다. 그 후로, 하노이로 오셨던 이룬영화제의 부설을 상회하는 부산영화제 출범이었습니다. 둘 쪽은 예산을 바탕으로 로마영화제는 전세계로부터 비아이와 센터를 초청하였고, 전부는 아니지만 그들을 최고급 호텔에 비행기까지 제공하는 과격적인 대를 하였습니다. 이 같은 문제는 개최일자와 베니스영화제와 밀과 한달 여 밖에 차이가 나지 않아 작품의 차이가 심각하다는 것입니다. 알린영화제의 부설은 로마영화제와도 멀어졌습니다. 남쪽과 겹치거나 좋다 부설이 확보가 곤란한 것입니다. 만약, 남쪽과 겹치거나 올해 프리미어 확보 경쟁이 가장 치열했던 것이면, 결국, 초청이 점쳐진 두 작품, 즉 차이나는 신아의 악몽탐정과 플래그 탑의 '아버지와 아들'을 같은 날짜에 상영하기로 함의함으로써 공동 월드 프리미어를 할 수 있었습니다.

하지만, 문제는 거기서 끝나지 않았습니다. 상영시간까지 맞추려고 보니, 신경전이 치열했습니다(시차 때문인). 그런데, 올해 영화제가 끝나고 난 뒤 이테리 정부에서도 베니스와 로마, 그리고 토니노레게의 개최 일정문제가 심각함을 깨닫고 조정에 들어갔습니다. 그 결과, 베니스영화제는 에년처럼 8월 30일부터 9월 8일까지, 로마영화제는 올해보다 일주일 뒤로 일정을 늦춰 10월 20일부터.

30일까지 개최하기로 하였습니다. 또한, 토리노영화제는 2022년도 4월 24일 개최하여 5월 2일에 끝을 내리는 일정을 발표했습니다. 저희 영화제는 내년 9월 1일부터 9월 2일까지 일정을 발표하여 9월 2일에 끝을 내리는 일정을 발표했습니다. 저희 영화제는 내년 9월 1일부터 2일까지 일정을 발표하여 2일에 끝을 내리는 일정을 발표했습니다.

문제는 도쿄영화제입니다. 도쿄와 로마가 일정이 맞게 겹치기 때문에입니다. 도쿄는 올해의 론니코로 했던 카드가와 영화제를 인공위성으로 유명화시켰다고 전해진 바가 있습니다. 하지만, 예산을 지원하는 일부정부는 영화제보다는 영화제 기간에 열리는 컨텐츠 마켓에 지원을 집중하려는 움직임을 보이고 있습니다. 이런 가운데에서 성격이 비슷한 로마영화제와 날짜까지 겹치게 되어서 난감하게 왔어 나무가 있는 상황이 되어 버린 것이지요.

다음으로 홍콩영화제를 들여다보겠습니다. 홍콩영화제는 홍콩영화산업의 쇠퇴와 함께 위기가 많이 하락하였지만, 아시아에서 가장 강한 마켓 중의 하나인 홍콩필름마트와 일정을 맞추면서 동반 성장을 하고 있습니다. 그리고, 현재 일대 번신을 준비 중입니다. 그 하나는 '홍콩영화제', 부산국제영화제의 PPP 와 같은 성격의 '홍콩-아시아 필름 파이낸싱 포럼(HAF)', 그리고 '홍콩필름마트'를 3월 20일 같은 날에 개최하기로 한 것입니다. 그리고, 홍콩영화제는 일정을 좀 독특하게 가져 갔습니다. 영화제 일정을 전반부와 후반부로 나누는 것이지요. 전반부(3월 20일~26일)는 영화제를 케스트 중심으로 운영합니다. '홍콩 아시아 스케리닝(HAS, 3월 20일~23일)'을 신설하여 새로운 아시아영화를 선보인다는 계획도 세웠습니다. 후반부는 관객 중심의 영화제로 운영할 예정인데, 이와 같이 케스트와 관객을 분리하는 방식의 영화제가 어떤 결과를 낼 수 있을지 두고 보아야 할 것입니다. 또한, 홍콩영화제는 '아시아영화상'을 신설하여 그 동안 부산국제영화제에 빼앗겼던 '아시아영화상'에 대한 이슈 선점의 역할을 되찾으려고 합니다. 그러니 하면, 홍콩필름마트를 변화를 주고 합니다. '에네메이션과 디지털 월드', '장비와 후반작업 서비스 월드', 'TV 월드', '로케이션 월드' 등의 별도 행사를 운영할 것입니다. 이것은 부산국제영화제 아시안필름마켓의 '스타 시청 아시아', '부산 국제필름커미션과 영화산업 박람회(BIFCOM)'를 다분히 의식한 행사라고 볼 수 있습니다.

영화제는 로테르담과 토론토영화제에 보다 접근한 수준까지 올라가려고 합니다. 그 동안 접근 불가로 여겨졌던 관객 30만 명의 신화도 내용을 정확하게 파악하게 되었습니다. 로테르담영화제 관객 30만 명은 영화를 관람한 관객(게스트 포함) 숫자가 아니라, 전시회 관객 까지를 포함한 수치임을 알게 된 것입니다. 맞 아셨겠지만, 저희는 영화관람 관객 숫자만 발표합니다. 로테르담의 프로젝트마켓과 판도, 토론토의 마켓 기능을 따라잡는 것이 저희의 당면 목표입니다. 그리고, 부산영상센터 건립에 박차를 가할 것입니다.

으로, 부산국제영화제를 사랑해 주시는 여러분께 다시 한번 감사의 말씀 전합니다. 앞으로도 계속 사랑과 관심으로 지켜봐 주시기 바랍니다. 행복하고 건강한 연말연시 보내시기 바랍니다.
This edition of *Inside PIFF* (or *BIFF*) introduces its readers the overview of the changing environment of international film festival circuits, especially centering upon PIFF’s regional and international competitors (e.g. Tokyo, Hong Kong and Rome).

Two months have already passed since the 11th PIFF (October 12-20, 2006) ended. […] The PIFF HQs started assessing the outcomes of this year’s PIFF and preparing for its next edition. In particular, since PIFF launched the Asian Film Market (AFM) as of this year, we are now rigorously conducting our independent research on domestic and international responses to and assessments on this year’s PIFF in relation to the launching of this new initiative. In addition to this, we are also conducting the research on and rigorously discussing the fast-changing international film festival environment surrounding PIFF so that it can set an even clearer direction and goal for in its future events. Our independent assessment on this predicts significant axial changes in international film festivals and their film markets that might lead to even fiercer competitions among them.

First of all, newly launched this year, the Rome International Film Festival (RIFF) caused some frictions with PIFF as to the annual film festival calendar, since the former’s festival period was overlapped with that of the latter. The establishment of RIFF itself had already been a controversial issue within the international film festival circuits even prior to its start. More specifically, the hotly debated issue was about whether or not establishing another A-rate film festival [in Italy] is necessary under the situation where the Venice film festival’s international standing is gradually decreasing for other two A-rate major film festivals in Europe like Cannes and Berlin. To make matters worse, this controversy became further deteriorated under the situation where the launching of RIFF went ahead while Venice’s festival director Marco Müller repeated request to the Italian government for helping him launch a film market for Venice was crushed. For RIFF launched its own project markets, such as *Business Street* and *New Cinema Network*, meaning that it decided to partially adopt film market function. RIFF’s annual budget surpassed that of Venice as well. Even better and ampler resourced than Venice, RIFF has invited many film buyers and sellers from all over the world and provided some of them with luxury hotel rooms and even flight tickets. In this process, a more serious problem arose: competitions between Rome and Venice for securing world premieres became even fiercer now that the temporal gap between Rome’s starting date and that of Venice was only a month. This Italian controversy also caused some problems to PIFF regarding the festival calendar. The fact that RIFF’s festival period was overlapped with that of PIFF meant a more volatile competition between them in securing world premieres. As a result, Rome and Busan agreed to screen on the
same date Shinya Tsukamoto’s *Nightmare Detective* (2006) and Patrick Tam’s *After This Our Exile* (2006) as joint-world premieres.

However, the controversy between RIFF and us as to screening world premieres didn’t end here: coordinating the time of joint-screening these two world premieres was a complicated issue for the time difference between Italy and South Korea, hence amplifying more tensions between Rome and PIFF. Having realised the seriousness of determining the festival dates for Rome, Venice and Torino after the first RIFF ended, the Italian government started coordinating them. The final decision over this festival calendar issue in Italian film festivals was as follows: (1) Venice is scheduled to be held from August 30- September 8 next year just as this year’s, (2) Rome from 20-30 October next year, about a week behind this year’s festival opening date and (3) Torino from November 24- December 2, about two weeks behind this year’s festival opening date. We have already determined to hold BIFF from 4-12 October next year, meaning that PIFF can avoid its competition with RIFF this year as regards the issue on the festival date. We also think the Italian government has come to a conclusion that it would be desirable for Rome’s festival period not to be overlapped with both Venice and Busan. Furthermore, since the first
RIFF’s programmes on Asian films are not quite impressive, hence not seeming significantly impactable to Asian films on the whole, I predict that our programming activities to secure Asian films next year will be a lot easier than this year. I think that the de-facto victim of RIFF-caused issue on festival date could be the Tokyo International Film Festival (TIFF), since RIFF’s festival period is exactly overlapped with that of TIFF. I predict that given that the current TIFF director Kakogawa overturned his previous commitment that he will resign his directorship this year, it will be for now difficult for us to see significant changes in TIFF. At the same time, the Japanese government seems to focus its [administrative and financial] supports less on TIFF itself and more on the media content market to be held during the festival period. Unfortunately, in this process TIFF became mired in complex dynamics of international film festival calendar by overlapping its festival period with that of RIFF.

