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**Laëtitia Kulyk**

# **National Cinemas in Global Times**

**An Approach to Globalization, Diversity,  
and Identity in Europe Today**

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND  
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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## ABSTRACT

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Due to their definition as national, films are supposed to reflect nations, identities, and a sense one may have of a country. This “belonging” to a country is particularly potent in the field of cinema due to its power of representation through images and due to its connection to the global market. However, with the evolution of society and the development toward a more global economy, the film sector, as a cultural industry, has been directly impacted. This dissertation discusses the concepts of identity and nationality and their relation to films in the context of globalization. Globalization is believed to have a negative influence on cultures and is directly associated to the idea of “Americanization” when dealing with cinema at the European level. The dependency of the film sector on the international economy makes the field more fragile and willing to integrate wider forms of collaborations at the expense, it is believed, of local interests. The aim of the research is to identify clear trends that would highlight a more global way to produce and create films in Europe and thus lead to a more standardized offer on the market. It also aims to tackle the idea of nationality that is applied to films and that contributes to the organization of the whole sector. Further, it aims to tackle the role of the European bodies in this context, and in particular whether the programs they implement in cinema answer to their discourse which stresses the protection of the diversity of European nations and the. The research is based on quantitative and qualitative data. Comparative research was also used in certain cases. The study concludes that there is more homogeneity in the film sector: more European films are indeed shot in English; the programming of big cinema venues is standardized and focuses on a few genres and nationalities; more diverse partnerships are settled in co-productions, which even if they make the film production easier, leads films content to be more mainstream; and, finally, this development toward more homogeneity leads to defining a film’s nationality being more complicated, and thus a disconnection arises between European policies’ goals and what can be concretely observed. Even though diversity is put at the top of the European institutions’ objectives, the programs implemented tend to favor a certain amount of homogeneity to better answer the needs of the market. This is a situation that emphasizes the duality of the film sector, which is divided between art that is supposed to convey specific values and industry that is very dependent on the market.

Keywords: cinema, globalization, nationality, diversity, film policies, film industry, Americanization, languages, identity.

## TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Kulyk, Laëtitia

Kansallinen elokuva ja kansainvälistyminen: ajankohtainen näkökulma globalisaatioon, monimuotoisuuteen ja identiteettiin Euroopassa

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Elokuvien kansallisina tuotteina oletetaan heijastelevan vaikutelmaa, joka meillä on jostain maasta sekä sen kansasta ja identiteetistä.. Tiettyyn maahan “kuuluminen” on erityisen merkittävää elokuva-alalla johtuen sen kytköksestä maailmanmarkkinoihin ja elokuvien kuvallisesta ilmaisuvoimasta. Talouden globalisaatiolla on ollut viime vuosikymmeninä välittömiä vaikutuksia elokuvasektoriin kulttuurin toimialana. Tässä väitöskirjassa pohditaan identiteetin ja kansallisuuden käsitteitä sekä niiden suhdetta elokuvaan globalisaatiokontekstissa. Globalisaation ajatellaan vaikuttavan kielteisesti kulttuureihin ja olevan yhteydessä eurooppalaisen elokuvan “amerikkalaistumiseen”. Elokuva-alan riippuvuus kansainvälisestä taloudesta tekee siitä haavoittuvamman ja lisää halukkuutta laajempaan yhteistyöhön, minkä monesti katsotaan olevan paikallisen edun vastaista. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on tunnistaa kehityssuuntia, joissa näkyy ylikansallisempi tapa tuottaa ja tehdä elokuvia Euroopassa, ja jotka siten johtavat yhdenmukaisempaan elokuvatarjontaan. Pohdin myös ajatusta elokuvien kansallisuudesta, joka on vaikuttanut ja vaikuttaa yhä koko sektorin rakentumiseen. Tarkastelen lisäksi eurooppalaisten toimielinten roolia tässä yhteydessä ja erityisesti sitä, vastaako niiden Euroopan kansallisen monimuotoisuuden turvaamista korostava diskurssi niiden elokuva-alalla toteuttamia ohjelmia. Tutkimus perustuu määrälliseen ja laadulliseen aineistoon. Siinä käytettiin myös vertailevaa tutkimusta. Tulosten perusteella elokuvasektorin voidaan väittää muuttuneen homogeenisemmaksi. Yhä useampi eurooppalainen elokuva tehdään englannin kielellä, ja suurten elokuvateatterien ohjelmistot ovat standardisoituja keskittyen harvoihin genreihin ja tietyn maalaisiin elokuvaan. Yhteistuotantoihin kuuluu yhä monimuotoisempia kumppanuuksia, jotka yhtäältä helpottavat elokuvien tuottamista, mutta toisaalta johtavat sisältöjen valtavirtaistumiseen. Lopulta tämä yhtenäistymiskehitys monimutkaistaa elokuvien kansallisuuden määrittelyä ja johtaa epäsuhtaan Euroopan poliittisten tavoitteiden ja todellisuuden välillä. Vaikka monimuotoisuus asetetaan eurooppalaisten instituutioiden päällimmäiseksi tavoitteeksi, toteutettavissa ohjelmissa suositaan kuitenkin tietynlaista homogeenisuutta, jotta markkinoiden tarpeisiin pystytään vastaamaan. Tilanteessa korostuu elokuvasektorin kahtiajako yhtäältä taiteeseen ja tiettyjen arvojen välittämiseen ja toisaalta markkinoista hyvin riippuvaiseen elokuvateollisuuteen.

Asiasanat: elokuva, globalisaatio, kansallisuus, diversiteetti, monimuotoisuus, elokuvapolitiikka, elokuvateollisuus, amerikkalaistuminen, kielet, identiteetti.

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## FOREWORD

When I first made my way to Jyväskylä in 2000 for an inter-university seminar about Hungarian cinema, I would not have imagined that this would be the start of a long journey leading me to move to Finland in 2002, to get a Licentiate degree there in 2006, and to return there again to present my PhD dissertation.

This journey has been rich in meetings and opportunities. The University of Jyväskylä offered me the perfect context to work in, in situ for my Licentiate degree, but also, later, remotely when working both as a professional and as a freelance researcher. For this constant support I am very much indebted to my supervisor Professor Emeritus Anita Kangas who proposed to me from the start, when I arrived in Jyväskylä, to work on a PhD that I had in mind about cinema in the Nordic countries. As such, I defended a Licentiate degree about “Nordic Film Policies in Transition – Resources, Cooperation, and Europeanization” in 2006. Since then I have been active as a professional in different national and European organizations dealing with cinema whilst, at the same time, never giving up on the academic dimension. The professional and academic worlds are often considered two separate entities whilst for me they are highly complementary: the professional environment gives the technical tools and the comprehensive understanding of the system and of the actors that are discussed in any research work, whereas the academic dimension gives the intellectual and conceptual perspective to better understand what is at stake in the missions we are completing and in the implemented policies. I have always valued this “double hat” in my career history, and it has enabled me to both participate in different events and research groups, as well as to give lectures for 4 years at the University Paris 3 - Sorbonne Nouvelle in the teaching unit “Economics, sociology and cinema law”. Even though I have been working full-time these last 13 years, and thus not totally connected to the university dimension, I have published a number of papers and attended some conferences. Professor Anita Kangas has followed all my steps and has been very supportive when I decided to return to research and to work on the final draft of my PhD thesis in 2019. I also would like to warmly thank Professor Miikka Pyykkönen, who also supervised my work and gave me precious advice and comments, which helped me to achieve the present manuscript.

In addition, various opportunities I received were also crucial to the completion of the articles and of the present study: I traveled to many conferences where I had the possibility to discuss my research topic with other researchers. This was at a time when the issues I was dealing with had not been investigated that much. It helped me to improve the conceptualization of my work and to compare the situations in different countries and different sectors of the cultural industries. It also enabled me to get opportunities for publication, while providing me with a valuable network of friends and colleagues.

All this would not have also been materially possible without the financial support of the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy in the last steps of the writing process and without the punctual and frequent support of the unit of

Cultural Policy of the Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy and of the University of Jyväskylä. I wish to thank the University for this and for the working context it has provided me with all these last years.

The final version of the present dissertation has also benefited from the very insightful and constructive comments by reviewers Professor Jeremy Ahearne from the School of Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Warwick and Professor Emeritus Susan Hayward from the College of Humanities, Modern Languages and Cultures at the University of Exeter. Their expertise in the field notably helped me improve the discussion about national cinema, and it widened my perspective on the worldwide system and to clarify my vision of cultural and film policies at large. I am very grateful for all the excellent advice they gave me, which greatly contributed to the enhancement of this piece of research.

Part of the many thanks I would also like to address are directed to my fellow colleagues in Jyväskylä, who warmly welcomed me in 2002 and again today to finish my PhD. I also would like to thank all the professors, researchers, professionals, and friends who inspired my work, made insightful and critical comments on my researches, and encouraged me all the way through. I especially want to thank Professor Emeritus Claude Forest, who directed my Master degree in Paris 3 – Sorbonne Nouvelle and who gave me the opportunity to be a member of the EPHESE research group, which allowed me to investigate the history of cinemas in France and to contribute to different conferences, and publications during the last years and to teach at the film department of the University Paris 3.

And last but not least, I would like to warmly and deeply thank my parents who have always trusted me and undoubtedly encouraged me in doing what I loved, and also all my family and friends who have followed my journey wherever I have been in the world and who have been there to support me in my choices.

Paris, 10/24/2020  
Laëtitia Kulyk



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ORIGINAL PAPERS

# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Cinema, nationalism, and diversity in today's global context

*Cinema: a crucial art form when talking about diversity and globalization today*

As a cultural industry, cinema is at the forefront of global stakes today. It is more than any other sector financially dependent on the market, while at the same time being considered an important art form in most countries. The term “cinema” thus refers to two aspects: first the art form, that is to say the films that compose it, or the “language”, to use the word used by Bazin.<sup>1</sup> All types moving of images creations are included in this definition: feature films, documentaries, animation films, short-films, experimental films etc. Second, cinema refers to the industry, and more precisely to the fields of production, distribution, and exhibition. The final exhibition stage is the one more specifically concerned when dealing with the “figures” that the field generates in terms of attendance and box-office. It is what lay behind the terminology “cinemas”, “cinema theatres”, or “cinema venues”, even though the economy of the system is no longer based on cinema theatres’ revenues only. Its ambivalent position, between art and industry, makes cinema subject to different and opposite interests: on the one hand, a part of the profession and actors of the sector aim to use it to make profit, whereas on the other hand, another part of the profession aims to use it as an original form of cultural expression representing the richness of creativity. This vision is shared and backed-up by national film policies which purposefully aim to preserve the plurality of expressions of the local culture(s), as a way to enhance the representation of singular nations and the definition of their cinema as national. These divergences make cinema particularly significant when talking about globalization and its “matching opposite” diversity.

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<sup>1</sup> 1994: 17.

Globalization is commonly associated with the idea of the homogenization of contents worldwide, and more precisely to the field of cinema in Europe, to the idea of Americanization.<sup>2</sup> The domination of American contents over the global economy, the wide spread of their films, and the market shares they represent in most markets through the diffusion of standardized types of films make it a threat for the sector. If Americanization is the main identified threat and reason why public policies should be implemented to regulate and protect national industries and creativity, there can still however be identified other poles which play important roles in the distribution of power in some regions of the world or more globally: Indonesia, Japan, India, Vietnam, and Russia for example play important roles regionally,<sup>3</sup> or more precisely within cultural industries, China, India, Japan, South America, Qatar, Dubai, Egypt, and Lebanon to name a few of the examples given by Martel play important roles in film production, music, video games, television, and the media in general.<sup>4</sup> As an answer to these polarizations, and more specifically in Europe as an answer to the domination of American contents, diversity is claimed to be of central value by policy makers at the national and European levels and justifies the implementation of specific film policies and programs as a way to protect the characteristics of each nation and their expression through films. Diversity has become a key concept when talking about cultural industries in the global context.<sup>5</sup> It is now part of the European Union's (EU) motto "United in diversity" and is claimed to be one of the main goals by most supra-national organizations and of nations themselves when dealing with culture. The defense of this concept in the field of cinema is all the more justified and legitimate as the United States' (US) industry is particularly strong and dominant worldwide. To be visible on the international scene and even slightly profitable, films have to be supported and granted a specific status. This status was gained after the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations in 1993, which granted films a specific status in the general trade regulations and the denomination of "cultural exception".<sup>6</sup> From then on, cinema has been treated as a specific entity in the market which escapes the common rules decreed for products because of its link to the national soul, national culture, and the intrinsic connection to the representation of diversity which is associated with it.

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<sup>2</sup> See Schlesinger, 1997: 370; Featherstone, 1990: 10; 1995: 87.

<sup>3</sup> Appadurai, in Featherstone, 1990: 295.

<sup>4</sup> 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Moreau and Peltier, 2004: 123-124.

<sup>6</sup> The GATT negotiations started in 1986 and lasted until 1993. After this it was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO). They are also called the "Uruguay Round" negotiations due to their start in Punta del Este, Uruguay. They concerned the inclusion of services in the general trade negotiations, which would induce in the field of audiovisual a complete collapse of the system in place due to quotas for European films and specific agreements with developed countries that could not be pursued exclusively under the clause of the most favored nation. For more details see Farchy, 2004.

The importance of preserving diversity in the sector is an argument which is emphasized by the social importance and the influence that cinema has worldwide. Cinema indeed ranks among the top cultural activities in most industrialized countries.<sup>7</sup> Unlike other art forms, cinema has the capacity to attract people of all ages, social backgrounds, and educational levels. Statistics show the importance of cinema and the place it holds in regard to cultural practices, infrastructures, economy, and labor. In 2018, people in the EU went to the cinema 1.9 times per year. These figures were 1.4 in Russia, 3.6 in the United-States, 1.2 in China and 1.5 in India.<sup>8</sup> Cinema also represents an important source of profit, which makes it central as well to the global economy: its box-office revenue comes to billions,<sup>9</sup> besides its recognized impact on the local economy and on tourism, which are also significant sources of secondary incomes. The appeal of cinema is thus both motivated by the potential profit films can bring – nationally and worldwide – but also by the necessity in this system to be visible, both for profit and for the displaying of nations as specific and tangible entities in the global market. Visibility has become a key word in the definition of the sector, which to be extant and thus profitable has to be known and displayed internationally if possible.<sup>10</sup> The potential of cinema to give an image of the nation and to deeply ingrain messages was quickly understood by states, which then purposefully used it as a way to influence and direct their populations. Propaganda and the desire to convey specific images and ideas through film mostly concern totalitarian regimes which articulated their production around that, but it also concerned countries during war times which either wanted to elevate the image of the hero, manipulate the opinion of the populace, or entertain the population.<sup>11</sup> The interference of states in cinema was also and principally done through censorship through which they intended to erect canons of national culture, what is good to be seen or not by the population. Both propaganda and censorship can be considered as early forms of film policy.

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<sup>7</sup> See Compendium and the statistics provided on cultural participation: <https://www.culturalpolicies.net/statistics-comparisons/statistics/participation/#1558516517013-6cebadd0-3914> and the Focus edited each year by the European Audiovisual Observatory, which gives information about cinema attendance in Europe and also about the major markets in the world.

<sup>8</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory, Focus 2019.

<sup>9</sup> In 2018, the gross box-office in USD billion was 1.58 in France, 1.71 in the United-Kingdom, 11.88 in the US and Canada, 1.5 in India, 9.24 in China. See European Audiovisual Observatory, Focus 2019.

<sup>10</sup> About the concept of visibility, see Thompson, 2005; van Winkel, 2005; Brighenti, 2007; Heinich, 2012.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example: *Shoulder Arms* by Charlie Chaplin, 1918, a short film about Charlot going to war against the Germans; *Sergeant York* by Howard Hawks, 1941, a true story about a young pacifist who was enlisted during the First World War and became a hero; and *Days of Glory/Jours de gloire* by Jacques Tourneur, 1944, about a group of Russian resistance fighters who resist the advance of German troops toward Leningrad and Stalingrad.

### *Films as the expression of nations and of nationalisms*

The other characteristic which makes cinema all the more essential to this discussion is the fact that the sector has gained much importance today because of the power of images upon people. This influence had been proved in the past and justified censorship in many countries. Cinema was considered in many places as degrading, and this idea paved the way for the intervention of the state and/or the church to ban harmful contents.<sup>12</sup> Its influential power has also been purposefully used by states through propaganda. The case of the USSR among others is particularly eloquent as it used cinema to construct the Soviet identity: film directors were part of a specific union, and their films had to depict a successful Soviet hero and the strength of the system in place.<sup>13</sup> Screenings were then organized everywhere in the territory, and people obliged to go and see those films, even in the remotest area. This aimed to spread the idea of a strong and legitimate Soviet nation-state and to ingrain the idea of an indisputable Soviet identity and nation. As Nora states, “*The advent of the mass era made available to growing nationalisms incomparable means, among which cinema is clearly the most important*”.<sup>14</sup> This drastic example shows the power of films over people and the manner they can be influenced. Today, films’ influence can be seen in their use for advertising, with product placement, or to engage people in a form of consumption. Tourism is one of these, and films have proved their efficiency in directing people toward places in the world.<sup>15</sup> The change that has taken place over the last decades is the even more central position of images and the influence they have had on the way we construct society and on how people and nations build their identity. Cinema is indeed grounded in the live representation of daily life and stages situations and characters with which it is most of the time easy to connect and identify. States can thus “showcase” themselves, give a specific image of what they aim to be, and thus display narratives around constructed national characteristics that will consolidate their specific culture and identity while comforting them in their position as sovereign nations on a more global basis. The image they give is particularly important in the nation-building process today; cinema took over from printed works, previously mentioned by Anderson as a key to this process.<sup>16</sup> The link that Anderson could make to writing is now taken over by new forms of expression, based on images, that are more influential and widespread and which contribute to the identification of people more than previous arts forms before.

At a time of increased global processes, the revival of nationalism and of discussions around the nation has returned to the forefront, especially through

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<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, Asbjørnsen and Solum (1999, 2003) about the specific case of Norway.

<sup>13</sup> See La Documentation française, 1976; Baudin and Heller, 1993.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted by Frodon, 1998: 26; translated from French by the author.

<sup>15</sup> See *Euro Pudding/ L’auberge espagnole* by Cédric Klapisch (2002) for the impact on the number of Erasmus students in the city of Barcelona, or the specific films directed by Woody Allen to promote Barcelona (*Vicky, Cristina, Barcelona*, 2008), Paris (*Midnight in Paris*, 2011), and Rome (*To Rome with Love*, 2012).

<sup>16</sup> 2002: 56.

its link with cinema.<sup>17</sup> As societies become more multicultural and as this inner diversity is acknowledged, the very basis of nations and nationalism is redefined to subsume more heterogeneous components. Facing this situation, discussions are revived, and new definitions of the term emerge. Barber goes as far as to say that “globalization and nationalism in many cases are two sides of the same coin”.<sup>18</sup> Both concepts indeed participate in their mutual strengthening and in the demarcation of two competing but complementary phenomena.

*Globalization, diversity, and national policies*

Globalization is a key aspect of the evolution of the film sector today. Its impact on the international market, to which cinema is tightly connected, creates an ambiguous and sometimes decried dependency and influence. Globalization is indeed two-sided: it theoretically offers a possibility of increased visibility and participation in the international market, and at the same time a privileged access to it is granted to powerful nations.<sup>19</sup> In the global market, information travels faster, contents are more easily exposed through the different and manifold platforms available, and the “conditions of access” are sufficiently harmonized so that everyone can technically participate. However, this access is conditioned by the economic power of the different states and their possibilities to “buy visibility”. A balanced participation in the global sphere of the different actors of the system is thus nuanced. Moreover, globalization raises the question of the standardization of contents that would be necessary for films to be distributed and successful outside of their national borders. It thus directly challenges the idea of diversity which is at the core of today’s national and international policies striving for its protection. The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, adopted in 2001, is central to this question. In cinema, this discussion was tackled even earlier with the GATT negotiations in 1993 to protect cinema from the global flow of merchandises and to bestow upon it the specific status of “cultural exception”.

The question of diversity is of direct concern to the nations whose singularity and existence are actually based on the idea of their distinction compared to others. National policies are meant to protect national interests and promote the values of the nation. As such, film policies are in charge of supporting national cinema. They are based on the idea that films reflect something of the nation, express an artistic vision of society, which has to be protected for the sake of diversity and of the pluralism of cultural expressions. The intervention of the state in cinema is also justified by the fact that this part of film production would not be sustainable per se, unlike commercial productions, if it was only intended to make profit. The connection between globalization, diversity, and national film policies is thus tight and refers, beyond the artistic argument, to the general balance of power and to the basement of nations as

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<sup>17</sup> See Bonet and Négrier, 2008; Cederman, 2001; Hayward, in Hjort and MacKenzie, 2000.

<sup>18</sup> 1995, quoted in Hjort and MacKenzie, 2000: 2.

<sup>19</sup> Bonet et Négrier, 2008: 207; Tardif et Farchy, 2006: 71, 80, 86-87, 118, 180; Smiers, 2003: 20.



singular entities whose existence and sovereignty are legitimated by the specific cultures and identities they represent.

In such a context, one of the roles of the state is therefore to protect and produce their singular national identities and cultures, so as to sustain the nation-based system. As such, it provides a frame and a discursive argumentation around the idea of diversity which justifies its intervention: it guarantees the artists sufficient support and protection to perpetrate the image of the nation, it provides the sector with the adequate framework for films to be distributed and visible, and it rallies around the strong argument of diversity to protect their industries and integrity. For this reason, states define specific film policies and reinforce their role as legitimate actors in the system.

#### *The European Union's participation in this discussion*

The EU also participates in the general framing of the sector and in the discussion around the concept of diversity at the European level. It resumed the issue of the defense of a European culture through the audiovisual sector at large as a main "hobby horse" against the invading American domination.<sup>20</sup> If in its earliest decades the EU put the stress on the unity of Europe, from the end of the 1980s, with the decrease in cinema attendance and the clear domination of US products upon the sectors of cinema and television, a stance was to be taken, and the focus shifted to the notion of diversity.<sup>21</sup> The question of diversity emerged as a real issue in different sectors and was the perfect motive for European bodies to justify their actions in the field of culture and stand as protectors of the diverse nations of which it is composed. The discussion about diversity is in direct connection to the phenomenon of globalization, and behind it the Americanization of the sector.<sup>22</sup> Europe tried to stand as a homogeneous market that could challenge, if not compete, with the US one.<sup>23</sup> Factors of homogenization would concern identity-related elements such as the use of a common language, actors from different countries which would stand for a local star-system, topics with European concerns, and, above all, systemic aspects, such as co-productions, European-wide distribution, common tax systems, and regulations. The means however do not enable any film or country to really compete with the US, and one way to consequently confront this strong competition and to protect the European market and the nations that make it up has thus been to play on the fundamental conception of cinema at the European level: its link to culture and identity, its originality in a global context, and, more than ever, its capacity to display and promote local specificities.<sup>24</sup> This justified,

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<sup>20</sup> Theiler, in Cederman, 2001: 130.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid: 127.

<sup>22</sup> See Farchy, 1999; Tardif and Farchy, 2006; Benhamou, 2006; Bonet and Négrier, 2008.

<sup>23</sup> See Elsaesser, 2005: 35; Schlesinger, in Cederman, 2001: 96-99, Theiler, in Cederman, 2001: 116.

<sup>24</sup> The idea of a link between cinema and society was mainly theorized after the Second World War. See Kracauer, 1947; Bazin, 1958; Morin, 1958; Sorlin, 1977, 1991. About the link to culture and identity, see Hjort and Mackenzie, 2000; Schlesinger, in Hjort and Mackenzie, 2000; Elsaesser, 2005.

even before the GATT negotiations, from the end of the 1980s the creation of a few programs to support the creation and diffusion of European films, as well as the setting up of common agreements and regulations at the European level, such as the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production, which was adopted in 1992. Those programs are very well identified by the profession at large and are still in place today.

The question today of diversity in cinema is thus multi-sided and reflects upon more general problematics than only the cinema sphere. The ambiguity of the participation of nations in this debate, and of the EU bodies as well, is to be considered when discussing further the issue as indeed diversity refers not only to a question of content, but also, and mainly, to an economic and political fight to be extant and visible on a worldwide and profitable market. Diversity is the key argument to protect the sector at the political and lobbyist level, but it includes a more political and economic agenda on the side.

The question of cinema is therefore of great importance to analyze as beyond its very sphere what is at stake is not only diversity, but also the general balance of power embodied by the dominant US and other important industries. In this context, is the stance for diversity taken at the time of the GATT negotiations legitimate? Do national and supra-national bodies clearly contribute to preserve the diversity of national cultural expressions?

## 1.2 Research aims and questions

The aim of the research is to identify clear trends that would highlight a more global way to produce and consume films, and which would thus lead to less diversity of films on the European market. The research aims to quantify the impact that globalization has on the film sector and the consequences it induces in terms of (lack of) diversity at the European level. Some of the key terms that gravitate around this question are commonly referred to as “standardization” and “homogenization” that would threaten culture at large.<sup>25</sup> Both these concepts are investigated and referred to in my research.

One key element of diversity in Europe is the representation of nations through films and more particularly nationally diverse films. The very notion of “national” applied to films is decrypted in order to understand which diversity it makes reference to and if it makes sense, in a global context, to use it. With

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<sup>25</sup> According to the definition by David and Greenstein, in the field of economics, “a ‘standard’ is to be understood (...) as a set of technical specifications adhered to by a producer, either tacitly or as a result of a formal agreement” (1990: 4). Standardization thus refers to the compliance with these standards. “Homogenisation” differs from it in the sense that it refers to the idea of everything becoming similar. DiMaggio and Powell connect this process to the concept of “isomorphism: “*The concept that best captures the process of homogenization is isomorphism. In Hawley’s (1968) description, isomorphism is a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions*” (1983: 149).

regard to these questions, the adequacy of European film policies, which aim to defend and promote the plurality of European cultures and nations, is addressed as the specific schemes and programs they set-up intend to favor cooperation in the industry.

To answer the aims of the study, I look to answer the following research questions:

- Can we observe more standardization and/or homogenization in the field of cinema over the last decades due to the influence of globalization?
- Is it still accurate to qualify films as “national” in today’s Europe?
- What is the role the European institutions and how pertinent is their action in favor of diversity?

The dissertation consists of four published articles and this summary text. The four publications are all linked to aspects of the afore-mentioned issues. Three of them deal with the impact of globalization on the sector in terms of offer and demand and relate to the content (language’s use), partnerships, and programming. The last article explores more generally the idea of nationality, which is, as a result, more complicated to define in the multinational and global context of production. The aim of this summary is to gather the results of these different investigations to give an insight into the much-discussed idea of the influence of globalization upon the film industry. Even if this idea is widespread, the literature and research about this possible impact are nonetheless rare. The four articles each tackle one aspect of this possible influence.

The first article, *The Use of English in European Feature Films: Unity in Diversity?* questions the possible homogenization of films through English as a global language. Quantifying homogeneity very precisely in cinema could quantitatively be done through the use of language in feature films. Language is a core component of identity, and the use of a lingua franca instead of the national language in films would induce a direct threat to diversity and to the specificities of the nations concerned. The use of global English was questioned from different perspectives from the 1990s;<sup>26</sup> the impact on the film sector was thus particularly worth investigating. I conducted this research on nine European countries, which offer different geographical situations but also different relations to the film industry: Denmark, Iceland, Finland, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. The research analyzed film production in each of those countries from 1990 until 2010. I introduced this research at many conferences and often received comments of alarm from the audience concerning this issue, in spite of the absence of official reports or statistics.

The second paper, *Programming Strategies of a Multiplex: The Example of the Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine 2001-2013*, analyzes the programming strategies of a multiplex in the West-Parisian suburb. In parallel with the question of global English, which deals with the very content of a film, it was important to decipher

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<sup>26</sup> See Phillipson, 1992; Graddol, 1997, 2006; Crystal, 2003; Wright, 2004; Hagège, 2006.

the real diversity which is proposed by the large venues called multiplexes.<sup>27</sup> This research was part of a project conducted by the research group EPHÉSE, at the University Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle, about the history of cinema theatres in France.<sup>28</sup> It endeavors to assess if big cinema venues are providing the audience with diverse films in terms of genres and nationalities. Pathé is one of the main and oldest cinema companies in France together with UGC, Gaumont, and MK2. This particular venue was all the more interesting to analyze as it had recently opened (2001) and had to build from scratch its audience in a place where no offer of that type had previously been proposed. The location at that time was a challenge as the cinema was built in an area where nothing was extant at the time. The analysis was conducted from the opening in 2001 until 2013. Assuming that most multiplexes, as chains in the business, have similar types of programming across France, and that they gather most of the audience nationally, the results of this investigation could help to draw a more general trend concerning the diversity of film programming in this type of venue and in the country at large.

The third article, *Towards an Internationalization of Co-productions in the Nordic Countries? The Impact of Europe and the Development of the Sector since the 1990s*, aims to demonstrate if globalization, the entry into the EU of Nordic and new countries, and participation in the EU's specific support schemes have created more opportunities for partnerships in co-productions and diversified the countries that are part of these schemes at the Nordic level. The objective was to see if an influence of the global market upon the film sector could be observed in terms of enlargement of the national film production structure, and more precisely if an evolution from more local partnerships to wider forms of cooperation could be underlined, especially following the entry of some countries into the EU (Finland and Sweden in 1995). Co-productions were in this context interesting and crucial to explore as their number is increasing in Europe. I focused on the Nordic countries as a trend toward more international forms of partnerships was easier to distinguish in small countries. Besides, of the five countries, two (Sweden and Denmark,) already had co-production schemes in place due to their importance in the field of cinema in the past. Two of them (Norway and Iceland) are not part of the EU and offered also good counterexamples to the trends that could be sketched in the other countries.

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<sup>27</sup> According to Forest (in Creton and Kitsopanidou, 2013: 126), a multiplex should have at least five of the six following criteria: ten or more screens (this criteria varies according to the countries, but this is the average in Europe) which are able to screen all the new important releases and keep the leading films from previous weeks in the program; high tech equipment and an emphasis on decoration; important staff; a strategic location with a large parking area or one that is easily reachable by transport; sales of attractive and other products such as sweets; and both a high ticket price but also many different offers which enable all the customers categories to be catered for. The CNC gives a simpler definition of a multiplex as a venue with at least eight screens (Géographie du cinéma 2018, 2019b: 5).

<sup>28</sup> For more information, see <http://www.univ-paris3.fr/programme-ephese-les-salles-de-cinema-et-leurs-exploitants-en-france-1960-2015--121891.kjsp?RH=1505727285324>

Finally, an interesting discussion concerns the concept of nationality that is given to films and that rules the film sector in general. The fourth article, *Film Nationality – the Relevance of this Concept in the Contemporary European Film Sector* aims to investigate this issue. Its objective was to analyze what “national” means in cinema and the way film nationality is generally defined in Europe. Besides, it aimed to assess whether European bodies contribute to a strengthening of what is defined as a national film production or rather work for the definition of a global European cinematography. The idea of “nationality” in films was indirectly tackled in the previous articles and in their conceptual approach. Defining what “national” means and how a film’s nationality, which is at the core of the whole system, is defined in Europe was thus essential to clarify. The lack of references concerning this question was also a clear incentive to analyze the issue. More specifically, co-production schemes were analyzed since as international collaborations they directly question the relevance of the term “nationality” or the link to a specific and unique country.

The present summary text aims to gather the main conclusions drawn from these four articles and subsume them into a more general and conceptual approach. It focuses on the concepts of identities and nationalities which are at the core of the diversity meant to be represented in films. Diversity is the objective of national and European film policies, and globalization, which under this general terminology covers the American domination, represents a threat to the sector in Europe by providing big-budget standardized films that hide the visibility of more locally produced films.

First, I deepen the conceptual framework by resuming the main concepts used in the articles: nation and nationalism, identity and culture, and globalization and diversity. These “pairs” of concepts are at the very basis of the four publications. At the end of this chapter I discuss the interaction between these different notions. Secondly, in chapter 3, I analyze the link of some of these concepts to the field of cinema. More precisely, this chapter deals with national cinemas, national film policies, and the European programs and addresses their connections and interferences to the idea of nationality by the schemes they implement. In chapter 4, I tackle the methodological aspect of this study. The four articles have used comparative, quantitative, and qualitative methods so as to investigate the issue of diversity from different perspectives. I explain the way I used these methods in each article, the data I focused on, and the challenges I encountered as a researcher. Finally, in chapter 5, I answer the main research question: “Is globalization bringing more homogeneity to the field of cinema?” As such, I analyze the results of the four articles to provide a comprehensive and insightful answer to this question before concluding more specifically on the different issues addressed, tackling the conceptual implication of the research, and sketching future perspectives of development and policies for the sector.

## 2 CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

The four articles on which this compilation is based revolve around the major concepts of nation and nationalism, identity and culture, languages, and globalization and diversity. These concepts, excluding languages, are approached as pairs in so far as they are either derivative from the other, complementary, or diametrically opposed. Languages can be considered as a transversal and more grounded concept that is constitutive or part of the other ones. All these concepts have, to varying degrees, been tackled in the four publications and constitute the general conceptual framework of my research.

### 2.1 Nation and nationalism

#### *The definition of the nation*

The idea of a nation as a distinct and specific group dates back to the eighteenth century. Its origin is located in the theories that emerged in Germany and France at that time and which exacerbated with their conflictual history during the occupation of Germany by Napoleon. In 1774, Herder was the first to propose a definition of the nation.<sup>29</sup> He clearly puts it in line with an ethno-cultural background that its members would naturally perpetuate, notably through the use of a common language. Fichte develops the same idea when calling the German people to rise against Napoleon's invasion. He focuses his discourse on the idea of the specificity of the German nation as different from the others, putting the stress on language as significant proof of the integrity of the German people.<sup>30</sup> If the German approach to the definition of "nation" has its roots in a natural origin, the French vision is however related to a political or "spiritual principle" as Renan put it.<sup>31</sup> According to him, the idea of belonging to a nation

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<sup>29</sup> Histoire et cultures. Une autre philosophie de l'histoire.2000 (1774).

<sup>30</sup> Fichte, 1793.

<sup>31</sup> 1997: 31.

is based on an “actual consent” that would overpass the notions of race and culture. Already in the 1750s, Voltaire related his definition of “*patrie*” to the idea of a community sharing common interests.<sup>32</sup> This is a political stand that modern theoreticians resumed later. Indeed, most of them agree that such a gathering as a nation was motivated for political and economic purposes, and shaping a collective identity would serve such interests:

The idea that each national group is unique and needs its own state to be truly authentic was taken up and used throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries by numerous groups, especially within Ottoman, Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires. They adopted and adapted the argument that one was born into a nation just as one was born into a family, that each nation had natural unchanging frontiers, a special origin and a particular character, mission and destiny.<sup>33</sup>

The creation of a community that shares the same roots, history, and destiny was part of a propaganda discourse that was repeated and ritualized so as to be believed, shared, and assimilated.

Modern and postmodern theoreticians gave different names to this process of building a collective identity: Ricoeur uses the term “narrative identity”.<sup>34</sup> This concept applies to both communities and individuals, which create their identities through the construction of a narrative which becomes their factual history.<sup>35</sup> One of the characteristics of these constructions is to gather different and dispersed elements into a single and coherent “corrected” story, which then becomes the pillar of identity and has sufficient consistence and strength to be recognized and validated by others, and by the individual themselves.<sup>36</sup> In the case of nations, Ricoeur talks about a “fictionalization of history” as he emphasizes the use of historical events to reinforce the feeling of belonging and the identity of the nation and its members.<sup>37</sup> These events anchor the community and the individual in an historical timeline where past events are commemorated and legitimate the present. According to Anderson, nations are ‘imagined communities’, where there is a collective belonging or a willing adhesion to common values or what is represented as the commonness of people.<sup>38</sup> His imagined communities are constructions through discourses, but also printing, which aim to build a common and linear representation of what is the nation. The people of these communities share a common vision of the nation and the feeling they belong to a specific group, which is best embodied by a homogenous culture, a common language, and the centralization of power.

Concretely, a nation can be defined as

A named human population sharing an historic territory, common memories and myths of origin, a mass, standardized public culture, a common economy and

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted by Lawrence, 2014: 4.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, 1992a.

<sup>34</sup> *Soit-même comme un autre*, 1990; *Temps et récit*, 1985.

<sup>35</sup> *Temps et récit 3. Le temps raconté*, 1985: 444.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*: 444-445.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*: 339.

<sup>38</sup> 2002.

territorial mobility and common legal rights and duties for all members of the collectivity.<sup>39</sup>

Castells adds a nuance to this definition:

For the sake of clarity, I shall define nations (...) as cultural communes constructed in people's minds and collective memory by the sharing of history and political projects.<sup>40</sup>

Those political projects imply a sense of common future, which is also a component of identities. Nation differs from the state in so far as it is based on culture and society. According to Smith, a nation

Refers to a cultural and political bond which unites in a community of prestige all those who share the same myths, symbols and traditions", whereas the state is a "legal and institutional concept. It refers to autonomous public institutions which are differentiated from other social institutions by their exercise of a monopoly of coercion and extraction within a given territory.<sup>41</sup>

The question of whether the state or the nation was the origin of modern nation-states is argued differently. According to Castells, the state created the modern nation-state and not the nation, which means that the 'structure' settled its content.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, Gellner argues that the will to be united into a nation then brought, as a last step, the formation of a state so as to make the structure perpetual.<sup>43</sup> Both terms are complementary as the idea of nation, around a common culture, justifies the ruling of a state.<sup>44</sup>

To reach the goal of nation-building differences had to be smoothed. Speaking different languages was seen as a threat to this national unity; all the more as political communication and education had to be performed in a single common language. A unique national language was thus defined as an instrument to unify the components of the community. Language helped define what was "in" and what was "out", that is, who belongs to the 'national family' and who does not. As Shlesinger puts it,

National identity [is] (...) a specific form of collective identity. (...) [It] is sustained by a dual process: one of inclusion that provides a boundary around 'us', and one of exclusion that distinguishes 'us' from 'them'.<sup>45</sup>

This division is all the more expressed by borders as the nation is conceived in relation to a specific place. Entering it is codified and administrated by the state,

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<sup>39</sup> Smith, 1992b: 60.

<sup>40</sup> 1997b: 54.

<sup>41</sup> 1992b: 61-62.

<sup>42</sup> 1997b: 333.

<sup>43</sup> 1987: 17.

<sup>44</sup> Even if the congruence nation/state does not always exist, as show by the cases of Catalonia, the Basque country, Quebec, etc.

<sup>45</sup> 1991: 300.



which edicts the rules.<sup>46</sup> Nations are different from each other, and changing a community takes time, often many generations. As Smith puts it, “Nation is seen as a fictive ‘super-family’”; as a consequence, belonging to it requires family ties, common ancestries, and a common history that can only come with time. The utopia of a homogeneous nation is recognized by Wright when she says,

No European country naturally matches the ideal of congruence between territory and people (except perhaps Iceland). In all other situations, congruence of nation and state is approximated through strategies to assimilate divergent elements.<sup>47</sup>

And indeed, nowadays conflicts deal with the non-homogeneity (mainly religious) of the components of the nation.