Secondly, despite its recent decline compounded by that of the Hong Kong film industries, the Hong Kong International Film Festival (HKIFF) is currently anticipating its revival and significant transformation through its close collaboration with the Hong Kong Filmart, the strongest film market in Asia. The most significant in HKIFF’s transformation could be its decision to hold on March 20, 2007, both the Hong Kong Financing Forum (HAF) whose format is quite similar to that of PIFF’s Pusan Promotion Plan (PPP) and Filmart together. And then the overall schedule of HKIFF will dramatically change as well: it will be divided into the first half and the second half. The first half (March 20-28) will be run mainly for festival guests [(or film professionals)] during which Hong Kong Asia Screening (HAS: March 20-23) is also planned to be held to show new Asian films. The second half will be run for festival audiences, focusing more on operating the film festival itself. I think that it is at this stage too premature for me to assess how effective HKIFF’s plan to run its festival through the separation of festival guests and festival audiences will be. HKIFF is also trying to recapture from BIFF its past prestigious position to dominate “Asian issues” in international film scenes by newly launching the Asian Film Awards (AFA) next year. Apart from them, Filmart is also attempting its metamorphosis. It plans to separately run such programmes as Animation and Digital World, Equipment and Post-Production Service World, TV World and Location World. This series of Filmart’s initiatives seem to me to be highly mindful of the Asian Film Market’s Star Summit Asia and the Busan International Film Commission & Industry Showcase (BIFCOM).
We have roughly completed our independent assessment of PIFF’s regional and international competitors and are now reviewing the current condition of PIFF and its AFM. Frankly speaking, we have been quite concerned about launching AFM. Nevertheless, we are certain about our film market’s future success [for its competitiveness and specialisation]. I hope that from a long-term perspective AFM will be able to be consolidated as one of regional poles of international film markets: (1) Europe – Cannes’s Marché du Film and Berlin’s European Film Market (EFM), (2) North America – the Toronto International Film Festival (TIFF), the American Film Market (AFM) and (3) Asia – HKIFF’s Filmart and PIFF’s AFM. We are also trying to grow the audience-friendliness of BIFF up to the level of the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR). We finally deciphered the secret of IFFR’s statistics on the total number of its festival attendants reaching 300,000 which we had previously perceived as the unreachable number for PIFF. It turned out that IFFR’s 300,000 audiences included not only those having watched films (inclusive of festival guests) but also those having attended exhibitions held during the festival period. Unlike IFFR, PIFF calculates and adds only the number of the former to its total number of festival attendants. Our ultimate goal is to catch up with IFFR’s project market and fund (e.g. Cinemart and Huber Ball’s Fund) and Toronto’s film market function. And lastly, we will do our best to complete the construction of the Busan Cinema Center [in Centum]. Thank you and see you soon’.
지난 2 월 23 일 2007 부산국제영화제 조직위원회 정기 총회가 열렸습니다. 매년 이맘때 정기 총회를 열어 전년도 예산결산 승인도 받고, 새해 사업과 예산안 승인도 받습니다. 그런데, 올해 정기총회는 좀 특별한 의미가 있는 총회였습니다. 그 핵심은 제 2 기 집행부 구성입니다. 잘 아시는 것처럼 저희 영화제는 김동호 집행위원장께서 초대 위원장을 맡으신 이래 영화제를 안정적으로 성장시키 오셨고, 앞으로도 영상센터 건립, 차별하게 변화하고 있는 해외 영화계 환경에 대한 대응 등 하셔야 할 일들이 산적해 있습니다. 하지만, 그 동안 우리 영화제는 너무 조잡히 캐져 버렸고, 초창기의 시스템으로는 감당하기 힘든 상황이 되어 버렸습니다. 또한, 적은 양 미해가는 하지만, 김동호 위원장의 퇴임 이후를 준비해야 하는 상황에 놓여 있기도 합니다. 해서, 올해 김동호 위원장께서 직접 공동위원장 제도를 도입이라는 단안을 내리셨습니다. 그리하여 정기 총회에서 정관을 개정하고 이용관 부위원장과 공동 위원장을 공동 위촉하였습니다. 두 분의 업무는 김동호 위원장께서 주로 해외 업무를, 이용관 위원장이 국내 업무를 맡는 것으로 결정되었습니다. 그 동안 이용관 위원장은 폭넓은 국내 영화계 인적 네트워크를 통해 국내 업무 및 스폰서 유치에 핵심 역할을 달성해 왔기 때문에 이번에 무리 없이 공동위원장직에 위촉된 것입니다. 하지만, 이용관 위원장은 김동호 위원장의 자리를 빈자리를 헌정위원으로서의 자세로 일하도록 하는EndDate: February 23, 2007 (accessed March 5, 2013).
이번 호에서는 두 편의 음악을 소개해 드리겠습니다. 지난 2월 초 자는 말레이시아 출장을 다녀왔습니다. 말레이시아와 관련된 중요한 업무 때문에 갔다 왔습니다. 중간에 봄에는 한정 계보 중인 발리우드영화 신작 두 편을 볼 수 있었습니다. 말레이시아는
인도계가 전체 인구의 7%를 차지합니다. 때문에, 인도영화의 시장이 형성되어 있고, 발리우드의 신작들이 비교적 빠르게 소개됩니다.
[갈호나호]로 소위 대박을 터뜨린 감독이고, 마니 라트남은 1996년 이후 대부분의 작품이 부산영화제에서 소개될 정도로 사랑 받는
감독입니다. 두 편 다 전형적인 발리우드 스타일의 작품입니다만, 음악이 특별 인상적입니다. [사랑의 친가]는 산카르-에산-로이(Shankar-Ehsaan-Loy) 트리오가 [갈호나호]에 이어 다시 음악을 맡아 완성한 음악을 선보입니다. 특히, 동명의 주제음악인
[사랑의 친가]는 총격기로 넘쳐 흘러 오는 음악으로 독특성이 상당히 강합니다. [구루]는 마니 라트남의 오랜 콜비인 A.R. 라호만이 이번에도 음악을 맡았습니다. 라호만은 '마이더스의 손'으로 불리는 작곡가로, 이텔레의 엔도 노리코네나 그리스의 미키오
태오도리키스와 견고한 만남입니다. 이번에 선보인 그의 음악은 그의 저력과 점차 진화하는 음악성을 재확인하게 합니다. 특히,
[자이개 하인 Jaage Hain]은 서정성과 장르를 함께 갖춘 작품입니다. 이 두 곡을 듣으시면서 행복한 하루 보내시기 바랍니다.
On February 23, the 2007 General Meeting of the PIFF Organising Committee was held at the Busan city hall. During the meeting several issues have been discussed that ranges from the reporting of how this year’s budget of PIFF authorized last year had been spent to the authorization of its next year’s budget and future projects. This year’s general meeting session was particularly meaningful to us in that PIFF decided to form a new executive group by reshuffling its existing core personnel. As you know, PIFF director Kim Dong-ho has stably run and managed PIFF since its inception in 1996 to date. At the same time, however, PIFF is still having many ongoing issues needed to be tackled, ranging from the construction of the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City to future plans for effectively responding to fast-changing contemporary environment of international film festivals and so on. To make matters worse, PIFF’s overall structure has already been over-expanded up to the degree that its existing [operation and management] system devised in its early years can no longer afford to accommodate its current capacities. Apart from this, we might have to consider the festival director Kim’s retirement in the foreseeable future as well. He thus took a drastic measure to adopt the co-directorship system for PIFF as of this year’s edition and the general meeting determined to appoint Lee Yong-kwan as PIFF’s co-festival director from its 12th edition (October 4-12, 2007). The festival director Kim will be responsible for PIFF’s international part and the co-festival director Lee for its domestic part. Especially, given that he had long been in charge of PIFF’s domestic part, such as securing domestic sponsors for PIFF and maintaining human networks in domestic film communities, I am really certain that co-director Lee will successfully carry out his responsibilities.

Summary: (1) There has been also the reshuffling of the deputy festival directorship (e.g. current deputy director Ahn Sung-ki (actor) and two co-deputy directors Jay Jeon (former PIFF programmer for world cinema mainly in Europe and North America) and Ahn Byung-yul (Busan MBC director-in-chief)), festival programmers (e.g. the resigning of Huh Moon-young (former PIFF programmer for Korean cinema and a highly influential film critics in Korea) and two newly appointed programmers for Korean cinema Cho Young-jung and Park Do-shin etc.) and PIFF general manager (Kang Sung-ho). (2) Programmer Kim’s strongly recommended original soundtracks – Indian OSTs: Jaage Hain in Guru (2006, directed by Mani Ratnam) and Salaam-E-Ishq (A Tribute to Love) (2007, directed by Nikhil Advani).
감지석의 Inside PIFF

지난 3월 19일부터 28일까지 홍콩영화제 출장을 다녀왔습니다. 이는 언론에 보도된 대로 올해 홍콩영화제는 아시아영화상을 출시시켜 그 어느 해보다 뛰어난 행사를 맞이하였으며, 저는 최종 감선 심사위원 자격으로 초청을 받아 시상식과 영화제에 참가하였습니다. 홍콩영화제가 아시아영화상을 창설한 10년은 아시아영화산업의 중심으로서의 홍콩의 위상을 대내외에 확산하고, 최근 협력에 투자 홍콩영화제의 분위기 반전을 위한 카드로 보입니다. 그리고, 그러한 의도는 외형적으로 성공한 것 같습니다. 비, 이병헌, 김해수, 임수정, 송광호 등 경쟁한 한국배우와 유력가, 양자영, 양조원, 배가 규, 미키 나카타니, 지아장커, 봉준호, 박찬욱, 자파르 파나히, 무기동 등 아시아의 거울금 배우와 감독들이 자리를 빌었습니다. 하지만, 시상결과를 보면 약간의 아쉬움이 남습니다. 각본상과 음악상을 제외한 나머지 부문은 모두 동북아 국가들 색지었습니다. 동북아 하위 지역은 물론의 급물 끝까지 있다는 것이 짧 동북아전 영화인이나 기자들의 총평이었습니다. 내년에는 아시아영화상이 아시아 전 지역을 이루는 데 신경을 써야 할 것 같습니다.

홍콩 아시아영화상 시상식 무대 전경

하지만, 더 큰 문제는 뒤에 있었습니다. 홍콩영화제 조직위 측이 아시아영화상에 올인하는 비판에 영화제 행사 자체가 어려움에 빠진 것입니다. 영화제 개막이 3월 19일이었지만 임시사무실은 24일에야 문을 열었고, 때문에 비디오그램, 캐스트패키지 등 모든 캐스트 관련가 제때 이루어지지 못했습니다. 처음 업계 아시아카드 역시 마켓에 가서 받아야 하는 상황이 생겨 버었습니다. 해서, 저는 3월 26일 프로그램 제이컵 원(Jacob Wong)과 점심을 같이 하면서 저일의 사정을 불어보았습니다. 제이컵과 저는 서로 상대방의 영화제에 대해 속 같은 이야기를 주고 받은 사이였습니다. 문제는 정부가 홍콩영화제를 엔터테인먼트 엑스포 산하에 두는 계획에서부터 비롯되었습니다. 제이컵에 따르면, 홍콩 정부는 홍콩필름마트와 영화제를 아시아영화상과 함께 개최하기를 원했고, 그 결과 개막날짜를 3월 19일로 하고 아시아영화상 시상식에 저지한 것입니다. 정부에서 영화제 측이 지원하는 연간 예산이 700만 홍콩달러인데, 아시아영화상 행사만 500만 달러라는 별도의 예산을 내려 보낼 것이지요. 여기서 문제가 발생했습니다. 원래 영화제는 부활절 휴가기간에 맞추어 개막을 할 예정이었습니다. 올해의 경우 4월 8일에 부활절입니다. 따라서, 정상적인 일정이라면 4월초에 영화제를 개막해야 하는 것입니다. 그런데, 엔터테인먼트 엑스포에 늦게美しい이 보너 극장확보에 문제가 생겼습니다. 홍콩영화제의 매인 극장은 홍콩문화중심(Hong Kong Cultural Centre)과 시청 대강당(City Hall)입니다. 하지만, 이들 공간은 3월 중순부터 알기 이전 행사에 의해 예약되어 있는 상태입니다. 때문에 홍콩영화제는 19일 개막을 하고도 매인 극장만 쓸 수 없는 극장 대금만 3월 27일까지 써야 하는 상황이 생겨 버린 것입니다. 또한, 영화제 임잡이 무려 23일이라는 세계 최장 영화제가 되어 버렸습니다. 홍콩영화제의 이런 고민은 내년에도 계속 될 것 같습니다.