Renan’s definition of the nation best summarizes those approaches. According to him, a nation is above all a soul, which finds its sense in two aspects: one based in the past, the other in the present. A common past makes people share memories and commemorate glorious events. A common present is made by the desire to live together and keep vivid the common past.<sup>48</sup> These are the bases for any nation to be constituted, and above all material, cultural, and linguistic unities. This “soul” is then staged, “materialized” through culture and language and represented by identity.

#### *The question of nationalism*

The development of the idea of nationalism, or of a national consciousness, indirectly followed the construction of the nation with a more direct connection to history and social events that were to influence people becoming involved in the nationalistic formation. Herder (1774) is considered to be at the origin of the notion of “cultural nationalism”.<sup>49</sup> He emphasizes the fact that each population is different and gathers around specific languages and cultures. In that sense, he initiates the idea of “cultural diversity” and aims to distinguish German culture from others. This argument is resumed by Fichte when he calls for an expression of the national entity against the French occupation.<sup>50</sup> The connection of nationalism to culture and language, as well as the sense of “difference from the others” which was already expressed at that time, is found again in modern theories about nationalism. Smith defines the concept of nationalism as including

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<sup>46</sup> Those rules are then based on a value system, as they list and favor some specific nations in their easier access to the country.

<sup>47</sup> According to her, there are two models of nation building: the first one is the “state nation” in which system polity came first. The territory was the first element, acquired through conquest, dowry, and inheritance. Later, with the emerging idea of a nation, populations living within such borders had to be moulded into the same shape, hence the idea of a common identity, culture, and language. The second model is the “nation state”. The starting point here is not the territory but the group itself. It saw itself as a cultural and linguistic entity and sought to gain territory, which would be the place for their group. 2004: 19.

<sup>48</sup> 1997: 31.

<sup>49</sup> Lawrence, 2014: 4.

<sup>50</sup> 1793.

“specific language, sentiments and symbolism”.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, he emphasizes that the Western model of national identities is based mostly on culture, meaning that members are united and gathered by “common historical memories, myths, symbols and traditions”.<sup>52</sup> From the first page of his work *Nations and Nationalism*, Gellner defines nationalism as “primarily a political principle”.<sup>53</sup> Constructing identities is indeed mainly aimed at political goals. In order to be sustained, democracies needed people’s adhesion and approval, and this had to go through a common education around the same values and history, so as to deeply ingrain the idea of a common belonging and to make the nation stronger, or even real. In industrialized society, education is all the more crucial, since as Gellner says,

Universal literacy and a high level of numerical, technical and general sophistication are among its functional prerequisites. Its members are and must be mobile, ready to shift from one activity to another, and must possess that generic training which enables them to follow the manuals and instructions of a new activity or occupation. In the course of their work they must constantly communicate with a large number of other men, with whom they frequently have no previous association, and with whom communication must consequently be explicit, rather than relying on context. They must also be able to communicate by means of written, impersonal context-free, to-whom-it-may-concern type messages. Hence these communications must be in the same shared and standardized linguistic medium and script. The educational system which guarantees this social achievement becomes large and indispensable (...).<sup>54</sup>

Before industrialization, agrarian societies were small clusters with different languages and cultures. Industrialization brought centralization and the need to gather those heterogeneous clusters together into a same culture and language. As Gellner mentions, culture is then homogenized and normalized and not any more transmitted by an elite but by the specialized educational institutions. Besides the education of the same language, a common history had to be created. Remembering the past was staged through commemorations and celebrations around what was a common origin to all. History was used to create a common background: education made people aware of their common past, and the ritualized commemorations and traditions helped keep vivid the thus created past in everyday life and as part of individuals’ own identities. Nations could thus see their construction and system confirmed and justified by history and long-time ingrained practices, which are defended under the seal of nationalism.

Lawrence distinguishes three categories of nationalism: “abstract ideology” (or the idea that humanity is divided into nations and the way they are defined), “political doctrine” (or the idea that nations are identifiable and homogeneous and should govern themselves), and related to “national identity” (or the feeling of belonging to a particular nation on everyday life).<sup>55</sup> These categories partially resume aspects of the definition of nation seen above. The “abstract ideology” underlines the sometimes blurred definition given to a nation and its origin. The

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<sup>51</sup> 1991: 11.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> 1983: 1.

<sup>54</sup> 1983: 35.

<sup>55</sup> 2014: 3.

definition can include different elements, which vary in time and space and may seem unreliable or awkward in its attempt to justify the nation's building. The second category refers to what we have seen with Gellner's approach to the nation: the nation is pre-existent to the state, and its singularity justifies the construction of a political structure around it to protect it as a specific entity and to "secure" its future. The last category, which resorts to "national identity" is perhaps the closest to the people who compose it. The feeling of belonging, which we have seen with Ricoeur, Renan, Anderson, and Wright among others, is salient to nationalism. People are part of a community they subscribe to and whose characteristics they are ready to defend unconsciously (through the perpetuation of specific ways of life), or consciously, against others. This category is however not incompatible with the "political doctrine" set as the second category of nationalism. What Lawrence nevertheless does not mention is the category that would illustrate Castells' position, according to which the state created the conditions of the nation, its definition, and its affirmation into nationalism. This is a somewhat opposite approach to the three formerly described by Lawrence, which stresses the idea of intentional creation of nation and nationalism to serve political and/or economic purposes. This instrumentalization of culture is particularly visible in the case of nationalist political or social movements which use the cultural specificities of a group to legitimize their action. The Catalan party *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* defined the building of the Catalan nation as its core objective, and as such stressed the revival of the Catalan language.<sup>56</sup> The *Parti québécois* in Canada focused on culture and especially the French language to seek support for its political activities.<sup>57</sup> Recently also, nationalism is at the center of different movements such as *Unser Land*, in Alsace, which stresses cultural identity and language as its prime goals.<sup>58</sup> More than a feeling of common belonging, these movements embody nationalism as a motive for their action. Lawrence underlines the difficulty in strictly defining nationalism as it rests on different approaches and interrogations, such as the very definition of nation, which is itself subject to objective and subjective criteria.<sup>59</sup>

The notion of intention and of purposeful construction is however not to be neglected, especially when taking into account the colonial past of many nations, the revival of the discussions around both concepts of nation and nationalism in the context of globalization, and the role and definition of supranational organizations. Nationalism indeed underwent, and is still in a crisis, as the intrinsic homogeneity attributed to nations and to the definition of nationalism is challenged. First, the aftermath of the Second World War brought along the decolonization of territories that had so far mostly been occupied by European empires. The economic crisis in those empires after the war, together with high costs linked to the administration of the colonies, marked their decline as

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<sup>56</sup> Laitin, 1989: 303.

<sup>57</sup> Meadwell, 1993: 212.

<sup>58</sup> See *Unser Land*. *Identité et culture*.

<sup>59</sup> 2014: 7.

powerful empires and initiated the independence of most of the territories<sup>60</sup> between this period and the mid-1970s.<sup>61</sup> The national imaginations that had been based on the idea of an extended and powerful empire collapsed and had to rebuild its identity and nationalism based on a new reality. As Rothermund puts it,

In fact, these nations are rebuilding themselves, they shed old characteristics and acquire new ones. After their empires had been lost new orientations had to be adopted. Social change has affected these nations in many ways and had to be interpreted so as to contribute to a new image of the nation.<sup>62</sup>

These modifications in the way a nation was defined and perceived, in its geographical scope and territories, and on the overall power that was associated to these empires were accompanied by overall changes at the European level. These changes include the rise of supra-national European organizations, and also the increasing influence of other poles and globalization. As Smith puts it,

In fact, we are already witnessing the breakdown of the 'homogenous nation' in many societies, whose cultures and narratives of national identity are becoming increasingly hybridized and ambivalent, and the emergence, some would say re-emergence, of looser polyethnic societies.<sup>63</sup>

Many factors thus fragilized nationalism. From outside, the loss of territories and the idea of greatness associated with the colonial empire, the participation in and the delegation to the EU of some fields of action (even if for some participation in the EU represented a kind of alternative to the loss of the colonies<sup>64</sup>), and the spread of other powerful poles in the world, embodied at the European level by the American domination on most markets, modified the definitions of nation and nationalism. From inside, these definitions were modified with the migration to Europe of a lot of the populations from the colonies, and the more multicultural society made possible by the Schengen area. This collapse of the uniform nation has been supported by global forces which, even if already present in the 1990s, clearly gained strength in the 2000s. "Imagined communities" took a new turn due to societies which are more multicultural and mixed today, and due to a world increasingly ruled by supra-national organizations that come to question the very notion of nation by providing larger but similar forms of gathering. Nations are more diverse internally due to the different human flows, migrations, and influences. At the same time borders are more open, and mass media enables connecting to all parts of the world.

The definition of nations and nationalism, and their constructions in relation to specific cultures and common languages were based on the idea of homogeneity. Nations were constructed as communities which shared

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<sup>60</sup> Rothermund, 2014: 61.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 2014: 59.

<sup>62</sup> 2014: 69.

<sup>63</sup> 1995.

<sup>64</sup> Rothermund, 2014: 61.

similarities and with which people could identify. This was made possible by a certain linearity through time, which enabled the current nation-based world system to develop and last to the present day. This argument, put forward to define and justify the nation and the belonging of people to this specific community, does not however reflect upon the modern reality of nations which are now composed of different cultures from within, which claim recognition and visibility, but also the more international global world to deal with and participate in. The colonial heritage of many nations indeed created and facilitated different migration flows from previous colonies. At the same time, the need for more workforce and the economic opportunity that many European and other countries represented, and still represent today, attracted many migrants that settled in more prosperous nations. Globalization moreover facilitated those flows, together with the implementation of supranational bodies which promoted an easy circulation of goods and people. This legacy and the cross-border migrations facilities are elements which nations have to deal with and integrate in their actions and policies today. This diversity thus all the more challenged the established definition of nation and the very principle of nationalism based on homogeneity as diversity has been appraised as a human right since the beginning of the 2000s and as such supported by nations and international organizations. The pillars on which nations and nationalism were settled are therefore challenged from different directions which induces a need for them to review their foundations in the same manner as the EU turned from the notion of a common European identity to the plurality of Europe ('united into diversity') to encompass this new reality, thus modifying the long-established link made between culture, identity, and nationalism.

## 2.2 Culture and identity

According to Hedetoft, "*Most theories of nationalism presume a causal link between 'culture' and 'identity'*".<sup>65</sup> These terms often merge to speak about 'cultural identity', but what precisely does it refer to?

Culture is acknowledged as a difficult term to define. Ethnology was among the first to use the concept of culture. In 1871, E.B. Tyler, a British anthropologist was the first to propose a concrete definition of culture. He put the stress on its collective character, which would be acquired and present in all human societies, included primitive ones.<sup>66</sup> In 1950, Lévi-Strauss defined culture as,

A combination of symbolic systems headed by language, the matrimonial rules, the economic relations, art, science and religion. All the systems seek to express certain aspects of physical reality and social reality, and even more, to express the links that

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<sup>65</sup> 1999: 71.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted by Vinsonneau, 2002: 22; translated from French by the author.

those two types of reality have with each other and those that occur among the symbolic systems themselves.<sup>67</sup>

This articulation between physical and social realities underlines the link of a population to a specific environment, and how it adapts it, expresses it, interprets it, decides on a range of rituals and different knowledge that enable a form of organization, and its specific framing and definition. This link to the territory is evoked by Vinsonneau as she sketches the etymology and history of the concept of culture: the concept is based on the Latin “cultura”, which referred to agriculture and addressed more precisely the attention given to soil and cattle. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the meaning changed from the cultivated object to the practice itself before finally moving to the figurative meaning of culture to “characterize the work of development of the various human capacities”.<sup>68</sup> To paraphrase Vinsonneau, it applied at first specifically to arts, letters, and sciences, before shifting to designate the formation process of people’s knowledge, and, finally, to designate this knowledge itself.<sup>69</sup>

Culture is associated to a group of people that share the same references, be they linguistic, social, economic, religious, or artistic. A culture is thus in a certain manner circumscribed to the physical limits of the group which embodies it. Today’s culture is more and more associated to development, human rights, and quality of life and is defended as such. It also implies aesthetics and values on what qualifies as high/good culture and what does not. The definition of culture is thus broad, subject to changes, and subsumes manifold aspects of everyday life. Hence, it is difficult to narrow its definition to a few features.

The terms culture and identity overlap as their definition includes common characteristics. According to Hall, identity is a construction, something in constant process and therefore not innate. He states that identity is

Based upon the recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established by this foundation.<sup>70</sup>

Identity is multisided and subsumes all the elements an individual can relate to, that they are linked to history, religion, beliefs, and a way of living, and that make up its personality. More precisely, identity is a set of characteristics that make a person or a group distinct from another. What is indeed fundamental is the notion of group, gathering around common values and the very idea of belonging, whatever its basis and nature. Every form of gathering or adhesion would thus be done according to the similarities to a group or, on the contrary, the uniqueness of one’s being. This is this recognition of the group’s cultural symbols and its narrative(s) that Castells underlines as being the origin of identity:

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<sup>67</sup> English edition, 1987: 16.

<sup>68</sup> 2002:19; translated from French by the author.

<sup>69</sup> 2002: 20.

<sup>70</sup> 1996: 2.

By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or a related set of cultural attributes, that is given priority over other sources of meaning. For a given individual, or for a collective actor, there may be a plurality of identities.<sup>71</sup>

According to him, identity is constructed with reference to many fields (history, geography, biology, collective memory, religion, family, education, power, and so on), which are contextualized and adapted according to people's living context and goals. Identities are therefore plural, context-related, and changing, even more so with globalization, which multiplies the contexts and influences.

What is interesting to see in the above definitions is that they use the same aspects to define both culture and identity. Culture is based on values, behavior, and shared forms of expression. Identity is based on the recognition and sharing of some of these values as constitutive of one's personality and everyday life.<sup>72</sup> Identity would thus be the adhesion or the recognition of one's personal characteristics into wider cultural groups, and in this way both aspects are congruent. They are also both changing elements. Identities are made of different influences as well as cultures, which are receptive to all kinds of signals.

Cultural identity would thus be a partial pleonasm, referring more specifically to the joining to a distinct group of beliefs, myths, history, and overlapping with national characteristics. Smith's words clearly summarize collective cultural identity into three components: a sense of continuity between the experiences of succeeding generations within a group or population; shared memories of specific events and personages which have been turning-points of a collective history; and a sense of common destiny on the part of the collectivity sharing those experiences and cultural features.<sup>73</sup>

In that sense, cultural identity is closely linked to what is a nation, with its main roots based in a common past but nurtured in the present through rituals and a feeling of common belonging.

Culture and identity, in the frame of the nation-state, are conceived as national; that is to say representing and gathering the nation and its people around common values and references. The best embodiment of this unity is done through language, which is harmonized into an official one truly representing the nation and its citizens. Each group or country would then be different from the others insofar as they have a distinct specific language and a cultural unity that are said to be natural and rooted in time. The identity of the nation would thus be emphasized by its relationship to other groups and its recognition by the international community as unique and specific. It is in this sense characteristic of the modern era, which acknowledges the "recognition of borders by other states",<sup>74</sup> and thus the delimitation of culture by national boundaries. As Wieviorka puts it, when speaking about cultural differences of a specific community,

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<sup>71</sup> 1997b: 6.

<sup>72</sup> See Williams, 1963; Hall and Du Gay, 1996; Todorov, 1996; Hroch, 1998.

<sup>73</sup> In Featherstone, 1990: 179.

<sup>74</sup> Giddens, 1990: 73.

The more clear-cut this association is, [...] the more culture is conceived in terms of stability; the matter is indeed, for those who are linked to it, to ensure the conditions of its reproduction, at the limit of survival and, in less defensive terms, and more counter-offensive, to give it the means to develop itself.<sup>75</sup>

This means that the more a culture is official and visibly connected to a group of people and to a specific place, the more stable its system and survival. The construction of a national identity would thus not only depend on the nation itself within its borders but would also be defined by its connections to others, the impression it gives, and its distinction as a particular group or entity. In the same way the identity of a person is largely dependent on its relationship to others, the nation would also rely on its representation, prestige, aura, and the conception that other countries have of it. This aspect is important to stress, as we are to investigate the precise case of cinema. Through contrast and showing one's characteristics to others, the nation's identity is thus invigorated and exacerbated.

Cultural identity and national identity are highly assimilated nowadays. Many aspects of culture are defined as national: beliefs, traditions, ways of thinking, and ways of life. These elements contributed to the construction of the nation-state being homogenized and defined as belonging to a specific community so as to distinguish it from the others but also to give it an individual sense. Identity and culture are not by nature defining the nation but were used to create and stabilize it. As Habermas puts it,

The nation-state laid the foundations for cultural and ethnic homogeneity on the basis of which it then proved possible to push ahead with the democratization of government from the late eighteenth century, although this was achieved at the cost of excluding ethnic minorities.<sup>76</sup>

The right to a different culture within the borders of a nation did not have a place in the emerging nation-state context. Therefore, any attempt to differ or to express a different view from the majority was to be either repressed or smoothed into the masses. The homogenization and unity the nation-state implies go against the diversity that is nowadays so much supported.

Constructing culture and what ought to be national culture, as the past of the nation, and what people should identify with are the fundamental basis to form any nation. Gathering people around the same culture, the same values they should share, legitimizes the nation and makes it stronger in front of global flows. The nation is presented as a sovereign entity, unassailable, whose singularity and richness have to be defended for the sake of diversity. This argument, which bears its illogicality, as nations were settled on the ground of homogenization, is today pushed to the fore as their foundations are being threatened by larger spheres and influences.

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<sup>75</sup> 2001: 70-71.

<sup>76</sup> 1994: 22.



## 2.3 Languages

Language is commonly accepted as one of the most important reflective features of identity.<sup>77</sup> The building of a language proper to the nation followed the path of democratization, or better said it shared the journey. The first real link between language and the nation was made during the French revolution. The “*French language should be the means by which civilization should be spread*”,<sup>78</sup> meaning that the unity around the same language would enable “civilization” or a new order. Language became a national stake insofar as to obtain democracy, people had to be able to understand and participate in the nation-making by voting and approving it. Together with the industrial revolution, which led to an increasing urbanization, democracy brought more administration, and thus favored a single language, which was spread through the media, which at that time was printing. Printed works were to offer a link between people through language but also through a related shared content. As Hobsbawm says, “*this system of one official language per country became part of everyone’s aspiration to become a nation-state*”.<sup>79</sup> More than a simple national feature, languages came to embody the uniqueness of the nation and endowed it with a legitimate and obvious difference from the others that would once more justify its sovereignty as a specific national entity. However, as Wright mentions,

Nation-states had to be a certain size in order to survive as economic units, in order to be able to raise large enough armies to ensure their defense and in order to be able to weigh politically in the community of nations.<sup>80</sup>

The idea of group “size” being necessary to survive as a specific entity is all the more interesting as even nowadays it is a determining factor for the nation. Small countries, or linguistic regions, are more vulnerable in the face of global languages as they need another more widespread language to communicate internationally or with other groups. This use of another language, depending of its extent, has an impact on local features and cultures, inasmuch as language and culture are narrowly tied.