시상자로 무대에 오른 비(오른쪽)와 마키 큐 / 봉준호 감독의 ‘괴물’이 4관왕에 올랐다. 남우주연상 수상소감을 밝히고 있는 영희배우 송호

홍콩영화제는 31년의 역사만이지만 아시아영화 관계자들이 참석하는 영화제입니다. 그들과의 만남도 매우 중요합니다. 지난 1년 사이에 아시아의 영화계들에 많은 변화들이 있었는데, 이들의 만남은 이를 확인하는 자리이기도 했습니다. 방콕영화제는 지난 연초에 태국인 스타들이 남겨두고 올가을까지는 2주일에 고정된였습니다. 사실을 알려주어야, 도쿄영화제의 아시아영화필름 태국 이 소아 지역 마지막 상임이 했습니다. 대만의 태이베이영화제 월초에 협력위원회를 비롯한 모든 스타들이 참석하고, 실질적 협력위원회였던 마음, 제이 복국은 아마도 많이 남지 않은 입정 때문에 등은 사무부의 초로 이어지는 모습이었습니다. 제이는 저에게 참가자원 직에 요청하였고, 저는 이를 수락하였습니다. 참가를 오해보람맞이이나 제이 모두 우리 영화제의 아시아다큐멘터리넷워크(AND)의 선정위원장에서 오해를 나누었습니다. 그리고, 아시아 지역의 대다수 영화제들이
[Summary]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers the story concerned with the programmer Kim’s visit to the 31st Hong Kong International Film Festival (March 20-April 11, 2007).

[1][Translation]: Refer to chapter 5 regarding the (partial) translation of programmer Kim’s account on his personal experience at the 31th Hong Kong International Film Festival.

[2][Latest news on structural changes in some Asian film festivals]: (a) the Bangkok International Film Festival (e.g. the reshuffling of its entire programming team except for the Thai staffs), (b) the Tokyo International Film Festival (e.g. the resigning of its programmer responsible for Asian cinema), (c) the Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival in Taiwan (e.g. the reshuffling of its entire festival staffs) and (d) PIFF’s outsourcing of its expertise on film festival operation and management to Asian countries (e.g. the ongoing preparation for the launching of a new international film festival in Vietnam in July 2007).

[3][The programmer Kim’s strongly recommended original soundtracks]: Reflection of the Moon (二泉映月 (1979), directed by Yan Jizhou (嚴寄洲)) and Ode to the Yellow River (黃河頌 (1955), directed by Lu Ban (呂班)).
김지식의 Inside PIFF

지난 5월 15일부터 제 60회 유엔문화재를 타너왔습니다. 전도인세 여우주연상 수상 소식이나 한국영화가 미acet에서 빌라가 부진하였다는 소식은 이미 언론보도를 통해 잘 알고 캐시리아 생각됩니다. 저는 9일간 하루 평균 6-7편의 영화를 보였고요. 100여편 이상의 스크린을 받아왔습니다. 그 중에서 브릴런트 밴도사의 핀리치 아동 Foster Child<필리핀>이 가장 인상적이었습니다. 아내 몇 년 전에 페라 포[나와 함께 있어 깊]를 보았을 때 느꼈던 신선함과 감동을 느낄 수 있었습니다. 다큐멘터리 형식의 이 작품은 위탁가장의 하루를 따라가는 이야기를 담고 있습니다. 특히, 인상적인 것은 다큐멘터리와 유사한 형식을 극영화 측에 담아낸 감독의 진술과 말형, 그리고 연출방식입니다. 다큐멘터리적 기법의 도입이야 가파지도 많이 있어 왔지만, 이 작품은 이전 작품들과도 많이 다릅니다. 위탁자의 하루를 따라가면서 필리핀의 상부격차 문제, 일정문제 등을 나누나 자연스럽게 풀어나갑니다. 아시아영화 중 올해의 작품으로 손꼽을만한 작품입니다.

간은 작품과 감독, 배우들간의 장자어 나옵니다. 세계의 수많은 영화제들의 홍보의 장이기도 합니다. 저희 부산영화제와 관련해서 관심을 고는 몇몇 이벤트들도 있었지. 먼저, 일본 도쿄영화제는 그 동안 운영해 오던 두 개의 마켓, 즉 업계 종사자들을 대상으로 하는 'TIFFCOM(도쿄 국제 영화와 콘텐츠 마켓)'과 일반인을 대상으로 하는 'JCF(일본 콘텐츠 페어)', 두 마켓을 통합해 '도쿄 콘텐츠 페스티벌'을 출범시키기로 했습니다. 그리고, 이를 알리는 리서치 패Rated 개최하였습니다. 여기까지는 별 문제가 없습니다. 세계영화제까지만 봐도, 도쿄영화제가 내년부터 개최시기를 9월로 옮기겠다고 했습니다. 그리고, 저희의 의견을 묻는 모습. 도쿄영화제는 그 동안 매년 10월이나 11월 초에 개최해 왔습니다. 그런데, 감자가 9월말로 개최일정을 조정하겠다는 것임니다. 도쿄영화제가 9월로 일정을 이동하는 이유에 대해서는 제가 군이 설명 드리지 않아도 충분히 정리하시리라 믿습니다. 저희는 도쿄가 만약 9월로 옮기면 도쿄와 같은 A급 영화제인 산세바스찬영화제(스페인)와 일정이 겹칠때에는 도쿄영화제가 순서를 거꾸로는 예측할 가능성이 높습니다. 저희는 대비책을 세워야 할 것 같습니다. 결국 두 장 역의 차원에서 긴장한 드라이브를 걸고 있습니다. 올해 아시아영화상을 창설한 데 이어 이번에도 대대적인 페를 개최하여 홍보를 강화하고 있습니다. 바야호로 아시아의 3대 영화제가 무한경쟁을 돌입하는 시점입니다.

자회는 이의 보도된 대로 올해 아시아영화디스플레이를 창설합니다. 지난해에 시작된 아시아 디큐멘터리 네트워크 디스플레이를 포함하여, 개발단계, 후반작업 단계의 지원을 위한 프로젝트를 새로 조성하여 아시아영화디스플레이를 출범시키기로 한 것입니다. 또한, 지난 6월 4일 조직위원회 임시총회를 통해 영화제작 창업투자자와 배급사와 설립하기로 하였습니다. 배급사 설립은 내년이나 내후년에 설립될 PIFF 채널(미국 선댄스영화제의 선댄스 채널을 모델로 생각한다면 되겠습니다)을 위한 준비단계로 보시면 됩니다. 저희, 저희 부산영화제가 '아시아영화의 동반성장'을 지향하면서 각종 다양한 사람들들을 펼쳐왔지만, 정착한 한국시장에서는 아시아영화가 활발하게 소비되지 못하는 모습에 빠져 있었습니다. 그래서, 배급사와 TV 채널을 통해 아시아영화가 국내 시장에서 소통되도록 할 예정입니다. 향후 플랫폼은 TV 채널 외에도 다양하게 확대될 것입니다. 물론, PIFF 채널을 통해서 한국의 자산생산 독립영화도 수용할 계획을 가지고 있습니다. 창업사는 부산영화, 한국영화를 포함한 아시아영화 제작에 주로 투자하게 될 것입니다. 문제는 수익성인데, 이 두 가지 사업이 저희로서는 1중의 도전인 셈입니다. 하지만, 부산영화제가 세계무대에서 보다 강력한 힘을 가지고, 산업적 차원에서 실질적인
[Summary]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers stories on his recent visit to the 60th Cannes film festival (May 16-27, 2007) and several new projects of PIFF that are being in progress.

[1][The programmer Kim’s visit to the 60th Cannes fest in 2007]: (1-1) Latest news on the Korean actress Chun Do-yeon having won the award for best actress at this year’s Cannes for her role in *Secret Sunshine* directed by Lee Chang-dong and the decline in sales of Korean films at Marché du Film. (1-2) His routine programming activities at the Cannes (e.g. watching about six to seven films a day on average for nine days, resulting in receiving approximately 100 screeners). (1-3) Introduction of one of new Asian films programmer Kim discovered at this year’s Cannes fest to his readers (e.g. the Filipino filmmaker Brillante Mendosa’s *Foster Child* (2007)). (1-4) Kim’s brief report on latest news associated with some structural changes in other international film festivals: the Tokyo International Film Festival (TIFF) is planning not only to
integrate its previously separately run film and media markets TIFFCOM and JCF into one market called “the Tokyo Contents Market”, but also to change its festival date from November to September. Regarding the latter issue, Kim was a bit concerned about TIFF’s recent move for possible conflict of interest emergent between TIFF and another A-rate international film festival the San Sebastian International Film Festival in Spain that is usually held in September. He predicted that TIFF might be able to do ahead with this as planned irrespective of FIAPF (the International Federation of Film Producers Association)’s efforts to arbitrate the possible conflict of interest between these two A-rate international film festivals, since its decision is not legally-binding, hence not obligatorily upheld. Apart from TIFF, he reported that the Hong Kong International Film Festival (HKIFF) as PIFF’s another regional competitor held its PR events at the Cannes and launched the Asian Film Awards (AFA) this year. In a nutshell, Kim forecasted that these three major Asian film festivals started entering into fierce competitions.

[2][PIFF’s new projects in progress]: (2-1) Setting up the Asian Cinema Fund (ACF). (2-2) The interim meeting of the PIFF organising committee held to determine the establishment of PIFF’s venture capital and investment company for film production and film distributor as part of PIFF’s preliminary step to establish PIFF Channel modeled after the Sundance Film Festival’s Sundance Channel. (2-3) The Busan metropolitan government’s decision to subsidize KRW 20 million (approximately $200,000) for PIFF’s plan to establish and then systemise film archive function within the Busan Cinémathèque (this plan can be to a greater extent understood as a preliminary step to prepare for PIFF’s long-term plans, such as the completion of the Busan Cinema Center in Centum City and the establishment of the Center for Asian Film Archive in the foreseeable future.

이제 제 13 회 영화제가 6 개월 남았습니다. 준비는 착차 없이 진행 중입니다. 현재는 올해 영화제의 관련된 공간을 확정짓고, 각종 운영시스템을 정비 중입니다. 프로그래밍 도 큰 무리 없이 진행되고 있습니다.

제가 만든 아시아 지역의 경우, 그 동안 제가 자카르타, 도쿄, 홍콩 등지의 출장을 다녀왔지만, 주로 unpacking 작업이 많아서 지금도 헤맸습니다. ≪ACF 쇼 케이스≫를 열었습니다. 이제 'ACF 쇼 케이스'가 빠르면 올해부터 각 아시아 지역으로 확장될 것입니다.

또한, 올해는 유난히 해외 영화제에 소속되었기 때문에. 최근 저자들은 영화제를 주목하고 있는 두바이영화제가 제안을 해 온 것은 저희 영화제에서 '아랍어영화와의 밀접한 관계를, 두바이영화제에서 '한국영화의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로써 두바이영화제와의 밀접한 관계를 고려함으로


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[Translation (Partial)]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers latest news on other international film festivals and some of episodes concerned in the middle of preparing its 13th edition (October 2-10, 2008). However, for the thematic relevancy of this thesis, some of them were selected for translation.

‘About six months are left before the start of the 13th PIFF and its preparation is so far being smoothly underway according to our plan. Matters associated with this year’s festival venues have already been sorted out and its operational systems are currently being checked. Apart from them, our programming for this year’s PIFF is also being in progress without any problems happening so far. In the case of PIFF’s Asian film section of which I am in charge, though I have already visited numerous international film festivals including Jakarta, Tokyo, Hong Kong and many others to hunt for new Asian films, I am now still watching and checking [a huge pile of] screeners due to many of them being continuously sent to us by post to date. Particularly,
this year it is quite distinctive that many new and promising young Asian filmmakers are sending their films to us thanks majorly to the successful and critically acclaimed outcome of last year’s New Currents section. In the case of the PIFF-run Asian Cinema Fund (ACF), there has also been a rapid increase in the number of inquiry by those [in international film business] on it, as has been that in its international recognition just a year after its launching in 2007. In March this year the ACF Showcase took place in Seoul (March 4-13) and Busan (March 7-20) respectively and we plan to expand it to Asian regions.