The symbolism of language is two-sided. It materializes in the idea of collective identity and common belonging; people recognize themselves and are recognized by others as part of a group based on this first noticeable element, but it can also be used, as Watson says, “*to maintain one particular ethnic group in power*”.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, languages are not only a “positive” element of social cohesion, stemming from common roots and heritage, but also a way to control, which is seen as necessary to keep the nation as a single community. Even if the congruence of one state with one unique language is not respected, language

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<sup>77</sup> See Bourdieu, 2001; Cheshire, 2002; Hagège, 2000, 2006; Wright, 2004.

<sup>78</sup> L’Abbé Grégoire, quoted in Watson, 2007: 259.

<sup>79</sup> 1996: 1071.

<sup>80</sup> 2004: 36.

<sup>81</sup> 2007: 5.

becomes an instrument of power representing dominant countries, thus testifying to the geopolitical domination throughout history. Colonialism extended and propagated the language of the colonists, thus asserting their domination over the locals. Languages proved to be at the core of identity as people struggled to keep them alive. More than merely a means of communication, language was thus an instrument of coercion, establishing, on the one hand, the domination of one country upon another, and, on the other hand, being at the core of the struggle to preserve one's identity. If we broaden the range of this quotation by Bourdieu, this can apply to global language as well:

The more official the market is, that is to say practically conformed to the norms of the legitimate language, the more it is dominated by the dominants, that is to say by the holders of the legitimate competence, enabled to speak with authority. Linguistic competence is not only a technical capacity, but a statutory capacity which most of the time goes together with the technical capacity (...).<sup>82</sup>

Once an official language is settled, the ones who speak it will profit and dominate. This domination does not only originate from the fact of being able to speak that language, but also from the status it confers, which is also based on the "technical competence" in the sense of the material means to impose and develop a language.

As for Crystal, the dominance of a single language would put a part of a population in a dominant position.<sup>83</sup> Indeed, the flexible uses of English could lead to a "monolingual linguistic class", which would deny other languages. If the world is to be led by English, the first consequence will be that those having it as a mother tongue will be advantaged in their work and everyday life. Secondly, it may reduce the will to learn other languages, especially minor languages, contributing in the long-term to their minimization or even their disappearance. As Barbour questions, "*If English is the global language, why are other languages needed?*".<sup>84</sup> Reasons why languages should not be allowed to disappear are manifold. The first reason enumerated by Wright is that biodiversity is good per se. Second, language maintenance allows members of a group to remain in touch with their own history and cultural heritage. Third, language is an essential element of identity that should be respected. And, finally, languages constitute an irreplaceable resource for humanity.<sup>85</sup> Barbour adds to these educational reasons: languages, even if not a core condition to meet other cultures, are necessary to understand in detail these cultures and societies. Learning languages is more difficult with age, especially if one does not know any prior languages except the national one. The last reason is to "make people open-minded", as a duty of education: "*Perhaps the most important educational reason for teaching other languages is to free students from the prison of monolingualism*".<sup>86</sup> In a world said to be multicultural and diverse, the emphasis

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<sup>82</sup> 2001: 103.

<sup>83</sup> 2003.

<sup>84</sup> 2002: 14.

<sup>85</sup> 2004: 219.

<sup>86</sup> 2002: 14-15.

is on how to preserve all components of this richness, for example (intangible) heritage, languages, and cultures, but this diversity is in a way limited and controlled. Maintaining cultural diversity is all the more difficult nowadays in societies as it implies, as Robins says, the “coexistence of sometimes competing agendas: national, European and global”.<sup>87</sup>

The question of language and its ties to the nation is highly ambivalent nowadays since the EU has created a human flow and enhances the idea of cross-border mobility. This flux comes to challenge the linguistic homogeneity of nations, yet at the same time, language protection has become the center of the EU agenda. Indeed, diversity is nowadays a key concept used and applied in all fields and areas (bio-diversity, cultural diversity, social diversity, human, genetic, food diversity, and so on). Cultural diversity and its components have come to the forefront as a response to globalization and to the homogenization it suggests. It is defined as the acknowledgement of the plurality of cultures, and linguistic diversity is one of its components.

Facing the spread of the English language, and in parallel with the spread of the media, we can see protective measures implemented to lessen the disappearance of languages. In an era of cultural and linguistic diversity, it is all the more important to protect this heritage even if the extinction of languages, as Hagege mentions, has always been happening. English, or any global language, henceforth should not be considered the reason why local languages are disappearing. A global language is needed in a world that is becoming increasingly cross-cultural. Relations to other languages are not only a question of attitude but also of demographic distribution (if people are more and more living in cities, the way to communicate is also changing; villages where minority languages are spoken are deserted, and a common language is adopted to integrate cities, which is of course the language of the majority). As this majority shifts (changes in population structures) the language used may change as well. The question is to know what the real purpose is of preserving languages that within a few generations will not have any speakers? Is it only a form of protest against the dominant spread of an “unwanted language”, or is there really an inherent and logical need? At the time when Latin held the position of a global language, nobody questioned its legitimacy or the potential of another language occupying the same position. This fits the post-modern society we live in, which is based on emulation, competition, and profit. Standing against the English language is also a form of protest against the hegemony of the US and the values it carries, when direct competition with them is simply not possible. But as Bourdieu says, to fight against something just reinforces the dominant position of this force.<sup>88</sup> In this sense, language, as culture stands as a symbol of the struggle against homogeneity. As Castells puts it,

If nationalism is, most often a reaction against a threatened autonomous identity, then, in a world submitted to cultural homogenization by the ideology of modernization and the power of global media, language, as the direct expression of culture becomes

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<sup>87</sup> 2006: 5.

<sup>88</sup> 2001.

the trench of cultural resistance, the last bastion of self-control, the refuge of identifiable meaning.<sup>89</sup>

The role of language as defining a nation is changing today as nations become more multicultural and influenced by powerful media that bounds people above national borders. The period we live could be defined as a time of “reforging” of identities. Tourism, expatriation, and university exchanges create temporal flows of people. More families are multicultural and children bilingual. Unlike preceding migrating flows which fit into their new environment by putting aside their origins and languages (acculturation), today’s flows keep their origins and culture very much alive as part of their identity (interculturalization). This may be due to a new perception of things, valuing diversity and protecting minorities’ rights. The very definition of nation and nationality should therefore be more flexible, embracing the global world we live in. Consequences of global flows are not yet perceived in all their scope, but their evolution has to be questioned as the European and global identities appear to rise above nations.

According to Bourdieu, the use of a dominant language is associated with the “*chances of material and symbolic profit that (...) a certain market objectively promises to the holders of a certain linguistic capital*”.<sup>90</sup> In our case, the use of English in films would take advantage of this linguistic capital and therefore increase the chances for profit. However, the possession of such a linguistic capital is a profitable dominant competence only insofar as the necessary conditions are fulfilled: “*the unification of the market and the unequal distribution of access to the instruments of production of legitimate competence and to the legitimate places of expression*”<sup>91</sup> are necessary so that the ones holding it (linguistic capital) are able to impose it as the only legitimate official market and in most of the linguistic interactions where they are committed. At the time Bourdieu wrote this essay, it applied to national languages as opposed to local ones. Now it can apply to the existence of a global language, which fulfills the same role on the global market as a national language did at the domestic level. In short, for a language to spread and become dominant, it should find a stable conveyor in the market and be favored economically so that it can hold the means of diffusion. The inequalities of access to production systems (among them printing, media, and so on) mean that any vague attempt of change would not be materially possible. As a consequence, Bourdieu considers that the ones willing to preserve an endangered linguistic capital are doomed to a total struggle since, as he says,

The value of competency can be saved only provided the market is saved, that is to say the whole political and social conditions of production of producers-consumers.<sup>92</sup>

What is generally attempted is to make out that this threatened language has values outside of the market, when concretely it is the market that is attempted

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<sup>89</sup> 1997b: 54.

<sup>90</sup> 2001: 79; translated from French by the author.

<sup>91</sup> 2001: 86-87; translated from French by the author.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid: 87; translated from French by the author.

to be saved. A language that would not be used in production or in cultural contents would lose its capacity as a linguistic capital. Hence, the efforts made by regions to promote their language and to keep them alive through books, education, and culture in general.

The use of a common language is mainly due to the need to communicate. Latin held this role for a while, and French was for a time the language used for diplomatic relations. English then appeared with many assets: as a rich country, dealing with the US can open interesting markets, and the language is quite easy to learn. English facilitates exchanges and allows the international community to communicate and work together (i.e., international organizations). Nowadays, to be part of the business or international community, English is a prerequisite. This language is also needed since people are becoming more and more mobile. Nowadays, about 430 million people speak English as a first language, and 1.6 billion use it as a second or third.<sup>93</sup> According to Crystal, “a language achieves the status of global when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country”.<sup>94</sup> The key to having a global language is based on its people and according to him is two-sided: the country has to be a military and political power. The military power establishes a language, and the economic power maintains and expands it. This last point coincides with Bourdieu’s theory, which requires a stable market together with the economic power. A powerful economy is primordial to make a language dominant (nationally and globally). It often comes with another type of domination, as colonialism has shown, and thus embodies the balance of power.

The spread of the English language is mainly due to British colonialism (until the mid-twentieth century), technological progress, and American capitalism (plus, adds Crystal, the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century). The first aspect established the basis for the use of English, whereas the others are linked to the rise of the US as a superpower and to its cultural influence.<sup>95</sup> The present market is indeed dominated by American products and the English language, and reflects a worldwide balance of power that tried to be minimized in the cultural sphere. Industrialization is seen as favoring the rise of English as a global language by Crystal, but Gellner sees it as an important factor for linguistic unification at the national level.<sup>96</sup> The evolution can be seen between those two theories: at the beginning of the 1980s, the unification or homogenization was contemplated at the national level, while in the 1990s the global sphere and global language carried the phenomenon further, behind national borders, with the rise of a common international language. Industrialization participated also to the urbanization or the condensation of a population within a single place and therefore led as well to this need for a common language. As Phillipson sums up,

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<sup>93</sup> Watson, 2007: 257.

<sup>94</sup> 2003.

<sup>95</sup> Graddol, 1997: 5.

<sup>96</sup> 1983.

English is now entrenched worldwide, as a result of British colonialism, international interdependence, 'revolutions' in technology, transport, communications and commerce, and because English is the language of the USA, a major economic, political, and military force in the contemporary world. It is not only Britain which has gravitated towards linguistic homogeneity, but a significant portion of the entire world.<sup>97</sup>

In the twentieth century, English took a key position in the international society that leads to some questioning. Indeed, American cinema is favored by audiences, English comes in first for entertainment, and the widespread use of communication systems in general contributes to such a status. Language issues are problematic when considering the evolution of the market toward more unity in regard to a language. The *Study on Cultural Cooperation in Europe* underlines it when saying:

Language policies are indivisible from cultural policies, it then follows that threats to language are threats to culture, and, by extension, to diversity and identity.<sup>98</sup>

According to Anderson, radio, literature, and reading, little by little led to the knowledge of a single language.<sup>99</sup> Television, cinema, and new technologies play at the national or regional levels the same role today, and the spread of their programs, films, and content to other nations could lead to the creation of another community, which is disseminating itself through the ubiquity of the English language. Indeed, even if not spoken, the language provided by broadcasting is at least more and more understood. With the internet, television, and media, the world knows in an instant what is happening on the other side of the globe. Economic and environmental issues are taken on at the global level. Issues that a few decades ago were only seen very locally or that involved only a few countries now involve entire cultural groups, which have become more defined by their political or religious affiliation than by their nationality. At the same time, national issues are superseded by supranational organizations, the world in general is taking a new shift by becoming more internationally focused, and society embodies this multiculturalism, mobility, and cross-communication. Nations first gathered as homogeneous entities which finally adopted in some of their spheres of action a single language that allows them to be part of and participate in the global world. The world is now becoming more global, supported mainly by the new communication technologies, which ensure an inevitable shift from a national dimension to a global one. Therefore, national and local languages that were previously supported at local levels by radio, media, and broadcasting are now superseded by more global means: the internet, satellite, and television channels coming from all over the world, that need a common language to be understood. As Graddol puts it,

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<sup>97</sup> 1992: 23-24.

<sup>98</sup> European Union, 2003: 66.

<sup>99</sup> 2002: 56-57.

On the one hand, the availability of English as a global language is accelerating globalization. On the other, globalization is accelerating the use of English.<sup>100</sup>

Both globalization and English are complementary and create a kind of circle where they foster one another: English gives the tools for global exchanges, and as they develop, promote in turn the English language.

## 2.4 Globalization and diversity

Globalization is believed to threaten all the above-mentioned concepts by imposing a homogeneous culture on the worldwide eclectic sphere. Based on power, the ones holding it can lead the game and have a noteworthy impact on local national markets and culture. Globalization is by definition linked to the market and capitalist values. The phenomenon is narrowly linked to culture and identity in so far as it disseminates worldwide standardized images and narratives, which are highly consumed and assimilated. As we have seen, nations were built around common values, and globalization proposes values that are attractive and widespread enough to represent a threat to the settlement of nation.

Globalization is a central concept today when dealing with international relations, economy, or even culture. According to Trevillion, globalization is “*the process of increased international economic interdependence*”,<sup>101</sup> or “*at the heart of the globalization concept is the idea of a world system*”.<sup>102</sup> More precisely, according to Castells something is global when organized on a global scale, when the core activities (production, consumption, circulation, and their components - capital, labor, raw material, information, and technology markets) are also worldwide amplifications of this space.<sup>103</sup> Then, a multitude of transnational exchanges (ebbs), new connections between people and societies, overstep the nation-states. Interactions between groups are not defined any more in terms of territory, but in terms of common belonging to the same universality. The information society and international networks are at the core of the phenomenon by providing the necessary infrastructure for exchanges and connections to be done in real time all over the world. Globalization pushes further the “in-between step” already brought on by the supra-national institutions and especially the EU. People see their identities and marks move from national to European and then to a more global identity, which includes common concerns for all nations (terrorism, peace, global warming).

This extension of space is at the core of the definition of globalization. Already in 1990, Giddens defined globalization as,

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<sup>100</sup> 2006: 22.

<sup>101</sup> Memedovic, Kuyvenhoven, and Molle, 1998: 3; quoted in Chamberlayne, Cooper, Freeman, and Rustin. (ed.), 1999: 64.

<sup>102</sup> Wallerstein, 1974; quoted in Chamberlayne, Cooper, Freeman, and Rustin. (ed.), 1999: 66.

<sup>103</sup> 1997b: 66.

The intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.<sup>104</sup>

More precisely, he argues that,

In the modern era, the level of time-space distanciation is much higher than in any previous period, and the relations between local and distant social forms and events become correspondingly 'stretched'. Globalization refers essentially to that stretching process, in so far as the modes of connections between different social contexts or regions become networked across the earth's surface as a whole.<sup>105</sup>

The concept of globalization would thus lay in the idea of worldwide, timeless connections, erasing the notion of time by the simultaneity of actions and contacts between people, and the notion of space as messages are transmitted everywhere regardless of distances and borders. Globalization would create a "net-world" where spatial and temporal realities are erased to open the way to a virtually connected planet.

Moreover, globalization, according to Robertson "*refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole*".<sup>106</sup> The globalization phenomenon could be considered characteristic of our century in the sense that it implies that people are aware of the society they live in and the technical means available to them. According to him, globalization is a long-lasting phenomenon. It has its roots in the fifteenth century and has seen a phase of acceleration in the last hundred years due to national systems and the system of international relations, on the one hand, and the conception of individuals and of humankind on the other.<sup>107</sup> Globalization is thus not a new phenomenon. Already since the Middle Ages onwards attempts were made to homogenize people into a single territory and language. Language (Latin) and printing helped develop a common national feeling around the same values. The aim was to create a larger space within the nation-building idea. Markets also tried to be enlarged, all the more as travel made people aware of new goods and products (silk, tea, spices, and so on). The world was thus trying to be global with the means of the time. What differs nowadays lays in the means. The twentieth century saw a rapid and unexpected improvement in technology, which has enabled the world to connect instantaneously. Little by little, progress was made

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<sup>104</sup> 1990: 64.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> 1992: 8.

<sup>107</sup> 1992: 58-59: five phases would pave the way for the nowadays perception of globalisation: the Germinal Phase, from the early fifteenth to mid-eighteenth century with the growth of national communities; the Incipient Phase, from the mid-eighteenth century until the 1870s with the emergence of the idea of "homogeneous, unitary state"; the Take-off Phase, from the 1870s until the mid-1920s characterized by a focus on national societies despite the earlier increasing globalizing tendencies; the Struggle-for-Hegemony Phase, from the mid-1920s until the late 1960s, with "wars about the fragile terms of the dominant globalization process"; and finally, the Uncertainty Phase, from the late 1960s to the early 1990s, with a growing global consciousness.



in communication and transportation, paving the way for a radical and widespread culture. The dimension of globalization, already mentioned in the idea of amplification of space by Giddens and Castells, became more visible as the means, and media especially, enabled the phenomenon to become more intense and moved onto another scale.

Globalization, however, nurtures an ambivalent discourse since on the one hand it enables diversity to be accessible, and, on the other hand, it consolidates the position of a dominant mainstream all over the world. If in 1995 Featherstone could say "*the process of globalization (...) does not seem to be producing cultural uniformity; rather it makes us aware of new levels of diversity*",<sup>108</sup> this diversity is nowadays more considered as endangered than visible. What is the reason for this change? Did the last decades bring any substantial change, or did the phenomena of globalization start to be assimilated and dominated, disturbing a balance that would have been based on equal access to this sphere? If the later aspect sounds very unlikely, the former is probable. That sphere that sounded elusive still has bases on something concrete on which to lean. These bases seem to lay on flows, whatever they are (people, capitals, goods, and so on) and especially on flows of what makes sense and what helps people all around the globe to redefine themselves: images, stories, references to common feelings and memories, values, and language. In constant need of "belonging" people recognize themselves in what they see, assimilate it as what they are and what they belong to, and act accordingly. As a consequence, the ones controlling or dominating those flows are more likely to dominate the whole system. In this sense, globalization is considered a threat as it is said to go against diversity, and furthermore to enhance powerful countries and their culture in their respective geographical spheres or beyond.

From a European perspective, the United States is the more visible example. Its leading position in the field of cinema and in the worldwide economy enables it to diffuse its model and language at large, thus contributing to the definition of globalization as closely associated to the notions of "*internationalization, liberalization, universalization, westernisation, modernization or deterritorialisation*".<sup>109</sup> US culture and production are thus from this perspective said to challenge and threaten cultural diversity at large and to represent a form of imperialism. This situation is however more specific to European territories even if unevenly. The problem can indeed be raised differently in other geographic areas even within Europe, with, for instance, the Russian domination over Byelorussia and somewhat over Ukraine. In a different manner, a country can be dominant if a specific field is well developed and threatens to impose heavily its products on other countries. For instance, in the field of cinema, the importance of France may be felt as a threat because of the weight the country has in terms of production even though in terms of distribution and presence abroad it is debatable. The relative issue of globalization and who dominates the mainstream is also taken up by Appadurai when he says that,

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<sup>108</sup> 13-14.

<sup>109</sup> Scholte, 2000.

For the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics.<sup>110</sup>

Globalization would thus instead be a phenomenon of concentration around the dominant country of a region. Appadurai reiterated this argument in 1996, saying that Americanization is a problematic principally addressed at the European level.<sup>111</sup> This argument is interesting as it sheds light on the phenomenon of polarization differently. However, some 25 years later, this domination can also be seen in many countries around the globe. When looking at UNESCO's figures, one can observe that in 2017 American cinema represented 76% of the market shares in Argentina, 83% in Brazil, and 88% in Mexico.<sup>112</sup> The few countries which are not under such domination are usually the ones imposing strict quotas upon imported films: China where only 36 films were imported in 2019,<sup>113</sup> Iran whose national market shares reached 92% in 2017, or countries where national production is very high and/or successful such as in India, where the national market shares represented 89% in 2017, and to some extent Turkey, with 63.4%, Japan with 54.8%, and South Korea with 50.9%.<sup>114</sup> In Europe, France and the UK are the more favored with 39.5% of the market shares for national films in France in 2018, and 44.8% in the UK.<sup>115</sup> Globalization by nature affects all countries independently of any culture and location. It can take the form of Americanization in countries which do not protect their market or which do not have sufficiently strong local industries to confront the heavily marketed US products and American strategies, but different poles can nonetheless be observed and all the more now as digital technologies and the upsurge of some countries in the audiovisual sector at large enable some of them to play a role in the international sphere and more potently in their regional spheres.<sup>116</sup> Americanization is one of the many "polarizations" that can be observed at the international level. Its spread is much wider than most of the others and is not limited in terms of region or specific area, which is principally due to the fact that the sector is treated as an industry and supported by unrivalled financial means and long-time established businesses.<sup>117</sup> This

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<sup>110</sup> In Featherstone, 1990: 295.

<sup>111</sup> 1996: 69-70.

<sup>112</sup> See Institut de Statistiques de l'UNESCO.

<sup>113</sup> See Davis, 2020, in *Variety*, and more precisely about the strong protectionism and methods, see the attempt by Murdoch to enter the Chinese market related by Martel, 2010: 215-230.

<sup>114</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> See the different examples given by Martel, 2010.

<sup>117</sup> This was reflected in the responses from participants from South America at the conference "Cultura y Desarrollo" in Cuba, 2007, in which I participated, who answered with the same concerns about the use of English in their films and languages when Latin America is rich in many ways. Moreover, different publications and articles in recent

borderless extension fully illustrates the idea of unlimited space, which is one of the main characteristics of globalization.

## **2.5 The relation of globalization to identities and cultures: a paradoxical issue with regard to diversity**

Globalization is assumed to have a negative influence on cultures and identities. According to Castells,

The rise of the network society calls into question the processes of the construction of identity during that period, thus inducing new forms of social change. This is because the network society is based on the systemic disjunction between the local and the global for most individuals and social groups.<sup>118</sup>

Globalization influences identity through the network society it creates. Defining independently one's identity would mean disconnect from that network which is overwhelming and characterizes dominant institutions.<sup>119</sup> This idea of a large network is resumed by Leclerc, according to whom mondialization is the only planet, which belongs to all, with no center or big civilization dominating.<sup>120</sup> However, if no civilization dominates, polarizations can be observed at different scales all over the world. In 1990, Appadurai already identified a phenomenon of concentration around dominant countries in various regions of the globe.<sup>121</sup> This phenomenon would have intensified with the rise of media and technologies dominated by a very few powers in the world. Globalization makes media widespread, and even if national productions are still prevalent, media contain mostly English pages, oriented toward a capitalist culture.<sup>122</sup> English terms have moreover entered many national languages, even though different governments have tried to find alternatives for them. Furthermore, due to new technologies and modernity being embodied by the power of the US, all new terms connected to them are also in English. As the language of research is also global English, the world comes to revolve around the US and their values. The English language is not considered anymore as a whole, but people do differentiate between American and British English and identify American English as the truly fashionable one.<sup>123</sup> More concretely, lifestyles become very similar to what can be found in the US: people wear jeans, eat fast-food, watch American movies and TV series, are fans of American movie-stars whose lives they follow in the press,

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years show similar arguments from different parts of the world (see, Doobo, 2005; Hjort, 2005; Elsaesser, 2005; Fu and Govindaraju, 2010).

<sup>118</sup> 1997b: 11.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> 2000: 311.

<sup>121</sup> In Featherstone, 1990: 295.

<sup>122</sup> Graddol, 1997.

<sup>123</sup> This question of global English has been tackled by different scholars: Phillipson, 1992; Graddol, 1997, 2006; Crystal, 2003; Wright, 2004; Hagège, 2006.

and also celebrate American events such as Thanksgiving. The American dream, even if it is not lived as such, is lived vicariously by people all around the world, who think it fashionable and cool to have such a style associated with freedom and modernity. Globalization, from this point of view, stands for Americanization and represents a threat to local cultures because of the pervasiveness and manifold ways it enters local daily lives.

The issue does not simply deal with a global shared culture that would challenge national ones by being more in fashion. As Featherstone says, global culture does not exist because culture is always related to a nation and as for that globalization would need to form a global state.<sup>124</sup> This statement by Featherstone according to which culture is always connected to a nation is today also questionable. Instead of a global state, globalization stands as a non-material and elusive dimension to which everyone belongs, but which is nevertheless pushed by the market and inherent forces such as media, new technologies, progress, and above all capitalism. This dimension is therefore first accessible and dominated by powerful nations. As we have seen, culture and identities summarize features such as languages, traditions, and the belonging to a common history, which are ritualized through memories, symbols, education, and commemorations. If globalization and the associated values of Americanism or other regional poles are clearly influencing people in their way of living and thinking, does it obviously mean that globalization is totally influencing cultures and identities? Both are considered national, and globalization would affect this sense of local belonging by carrying it to another dimension, immaterial, unbounded, borderless, and bringing a greater sense of individuality together with a belonging to a common universality.<sup>125</sup> However, and according to Featherstone,

The assumption that all particularities, local cultures, would eventually give way under the relentless modernizing force of American cultural imperialism implied that all particularities were linked together in a symbolic hierarchy.<sup>126</sup>

Indeed, if globalization and American values can overpass and so easily replace national cultures that are centuries-based, it would mean that firstly, national cultures and identities are so artificially grounded that the least influence could be enough to erase them; secondly, that people are highly and quickly influenced; and thirdly, that if the first and second assumptions are right, within a few decades the world could become American. The globalization process is however not that simple and uni-oriented, and globalization is still thought as highly paradoxical. As Bonet and Négrier say,

Globalization enables access to a repertory each time more international of cultural goods, but it also favors the standardisation of contents around big actors and the more powerful countries. Thus, far from simply enriching the range of available cultural

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<sup>124</sup> 1990: 34.

<sup>125</sup> See Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992; Castells, 1997a, 1997b; Sennett, 1999; Leclerc, 2000; Scholte, 2000.

<sup>126</sup> 1995: 87.

goods and services, the internationalization also impoverishes cultural diversity by reducing the capacity of access of many creators to those markets, be they international or domestic. Local cultures (their authors and their contents), despite the importance of their identity dimension, seem excluded from the idea of globalization.<sup>127</sup>

Indeed, the absence of borders and the grander scale programs can be distributed in and enable cultural products to reach audiences far from the country of origin. The multiplicity of formats, such as television, the Internet, VoD, cinema, and festivals, provide manifold chances to find a place for one's creation.

Nonetheless, the variety of formats, which in a way participate in the diffusion of different cultures, contributes at the same time to making the strongest cultures dominant. American programs, but also to different extents Japanese, Russian, or Brazilian ones are overwhelming screens and televisions worldwide or regionally. The US has almost no competitors due to it having a powerful industry behind it and the matching financial resources: its long-established strategy enables it to be present worldwide and to dominate most markets. Its distribution companies have subsidiary branches in key foreign markets, and it ensured the creation of this "net-world". The manifold supports of diffusion indeed officially enable many voices to express themselves, but in reality they only constitute an opportunity for small cultures, as only countries and companies with a significant economic power can be dominant and widespread everywhere. It is this domination, which is considered a threat to cultural diversity, especially in the European context. The threat brought up by globalization created a new position and mission for nations and their policies. The higher dependency of the film sector to the international economy makes the field more fragile and willing to integrate wider forms of collaborations, at the expense, it is believed, of local interests. This constitutes a threat to national cultures and contents which are stigmatized as the result of the US domination and globalization. The notion of diversity and especially cultural diversity came as an answer to this threat.<sup>128</sup> Diversity however invites another discussion as the way it is enhanced can lead to some closure or restriction of the market or, on the contrary, a loss of grip on what is locally produced. A balance should thus always be reached and maintained between what is done locally and the inner diversity, and what is coming from outside. The question of what is "in" and what is "out" and the link to the nation and its identity are therefore at stake since diversity should be promoted within the territory, but also internationally with accepting diverse imports of cultural goods and influences.

Diversity always existed but now stands for the argument against American standardized products and other poles of standardization worldwide which would constitute threats locally. Diversity is fully protected and enhanced as a human right principle.<sup>129</sup> It implies that national and European products should be valorized, but what then are the limits between the valorization of diversity

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<sup>127</sup> 2008: 207; translated by French by the author.

<sup>128</sup> See Farchy, 1999; Tardif and Farchy, 2006; Benhamou, 2006; Bonet and Négrier, 2008.

<sup>129</sup> See the UNESCO's introduction to the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005.

expressed within the border and being still open to foreign products (US included)? What are the limits not to be infringed upon in this context? Would specific percentages or quotas be reflective of a true diversity within each nation, or should the market reflect the tastes and the demand of the audience? As Benhamou says, “*The hypothesis of a preference of consumers for diversity prevails in economic models*”,<sup>130</sup> but the reality nevertheless shows a convergence toward the consumption of standardized products.

What is at stake here is the very definition of cultural products as a whole. Literature, music, and cinema are generic terms that cover specific fields of the cultural industries and their plural inner realities and approaches. As cultures and as industries, those fields answer to specific and various needs among populations and rank indeed differently according to whether they are meant for mass distribution (popular culture) or to a more targeted, indie one (high culture). This simplistic distinction between culture intended for the masses, and conceived as such (entertaining, glamorous, low-involving) and culture meant for a “restricted” audience (more local, culture-specific, and high-ranking) however hides as well the whole range of films that are defined as “Films of the middle”<sup>131</sup> in France and which constitute a large part of the offer. The duality of the discussion around globalization is thus not reflecting adequately the reality of the markets, both at the European and American levels. The category “films of the middle” represented 56 films in 2018, of the 237 produced that year in France. In France 33 films were considered as high-budget films, with budgets higher than €7 million.<sup>132</sup> These different categories show that film production in France does not only correspond to art or indie films. US culture as well is not represented only by mainstream high-budget films but covers a large range of films which testify of the melting-pot that makes up the US and of different voices that are expressed in much less costly productions.<sup>133</sup> The less visibility of those films on the international markets, together with the heavy advertisement of mainstream productions, convey the idea of a very homogenous American culture which would be spread overseas, and especially in Europe. This ambiguity, the characteristics of cultural industries at large, somewhat matches the paradox of globalization with a distinction between two types of cultures, conceptions, and offers which are defined as two different opportunities in the market: mass products, whose availability is multiplied, and more locally rooted films, which may find new ways of circulating and being known outside of their

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<sup>130</sup> 2006: 254; translation from French by the author.

<sup>131</sup> To resume the expression “Films du milieu”, pronounced for the first time in 2007 by the film director Pascale Ferran on the occasion of the ceremony of the Césars and which gave rise to a report by the Groupe des 13, the following year, which endeavored to propose tracks to improve the situation for this category of films on the market.

<sup>132</sup> Ten of which have budgets of more than €15 million. CNC, 2019c, *La production cinématographique en 2018*: 12.

<sup>133</sup> See for example, *Moonlight*, by Barry Jenkins (2016) whose budget of USD 1.5 million did not prevent it from tackling a hot topic (the three step life periods of an Afro-American boy who strives to escape his living conditions) and from winning the Oscar for best feature film in 2017.

borders. This focus on the mainstream invasion of US productions, on the one hand, and more fragile European films, on the other hand, is at the basis of the construction of the discourse on cultural diversity and the protection of local cultures by national and supra-national organizations. When discussing the threat of globalization upon national cultures, the stress is put on mass products whose high visibility and presence over different markets elude the more complex reality. It also stresses what Moran calls “cultural debilitation”,<sup>134</sup> that is to say the idea that the more people are submitted to plain messages, the more they lose characteristics as individuals and as members of a specific group. “Americanization” as a threat would thus reflect the fear to see a world turn into a homogenous entity, submitted to a new form of “soft imperialism”, and taking on values and ways of life which are not local.<sup>135</sup> However, and paradoxically, the reflection on globalization comes to question national identity and the very meaning of “we” as individuals in a global context. As Alasuutari says,

The discussion is circled around feared or hoped-for homogenization of world cultures. That discourse is employed to address the worries and embedded political interest people have about global capitalism, such as a loss of ‘national identity’ in the face of increasing flows of capital, culture and people across borders.<sup>136</sup>

As globalization is believed to imply standardization, nations that were based on inner specific cultures and identities can see their basis shaken with the redefinition of identities and the internationalization of citizens within their borders. Globalization destabilized the so-far institutionalized and unquestioned nation-state, and therefore led to a rethinking and re-conceptualizing of the basis of the nation, its identity, and culture. This is what Duelund discusses when referring to the link that Hedetoft makes between globalization and nationalism:

Globalization implies a revival of nationalism as a defense against a possible loss of identity. Strengthening national coherence as an answer to immigration and multicultural challenges is today often argued as a vitally important dimension in the current national debates on cultural policy.<sup>137</sup>

As a response to the dual aspect of globalization, as conveying both homogeneity and diversity within the borders of the nation-state, the redefinition of the nation and its culture became a challenge for sustaining national interests. In that sense, Castells argues that,

The age of globalization is also the age of nationalist resurgence expressed both in the challenge to established nation-states and in the widespread (re)construction of identity on the basis of nationality, always affirmed against the alien.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> 1996: 9.

<sup>135</sup> About the notion of “cultural imperialism, see Phillipson, 1992; Tomlinson, 1999; Smiers 2003; Elsaesser, 2005.

<sup>136</sup> 2000: 262.

<sup>137</sup> Duelund, 2008: 4.

<sup>138</sup> 1997b: 30.

The distinction between what is “in” and what is “out”, already expressed by the definition of national languages, underlines by comparison what the nation “is not”, its specificity. It is in this context that cultural policies gained importance in the orientation and reframing of national identities. Therefore, the idea according to which globalization would lead to more homogeneity is not as clear-cut as it sounds at first sight. It contributes to create a more mixed and multicultural world, where dominant cultural clusters prevail, but where powerful and threatening positions lead to a revival of national feelings and corresponding policies to enhance them.

The question whether globalization leads to more homogenization or to more diversity is therefore not clear, and theoreticians do part on that theme. By analyzing the impact globalization may have through cinema, an answer could be sketched out. Cinema is indeed a key sector when talking about globalization. As a cultural industry, it is dependent on the market, its high fixed production costs make it a prestigious embodiment of the balance of power, and at the same time the power of images today endows it with a significant influential strength. By defining films as national, they are expected to reflect the nation’s inner soul. They are openly or latently testifying a moment of history, of a specific context, mentalities, cultures, ways of living, which respond to the current need to display the diversity of cultures, and, more specifically, the diversity of the cultures of European nations; films use specific languages and ways of communicating which are linked to precise nations; and finally, because of their connection to the international market and their symbolic power of influence, they are at the center of global processes and concerns. For all these reasons, cinema is a crucial field to investigate to assess whether globalization indeed brings more homogeneity to the field in general, and whether nationality is still a legitimate manner to define films. The next chapter will more precisely address the link between cinema and nation, the role of national film policies, and of the European institutions in the context of globalization, to see how all those concepts interact within the sector.



### **3 NATIONAL CINEMA, FILM POLICIES, EUROPEAN PROGRAMS, AND GLOBALIZATION**

Cinema is one of the most important contemporary art forms because of its widespread reach, the fact it addresses all age ranges and social categories of the population, and because of its acknowledged influence upon people. Moreover, it is a source of substantial profit and it participates in the construction of a national identity by making films visible and displayed as national at the local and international levels. The role of cinema as a main support to the nation-building process and the settling of corresponding policies and programs by the nation-states are challenged by a society which is, on the contrary, conceived as increasingly global today. Wider forms of gathering, supranational initiatives and schemes are threats to the nation and to a definition of national cinema, which are exacerbated by the dependency of cinema on the global market.

The different spheres to which cinema belongs need to be investigated to have a clearer picture of the sector today, the challenges it is facing, and of what is at stake when we talk about nation and nationality in the European and global contexts. The market and the structures it represents are particularly important to define to explore further these issues.

The importance of cinema is demonstrated by the specific policies applied to the field. Those policies are mainly directed to the national film sector, within which is the national production, which thus has to be precisely defined. The defense of national films, and of the plurality they have to represent, are key aspects in the discourse around the idea of diversity. A clear definition of films as national and the difference to the concept of national cinema, which is more widely used, is thus important to address; secondly, the role of national film policies in protecting and supporting the sector is also to be investigated. Nations-states use cinema to promote a certain image of their territory and themselves, and to attract and get profit. The manner by which they instrumentalize it is therefore important to investigate. In this context, it is also crucial to analyze the role of European programs and supra-national organizations at large. In a sector where components are defined by their nationality, the position of European bodies appears as a challenge insofar as

they aim to rule parts of the field and support joined projects, which lead to the common use of the adjective “European” to qualify most of them. Finally, the link of cinema to globalization is tackled, and more precisely its link to Americanization, which is considered a threat to diversity in cinema. Globalization/Americanization would represent a risk to its diversity on screens but also in terms of content, which would thus minimize the visibility and profit of nations through a crucial and strategical art-form.

### 3.1 The definition of national cinema and films’ nationality

The issue tackled by the definition of a film’s nationality is addressed in the four articles of this compilation and constitutes the key vault of its theoretical discussion. The present chapter proposes to analyze the idea of national cinema comprehensively, besides the results of article IV on the concept of nationality. As we have seen, the question of national identity is revived today in the context of globalization. Cinema reflects this question, as it can interchangeably be qualified as national/Nordic/European/Maghrebi/Asian, etc. In that sense it is meant to reveal something national or whatever other culture-related group. The nature of this belonging is however to be questioned: if a cinema can be categorized as belonging to a specific country or group-identity, it means that films’ content or something specific in films, something tangible, induces their nationality.

To answer this interrogation it is first important to distinguish two different questions: what is “national cinema”, and how is cinema defined as “national” and given a certain nationality? “National cinema” has widely been discussed by scholars, especially since the end of the 1980s with numerous publications dealing with specific nations or with the concept at large.<sup>139</sup> Defining a national film or a national cinema has the aim to look for certain similarities in films which can be found in the aesthetic, the topic, the atmosphere, or even the type of production, and which would thus refer to a specific group. Defining the nationality of a film, however, requires applying, on a ‘film-by-film’ basis, precise criteria which will qualify the film “technically” as national, i.e., being from a specific country. Despite systematically used in the cinema sector, the criteria of application of this nationality has rarely been analyzed and has left a gap in the

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<sup>139</sup> See Higson, *The Concept of National Cinema*, 1989; Crofts, *Reconceptualizing National Cinema/s*, 1993, *Concepts of National Cinema*, 1998; Hjort and MacKenzie, *Cinema and Nation*, 2000; Bergfelder, *National, transnational or supranational cinema?*, 2005; Elsaesser, *European Cinema. Face to Face with Hollywood*, 2005; Rawle, *Transnational Cinema. An Introduction*, 2018; as well as the whole series of 14 publications on national cinemas edited by Susan Hayward between 1996 and 2008, including *French National Cinema*, Hayward, 1993, 2005; *Nordic National Cinemas*, Iversen, Soderbergh Widding, and Soila, 1998.

understanding of the system and its pertinence.<sup>140</sup> This question is, besides, all the more challenged by the increasing number of co-productions, by the programs that support them, and by the multicultural crews on cinema sets. Both approaches are however closely intertwined. To address the issue of nationality comprehensively, it is necessary to analyze the concept of “national” and its relation to films, and the many changes it underwent over the years.