Let me tell you about an incident that has recently happened regarding ACF. As media had already reported, that was concerned with [the Japanese-born Taiwanese filmmaker] Li Ying’s documentary film Yasukuni (2008). This film had been supported by the Asian Network of Documentary (AND), one of the ACF programmes aimed at underwriting post-productions of Asian films. After being world-premiered at the 12th PIFF (October 4-12, 2007) has this film been critically acclaimed in numerous international film festivals, such as Sundance and Hong Kong. However, a Japanese far right-wing group hindered this film’s commercial release in Japan by threatening its Japanese distributor to stop its screening, leading it to be suspended in the end. We had been knowing well the person in charge of this film’s screening in Osaka for a long time, and she asked us for help at the apex of this threat. We thus started preparing something helpful for her from our side, like collecting signatures from well-known Asian filmmakers as part of publicly showing our international solidarity for letting this film’s screening in Japan take place. However, the screening of Yasukuni in Japan was finally cancelled even before we started putting our plan into practice: the owner of the theatre planning to screen this film gave in to this far right-wing group’s huge pressure. Later, she emailed to me that she will continue to do her utmost to enable this film to be screened in Japan in the foreseeable future, though she can’t for now. I responded to her that I will do everything I can to help her with this as well. I will keep you updated about the in-progress situation concerned with this issue as soon as I am informed of it.
This year, in particular, many of other international film festivals have requested us for sharing with them our decade-long expertise on film festival management and operation within a broader framework of mutual exchange programme. For instance, the Dubai International Film Festival (DIFF), one of powerfully emerging new film festivals in international film festival circuits, proposed us to hold the Arab Cinema’s Night at PIFF and the Korean Cinema’s Night at DIFF and to share our festival programming expertise with them. The Sarasota International Film Festival in the United States also made a similar proposition to us. In addition, the Jakarta International Film Festival proposed us to operate its own film scenario workshop programme by combining it with the PIFF-run Asian Film Academy (AFA). Being currently run in the Philippines, the ASEAN Independent Cinema Project (aiming at supporting film productions of 22 young independent filmmakers selected from 10 countries in the ASEAN region) requested us for world-premiering their films at PIFF. And the Taipei TV/Film Project Promotion, a film project market run by the Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival, is from this year on planning to increase the size of its market booth at PIFF’s Asian Film Market twice as big as the last year’s and grow the Taiwanese Cinema’s Night event up to the level of those of France and Japan. They even made a proposition to us for holding a mutual exchange event together [at this year’s PIFF]. […] The Tokyo International Film Festival has recently overhauled its overall organising structure by reshuffling its core personnel and is trying to further increase its “contact” with us.

We continue to try to take into account the improvement of our exchange and cooperation with these international film festivals for the sake of PIFF in the short term and for helping Korean films enter into the world stage in the long term.

And let me tell you about a couple of news concerned with festival programming. Though it is a bit premature for me to talk of them in public, there are some of ongoing film projects on which I am currently putting my eyes carefully and I would like to introduce them to you. In the People’s Republic of China Zia Zhangke has recently finished filming his new film and is currently being in the middle of its post-production. Its title is 24 City and was made to target the Cannes film festival this year. And another Chinese filmmaker Zhang Yuan, who had previously been said to be almost impossible to return to work as a filmmaker again for his involvement in illegal drug dealing, has recently completed his new film in the meantime. It’s a bit confusing to me. And can you remember the Chinese filmmaker Lou Ye? He is the filmmaker whose filmmaking activities have been categorically banned by the PRC government due to his film Summer Palace (2006), the recipient of the PPP Pusan Award in 2000 and one of films officially invited to the Cannes’s competition section in 2006. Nevertheless, he is currently making his new film whose production is financed entirely by a French film production company and will also deal with a really shocking story like his previous film. I have already looked through its synopsis and will update you about it more in detail later. In Hong Kong,
Wang Kar Wai is currently re-editing the director’s cut of his 1994 film *Ashes of Time* and this might be able to be screened at this year’s Cannes fest if it is completed as planned. Another Hong Kong director Fruit Chan is going to start the filming of his new film *Don’t Look Up* on April 14 this year. The PIFF-discovered Afghan filmmaker *Sidiq Barmak* nearly finished his PPP project *Opium War* and is targeting this film at this year’s Cannes fest. […]’.
김/석의/ Inside PIFF

지난 5 월에는 컵과 암모리 출장은 다녀왔습니다. 컵 영화제에 관한 소식은 원편 인터뷰에 많이 보도 된 터라, 간략하게만 소개하고 넘어가겠습니다. 저는 주로 머리를 닦았는데요. 부스 비용도 그렇기 때문, 헤어 감도 원편 비서로서 참가 하시돌림에 고민이 많다는 생각이 들었습니다. 그래서, 영화산업의 규모가 그렇지 않기 큰 결과물 영화제 뿐만 아니라 담당자들은 부스를 냉 암두를 내지 못하고 대신 국가기관들(우리로는 당연 영화진흥위حال와 같은)이 부스를 내셔 자국의 영화를 홍보, 또는 세일즈 하는 경우가 많습니다. 저는 전향한 부 참가람영문, 박도신 프로그레머와 함께 아파트를 빌려 기간 내내 지켰고, 컵 영화제에서 사용물을 제공하는 텔레콤으로부터 컵 이영환과 달라지는 저리와 함께했습니다. 매일 아침은 아트센터에서 직접 해묵고, 빨래도 직접 해결하였습니다. 고개 쌍히 먹으니까요.

어쨌든, 저는 열심히 영화도 보고 미스도 열심히 하고 해서 원하는 작품은 거의 찾아났었습니다. 제가 미쳐 몰랐던 새로운 작품이 그다지 많이 없어서 좀 아이피왔지만, 이제 곧 카조스탄, 중국, 대만, 필리핀, 태국, 일본으로 출장을 갈 예정이기 때문에 미팅을 더 열심히 하겠습니다.

지난 5 월 22 일 귀환점에서 하루를 묵은 뒤, 이른날 카조스탄 암모리로 항했습니다. 암모리는 올해로 5 회를 맞는 암모리국제영화제가 5 월 23 일부터 27 일까지 열렸습니다. 주로 중앙아시아의 도입영화를 소개하는 영화제인데, 아직 여러 가지로 미흡한 점이 많은 영화제입니다. 먼저 자막 문제를 들 수 있습니다. 대부분의 영화들이 영어자막이 없는 채로 상영되는데, 거기에는 그럴만한 이유가 있습니다. 중앙아시아 국가들은 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의사소통이 그러지 않 Azerbaiyani, 러시아어를 많이 독고 있어서 주로 영어자막이 없는 영화를 상영하는 경우가 많습니다. 카조스탄 영화제는 대개 영어어 비슷한 의...
‘In May I visited Cannes and Almaty. Due to the abundance of news concerned with this year’s Cannes film festival, let me briefly touch on the story about them. As always, I have spent most of my times in the Cannes film festival Marché du Film during this year’s Cannes fest. My impression about this year’s film market was that film companies participating in it might be quite concerned about how they can afford the continually increasing price of market booth fees and hotels in Cannes. For instance, in the case of film companies coming from countries whose size of film industries is not as big as major film producing countries, they cannot afford to set up their own booths in the Cannes film market. Hence, their films-related public bodies (e.g. the equivalents of the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) in South Korea) oftentimes open booths in the film market to conduct promotion or sales of their national films on behalf of these companies. I
have stayed with BIFF deputy director Jay Jeon and the programmer Park Do-shin in a rented
apartment throughout the festival period, and later BIFF director Kim Dong-ho joined us after
having stayed in a hotel provided by Cannes for four days. There we ourselves cooked our
breakfast every morning and did our laundry, because this costs us less in the end. Anyway,
during this year’s Cannes I have watched many films and had numerous meetings with [film
companies and public bodies participating in the film market], hence I think I managed to
accomplish my goal here in Cannes. Though I felt not much satisfied with this year’s Cannes for
the fact that there haven’t been many of new films I didn’t know, I continued to spend most of
my times in Cannes having as many meetings as possible, since I am soon to visit Kazakhstan,
the PRC, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and Japan for my programming activities.

I flew to Almaty in Kazakhstan just two days after returning to Korea from Cannes on May
22. There the 5th Almaty International Film Festival (AIFF) was held from 23-27 May. This
film festival specialises in introducing independent films from Central Asian countries and is
considered still a bit “lacking and less-equipped” [and imperfect] as an international film festival
for several reasons. Firstly, AIFF screens its festival films with no English subtitles for which
there is a justifiable reason. Most of Central Asian countries use similar languages, hence not
quite difficult for them to communicate with each other [for such a low linguistic and cultural
barrier existing among them], coupled with the fact that Russian is the most frequently used
language in Central Asia. Besides, the number of foreign guests to AIFF is at best more or less
than ten people. For this reason, AIFF did not find it quite necessary to screen its festival films
with English subtitle. However, watching Central Asian films with no English subtitles was
quite uncomfortable and even painful to foreign guests including myself. AIFF used as its main
festival venue a multiplex cinema housed in a shopping mall called Silk Way. They were small-
size but relatively clean. One of the reasons why I love Almaty is that the entire city is clean,
surrounded by the woods.

Let me tell you about the reason why Kazakhstan is so important [from the perspective of international film business]. For Kazakhstan is the very hub of Central Asian films. Other Central Asian countries like Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, are still not capable of producing films on their own. On the contrary, its economy being currently on the rise as you may know well, Kazakhstan is the place where the Eurasia International Film Festival (EIFF) is held in September annually and its domestic film producers influential through Central Asia are still working actively. However, the problem is that AIFF hasn’t yet been grown up to the international standard. For instance, on the next day after its opening AIFF took all of its guests to Almaty’s touristic site the Chimbulak mountain resort, which is also well-known as the site for the 2011 Winter Olympic Games, and made us spend a whole day there, in spite of the fact that by this time films were being screened in theatres. Initially, I intended to join this resort tour to meet and talk with other festival guests on the first day of the festival. But, I didn’t expect to spend my whole day there only for this tour. Hence, I decided not to join it on the next day. Despite this, I couldn’t help admitting its beautiful scenery and chilling-out environment. While the entire city was nearly scorching, the interior of this mountain was strangely chilly and literally spectacularly beautiful. I haven’t relished such a luxury as this for a long time.

Let me get back to the issue on AIFF again. Frankly speaking, its programmes weren’t as satisfactory as I initially expected. Notwithstanding its well-intended founding rationale, other film production companies wanting to participate in bigger film festivals didn’t show their interest to AIFF. Nonetheless, I loved this film festival, since I could meet many Kazakh filmmakers and producers and obtain many rough-cuts of their still unfinished films throughout the festival period. I also visited the Kazakh Film Studio, which has once been the second biggest film studio next to the Moscow Film Studio in the Soviet era and watched two new Kazakh films – Sabit Kurmanbekov’s Turmoil (2008) and Daniyar Salamat’s Together With My Father (2008) – with no English subtitles. They were quite good. The staff responsible for the Kazakh Film Studio’s overseas business was ethnic Korean, but unfortunately able to speak neither Korean nor English. So, my Kazakh interpreter had to help me communicate with this staff. There are many of internationally important [and renowned] Kazakh film producers who are actively working on a global basis. Of them, Sain Gabdullin from Kino Film and Gulnara Sarsenova from the Eurasia Film Production (do not confuse Gulnara Sarsenova with the director of the Eurasia International Film Festival Gulnara Abikeyeva) are the most exemplary figures. Namely, they are valued as the most important figures in the Kazakh film industry. Sain is a really talented film producer who has been working mainly with the Kyrgyz filmmaker Marat Sarulu. At my visit to Almaty this year, Sain showed me Sarulu’s new film Song from the
South Seas [later commercially released in 2009]. Having previously been invited to the Pusan Promotion Plan (PPP) in 2005 with the title Family, this film could be appreciated as the most talented film throughout the entire Central Asia so far. Especially, given that Sain really wants this film to be invited to the 13th PIFF this year (October 2-10, 2008), I think that the invitation process of this film to our festival won’t be difficult at all. Gulnara is the producer of Sergei Bodrov’s Mongol (2007) and the artistic prize winner of Quinzaine des Réalisateurs (Directors’ Fortnight) of this year’s Cannes Sergei Dvortsevoy’s Tulpan (2008) and is currently producing Ermek Shinarbaev’s new film. On May 26, I met her with the director Ermek Shinarbaev. I would describe two of them as avid supporters of PPP who have briefly visited the 12th PIFF (October 4-12, 2007) without giving notice to us in advance. Hence, we intensively discussed together their future cooperations with PIFF. In other words, I could earn them as PIFF’s valuable network in Central Asia. Apart from them, I also met many of major Kazakh filmmakers like Darijan Omirbaev. On the last day of my visit to Almaty, I visited a fledgling film production company Aldongar where I watched its founding film The Gift to Stalin (2008) directed by Rustem Abdrashev.

<The Gift to Stalin>

This is a really touching film that tells the story about a Jewish boy who wishes his parents to return to him if sending the gift to Stalin after being forced to be moved to Kazakhstan with his grandfather. This film director could be quite unknown to you (or Korean audiences). Having made three films so far, this young Kazakh filmmaker has drawn my attention since his film Patchwork (2007) released last year. The Gift to Stalin is a multinational film project that such countries as Russia, Poland and Israel participated in. In particular, Krzysztof Zanussi’s Tor Film Production also participated in this coproduction project. The Gift to Stalin will be screened as a world premiere at this year’s PIFF. I also received a good news from this film’s producer Aliya Uvalzhanova. My personal favorite Kazakh director Aktan Abdykalykov is
currently making his new film and Mohsen Makhmalbaf wrote its script. What a fantastic combination they must be! Thus, I emailed Mohsen Makhmalbaf as soon as I returned to Korea from Almaty.

On May 27, the Asian Film Market manager Lim Ji-yoon and I had to head for the airport in the middle of the closing ceremony of AIFF to catch our night flight back to Korea. Our beautiful Kazakh interpreter Gulmira aged 23 was weeping for leaving us. Throughout my visit to Almaty I received a strong impression that most Kazakh people including Gulmira were warm-hearted, pure and sincere. For this reason, Almaty is still lingering in my head, even if already a week passed after my return to Korea. I think I might be visiting Almaty every year.”
할력 영화제가 도래하여 먹을 새롭게 되었습니다. 모두가 어린이의 관심과 성원이 주입되었습니다. 저희는 지금 결사과 정신적인 작업에 전념하였습니다. 우리가 이 영화제에 들어왔던 프레임체가 다름이 없는지, 게스트들은 차질 없이 출국했었지만, 영화제 기간 중 대관하였던 상영관과의 매력을 잃었다는 비판이 피부 밀리지 철수는 잘 되었는지 등등 아직도 마무리 해야 할 일이 많이 남아 있었습니다.

올해는 예년에 비해 비교적 분위기가 흥행한 것으로 판단하고 있습니다. 하지만, 내부적으로는 손간 고비를 넘겨야 했습니다. 매년 겨울은 일어나지만, 힘들기는 매년이지 않았습니다. 그래서, 저희 영화제가 끝나고 이들 정도 드러놓기도 했습니다. 저희는 이렇게 했던 몇 가지 재협소드를 전해드리고자(지금은 예피소드라고 표현하지만) 그래도 조금은 정상적인 상태가 되는가를 찾는다는 의미가 있었습니다.

하나, 올해 개막작은 카자흐스탄 영화였습니다. 국내외 관객과 개시로 모두가 개막작과 마음을 긁어줄 만한 평가를 해 주셔서 저희로서도 놀랐습니다. 하지만, 개막작을 가졌는데 있어서 여러 차례 고비를 넘겨야 했습니다. 제가 지난 5월 말에 알마티로 가서 러프샷을 본 뒤, 귀국하여 내부에서 논의를 거친 결과 개막작을 확정 지었습니다. 그런데, 제작사나 배급사가 아직 결정이 일관하여 월드 프리미어의 개념을 잘 이해하지 못하고 있었습니다. 부산에서 첫 상영을 하려 한다는 사실을 설득시키는 데만 두 달이 넘게 걸렸습니다.

그리하여, 원래 9월 중순에 카자흐스탄과 러시아에서 참석했던 개봉 일정을 우리 영화제 이후로 거의 늦추고 있었습니다. 그런데, 개막일이 다가오자 예상 못했던 문제가 생겼습니다. 감독이 후반작업에 공을 너무 열심히 들이려 보니 9월 20일까지 프리트를 보내주기로 한 약속을 어기게 된 것입니다. 저희는 너무 더워서 매일같이 화를 내었습니다. 저희의 헌신을 전하고 제작사에서는 미안하다면서 아예 편드 캐리를 하겠다는 연락을 해 왔습니다. 문제는, 카자흐스탄에서 세관을 무사히 통과할 수 있는지 하는 것이었죠. 그러면서, 제작사에서는 현재 맡는있는 프리트가 카자흐스탄과 한벌, 러시아에서 한벌이니까 두 벌을 다 들고 오겠다고 했습니다. 당시에는 그러려고 했죠. 그러면서, 9월 29일 알마티 출발, 10월 1일 모스크바 출발로 일정을 잡았습니다. 9월 29일 당일, 박성호 이사와 영화 팀장을 안정공항으로 급파해서 최종 결정을 간행하였습니다. 그리고, 미침내 박팀장으로부터 프리트를 넘겨 받았다는 연락을 받았습니다. 그러면서 저희는 안도의 한숨을 쉬었고, 모스크바에 프리트 들고 오지 않아도 되는 연락을 보냈습니다. 이런 무리일을 꾸는 끝에 개막작 스틸런던의 선배는 무사히 상영될 수 있게, 화를 받았습니다.

돌, 우리 영화제 명물 중의 하나인 아의상영은, 모든 장비를 스위스의 시네센터로부터 대여하여 진행하고 있습니다. 대규모 아의상영 장비와 기술에 관한 한 세계 최고의 기술력을 자랑하는 곳이 바로 시네센터입니다. 저희는 매년 이 곳과 계약을 맺고 아의상영을 합니다. 장비는 매개 8월말에 스위스에서 내달년이나 아테네로 보내면서 바로 살아옵니다. 이 정도만 써서도 기분을 갖는 시간입니다. 그런데, 컴퓨터 속에 어떤 것이 있겠는지 복잡을 만났습니다. 스위스의 화물운송업체들이 일관하여 칭찬을 합니다. 저희로서는 도착 경로 등이 깨진 뒤, 대체 운송수단 찾기 위해 빠를 수 소수한 경우, 태어날 수 있도록 준비를 많이 보냈습니다. 하지만, 몇 주 후에는 배가 홍콩 인근 지역을 지나면서 패킹을 만나 홍콩 항으로 이동했던 그 영향을 받았습니다. 저희는 다시 비상사태에 돌입했습니다. 중부에서 부산으로 운반하는 대안을 찾는게 빠르게 했습니다. 하지만, 이내에 다른 태풍이 이틀 만에 불러왔고, 배는 9월 27일(토)에 부산항에 도착할 수 있었습니다. 문제는, 남은 시간이었습니다. 마지막으로 스위스와 스케인 세팅에 최소한의 사고가 없게 하는데, 제일 앞에 장비를 찾아 오는 일부터 세팅을 하면 위험하다고 말하기가 너무 힘든 상황이었습니다. 그래서, 태풍을 촉반 촉반을 해서 일이갔으며 모든 장비를 빼 냈고, 모든 세팅도 개막 후 10월 1일에 마칠 수 있었습니다. 제 수영이 며칠이 단축되었을 것이라는 생각이 들었습니다.
P.S. 올해 영화제 전에 저는 새 차례에 겪어 ‘2008 PIFF 돌아보기’를 뉴스레터에 실은 적이 있습니다. 제가 그 글을 쓴 이유는 우리 영화제가 지향하는 바가 이해하기 쉽게 설명할 수 있는 부분에 대한 당부 등 여러 가지가 있기 때문입니다. 이를테면, 아시아영화아카데미나 아시아영화뿐만, 비평과 독론의 장 황정화 등이아말로 우리 영화제의 정체성을 가장 크게 드는 사람입니다. 제작, 단기간에 수반되고, 대중와 연예인, 감독이 아닌 사람이 단기간의 참가에 찰해두고, 내년으로 훈련시키고, 스크립트를 제안하는 계획을 세웠던 것입니다. 이 기획은amment에서 열악한 제재가 들어와 진행을 했지만, 마지막 순간에 그들이의 정체에 문제가 생겨 취소되곤 말았습니다. 만약 인질이 싸웠다면, 이 적도 그들이 기억하는 큰 원인을 좀 겪게 해 드렸을 뿐 안타깝기 짝이 없습니다.

저희는 친구나 벤치즈, 베일리영화제의 관리나 위상을 끼치고 싶은 마음은 추호도 갖습니다. 하지만, 아시아의 소위 거장들도 자신을 만들고 그들의 역할을 맡는 데도 중요하다는 것이 현실입니다. 아시아영화의 중심을 지향하는 부분으로 이러한 현실을 무도하게 해야 할지 판단하는פית이 많습니다. 저와 저는 둘째 산의 하나인 ‘적으로 아시아’라는 매우 흥미로운 태도가 나왔습니다. 휴대폰의 핵심은 누군가가 가질 수 있는, 모든 국민이 누군가가 가질 수 있는 건지가 되고 있습니다. 우리는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핵심을 지향하는 휴대폰의 핸드폰을 능가합니다." 라고 말한 바 있습니다.

울해 영화제 마치면서, 저희는 아시아의 정체성을 관객과 언론에서 상당 부분 이해하고 지지해 주셨음을 확인할 수 있었습니다. 다시 한 번 고개 숙여 감사의 인사를 전합니다. 저는 이 내년도 프로그램 잡음에 참여했습니다. 일부 특별한 것은 이와 상황과 협의를 마저하고 자초조에 들어갔습니다. 기대하셔도 좋습니다. 조만간 뉴스레터를 통해 다시 인사를 드리면서 정성껏 만들어온 일을 나눠보고 도리어 드리겠습니다. 이에 분명히 말씀해 드리길 난서에 몸 건강하시기 바랍니다. 감사합니다.

짐체 마지막으로 한가지 더 알려드리겠습니다. 울해 저희는 충참관자수를 산출하여 발표하겠다는 말씀을 드린 적이 있습니다. 그런데, 페미길선 보고서에서는 티격 발광وذ지만 발표하였습니다. 그 이유는 부산대 통계학과 지역 통계조사 방법으로 관객들과 투표객이 이에 대한 집계를 마쳤지만, 사전판독 등의 정밀 작업을 통해 가정 정확한 수치를 산출해 내는데 한당 여간의 시간이 걸리기 때문입니다. 따라서, 울해 우리 영화제의 충참관자수는 한 달짜리 뒤에 발표하도록 하겠습니다.
This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers three behind-the-scenes episodes concerned with the 13th PIFF (October 2-10, 2008). However, for the thematic relevancy of this thesis, two of them were selected for translation.