As we have seen, nations were constructed around the idea of a shared culture, a shared language, and a common identity that were institutionalized through the ruling of a state (or inversely created and harmonized to serve a state’s goal), and that differentiated them from the others. Part of the definition of nation is also the idea to share a common past, present, and future. Rituals are set to commemorate symbolic events linked to the nation, symbols of the nation are defined, and education enables to shape the new generations according to these criteria, and thus they perpetuate and consolidate the nation. Culture, as a representation and as a part of identity plays an important role in the building of the nation and the creation of this national imaginary. Cinema, more than any other art form, is closely connected to this depiction. First, it can show through moving and speaking images scenes from reality, with which is it easy to identify, and, secondly, its description and first attribute when discussing it at the European or international level is more often than not its nationality.

Nevertheless, the question of the “national” in cinema had not been tackled before the end of the 1980s, which corresponds to the emphasis of the idea of diversity, to the redefinition of nations in a more international and competitive market, and to the setting up of programs to support and promote European cinema. Higson was the first in 1989 to address the question of national cinema by providing a specific typology. According to him there are four ways of defining national cinema: first, in economic terms, which refers to the domestic film industry; second, in relation to a “text-based approach”, which considers their topic and what they are about; third, using an “exhibition led or consumption led approach”, i.e., what is watched; finally, following the critics, and approaching national cinema as an art of quality that is highly valuable. Of the four approaches, only one concerns the film content and thus makes Higson qualify the way nationality is attributed as “prescriptive” and not “descriptive”. His example of British cinema shows that the definition of national is about the “*construction of an imaginary homogeneity of identity and culture*”<sup>141</sup> that is shared by British people, which relates to the definitions we previously discussed of nation, its building, and nationalism. Cinema follows the same narrative steps

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<sup>140</sup> Most writings deal with the definition of nationality at large, of the “canons” which are considered congruent with the nation, mostly as a way to construct or define a national cinema in opposition to another one, but not with the concrete elements of the definition which are found only in regulatory texts. Györy (2000) did point to the difficulty that the definition of nationality raises in terms of production and distribution. Hill (2016) focused on the way nationality is defined by British film policies in relation to the US, and the canons British films are meant to embody.

<sup>141</sup> 1989:44.

and thus serves as a mirror to the nation by more precisely providing those stories to watch. Beyond the idea of “homogeneity” is also the question of the shaping or construction of what should be defined as British, what is culturally worth being British, which thus implies a subjective evaluation of what is good and what is bad, and what should be displayed as national. If the nationality is defined according to the fourth criterion and the way an elite defines it, one can better understand the difficulty in qualifying films as national that are popular and/or successful, which do not fit into its criteria what is culturally good. Hayward emphasizes this aspect when stating that,

Cinema will reveal a predominant tendency to address the cinema almost exclusively as those films which have been canonised by critics and historians of films.<sup>142</sup>

This very idea of canonization is in some sense at the center of the discussions when defining nationality, as not every form of production is indeed worth being defined as national. The criteria might be at the discretion of a group of people, thus subjective, changing from one country to the other. This is besides the fact that the very definition of a nation and of nationalism are themselves proposing a fragile ground for the definition of national cinema and films’ nationality.

In the very same way as nations, national cinema is also defined in terms of opposition to other cinemas and gets its specificity due to its difference from the others. Higson names it, its “otherness”,<sup>143</sup> Hayward “its different-ness”,<sup>144</sup> while Iversen, Soderbergh Widding, and Soila argue that the idea of difference/similarities is at the heart of the discussion on national cinema.<sup>145</sup> The idea of resistance is also complementary to the ways it is defined. For Higson, national cinema is indeed also “a strategy of cultural (and economic) resistance”, against the domination of the US in the sector.<sup>146</sup> This idea is resumed in most of the points of Crofts’ typology which defines seven types of “national cinemas”: (1) cinemas which differ from Hollywood, but do not compete directly, by targeting a distinct, specialist market sector; (2) those which differ, but do not compete directly but do directly critique Hollywood; (3) European and Third World entertainment cinemas which struggle against Hollywood with limited or no success; (4) cinemas which ignore Hollywood, an accomplishment managed by few; (5) Anglophone cinemas which try to beat Hollywood at its own game; (6) cinemas which work within a wholly state-controlled and often substantially state-subsidized industry; and, (7) regional or national cinemas whose culture and/or language differ from the nation-states which enclose them such as Québécois or Catalan cinemas.<sup>147</sup> This taxonomy is highly permeable. His definitions of national cinemas are mostly done by comparison with the leading US as a position or answer to its domination in the field. It embraces an issue that

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<sup>142</sup> 1993: 1.

<sup>143</sup> 1989: 38.

<sup>144</sup> 1993: 3.

<sup>145</sup> 1998: 2.

<sup>146</sup> 1989: 37.

<sup>147</sup> 1993.

was gaining significant importance at that time, notably in defining larger spheres such as European cinema. However, those aspects, even if interactive, are not enough to define a national cinema. National cinema cannot indeed be defined according to a simple principle of exclusion, or opposition that would state that whatever film is different or ignoring or criticizing Hollywood is a national film – the national here not being even related to a specific country. If the opposition of national cinema to the US industry is often referred to, the acknowledgement of its influence on local cinematographies is as well: Elsaesser recognizes the influence Hollywood has on film culture because of its widespread reach, and uses the term “hybridity”;<sup>148</sup> Higson questions the US inward investments as a paradox of the UK film policy;<sup>149</sup> Hayward stresses the traditional and reductionist manner with which cinemas are defined by differentiating them from the others and especially from the US, which she underlines is very much the case in Western Europe;<sup>150</sup> and Iversen, Soderbergh Widding, and Soila present Nordic cinemas as an “alternative” to the US mainstream offer.<sup>151</sup> The idea of influence does not however change the fact that national cinema can be contemplated as such. Identities and cultures in general are moving, permeable to others, a reality which is all the more reflected in the field of cinema, which is greatly linked to international flows. The idea of national cinema as a homogeneous entity, supported by Higson at the end of the 1980s, does thus not reflect the reality of cultures, nations, and the international scene in this context. Hayward emphasizes the fact that national cinema cannot indeed be considered homogenous because of the different pressures it is submitted to:

Although the way in which the ‘national’ can be enunciated (...) may remain constant, clearly what the term national signifies will change according to social, economic and political mutations and pressures.<sup>152</sup>

Higson’s position also changed with time as he acknowledges British cinema being the fruit of exchanges:

English cinema has been hybrid from the very start: well before the First World War, film production, distribution and exhibition in England was caught up in a complicated transnational exchange of films and filmmakers.<sup>153</sup>

His approach, based on the idea of borderless transnational flows, adds another influential aspect over cinema, which differs from Hayward’s link to “international pressures”, but also from Hill’s who links it to the capacity of cinema to state freely what is national and its way to approach it. He says that we should not,

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<sup>148</sup> 2005: 75.

<sup>149</sup> 2010: 69.

<sup>150</sup> 1993: 8.

<sup>151</sup> 1998: 4.

<sup>152</sup> 1993: 8.

<sup>153</sup> 2010: 1.

Underestimate the possibilities for a national cinema to re-imagine the nation (...) and also to address the specificities of a national culture in a way that does not presume a homogeneous and 'pure' national identity'.<sup>154</sup>

This idea can be found in the larger spheres to which cinema is also associated which materializes as an awareness on larger forms of belonging other than only the national one. Thus, this highlights the influences to which cinema is submitted, and the larger groups and trends it can be associated with: Nordic, Asian, Maghrebi, European, or even alternatives such as hybrid, post-modern, post-national, or "Third cinema"<sup>155</sup> are many attributes used, and which testify to larger influences or to the belonging to specific groups, but also to a new dynamic in the field. This reveals a broader conception of what should be reflected in films and of possibly wider staged identities. It also emphasizes the diversity that the term national covers, its high malleability, and the different dimensions it can be associated with which are not limited to a state's boundaries.

The idea of opposition and influence can more widely and clearly be found in relation to the increasing Europeanization and globalization of the film sector, which put into perspective the notion of "national". Crofts stresses the swift changing importance of the "national" concept in cinema, arguing that in the 1980s and 1990s a kind of pressure was exerted upon the definition of "nationality" due to the overwhelming spread of globalization.<sup>156</sup> The GATT negotiations in 1993 and the subsequent definition of the film sector as "cultural exception" also signified the intrinsic belonging of cinema to nations, and its contribution to their valorization and visibility. Nations in this context, and consequently the definitions of film nationality and of a national cinema were given clear importance, which was all the more exacerbated by the two-fold challenge they were concretely facing: on the one hand, the international context and the intrinsic enlargement of the markets created by globalization, and, on the other hand, the managing by European organizations of programs to support the field which took over of some parts of national film policies and for nations' unquestioned sovereignty in the field so far.

This shift in the structure of the field echoed in its conceptualization itself, which was from the 1990s mostly defined as "transnational". The large number of publications dealing with this concept from then on underlines it and its worldwide aspect: *Transnational Chinese Cinemas*, Lu (1997); *Cinema and Nation*, Hjort and MacKenzie (2000); *National, Transnational or Supranational Cinema? Rethinking European Film Studies*, Bergfelder (2005); *Transnational Nordic Cinema*, Nestingen and Elkington (2005); *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader*, Ezra and Rowden (2006); *What is Transnational Cinema? Thinking from the Chinese Situation*, Berry (2010); *Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies*, Higbee and Hwee Lim (2010); *Deconstructing and Reconstructing 'Transnational Cinema'*, Shaw (2013) about Latin America; and even a specific publication edited by Taylor & Francis from 2010 called "Transnational

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<sup>154</sup> In Vitali and Willemen, 2006: 110.

<sup>155</sup> Getino and Solanas, 1993.

<sup>156</sup> 1998: 386.

Cinemas”, which was renamed “Transnational Screens” in 2019. The term “transnational” answered the “dissatisfaction”<sup>157</sup> with the term “national cinema”, which was mostly linked to its geographical restriction, as well as to the fact that the term “national” did not reflect upon the reality of the sector any more.<sup>158</sup> “Transnational” subsumed the intrinsic changes in the sector in terms of partnerships and of financing (co-productions), but also in terms of perception of the field at large in the sphere of globalization. However, despite the different studies and analyses, the term “transnational” is not clearly defined, which in such a pluriform and sometimes blurred context also makes its use convenient. It is a sort of catch-all concept which includes most attributes also associated with co-productions: more international/cross-borders crews, actors, themes, financing, consumption, distribution, and raises the very same questions as per the definition of the term national. Indeed, even if the term transnational is more widely used, the concept of national is still very much entrenched in the worldwide film system. Some scholars point to its importance and central role today, such as Hill, who, despite his conception of a variable “post-national” cinema, underlines the fact that “national” in films should not be minimized: “Instead of abandoning the national, we need to rethink it”.<sup>159</sup> This idea has a number of detractors, such as Elsaesser, who notes the elusiveness of the concept nowadays by stating that

(...) national cinema has become a floating designation, neither essentialist nor constructivist, but more like something that hovers uncertainty over a film’s “identity”.<sup>160</sup>

Still, nationality is a very important way for nations to display their power and to be visible on screens as nations. Cinema participates in the branding of a nation and its promotion, directly or indirectly (some films such as the “Capitals” by Woody Allen are conceived as promotional films aimed to attract consumers, and, in this specific case, tourists to the places where the films take place<sup>161</sup>). In this sense, cinema participates in the “soft power” of nations.<sup>162</sup> The importance of nationality in terms of promotion is expressed as well by Elsaesser who speaks of “a form of branding, a marketing tool, signifying the local”<sup>163</sup> and by Higson who states that,

(...) even in this era of intensively transnational and at times global culture and economic activity, the national still has some purchase; but it is too often an empty

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<sup>157</sup> Higbee and Hwee Lim, 2010: 8.

<sup>158</sup> Higson, in Hjort and MacKenzie, 2000: 73.

<sup>159</sup> In Vitali and Willemen, 2000: 149.

<sup>160</sup> 2005: 76.

<sup>161</sup> The “Capitals” include the films *Match Point* (2005), located in London, *Vicky Cristina Barcelona* (2008), *Midnight in Paris* (2011), and *To Rome with Love* (2012).

<sup>162</sup> For more details on the notions of “soft power” or “cultural diplomacy”, see Nye, 2004, 2011; Ahearne, 2009, 2018; Ang, Isar, and Mar, 2015.

<sup>163</sup> 2005: 71.

signifier, a brand name for a particular type of commodity or a particular economic space, rather than a clear exposition of values and identities.<sup>164</sup>

Another important conveyor in the definition of specific canons and models of national films in this context are festivals. They participate in the international visibility of films and in their exposure as nationally valuable and prestigious products. Czach's article on the question,<sup>165</sup> and also Yoshimoto with regard to the construction of an Asian cinema,<sup>166</sup> shed light on another building mechanism which is all the more important as besides the creation of canons it also contributes to one of the prime goals of nations when displaying their national cinema: be visible. The examples by Czach concerning worldwide famous international festivals (Berlin, Toronto, Sundance) and their contribution to the formation of a national cinema and to its reputation and reception abroad are particularly interesting in this context.<sup>167</sup>

The discussions around the definition of national cinema have always been complex and not linked to obvious criteria. Cinema proved its diversity, its versatility, its porosity, as well as the transversality and influences from which it is made. The very concept of nation, the question about its clear definition, and consequently the definition of nationality reflects the same uncertainty in cinema. Nonetheless, despite the changes over the concept of nationality, and its calling into question, it is interesting if not surprising to notice that its use in the sector has not been modified over the years. It still runs its organization at large and represents something strong and determinant in the balance of powers, be it through figures (how a country ranks in terms of number of films produced, box-office, admissions) and in terms of visibility. In times challenged by an increase in co-productions, by supra-national bodies implementing larger possibilities of cooperation and support, and especially by a global market on which cinema is dependent, the concept proved its resilience, if not obviously its accuracy.

### **3.2 Cultural and film policies: an overview**

The state intervenes in culture through cultural policies. It gives a framework, legislates, controls, and gives a financial support to specific forms of art and cultural expressions at the national level. If cultural policies were intimately linked to the construction and consolidation of the nation-states,<sup>168</sup> they are today defined at different levels: national, regional, European, and even to some extent based on specific widespread businesses.

After the Second World War, while economic and political issues were at stake, culture quickly appeared as a potent sector to promote peace and make

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<sup>164</sup> 2010: 47.

<sup>165</sup> 2004.

<sup>166</sup> In Vitali and Willemen, 2006: 255.

<sup>167</sup> 2004: 78.

<sup>168</sup> Poirrier, 2011: 13.



countries know each other. Cultural understanding was believed to be the key to a new order and was thus taken to a higher level. The reconstruction of the national identity and of its values through culture was essential in this context. Culture also appeared as a conveyor of sense and social and economic well-being. It was positively multifaceted and hence used by politics which could therefore display their action as regulators in the field. By the 1950s, culture started to be instrumentalized through cultural policies to enhance scattered and sector specific measures and to give access to the largest number of people (so called democratization of culture). The understanding of culture at that time was based on the idea of something homogenous, superior, and hierarchical, representing at the same time the national identity and more universal values.<sup>169</sup> Through culture, the values of the nation were enhanced, staged, and perpetuated. It was thus important to rule and orchestrate it and to a certain extent to control the way the nation was represented. At the same time, the democratization of culture, engaging people into the consumption of national works, and giving them the facilities to access them was made central in cultural policies. This aspect had already been sketched out in the aftermath of the Second World War by resistant ideals after the Vichy Regime.<sup>170</sup> This instrumentalization of culture took place in different countries according to their already extant organization and conception of the field. Hillman Chartrand describes four models of state intervention in the field of culture: the “facilitator state”, which funds the arts through fiscal incentives and which is best represented by the American example; the “patron state”, which delegates the funding of culture to specific arts councils, as it is the case in Great-Britain; the “architect state”, which funds the arts through dedicated ministries and which is in place for example in France; and finally the “engineer state”, which centralizes all means of production so as to only support the arts that can serve the party, as used to be the case in the USSR.<sup>171</sup> In Europe, the model which is most commonly in place is the “architect state”. The first Ministry of culture was created in 1959 in France, by de Gaulle, who appointed André Malraux as its minister. Culture, nurturing national identity, was seen as a key to preserve a coherent nation and, more than only to foster peaceful relations between shattered states, to establish knowledge of each other’s differences as a way to consolidate one’s sovereignty through a peaceful and “non-diplomatically sensitive” field.

Cultural policies then underwent swift changes, especially with regard to the attitude toward cultural industries and the inclusion of the economic aspect of the field. Cultural policies were indeed first conceived around the idea of a “high” and selected culture for which the support of the state was crucially needed. This aspect did not concern the cultural industries as such, which were considered self-sufficient, linked to the market, and representative of a form of entertainment that did not belong to the conception of “high” culture as defined by state policies. This specific and narrow vision was soon challenged by two

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<sup>169</sup> Menger, in Poirrier, 2011: 465.

<sup>170</sup> Poirrier, 2011: 15.

<sup>171</sup> 1989.

observations: the idea that this definition of culture did not correspond to what the population wanted, and the idea that the centralization of decisions for the whole territory did not fit the reality of the field. Decisions and actions were therefore decentralized to more local and competent administrative bodies able to better address and involve the local audience as part of the culture.<sup>172</sup> In the 1980s, the investments for culture in general stagnated against a backdrop of social difficulties and unemployment. In the UK, the economic aspect of culture was valorized, its benefit for local development underlined, and new sources of financing, out of the state sphere, were looked for. Only France, under Lang's administration, multiplied its cultural budget by two and took up a major works ("grands travaux") policy. As the economic importance of culture was emphasized, cultural industries, discredited so far for their too close connection to the market, were on the contrary highlighted for their contribution to the welfare of the nation, to creativity, and to the innovation they represented compared to classical forms of art supported until then. The aim there was not to support but to regulate action that was mostly justified by the wide extent of television, which diverted people from their usual cultural outings while partly drawing its contents from more neglected fields such as cinema.<sup>173</sup> This shift toward cultural industries constituted a major change in the definition of cultural policies. It clearly moved the scope of state intervention to a sector which had not been part of the priorities so far, it clearly positioned culture in its relation to economy, innovation, and its interaction with people (employment, purchasing power), and it put the stress on the connection of the sector to the international sphere and market. Indeed, in this period other players more visibly entered the game with similar or complementary approaches to the field of culture, which had a noteworthy impact upon national spheres and corresponding policies. Alasuutari and Kangas stress for example the role played by UNESCO in spreading the term of cultural policy worldwide, and the structural isomorphism<sup>174</sup> it indirectly contributed to through commissioning reports on cultural policy.<sup>175</sup> From 1969 until 1999, 71 countries wrote a report on their national cultural policies.<sup>176</sup> Despite the distinctive approach to the sector by UNESCO, stressing the differences between them in the discourse, this initiative contributed to a standardization of structures, mostly due to countries not endowed with specific institutions, which ended up copying successful and/or generic models in the field (mostly the creation of ministries related to culture). This initiative shows that even though cultural policies were first nationally approached, the influence of international institutions upon their common shaping has been salient. As Subirats questions,

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<sup>172</sup> Menger in Poirrier, 2011: 466-467.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid, 2011: 471-472.

<sup>174</sup> DiMaggio and Powell talk about isomorphism to qualify the phenomenon, which makes institutions and organizations similar: "*once a field becomes very established (...) there is an inexorable push towards homogeneity*", 1983: 148.

<sup>175</sup> 2020.

<sup>176</sup> 2020: 5.

Aren't we clearly forced to a homogenization of cultural policies because of the powerful uniformisation produced by the huge global cultural market, or by the weakness of political actors, always tied to a territorial approach.<sup>177</sup>

This question is all the more important to address as cultural industries are now part of the discussion and thus position the debate on another level. The EU, together with other supra-national organizations, participated in modifying the so-far nationally articulated structure of cultural policies. Their positioning facing the Americanization of the audiovisual sphere gave them sufficient strength and background to implement visible common policies in the field that would ally all members to the same battle. This battle reinforced the action of the state as a regulator in the audiovisual sphere,<sup>178</sup> it moved the scope of cultural policies from a national to a more international level, and it legitimated the action of supra-national entities to defend the interest and diversity of national cultures fronting global and American influences. Cultural diversity became one of the objectives of national and international policies, and the motto of the EU ("united in diversity").

Cinema played an important role in the redefinition of cultural policies, in particular regarding their "geographical" re-orientation, as well as their awareness of other spheres that were considered alien to the notion of what culture is.

The connection between cinema and cultural policies was not intrinsic from the start. Film policies were not a priority until the 1980s and 1990s, despite the creation, for example in France, of the CNC in 1946 (first linked to the Ministry of industry). Cinema was first absorbed into the more general problematic represented by cultural industries in the 1980s. The Lang administration in France put the stress on the regulatory mission of the state in the field of cultural policies at large, and more specifically on the audiovisual sector so its diversity could be protected.<sup>179</sup> With the rise of the information society and of a supranational world ruled by international economics, globalization quickly appeared as a threat to national cinemas and more generally to the audiovisual sector at large where it was embodied by the domination of American products. The growing importance of images in this context made the audiovisual and film sectors all the more important to be sustained and handled. In face of globalization, and due to its importance in this context, cinema has seen its position within cultural policies redefined and given more priority, thus officializing the possibility for cultural industries to be included as artistic and valuable sectors, supported by specific national and supra-national policies, while being sources of potential benefit. This ambivalence is still a characteristic of the film sector today, since as a cultural industry, it belongs to the two competing areas of both art and industry. This ambivalence can be noticed as well in its instrumentalization through film policies, which focus mainly on cinema as an art expressing the diversity of national and other group related

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<sup>177</sup> In Bonet and Négrier, 2008: 53; translated from French by the author.

<sup>178</sup> Menger in Poirrier, 2011: 472-473.

<sup>179</sup> Menger, 2010: 283.

cultures. Even if profitable forms of cinema are also supported today for their contribution to the balance of power, to the economics of the field, and to the general visibility given to a country, the film policies' official objectives are mainly to address non-profitable or small budget films which express different visions of the world and society. They thus enable this films' category to be not too dependent on the market and profit oriented. They slightly differ in that sense from cultural policies' objectives, whose support for under-represented or non-profitable forms of art is part of the different objectives.<sup>180</sup>

Film policies recently underwent many changes, including their status within cultural policies because of the importance that films and media took in the economy and the worldwide balance of power. The stress on cinema was motivated, as Ahearne says, by the "cultural value" it has for the nation.<sup>181</sup> At a time when diversity is praised and when films embody, beyond national expression, the defense against invading US productions, this argument has become key to the organization of the sector.

Besides, since cinema tackles other profitable fields and questions, it was important to give it a framework and an official structure so it could be regulated and administered. Those aspects are clearly identified by policy makers and goals evaluated by how well for example a country manages to provide its citizens with national products or to be known abroad through cinema. This former aspect is what is emphasized by Henning Camre, Chief Executive Officer of the Danish Film Institute till 2007:

Film (...) takes Denmark out into the world where it makes us visible and present in a forceful way that is completely out of proportion to Denmark's size... through film and moving images we stage ourselves, we conquer a right to a place on the international stage, where our culture and identity becomes visible and is given a voice... far too many countries have no opportunity to see their own world and culture reflected in film and images. They only see films that reflect a foreign - and often American - culture... For them film becomes an expression of how 'the others' live. This is not the situation in Denmark.<sup>182</sup>

The fight against piracy and the illegal use of cultural content were made all the more official as the industry started to be extremely profitable once controlled. With the shortfall being counted in millions if not more, framing the field was of the utmost importance. Similar to the aim of cultural policies, the emphasis of film policies was put on access and especially access to culturally diverse products. Policies thus stressed the importance of creativity in the field, subsidizing different genres and stages of film production. Diversity is central to the sustainability and the action of national and supra-national bodies in film policies and accounts for different programs and incentives in all branches of the

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<sup>180</sup> See Kangas and the idea that, "To become a target of public support, certain areas of art (...) had to prove themselves financially unprofitable, or become so by the choice of forms of expression", in Ahponen & Kangas, 2004: 25.

<sup>181</sup> 2002: 103.

<sup>182</sup> New goals: Challenges and Perspectives for Danish Film 2007-2010. 2006. Quoted by Hjort and Petrie, 2007: 25.

sector: production, distribution, and exhibition. To promote cinema, film policies also support film circulation within different regions and countries, respecting one of the goals primarily defined when settling cultural policies to make nations know each other. Over the last decades, the impact of international structures has come to shake-up the field. Much more than any other cultural domain, cinema and film policies are very much influenced by global changes. They are characterized by two factors: first, the increasing costs of film production which lead to much more cooperation; and, second, the overwhelming presence of American products that leads to less visibility for national and European products. These shifts brought new challenges to cinema, hence national production and distribution had to be strengthened. Supported by film policies at the national and European levels, co-productions appear as a partial solution but do raise problems in terms of the definition of films' nationality, since crews are often international, and the language used on the set of the film and often in the narrative itself is English. The film sector in this context proved its flexibility as well as its competitiveness when subject to international rules and regulations, thus transcending the scope of its national borders, and the idea of film policies as essentially national.

### 3.3 European programs: a challenge to the sector?

In the increased context of internationalization and globalization, the field of cinema is drawn out of its national borders, first, to be produced, and, second, to be visible and competitive on the international market. European structures and programs constitute an opportunity for national industries as they provide the legal frameworks and schemes to answer these systemic necessities. What is however their impact on the definition of films as national and on the diversity of the sector?

#### *Historical aspect and programs*

The Second World War constituted the starting point for people to think of their common European culture and civilization. This argument was used by the EU as a ground on which to legitimize its action. As Grosjean states, "*The cultural action is (...) considered an essential lever coming to support the political action to create the psychological conditions favorable to the admission to a European project*".<sup>183</sup> To make the EU project accepted, the stress was put on the importance of the mutual knowledge of the different populations of Europe to avoid another possible worldwide conflict, which was a mission that the EU would carry. The introduction of culture to the agenda of the EU was however not a priority from the start. The European Union indeed started as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951 and gathered six founding members (Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxembourg). Its aim was to pool the

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<sup>183</sup> Grosjean, 1997: 26; translated from French by the author.

production of coal and steel, the core industries in times of war, and thus work toward long periods of peace. Culture emerged as a possible common field of action at the end of the 1950s, with a phase of “reciprocal (re)cognition”.<sup>184</sup> But it was only some 20 years later that a common European discourse on culture was implemented. It was embodied by the Final Act of Helsinki in 1975, which devoted one part to “Co-operation, and Exchange in the Field of Culture”. The five main points targeted in this act concern developing the exchange of information in the field of culture, improving the exchange facilities, promoting the access to culture, developing cooperation, and searching for new fields and forms of co-operation in the cultural field.<sup>185</sup> Later on, culture concretely entered into the Treaties of the EU, with in 1992, the treaty of Maastricht,<sup>186</sup> and in 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam.<sup>187</sup> Before the Treaty of Maastricht,

Culture was reduced to the idea of [an] instrument of economic growth, technological development and, above all, to the construction of a supranational European identity and cultural policy.<sup>188</sup>

The idea of a common European identity was indeed first exposed as something innate and based on the common history and background of the nations. The EU would, according to this idea, gather the different nations it is composed of and create a larger European identity with a common culture and history, around which European citizens would gather and according to which they would recognize themselves. This evidence first served as an argument to justify its construction and its action at the supra-national level. In that sense, the creation of the EU and a European identity followed the very same paths as the nation-building: it needed to create a common ground, past, history, and culture and make it visible to be extant as such. Even if the discourse on the contrary puts the stress nowadays on diversity through the EU motto “united in diversity”, the fact remains that Europe needed to forge a common sense of belonging to justify its existence as a body and to legitimize its action in some sectors. It is in this context that culture became the focal point of European policies, and especially from the 1980s. The higher dependency of the cultural industries to the market and the need to cooperate and be visible at the international level created a new context on which the EU could strengthen its position and affirm its action. It played on the strong opposition between the European values, cultures, and cinema and the US conception of culture at large from which European nations had to be protected. This definition of what is good or not, and moreover of what is “in” and what is “out”, are also fundamental, as we have seen, to the nation-building process. This construction and definition by opposition to an external entity (Europe is not America), is obvious in the antinomy that is constantly displayed between the two territories and their film production. This gap and the key role

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<sup>184</sup> Grosjean, 1997: 26; translated from French by the author.

<sup>185</sup> Final Act of Helsinki, August 1, 1975.

<sup>186</sup> In which Article 128 gives the prime responsibility of culture to the nation-states.

<sup>187</sup> Article 151.

<sup>188</sup> Duelund, 2008: 12.

of culture in this context were all the more exacerbated as the stress was then put on cultural diversity in a context of threatening globalization. From a European identity conceived as a whole, the discourse moved then toward a multi-faceted "European identity", one supposed to be respectful and a promoter of the plurality and richness of European nations as opposed to the unicity of the American market.

The creation of supranational organizations in charge of the field of cinema started at the end of the 1980s. Until then, cinema, like most of the other cultural industries, was considered independent and self-sufficient. Nonetheless, the important and unlimited flow of Hollywood products soon led to settling measures ranging from protectionism to the implementation of organizations boosting European creativity and mobility. The concern for a "European identity" came at a time when the national audiovisual landscapes started to be invaded by American products. Television was the first target since even if people watched mainly national programs, American programs remained the majority. In parallel, cinemas started to see their national market shares significantly decrease to the benefit of American ones, sometimes reaching more than 80%. This common problem made the grouping of European countries around cinema all the more efficient, as it took on the shape of a fight for European cinematographic interests against those of the US. The implementation of such programs was in that sense defensive and not constructive. As Schlesinger puts it, audiovisual media in the EU *"have come to symbolise the struggles over collective identity in the 1990s, most particularly against the threat of 'Americanization'"*.<sup>189</sup> Through cinema, European countries were allied for a common cause, under the "European" denominator", so as to weigh up against the English language and US culture and to favor the cultural diversity threatened by trade agreements and globalization. Cinema and audiovisual media thus became the cornerstones of the European discussions about the protection of diversity in face of the homogenization proposed by global products. This question was all the more important as American cinema could seriously challenge the profit and visibility of the European one and would thus reflect upon the wider position of the US in the industry and world system at large that could unsettle the unity and cohesion of the European institutions as a whole. The challenge of cinema arrived just at the right time to serve the interests of the EU. The discourse so far based on the European identity turned to cultural diversity as an argument against the potential domination of American products. This point was namely expressed in the discussion around the WTO, at the Uruguay Round in 1994, which put forward that the members of the EU may *"define and implement their cultural and audiovisual policies for the purpose of preserving their cultural diversity"*.<sup>190</sup> Governments of countries such as France made this problem a priority and instituted quotas for European programs. This proved the important threat American films constituted for the Europeans, but it also showed some flaws in the GATT itself, since its main principle stipulates that

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<sup>189</sup> 1997: 370.

<sup>190</sup> Herold, 2003: 2.

discriminatory measures should not be implemented against foreign films.<sup>191</sup> This led to controversy concerning the legal status of such measures that were obviously discriminatory toward non-European movies,<sup>192</sup> but it paved the way for stronger and legitimate action by European bodies in the field of culture, and, more precisely, in the field of cinema.

At the end of the 1980s production and distribution started to be handled by the EU and by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe was formed in 1949, and today includes 47 countries. It aims to defend human rights, support countries through political or economic changes, and to provide tools for the development of human rights, democracy, education, culture, and the environment. In 1954, it adopted the European Cultural Convention, establishing cultural rights in Europe and involving democracies. As for cinema, in 1988 it created the Eurimages Fund to support the co-production of films and their distribution within Europe. The aim of the fund is to enhance cultural identities in Europe through cinema, as well as to facilitate economic partnerships between different countries. Each of the 41 members of Eurimages provides a fund proportional to the size of its country and its level of production and receives support proportional also to its contribution.<sup>193</sup> The Council of Europe is at the origin of the 1992 European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production, which aims to unify the relations of states when co-producing by making the process simpler according to the Eurimages Fund criteria, to harmonize the rules of cooperation between different countries, and to increase the number of productions. The Council of Europe also created the European Audiovisual Observatory in 1992. Its aim is to provide information on an audiovisual sector which was considered lacking transparency. It provides statistics, reports, and databases on the audiovisual sector at large and its professionals in the 41 member countries, enabling comparisons, research, and a better visibility on the actors of the system in those countries.

The EU implemented the MEDIA<sup>194</sup> program in 1987 to deal with the fields of distribution and promotion in cinema. Until 2013, the main objective of MEDIA was to make the circulation of films easier in Europe. Distribution and the circulation of European films were considered to be the weak points of the sector that would have limited the films' potential and paved the way for American domination. From 2014 and its inclusion as a subprogram of Creative Europe, its objectives have widened to support the "development, distribution, or access to audiovisual works" at large. Its many yearly calls deal principally with distribution (automatic and selective supports), television, and development.

The budgets of both programs are however limited if we consider the high fixed costs of the cinema industry. In 2018, Eurimages had available a budget of

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<sup>191</sup> GATT, 1947, article III.

<sup>192</sup> Herold, 2003: 4.

<sup>193</sup> Vivancos, 2000: 72.

<sup>194</sup> Mesures d'Encouragement pour le Développement de l'Industrie Audiovisuelle/  
Enhancing Measures for the Development of the Audiovisual Industry.



about €26 million.<sup>195</sup> Of this amount, €21,780,557 was allocated to the film sector: 91.55% went to coproduction (€19,940,344 which enabled to support 78 films), 2.97% to distribution (€646,216 for marketing and advertisement fees), 2.55% to cinemas theatres (€556,488 for the programming of the 64 venues that are part of the network), and 0.38% to gender equality (€82,061 for the promotion of equality between men and women in the audiovisual industry).<sup>196</sup> The MEDIA budget for the year 2018 was €109.7 million.<sup>197</sup> Of that, €109.4 million was allocated to the sector according to the following schemes: 37.7% went to circulation and collaboration (€41.3 million which enabled to support 1,750 projects), 32.7% to quality content (€35.8 million for 288 projects), 22.7% to promotion and audiences (€24.8 million for 111 projects), and 6.9% to skills (€7.5 million for 49 training projects). More precisely, within these schemes, €30.3 million was allocated to distribution (€20.5 million to automatic distribution and €9.8 million to selective distribution), €12.7 million to television, and €17.9 million to development (€12.5 million to slate and €5.4 million to the development of single projects).<sup>198</sup> By comparison, in the field of production, in 2018, France dedicated a total of €1.13 billion to film production (€957 million for French initiative films). There were 300 French films produced that year (182 national films, 55 majority co-productions, and 63 minority co-productions).<sup>199</sup> In Poland, in 2018, about €24.9 million was allocated to film production,<sup>200</sup> with 42 films being made.<sup>201</sup> In the Netherlands, €122.3 million was allocated to feature film production in 2018, and 57 feature films were produced (34 of them were 100% national and 23 minor co-productions).<sup>202</sup> On average, films cost €4 million in France, €1.18 million in Poland, and €2.15 million in the Netherlands, whereas the average per film allocated by Eurimages comes close to €255,645 thousands.<sup>203</sup> Eurimages complements production projects already involving a minimum of two partners, but this average shows the level of financing of the program.

Missions by the European Union and the Council of Europe are somewhat complementary. If their main focus differs (production for the Council of Europe and development, distribution, and access for the EU/MEDIA), matching schemes however cover the gaps left by one of the programs, especially in terms of geographical coverage. The MEDIA programs include the 28 members of the

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<sup>195</sup> Eurimages. Soutien à la coproduction. 2018: 4.

<sup>196</sup> Eurimages. Résultats d'activité pour l'année 2018.

<sup>197</sup> Creative Europe. Monitoring Report 2018: 28.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid: 24.

<sup>199</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019: 22-23.

<sup>200</sup> \$29.5 million; the 12 regional funds supporting cinema are not included in this amount European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019: 34.

<sup>201</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019: 34.

<sup>202</sup> Netherlands Filmfonds. Film Facts & Figures. 2019.

<sup>203</sup> One has to pinpoint here the absence of similar data for each country: precise amounts allocated to film production were not available in many European countries, the number of films was not indicated, or on the contrary data provided too much detail, which did not enable to use and compare the information provided. In particular this was the case of the Nordic countries.

EU together with 8 other participants.<sup>204</sup> In the case of the EU, members agree to transfer their power of decision to the European body whose laws and decisions are then binding. The Council of Europe gathers 47 member states, among which 39 participate in Eurimages, plus Argentina and Canada as associate members.<sup>205</sup> The decisions it takes are presented as cooperation agreements or treaties that member states are free to ratify or not. The main schemes operated by the EU concern films' circulation and collaboration and focus on the distribution of European films in other EU territories. Since 2013, Eurimages supports marketing and publicity costs for "professionals based in Eurimages' member states which do not have access to the EU Creative Europe-MEDIA distribution programme".<sup>206</sup> Similarly, cinema theaters which are screening European films are supported in countries which do not have access to support by MEDIA, and more precisely Argentina, Armenia, Canada, Georgia, the Russian Federation, Switzerland, Ukraine, and Turkey.<sup>207</sup> Conversely, MEDIA includes in its budget "international coproduction funds", which aim to support co-productions between European and international partners. This call is principally addressed to programs such as the Aide aux cinémas du monde (ACM) managed by the French National Centre for Cinema and the Moving Image (CNC), which aims to bring together European and international professionals in co-production projects that will favor cultural diversity.<sup>208</sup> The cooperation between the two bodies concerns all fields of competencies as well, and they are acknowledged by both parties as based on the same fundamental values and the mutual desire to collaborate in order to have a better impact on and understanding of their fields of action.<sup>209</sup>

*The challenge of European programs and co-productions with regard to films' nationality and to diversity*

The title "European film" is officially used in the "Television without Frontiers" guidelines, the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production and the Council guidelines of the October 1, 1963. This last one was the first attempt regarding the circulation of films in Europe. It aimed to make the circulation of films "having the nationality of a member state" easier.<sup>210</sup> The main text regulating co-productions at the European level is the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production. The Convention concerns all cinematographic works, whose given definition is "any length or medium (...) cinematographic works of fiction, cartoons and documentaries (...) intended to be shown in cinemas".<sup>211</sup> It

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<sup>204</sup> Norway, Iceland, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro as full participants, and North Macedonia, Serbia, and Tunisia as partial participants.

<sup>205</sup> See Eurimages. European Cinema Support Fund.

<sup>206</sup> See Eurimages. Distribution Funding History.

<sup>207</sup> See Eurimages. Exhibition Support.

<sup>208</sup> See CNC. Aide aux cinémas du monde.

<sup>209</sup> See Council of Europe. The Council of Europe and the European Union: Different Roles, Shared Values.

<sup>210</sup> Györy, 2000: 42.