Finally, the 13th PIFF ended successfully thanks to all the attentions, interests and supports you have shown during the festival period. We are currently quite busy conducting our post-festival review: “Were film prints sent to our festival safely delivered to their next destinations?”, “Did festival guests return to their countries safely?”, “Were matters to do with theatres rented for the festival sorted out smoothly?”, “Was PIFF Village built for the festival safely disassembled?”, and so on. We estimated that this year’s PIFF has been run and managed relatively well compared to last year’s. However, internally we have had some predicaments needed to overcome. Though they have routinely come to us as a sort of rite of passage every year, the feeling of agony and exhaustion as a result of them have always been same irrespective of their [different] characteristics. […] Let me introduce you some episodes that have tortured me a great deal in relation to the 13th PIFF (Though I can now characterise these risks as episodes, it would be more precise for me to describe them as quite urgent situations before and during the festival period).

Firstly, the 13th PIFF screened as its opening film the Kazakh film The Gift to Stalin. We are quite delighted and satisfied with positive responses of both domestic and international festival guests [and audiences] to this opening film. However, there has been a behind-the-scenes predicament in the process of us bringing this film into Korea. This May I watched this film’s rough-cut during my visit to the 5th Almaty International Film Festival (May 23-27, 2008). After my return to Korea, this film was finally selected as the opening film of the 13th PIFF through internal discussions on this matter. However, due to their lack of experience in the dynamics of international film festivals, this film’s production and distribution companies didn’t have a complete understanding of the concept of world premiere.

Hence, it took me nearly two months to persuade them that the first screening of their film as a
world premiere should be taking place at the opening of 13th PIFF, not somewhere else at all. As a result, this film’s commercial release whose date has previously been scheduled in Kazakhstan and Russia in September this year could be moved to the date after the closing of this year’s PIFF. However, an unexpected problem arose. They passed the agreed date (September 20) for them to send this film’s print to us due to taking too much care of its post-production process. We were so desperate that we kept calling them every day to confirm its final completion ready for the delivery to us. The problem was about whether or not this film could pass the Kazakh customs without any problem. And then they told us that since they had two just-completed prints, one in Kazakhstan and the other in Moscow, they would send both of them to us. Of course, I answered them to do so [immediately]. Hence, two schedules – the first: departure from Almaty on September 29 / the second: departure from Moscow on October 1 – were finally confirmed. On September 29, Park Sung-ho, team leader of the Asian film department, was dispatched to the Incheon airport and then anxiously waited for the safe arrival of the print there. Fortunately, I got the phone call from him that he could safely receive the film print. Eventually, The Gift to Stalin could be screened as the opening film of the 13th PIFF on time and then receive rave reviews from both domestic and international festival guests and audiences.

Secondly, PIFF’s open-air screening is considered one of its most iconic and well-known practices. We rent all the equipments needed for it from Cine Rent in Switzerland. This Swiss company has by far the world’s best expertise in the equipments and technical know-how of mega open-air screenings. Every year we contract with this company to operate this outdoor screening. Around August its equipments are normally shipped to Busan via either the Netherlands or Italy. This time schedule for the shipment of these equipments is quite enough for us to complete their installation according to our plan. However, in this process we faced an unexpected situation. General strike of cargo companies in Switzerland broke out, for which we were on the alert. We had to find out other alternative means of their shipment as quickly as possible. Fortunately, Cine Rent let us know that these equipments would leave for Busan soon, because this strike ended about a week later. However, another problem arose. This time we were told the ship loading them had to escape to the Hong Kong harbour, since it met en route typhoon in the area near Hong Kong. For this, we were put in emergency again, busy looking for alternative routes for the delivery of these equipments from Hong Kong to Busan. To our relief, this typhoon was withdrawn and they could safely arrive at the Busan port on September 27 (Saturday). The last thing that we had to be concerned about regarding them was how much time remained to us so far. In general, it takes us at least three days to finish setting them up. However, I was really concerned that if we pulled out these equipments from the Busan port’s warehouse on Monday for their installation, we might not be able to make it before the date of the festival opening. Hence, we urgently requested the Busan port corporation to allow us to pull them out on
Finally, we could finish installing them just a day before the festival opening. I felt as if my life expectancy reduced a bit as a result of this happening. [...].

[P.S.]: As you know, prior to this year’s PIFF I have run three series of *PIFF topa-bogi* (Letters from PIFF Programmers) in the BIFF newsletter. The major reason behind this series is that I intend to explain more in detail to you what PIFF ultimately pursue as an international film festival for Asian cinema, through which to make our audiences and domestic media pay more attentions to PIFF in the long run. For instance, despite the fact that such PIFF’s initiatives as the Asian Film Academy (AFA), the Asia Cinema Fund (ACF) and PIFF’s endeavour to revitalize spaces for film criticism and discourses within it clearly demonstrate our festival’s identity, it is a pity that they cannot be effectively publicised, hence less interested, to our audiences and domestic media with the absence within PIFF of [public] spaces to draw the attentions of our audiences and domestic media or to facilitate both us (PIFF) and our audiences to meet and talk with each other in a more direct manner. For our belief that our audiences and media can evaluate the past and present of PIFF, we would like to emphasise to you PIFF as a film festival preparing its future quite systematically. What we eventually envisage from PIFF in the foreseeable future is the film festival where young and talented Asian filmmakers can be fostered, cinematic heritages in the Asian region preserved and discourses on films enlivened. As a matter of fact, these are neither short-term nor widely popular projects. For them to be materialised, we continue to try to form and consolidate the pan-Asian film networks for the Asian cineastes. At this point, let me briefly introduce you something I personally find interesting in a book entitled *Hello, Asia* I have recently read: the biggest beneficiary of the recent mobile phone revolution are the poor masses. In India and Bangladesh, mobile phone companies increased the number of mobile phone users by setting the fees quite low, which enabled farmers, fishers and workers in cities to receive constantly updated information through their mobile phones. In particular, mobile phones paved the way for them communicating with their customers more directly and effectively, resulting in helped the overall productivity of their respective populations enhance in the long run. Hence, the
founder of Bangladeshi Grameephone *Iqbal Quadir* emphasises that connectivity translates into more increased productivity. The more connected people become with others [via mobile phones and latest new media technologies as a whole], the more productive they become […] Although we do not have any intention whatsoever to follow the reputations of major A-rate international film festivals like Cannes, Berlin and Venice, it is nevertheless also the reality that many of Asian auteur filmmakers consider these major film festivals where they want to world-premiere their new films. Under this circumstance, we also cannot answer the question of this reality quite confidently in spite of the fact that PIFF is currently trying to become the hub of Asian cinema. Therefore, we determined to pursue our goal long-termly. Just as the connectivity of mobile phones led to the increase in productivity, we are also trying to establish more durably our regional networks with Asian cinema. Through this, we will continue to endeavour to read, give meanings to and make more distinctive new trends in Asian cinema. I predict that the films from Kazakhstan and the Philippines that could be internationally introduced through the 13th PIFF will be soon further spotlighted in other international film festivals’. 
매년 그렇지만, 영화제를 끝내고 나면 아쉬움과 안도감이 한꺼번에 앞трен답니다. 올해도 많은 일들이 영화제 기간 중에 있었고 이제는 마무리를 덜성히 하고 있는 중임입니다. 올해, 영화제 기간 중에 있었던 몇 가지 재미있는 멜로디리를 들려드릴까 합니다.

하지만, 영화제에서의 새로운 패턴들이 열렸습니다. 단순히 맺고 놓고 판가가 아니라, 각 영화마다 국가들이 자국의 영화를 프로모션하기 위해 패턴들이 대부분있었습니다. 저는 주로 아시아권 패턴에 초점을 맞춤, 관심과 예정을 표했습니다. 이러한 활동이 대미를 위한 투자라고 보면서 되었습니다. 그 새로운 패턴들 중에 가장 기억에 남는 패턴은 알레시아 패턴입니다. 셀카이며 트트리 휴브의 고층(고층) 각사의 정원이 연결된 공간이었는데요, 그 곳에 밀레아시아 패턴이 열렸습니다. 아시아평요 올해 저희 영화제는 알레시아의 주요 감독 15명이 함께 모여 만든 홍보시트영화 [15 알레시아]을 위도 프라미며로 상영하였고, 그 감독들 대부분이 자국의 영화를 제작했습니다. 그리고, 그들 모두가 알레시아의 영화를 찬성한 것입니다. 그런데, 이번에 찬성할 수 없었던 감독이 한 분이었습니다. 아시아 아프리카가 바로 그분이요. 그분은 지난 7월말에 감자가 터졌습니다. 알레시아 패턴에 찬성한 알레시아 영화인들과 게스트들은 주최측에서 나누어 준 하안 품셈을 해문든 바쁜날에 나갈자 negligé를 추모하였습니다. 사실, 아시아 아프리카는 올해 저희가 주최로 부산 심사위원으로 나왔고, 저희 영화제에 각별한 인생을 가졌던 인물입니다. 특히, 지난 해에는 PPP의 대상인 부산상을 받기도 하였습니다. 아시아를 대표하는 감독으로 자리매김한 만큼 뛰어난 연출작을 지었다. 그분들이 갑자기 그분의 태계는 더 더욱 안타까웠고요. 이날 모든 아시아의 영화인들이 그분을 떠나셨다다는 점을 아시었습니다.

한편, 영화제에서 '관객과의 대화'는 영화인과 관객이 직접 만나가는 가장 중요한 자리입니다. 그래서, 저희는 가볍도록 '관객과의 대화'를 마련하기 위해 최선의 노력을 기울였습니다. 그런데, 가급적 '관객과의 대화'를 가하는 영화인도 있습니다. 이들은 여러 가지 인재요. 아주 드물게 '관객과의 대화' 자체를 두려워하는 영화인도 있습니다. 올해도 그분이 한 분이 있었는데, 바로 [심볼]의 마로-too 헤로의 감독이었습니다. 염대 최고의 감독 코미디언이기도 한 그가 '관객과의 대화'를 두려워한다는 것이 낯설어 잘 가시지 않았습니다. 그도 그렇습니다만, 우리 [심볼]이 금한 프레젠테이션 작업도 해주었고, 관객들이 당연히 대화하기를 너무 고대하고 있으며 성급히 가듯한 끝에 거부 오케이를 받아왔습니다. 하지만, 정말 '관객과의 대화'를 할 때는 너무도 자연스럽고 성실하게 영화 주인이 주로 아시아의 감독을 받은 바 있습니다. 사실, 마로-too 헤로의 감독은 얼마 전 결혼하여 영화와 적절한 이야기의 태반을 논 앞에 두고 있었음입니다. 그래서, 우리 영화제에 참가한 아시아의 모습을 가졌습니다. 다양한 영화제 복제한 부인이 출산을 하는 덕에 영화제 참가비가 가능하였는데요. 한편으로는 희망의 또 다른 인격적인 면을 줄 수 있어서 희망한 감정이었습니다.

한편, 신종 플루 아카이를 배양할 수 없네요. 최근 신종플루가 다 대형화된 조짐이 있어서 모두가 걱정하고 있는데요. 저희 영화제는 9월 10월 까지 내내 상영을 관할을 걱정하는 기분입니다. 연로도를 보면서 잘 아졌었지만, 가습기에 아는 대형 폐막행사가 줄어들었습니다. 지난 8월 9월에 집중된 아시아 영화제의 안정적 개최에 대한 걱정도 안속으로 치우자 했습니다. 결과적으로는 큰 사고 없이 영화제를 잘 마쳤고, 관객 수도 17만 3,000여명에 달했습니다. 지난 해보다 2만 여명이 줄어든 것치지만, 저희 내부적으로는 영광스러운 선정한 결과라고 판단하였습니다. 영화제 전반까지 저희는 10만 명이 안될 수도 있다는 묘를 했었으니까요.

하나, 올해도 우리 자원봉사자들 많이 하지 않았을 수 없네요. 저는 정해도 우리 자원봉사자들이야말로 세계 최고라고 자부하고 있었습니다. 그들 스스로가 자원봉사자와 영화를 만들어가고, 전진으로 자원봉사 활동을 즐기고 있기 때문입니다. 혹시 폐막식에 참여했던 관객 분이 저를 향한 감사의 말을 했다고 했습니다. 저는 그렇게 됨으로 저희 자원봉사자들이 축구 현장에서 입소식을 잡아서 '감사합니다'. 내년에도 할건데요!
그리고 베트남을 빼놓을 수 없네요. 내년에 드디어 베트남 최초의 국제영화제가 생깁니다. 우리 영화제 기간 중에 하노이국제영화제 출범을 알리는 행사를 크게 하였는데요. 이미 몇 년 전부터 우리 영화제에 인턴을 파견하는 등 준비를 해왔고 드디어 내년에 출범을 하게 된 것이지요. 이처럼, 우리 영화제와 같은 관계를 갖고 있거나, 도움을 받아 창설되는 영화제는 앞으로도 늘어날 것 같습니다. 이미, 블라디보스토흥영화제와 오키나와코미디영화제 출범에 도움을 주었고, 하노이국제영화제 외에 타지키스탄에서 내년 출범을 목표로 하고 있는 두산배국제영화제 준비팀에도 이런 저런 도움을 줬습니다. 올해 영화제 시작 전에도 보고 드린 적이 있지만, 올해는 이런 저런 외부적 요인 때문에 어려움이 많은 한 해였습니다. 그럼에도 불구하고, 비교적 성공적으로 올해 영화제를 마무리 지었습니다. 앞에서 전해드린 뜻이이기는 별처럼 수많은 사람 중에서 지극히 일부에 불과했지만, 많은 분들이 가슴 속에 인생에 남을 추억한 가자미 안고 돌아가셨으면 하는 바람이 이루어졌기를 기대합니다. 폐막식 슬라이드 동영상에서도 밝혔듯이 정말 '오체투지'하는 마음가짐으로 다시 한번 여러분께 감사 드립니다.

[Translation (Partial)]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers three behind-the-scenes episodes concerned with the 14th PIFF (October 8-16, 2009). However, for the thematic relevancy of this thesis, only one episode was selected for translation.

‘[…] numerous parties have taken place during this year’s PIFF. They are not merely places for people hanging out with each other and enjoying drinks together till late night, but where either private film companies or films-related government bodies promote their new film projects or national film industries for the most part. During this year’s PIFF I have been attending parties hosted mainly by Asian delegations where I have shown them my sincere interest in and affection for them. The major reason for me to cruise around “Asian” parties can be understood broadly as part of long-term future investment beneficial to PIFF. One of the most memorable parties I had attended during the festival period was the Malaysian party […]. As you might probably know, this year PIFF world-premiered 15 Malaysia, an omnibus film in whose production fifteen Malaysian filmmakers had participated and they attended the festival with all of their travelling costs to Busan covered by themselves, not PIFF. Unfortunately, one of them couldn’t attend the festival: Jasmine Ahmed. She abruptly passed away in late July this year. We thus held a small memorial for her by flying into the night sky of Haeundae white balloons distributed by this party’s organiser to Malaysian filmmakers and the rest of those attending the party. We had already determined her to be one of the jury members for PIFF’s New Currents section and our relationship with her had been quite close (e.g. Jasmine Ahmed was the last year’s recipient of the PPP Pusan Award). Her passing-away even more saddened us, particularly for the fact that she has been appreciated as one of the most talented filmmakers in Asia […].

Talking with Audiences [or Guest Visit (GV)] is PIFF’s most precious (and valuable) space where cineastes can directly meet and communicate with their audiences and publics and we continue to try to hold as many GVs as we can for our ordinary audiences and publics. There
are, however, also occasionally some filmmakers and festival guests who do not want to attend GVs for a variety of personal reasons. Specifically, some of them are quite scared to attend GVs. The main culprit here is, for instance, Matsumoto Hitoshi who has visited this year’s PIFF with his new film *Symbol* (2009). In particular, given that he is contemporarily appreciated as one of the best comedians in Japan, it must be even more difficult for anyone to understand his rather unexpected behaviour shown as to his reticence over GVs. Nevertheless, we kept persuading him over the primary reason why he should attend the GV. We painstakingly explained to him the importance of his presence and participation in the GV on the grounds that his film “Symbol” had already been selected for the *Gala Screening* programme of this year’s PIFF and his audiences and fans are eager to meet and talk with you. And finally he agreed to. However, once the GV started, he actively responded to questions from them and enlivened its overall atmosphere, unlike his previous fear for the GV. As a matter of fact, Matsumoto Hitoshi has recently got married and was waiting for his baby to be born. To our relief, his wife gave a birth to their baby just before the start of PIFF, thank to which he could attend the festival. To me, this was a sort of extraordinary experience in that I could rediscover his more humanistic side of character.

[…] In the interview with a [local] newspaper I have once used the term “the general alumni reunion for Asian cineastes”. Nowadays, not only Korean cineastes but also Asian cineastes are promising to meet together in Busan every autumn and such meetings became consolidated as an interesting [cultural] phenomenon. This year many international guests have visited PIFF, during which I could find out an interesting phenomenon from them. Some of them included, for instance, two Hong Kong filmmakers Jonnie To and Fruit Chan. Especially, they told me that they haven’t visited Busan for five years since their last visits to it. And Asian guests’ preferences over Korean foods have gradually changed, hence diversified, as well. In the past, their favorite Korean foods have been at best either *bulgogi* (grilled beef) or *galbi* (grilled ribs). These days, these Asian guests are divided into several groups preferring certain sorts of Korean foods other than these two traditional foods, such as some for *samgeupsal* (pork belly) and others for *bokgug* (blowfish soup). For instance, Taiwanese film auteur Hou Hsiao-hsien has fallen in love with [grilled] eel, and Jonnie To has visited a restaurant specialising in *yanggopchang* (cow’s intestine), which I had introduced to him, nearly every day during the festival period. In particular, Hou Hsiao-hsien has visited this year’s PIFF even in spite of his new film not being officially invited to the festival: this time he has visited PIFF as the president of the organising committee for the Taipei Golden Horse Film Festival in Taiwan. Furthermore, Jonnie To and I have our friendship even stronger through having frequent drinking sessions with each other during the festival period […]’.
2010 15회 PIFF 무엇이 달라지나?

지난 2월 24일에는 저희 영화제 조직위원회 정기 총회가 있었습니다. 지난해 영화제의 결말과 올해 영화제 예산 및 계획안을 상의한 바 있습니다. 또한, 공식 포스터도 확정되어 앞 그대로 이제 15회 영화제의 본격적인 준비작업에 들어간 상태입니다.

지난 해는 이런 저런 외부적 영향 때문에 어려움을 겪었습니다. 또는, 내부적으로는 참을 수 없는 고통을 다가오는 것입니다. 물론, 올해라고 해서 시장이 나아지지는 않겠지만 난색을 극복하는 정신이 충분히 만큼 작년보다는 희망할 여지가 있습니다.

지금부터는 올해 저희 영화제가 무엇을 준비하고, 무엇을 지향하는지를 설명 드리고자 합니다. 지난해에 제가 뉴스레터에서 ‘영화제 3.0’이라는 용어를 쓴 적이 있습니다. 이것은 영화제를 돌리고 있는 외부환경이 너무 세게 변하면서 있기 때문이기도 합니다. 예를 들면, 국내의 필름마켓 극단적이던 전면적으로 35mm 시나리오가 디지털로 전환할 계획을 세우고 있습니다. 저희 부산국제영화제는 상영관 대부분을 35mm 극장으로 대대적으로 소요하고 있습니다. 따라서 상영관 전면적으로 변경사이고 싶어지는 것이 주요 문제로 인해 이러한 상황은 극단적으로, 어떻게 생각하는 것이 되겠습니까? 어떻게 영화제의 음성과 이미지가 되돌아갈 것일까. 즉, 저희가 이 변화로 볼 수 있는 것은 그 변화를 설명하는 것이 허락받는 것입니다. 하지만, 정책, 경제, 사회적 변화의 한계와 상황의 장단점인 이와 다르게, 부산국제영화제는 신은 영화제와 달리 일본 이외에도 넓은 범위의 변화를 촉발할 수 있습니다. 이를 위해 내부 인력으로 연구를 통해 연구활동을 본격화하고 있습니다. 기반급는 부산영화센터가 완료된 후(2010년, 적정 2011년 예정) 적극적인 공간을 바탕으로 영화제의 역할에 대해 루드템을 다시 써고 있고, 10년 후 부산국제영화제의 미래에 대한 밑그림도 그리고 있습니다.

올해는 그 밑그림을 바탕으로 저희 영화제의 방향을 재정의 해가 될 것입니다. 이러한 방향 정지는 각각 여러개들 담당 작업으로 파해속에 던치는 것일 수 없었지만, 내부적으로는 동해 부산 국제영화제의 본격적 쟁점이 됐습니다. 구체적으로, 이서와의 교류협력 네트워크, ‘온라인 마켓’ 새로운 매체의 관객과 경제의 ‘엔터테인먼트’는 올해의 중요한 희망입니다.

'이서와 유럽간 네트워크'는 이에 대한 개념적, 실행적 범위를 출발한 'EAVE Ties That Bind'가 그 출발점이 될 것입니다. 이와서와 유럽협회에서 선정된 10명의 프로듀서들이 각자 자신이 개발한 20주의 프로젝트를 가지고 2개의 워크숍에 참여하게 됩니다. 이와 순환과 관련한 개념적, 구체적 변화의 빠른 변화가 되돌아와 자르는 것이 중요하다. 또한, 마켓의 변화는 영화제 변화의 음성과 더불어 변화시킬 것이며, 변화의 경제성, 계약성, 그리고 공동체적 긍정적인 변화를 이해하기 위해서는 알현과 정책이 됩니다. 이와서이며의 사회적 합당을 위한 발판이 될 것입니다.

'온라인 마켓'은 새로운 교류의 경제의 ‘엔터테인먼트’의 핵심이 될 것입니다. 저희가 올해 오픈할 ‘온라인 마켓’은 기존의 어떤 영화제에서도 볼 수 없었던 개념입니다. 기존적으로는 비영어 샤워병이 영화를 온라인상에서 사고 파는 마켓이 바람직했습니다. 이것은 단지 투자에 끝나지 않고, 저희가 이와서의 변화로 인해, 온라인 상에서의 파생작과 할리우드의 마케팅 및 홍보, 그리고 공동체적의 비즈니스를 여러 사항에 대해 논의할 것입니다. 이는 이와서와의 사회적 합당을 위한 발판이 될 것입니다.

'새로운 개념의 관객과 영화의 만남'도 저희가 다양하게 추진중인 프로젝트입니다. 저희 영화제는 촬영 초기부터 ‘관객과 영화의 만남’이 가장 활발한 영화제였습니다.GV는 물론 아웃의 무대, 이벤트, 토크, 시네마, 투데이의 부산국제영화제의 특색은 프로젝트를 운영해 왔습니다. 사실, 이와서와 유럽협회는 결국 두가지의 관객과 영화의 만남의 다양한 프로젝트를變환으로 해서는 보이 힘들었습니다. 그리고, 이것은 부산국제영화제의 정제성과도 관련이 있습니다. 한편 기대해 보던 수용성의 온라인 마켓이 바람직한 것이 되겠다는 것입니다. 전시안에 따르면, 이와서와의 관객과 영화의 만남은 다음에 이월될 증가로 대응할 수 있는 관객의 확장이 필요합니다. 이와서와의 관객과 영화의 만남은 증가할 필요가 있습니다.

이와서와의 관객과 영화의 만남은 이와서와의 관객과 영화의 만남의 희망이 될 것입니다.
이에 본 판의 내용 역시 추후 보고 드리겠습니다.

[Translation (Partial)]: This edition of Inside PIFF (or BIFF) introduces its readers BIFF’s future vision, entering into its 15th edition (October 7-15, 2010).

‘From now on, let me talk of what we consider and envisage in relation to the future vision of PIFF and what we need to prepare for it. In last year’s edition of Inside BIFF [(e.g. Issue No. 2009-2 / Publishing Date: March 6, 2009)], I used the term Film Festival 3.0. to present you my intent on formulating a new concept of film festival, not its specific form in the future.

Interestingly, the International Film Festival Rotterdam (IFFR) used Rotterdam 3.0. This year IFFR launched its new programme called Cinema Reloaded. This programme was designed to facilitate the publics’ individual investments to fund three low-budget films: this IFFR’s bald initiative will lead to ushering in the new era of the publics given opportunities to become film investors or producers in the future. In this way, some of international film festivals like IFFR are incessantly innovating themselves by coming up with a variety of new ideas that will be contributable to the future development of international film festivals on the whole. This is also the major reason why we came up with the term Film Festival 3.0. We are currently prospecting the future development of PIFF, short-termly in one year or two and long-termly in a decade or so, taking into account the radically changing external environments of contemporary international film festivals. For instance, most of multiplex cinemas in Korea are currently planning to digitalize their existing 35mm projectors. And PIFF is renting most of the time multiplex cinemas as main screening venues. However, the worldwide digitalization of multiplex cinemas’ projection format is still a premature idea. For instance, it will be quite embarrassing to us if film production or distribution companies send us 35mm-formatted film prints, at the same time all the multiplex cinemas we are renting for PIFF have already been digitalized. However, sooner or later, this hypothetical situation isn’t going to be hypothetical anymore. Fortunately, the Busan Cinema Center that is currently being under construction will
have four screening spaces equipped with “dual-format projectors” compatible with both digital and 35mm formats. Nevertheless, it will not still be practically impossible for its current capacity to accommodate all the 35mm-formatted film prints sent to PIFF for their screenings. Hence, we need our separate measures to do so. However, there exist other external factors than this as well in terms of the rapidly changing contemporary environment for international film festivals. That is, there are plenty of other factors necessary to be analysed that range from how the contemporary cinema-going culture of festival audiences are changing to how the current IT environment can affect the overall characteristics of film festivals. As with them, political, economic and societal factors also need to be taken into account. Besides, PIFF is currently being in search of new agendas and new concepts for film festivals in order to survive its competition with other major international film festivals. For this, PIFF is internally running its own [film festival] research centre manned by some of PIFF staffers as researchers. In the short term, we are re-devising a new “roadmap” for PIFF’s future role on the basis of more clustered spaces to be newly created after the construction of the Busan Cinema Center in [Centum City] completes in 2010 or 2011 at the latest and, in the long term, we are redrawing the blueprint of PIFF in a decade. In this sense, this year’s PIFF is going to show you [and international stakeholders as a whole] its new direction and vision based on this blueprint. Though it might not be able to reach you tangibly, such a directional movement will translate internally into meaningful qualitative [and positive] changes to us after all. More specifically, “the networkings between Asia and Europe”, “online film market” and “new concept of meeting between cineastes and audiences” are three important agendas we are thinking of for this year.

“The networkings between Asian and Europe” will start substantially through *EAVE Ties That Bind*, a workshop that is about to be newly launched within the framework of the Asian Film Market (AFA). Ten film producers selected from Asia and Europe respectively with their feature-length ongoing projects are going to collaborate and work together with film experts in each field of [international] film industries through two workshops. Over the course of this workshop, they are discussing various issues that range from “development of film scenarios” and “Asian-European collaborations” to “funding production costs from both Asia and Europe” to “film marketing and promotion” to “regulations on coproductions” and so on. I believe that this will function as a crucial springboard for the further expansion of the market for Asian films.

*Online film market* to be launched by PIFF this year is going to be the core of this new film festival model whose novel concept other international film festivals have not yet tried so far. Although this will basically be a film market where film buyers and sellers do their businesses online, this is nevertheless just for starter. Namely, we want to materialise and extend our initial
aim of launching AFM functioning as a “total market” onto cyberspace. I will later let you know more details concerned with this online market. If our aim is finally realised, PIFF will be the world’s first film festival where film businesses can be actively performed both online and offline.

The new concept of meeting between cineastes and audiences is also one of ambitious projects PIFF is currently proceeding with. BIFF has designed and operated its patently distinctive programmes to facilitate as many ordinary audiences as possible to actively participate in the festival that aim first and foremost at generating audience-friendly festival environment where they and festival VIP guests can naturally meet and be mingled with one another (e.g. GV’s, Open Talk, Cinema Together, Film Stars’ Outdoor Greetings to Audiences and so forth). […] Frankly speaking, such film festivals as BIFF are to a greater extent rare species in the world of international film festivals on the whole and such a high degree of accessibility [and audience-friendliness] as that of BIFF is closely associated with its identity.

For instance, to put it metaphorically, if the Cannes film festival is a temple, BIFF is both an open market and an agora. Gods descend onto the temple once a year during the Cannes festival and the worldly or humans pay their respects to them. However, they do not talk with each other at all and all the communications between them happen only through the mediation of angels (e.g. festival media) [hovering around the festival site]. On the contrary, however, there virtually exists no difference and even discrimination between them at BIFF: those at BIFF are all treated as humans, [hence as equal entities]. Whenever the market opens once a year at BIFF, all ranks of humans gather together there to celebrate and enjoy this open-ended festivity. There all sorts of talks and discussions about films take place lively. Sometimes, the sage [e.g. VIP guests at GV’s or post-film screening Q&A sessions, master classes and many other spaces where they and ordinary festival audiences or their publics can meet together] among them provide the masses with some wisdoms. This year we intend to make this “open market” and “agora” bigger in order for it to become a more vivacious festival. Specifically, we are planning two new events concerned for this year’s PIFF. I will let you know more details on these events as soon as they are finally determined […]’.
Appendix 15: Issue Number – 2011-10 / Publishing Date: October 1, 2011 (accessed October 17, 2011)
지난 8월 초 저희는 개막작 선정을 위한 마지막 준비를 하고 있었습니다. 몇 편의 신작을 놓고 개막작 후보로 내부 논의 중에 있었습니다. 그런데, 서울에서 김영철의 전화가 걸려왔습니다. 임순례 감독이었습니다. 임순례 감독은 키엔체 노르부 감독과 저녁식사중이었고, 마침 부산영화제 이야기가 나와서 저희에게 전화를 한 것이었습니다.

이 작품은 키엔체 노르부 감독이 인도 남부의 전통 춤 '바라타나티암'과 인도의 명신인 '부처다'의 승려 생명을 주제로 한 작품입니다. 작동 속의 '바라타나티암' 춤은 사실 한두번에 끝나는 촬영이었습니다. 감독 자신이 불교 영화로 남아도 불구하고 종교를 초월하고 화제를 촉발한 작품입니다. 푸른 현관, 깨달음을 얻기 위한 야비로, 부산 국제영화제 휴일 프로그램에 선정되어 공개되었습니다. 2013년 부산 국제영화제를 통해 세계로 알려진 이 작품은 많은 사람들에게 깊은 인상을 남겼습니다. 전통과 대립, 종교의 경계를 넘어, 평화를 위한 희망의 메시지를 전달하였습니다. 

※ 부산국제영화제 수석프로그래머

< 2013 BIFF 휴일보기 2 >에서 계속 됩니다.
Vara: A Blessing is the third feature film by Bhutanese lama and a filmmaker, Khyentse Norbu. Norbu wrote the screenplay based on a short story ‘Rakta Aar Kanna’ (translated as ‘Blood and Tears’) by Sunil Gangopadhyay, a distinguished Indian writer. It is also a global project that involved staff from USA, Hong Kong (China), Taiwan, India, and Britain. Through south India’s classical dance, Bharatanatyam, Vara: A
Blessing tells a story of beautiful love, self-sacrifice, and a woman’s strength in adversity.

In rural India, a young woman Lila, who is learning Bharatanatyam dance from her Devadasi mother (a temple dancer wed to a Hindu god), falls in love with Shyam, a low-caste village boy hoping to be a sculptor. Shyam asks Lila to be his model for his goddess sculpture and their relationship deepens. Soon, Lila starts to imagine that Shyam is Lord Krishna for whom she has to dedicate her life. Their relationship is discovered by the village leader Subha and, for Shyam and her mother, Lila decides to sacrifice her happiness.

In Vara: A Blessing, Bharatanatyam is more than a mere dance. Shyam’s goddess is in the midst of the dance, and Lila fantasizes about meeting Lord Krishna while performing Bharatanatyam. Bharatanatyam is a dance that transcends class and is equal to everyone. Encompassing both beauty and nobility, Bharatanatyam is a dance that is special to Norbu. Lila’s choice, her decision to sacrifice herself for the happiness of others and not her own, is comparable to the way of a truth-seeker; her dance is a path to the truth. There has never been a more creative interpretation of dance.

Unfortunately, director Norbu will not be attending the Busan International Film Festival because he will be on a retreat for his Buddhist practice. Instead, he has agreed to send us a video message for his opening film. The cast – Shahana Goswami and Devesh Ranjan – and the producer Nanette Nelms will be in Busan for the Opening Ceremony.

Khyentse Norbu was born in Bhutan in 1961 and recognized at the age of 7 as the incarnation of Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo (1820–1892), a great Buddhist saint who played a pivotal role in the revitalization and preservation of Buddhism in Tibet in the 19th century. After a brief encounter with film school, he served as technical advisor to Bernardo Bertolucci in the making of Little Buddha (1993).

18th BUSAN International Film Festival
3-12 October, 2013

BIFF 뉴스

부산국제영화제 6 월 업무일정 (BIFF’s Monthly Working Schedule: June)

2. 해외출장 (Business trips to international film festivals)

김지석 수석프로그래머 (Kim Ji-seok, executive programmer)
- 도쿄 출장: 6/24~6/29 (Tokyo: June 24-29)

전양준 부집행위원장 (Jay Jeon, deputy director)

이수원 프로그래머(월드담당) (Lee Su-won, programmer (world cinema))
- 스페인/스위스/벨기에/프랑스 출장: 6/18~7/2 (Spain/Switzerland/Belgium/France: June 18 - July 2)

김영 아시아프로젝트마켓 전문위원 (Kim Young, Asia Project Market)
- 상해국제영화제 프로젝트마켓 출장: 6/16~6/20 (Project market at the Shanghai International Film Festival: June 16-20)
Appendix 18.1: Official Registration Forms for Film Festival Accreditation – Press (the 12 PIFF Coverage Plan).
**Appendix 18.2**: Official Registration Forms for Film Festival Accreditation – *Film Professional* (the 58th and 60th Berlinale).
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