<sup>211</sup> European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production, chapter 1, article 3.

constitutes the main framework for cinema cooperation at the European level. It stresses the notion of identity and the promotion of a diverse but “unified vision of European film production”.<sup>212</sup> Based on this idea, the financial limits established to participate in a co-production can be decreased if the film promotes this “European identity”. The Convention is in that sense flexible since extra minor financial participation can be accepted if the parties’ contributions remain between 10 and 25% of the total costs.<sup>213</sup> Besides, one of the co-producers can carry out most of the creative (artistic and technical) work to integrate it into his country. A film that does not meet the Convention’s general conditions (that is to gather a minimum of 15 out of 19 points)<sup>214</sup> can also be considered as a European co-production if it emphasizes a European identity aspect.<sup>215</sup> Nonetheless, to be admitted as a national film in all the countries, as part of the co-production each co-producer has to have a minimum contribution of 20%.<sup>216</sup> In the case of bilateral co-productions, the rules remain the same as the parties agreed, except if they go against the principles of the European Convention. If no agreement has ever been settled between the parties, the European Convention applies. In this case, the minimum contribution is established at 20% and the maximum at 80%, with an equivalent artistic and technical participation and set in one of the parties’ territories.<sup>217</sup>

Criteria of nationalities have to be met and precise thresholds reached to apply to the MEDIA and Eurimages support schemes. Under MEDIA, 10 out of 19 points for a feature film have to be reached and includes both artistic and financial criteria. For Eurimages, a similar points system is applied and is based on the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-Production. To be eligible, projects submitted must gather at least 15 of 19 points, mainly consisting of artistic aspects. Even if both financial and artistic criteria are taken into account to allocate support, a film’s nationality is in the end however attributed based only on the financing and, moreover, is independent of the share of each co-producer in the project (provided they reach the 20% minimum investment which is stated as a recommendation). At national levels, regulations are also not clear as per the final nationality to be given to a film: some agreements point at the co-producers as equal owners, whereas others consider a film as belonging to the country that has participated the most in its directing.

From the very beginning, films have been defined as national productions and led by specific policies that were officialized at the national level in the 1980s.

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<sup>212</sup> Explanatory Report to the Council of Europe Convention on Cinematographic Co-production, 2017: 1.

<sup>213</sup> A country that did not sign the Convention can participate in the financing provided that at least three members of the Convention are already implied and financially hold a minimum of 70% of the total budget (considering also that the Eurimages Fund provides up to 10% of the financing of the film, which is the minimum to be part of the co-production, the maximum being 70% of the total costs of production).

<sup>214</sup> European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production, Appendix II, paragraph 2.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 2, article 9.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter 2, article 6.

<sup>217</sup> European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production, chapter 2, article 6.

As such, they are supposed to reflect nations, identities, and a sense one may have of a country. This “belonging” to a nation is particularly potent in the field of cinema. However, with the evolution of society and the development toward a more international economy, the film sector, as a cultural industry, has been very influenced and modified to fit into this new order. The creation of the EU drove countries to not only think locally but offered also the possibility of a larger common belonging to be found in a possible “European identity”. Films, as mirrors of nations and identities, were purposefully used by the European bodies to reflect upon this common belonging, at the same time as local producers took the opportunity of extra-national funding to support their films. This dichotomy between a media supposed to convey specific values, and at the same time being very dependent on the market, is a particularity of the field, which is divided into art and industry.

The concept of film nationality questions the link films have to a specific country, and more precisely to a specific country in Europe. The question of nationality is nonetheless deeply imbedded into the concerns of the EU: film policies are first drawn up at the national level, they are considered national, belonging to a specific nation, and they are representative as such of the diversity and plurality of European nations. European institutions stress this diversity that cinema is meant to represent. Those particularities are supposed to constitute the “exception culturelle”, opposing, in a global context, the European/national diversity and cultures to the American domination which rules the international market.

European programs mainly focus on co-productions (Eurimages) and development, distribution, and access (MEDIA). They thus focus on the economic side of the sector and answer to the reality of the market (some supports are allocated to educational programs, mainly dedicated to a young audience). The primary goal of European bodies that European citizens know each other is thus not directly reflected in the programs put in place. By answering an economic issue, it also eludes the discursive aspect of plurality that they claim as a motto, by proposing schemes that can be questioned in regard to their contribution and respect to national diversity. Indeed, co-productions participate in the current debate on homogenization as the most visible part of them, which are usually backed-up by American studios, propose films that are not entrenched in any national reality but rather favor the smoothing of national elements. Not all co-productions benefit from European programs, but they do however contribute to the general perception of what is European cinema. The European Audiovisual Observatory underlines that co-productions are more successful than purely nationally produced films.<sup>218</sup> Five reasons are provided for this success, among which three are linked to the content: the topic, which may be more “cross-border”; the cast, which is more international; and the use of English (besides the budget and the “access to international broadcasters

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<sup>218</sup> Between 2010-2015, 24.2% of European co-productions accounted for 50.3% of the total admissions to European films. Yearbook 2017-2018, Key Trends: 10.

and distributors”).<sup>219</sup> These three elements are linked to cultural markers and are thus constituent of a sense of identity given through films. Co-productions can thus clearly be considered, based on those results, as a contributor to the inherent smoothening of film production in Europe. Another issue that is raised by those programs is the fact that they can lead to a potential search for “strategical” partners to be eligible to the different support schemes at both the national and European levels. Consequently, “nationality” can legitimately be seen as a question of “business”: to benefit from specific national incentives, producers could look for particular partners to ensure the distribution in their territories and to secure their national supports. The choice of the right partners and the subsequent nationality that will thus be given to a film may clearly be motivated by the need to be eligible to those partners’ support and to the European supporting schemes. This positioning is consequently market-based and not culturally motivated.

From the start, EU programs aimed to deal with the problem of circulation of films that was said to hinder the profit of the cinema sector in Europe. However, after so many years, it appears that the same argument is still put forward when discussing the weaknesses of the field at the European level. The European programs were formed to support the dissemination of a European identity and thus to help to make visible the different cultures and the richness of Europe. In practice, it is relevant to ask how those programs and the actions implemented can really favor diversity, and if they do not, on the contrary favor more homogeneity at the European level. Indeed, supporting co-productions may be one step toward more homogeneity: to coproduce a film, the crew has to speak the same language, and the partners should find an interest in the topic, the location, and the cast, to get involved in the project. A very locally embedded film project might thus have less chance to find international co-producers; except if directed by a famous director or starring a famous actor. The same applies to distribution. The local audience might be reluctant to watch films from other countries which are too entrenched in local realities. Moreover, the rules of co-productions at the European level enable a film to be considered as national in each country which participated with a minimum of 20% to its financing. This, thus, blurs the link to a single country of origin and contributes to the general misperception of what is national or European in those films.

As far as production is concerned, the impact of European programs on the film sector, needs to be put into perspective. First of all, as we have seen, the contribution by Eurimages is low compared to the average film production cost. Besides, the number of films supported each year is also limited compared to the gross film production level of all member countries. In 2019, 58 feature films, six documentaries, and nine animation films were supported for a total budget of €18,795,900.<sup>220</sup> If we have a more precise look at the overall national figures and the repartition of film production, the impact of the European programs on the

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<sup>219</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. *The Circulation of European Co-productions and Entirely National Films in Europe*. 2008: 24-25.

<sup>220</sup> See Eurimages. *Co-production funding history*. 2019.

diversity of the sector is again limited. Of the yearly film production in Europe, 75% is indeed considered purely national,<sup>221</sup> even though they include unofficial co-productions; that is to say co-financing in general for big productions, whose number is thus low. Of the 25% left, not all co-productions are conducted with the support of European bodies, as we have just seen with the number of films supported every year by Eurimages. Of this small ratio, some films will contribute to the plural vision of what is Europe by displaying their national culture and problematics, whereas others will be constructed as European productions so as to more clearly benefit from the supporting system and to potentially be sold in other territories. The limited amount of resources makes those last projects unlikely to be supported, as they compete with films supporting a genuine vision of Europe, but this is a financing possibility that will be nonetheless explored by co-producers. For instance, *Two Days, One Night* (2014) co-produced by Belgium, Italy, and France by Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne takes place in Liège and reflects a local problematic that concerns Belgium, but also other countries in Europe, i.e., companies dismissing employees for the sake of profit. The same for Ken Loach's *Sorry We Missed You* (2019), co-produced by the UK, France, and Belgium, which depicts the story of a couple in Newcastle, where the man is exploited by an online sales company he is working for, and the woman is working in difficult conditions as a home nursing auxiliary, which again finds echoes in other countries. On the contrary, a film such as *The Lobster* by Yorgos Lanthimos (2015) cannot really be said to enhance a specific local culture, despite the fact it has been supported by European programs. It was co-produced by Ireland, France, the UK, the Netherlands, and Greece and was given Greek nationality. The film expresses a satirical and absurd vision of a society where singlehood is not possible anymore. It takes place in a hotel, whose location is not crucial for the plot, was shot in English with an international cast, and benefited from €460,000 from Eurimages in 2013.<sup>222</sup> The film cannot be said to have obviously smoothed national features to be eligible for European support schemes, however, given the difficulties at the Greek level to produce a large-scale film, it may have been conceived to entice different partners. This film tells of a situation that can be observed in other countries, but which remains minor compared to the whole bulk of films co-produced each year at the European level and supported by European schemes. In that sense, the impact of European institutions on the modeling of films' content and on the diversity of the sector is thus marginal as well, even though it multiplies and facilitates the possibilities of co-productions.

The positions of the EU and of the Council of Europe are nonetheless ambiguous: their discourse emphasizes the importance of diversity and the richness and plurality of Europe, especially in cinema, while at the same time, their programs participate in the vagueness of the question of nationality in films and to their standardization. Co-productions, together with the support for distribution and promotion, are the targets of European film policies. These

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<sup>221</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2017: 14.

<sup>222</sup> Eurimages. Soutien à la coproduction en 2013.

policies encourage multicultural partnerships and help to raise awareness of European films and cultures in order to help people and nations get to know each other. This assumed aim stands if films are really identified as “national” and representative of a specific country and culture. But what stands as visibly national in films? And according to which precise criteria is a nationality given to a film? The fragmentation of the European market is a particularity which has to be overcome to make distribution and film “consumption” easier in the different markets. If the main “qualitative” criteria to make a film successful outside of its national borders, and worth shooting at the international level, deals with the topic, the actors, and the use of a *lingua franca*, then European film production, with the increasing number of co-productions, is fatally evolving toward more common, mainstream, and stereotyped content. As such, co-productions embody the dichotomy of the sector by being at the edge of both art (mostly “official” co-productions) and industry (mostly “unofficial” co-productions, but nevertheless more seen abroad). If the involvement of the EU in co-productions indeed facilitates the setting up of collaborations, it does not however guarantee that those common projects will valorize or demonstrate national or European values. Similarly, neither can we argue that films produced entirely by one country clearly represent the nation they are from; the only difference being that the principle on which support at the European level is allocated clearly calls for this engagement of European films, which remains to be assessed in reality.

### 3.4 Globalization, cinema, and the idea of Americanization

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the French cinema industry was the most advanced and well ahead of the other leading ones, i.e., the Danish and Italian ones. Twenty years later, the trend changed, and in 1919, after the war, 90% of movies in Europe were American.<sup>223</sup> After the Second World War, the US position was reaffirmed and provided collapsed markets with entertaining films. The figure of the American hero and savior after the war appealed to the audience and developed the taste for topics about the self-made man, war, and actions films and thus paved the way for a long-lasting presence of these films on our screens. This position was reinforced by the agreements signed between many European countries and the US to restore their economy, and which included partnerships and the opening of the local markets to American films. For instance, in France, the Blum-Byrnes agreement, in May 1946, diminished the quotas settled in 1928 by the Herriot decree for American films.<sup>224</sup> Similar agreements were signed with other European countries and opened the door to

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<sup>223</sup> Mattelard, 1996: 45.

<sup>224</sup> Quotas for American movies were fixed at 150 dubbed American films out of the 188 foreign films imported in France by the French-American agreement of 1936. See Bossuat, 2001: 180.

today's domination of the sector by US productions. Facing this swift upsurge of US films on the screens, French film professionals immediately reacted and demonstrated to protect French cinema against the spread of US films and of American values in the country. This protest led to the re-negotiation of the agreement in 1948, which concretely drove to lower the number of American films to 121 and to increase the number of weeks dedicated to French films from 4 to 5 weeks per trimester.<sup>225</sup>

Today globalization is most of the time associated with the idea of "Americanization" when it comes to the cinema industry.<sup>226</sup> The relationship of the US with Europe in the field is however long-standing and has benefited from the conflicts in the area, from the division of the market, and from the high costs associated with the sector, which did not allow many countries to compete and have a high enough production to satisfy their audience. The situation worldwide is however to be contemplated slightly differently as the US does not have the same historical background with other parts of the world, nor the same impact on other big markets. Different poles can indeed be identified, which pull in the local or even larger audiences. This is notably the case in India where the national market share reaches 89%, in China where it reaches 62.2%, in Japan with 54.8%, and in South Korea with 50.9%. These levels can be observed in strong productive countries with generally large domestic markets which can invest in the costly film industry and provide films for their neighbors. However, most other territories, and especially South America, are dependent on Hollywood productions.<sup>227</sup>

From a European perspective, Americanization is considered the main threat induced by globalization, and figures are brandished at the national and European levels to justify the measures taken toward more diversity and their associated regulatory policies. Figures indeed show that in 2017 the US market shares in the countries of the EU were 66.2%.<sup>228</sup> This average covered large discrepancies between the countries ranking the lowest, i.e., France (49%), Estonia (55%), Poland (55%), the UK (58%), and Finland (59%), and the highest, i.e., Malta (87%), Romania (84%), Hungary (79%), and Belgium (76%).<sup>229</sup> The current domination of the US in the sector is due to many factors, and especially due to a different approach to cinema. Where Europeans see an art, Americans, on the contrary, consider cinema an industry that has to obey marketing rules just like any other kind of product. As Martel underlines, only Americans produce films for everyone, whereas French production is directed to the French audience, Indian production to the Indian audience, and Arab production for the

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<sup>225</sup> Bossuat, 2001: 182-183.

<sup>226</sup> See Crane, 2014; Elsaesser, 2005; Hill and Kawashima, 2016; Nestingen and Elkington, 2005.

<sup>227</sup> In 2017, US market shares in Argentina reached 76%, in Brazil, 83%, in Colombia, 89%, in Mexico, 88%, in Venezuela, 92%, but also in Australia, 86%. Institut de Statistiques de l'UNESCO.

<sup>228</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2018.

<sup>229</sup> Institut de Statistiques de l'UNESCO. Top 5 countries films exhibited.



Arabic audience.<sup>230</sup> The worldwide market is considered a place to take and where to place their adapted products. Similar approaches can nonetheless be observed by other important players which provide films to their large diaspora across the world and to their neighbors, which thus widens the scope of their only nationally based production and potentially develops another audience. This is the case of India in the UK and also of Turkey in Germany and Brazil with telenovel even though these markets have not yet reached the position of the US in the audiovisual sector. At the European level, the American industry also does not face the same structural problems as European countries on their own territory, and its potential is based on assets that European films cannot afford. The first element considered as problematic in the construction of a European cinema is the fragmentation of the market into different entities. When producing a movie in Europe, the economy of scale is lowered by the size of each national market, by the difficulties of exports, by dubbing and subtitling, and by different taxes and fiscal problems. The second aspect is the “cultural discount”, which means that European movies are not as easily exportable as American ones because of the more locally embedded plots they usually display. Europe presents a multitude of cultures, languages, organizations, and political systems which are protected as specificities of the sovereign nations which compose it. Another aspect of the American film industry is that most films are expected to make profit and are granted all the marketing elements to ensure this happens: high-budget movies (more than 10 times higher than an average European movie), emphasis on the screenplay, preview of the film with a preliminary audience to test it, possibility not to screen a film if it would not be successful (distribution can be directly transferred to DVD/video/VoD), main roles played by stars guarantees an audience as some actors are famous across the globe, presence in all genre categories (from action movies, to films for children, to thrillers, comedies, and dramas),<sup>231</sup> upstream marketing analysis, and a huge part of the budget devoted to promotion. Moreover, the US territory itself, made of a melting-pot of cultures, provides a good first test for potential further distribution.<sup>232</sup> Unlike at the European level, the offer is also based strictly on demand, topics are elaborated, and a film that would not correspond to the trend of the moment is not screened so as to not interrupt the “snowball effect”, where people want to watch another movie after watching a good one. Last but not least, their market scale is incomparable to the European one; first, in terms of national territory, and, second, in term of extension beyond their national borders with commercial entities established worldwide, which thus ensure connections and easy distribution for their films all over the globe. Cultural industries are characterized by the importance of their fixed costs in comparison with variable ones, especially in the field of cinema. Producing films, as Benhamou stresses, is costly, but they are then easy to reproduce and thus distribute widely. As she emphasizes, this characteristic is all the more important as new technologies

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<sup>230</sup> 2010: 423.

<sup>231</sup> Forest, 2002: 211-220.

<sup>232</sup> Ethis, 2009: 22-23.

enable reproducing high-quality copies of the film.<sup>233</sup> In that sense, the size of the American territory is a first security in terms of costs recoupment that the European market cannot compete with and which makes the production of films at the European level riskier. This situation broadly describes the US industry represented by the studios and the majors behind them, which are the ones heavily marketing their titles, optimizing their visibility, and looking for profit. They are like the “extreme” in film production intended for mass audiences, and they conceal independent American film directors<sup>234</sup> who are working independently of the logic of the studios and make films which also strive for visibility and a place on the market. Facing the studios’ strategies, the entertainment industry as defined at the European level is not endowed with the same facilities even though blockbuster type films are also produced, and especially in the five big markets. Few European movies succeeded in creating the same effect upon the audience as US films but were accused locally of being pro-American: this was the case with Luc Besson’s *Nikita* (1990), *Leon* (1994), and *The Fifth Element* (1997).<sup>235</sup> These films were released in the US and show the potential abroad of popular European popular when provided with high budgets and similar assets.

Besides those films, the reality of film production is manifold and ranges according to films’ budget in the blockbusters category (high-budget films, whose definition depends on each market), arthouse films (low-budget films), but principally the bulk of films are “films of the middle”, and whose shares are increasing, as the figures by the CNC show.<sup>236</sup> Blockbusters are more easily associated with the US industry, and arthouse films with the European one, but they do coexist in each country, and budgets vary as to their size, market, and production system. This binary classification moreover hides the whole range of films that are produced locally and which constitute the respective national cinematographies.

All these aspects give a clear picture of the systemic discrepancies between the US and European territories, of the complexity of the field, and explain the reasons why the potential of US films goes far beyond what is possible in Europe and in many other countries.

Global flows come to change the notion of what is national and enable people to access contents other than the purely national ones. The case of cinema is particularly relevant in the sense that it fully demonstrates the global situation.

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<sup>233</sup> 2006: 238-239.

<sup>234</sup> One can quote, Jim Jarmusch, Hal Hartley, Katheryn Bigelow, Spike Lee, Todd Solondz, Wes Anderson, Daren Aronofsky, and to a certain extent Woody Allen.

<sup>235</sup> This point is also interesting in the sense that it emphasizes the “idea” that people have of American films when their nationality may actually not be American, and when the financial backing of those movies is also not obviously American. Martel gives an interesting insight into this question, stressing the fact that a lot of companies and majors are believed to be American when they in fact belong to other countries, such as Sony and Columbia which are Japanese. 2010: 420.

<sup>236</sup> There were 56 films in 2018, with a budget from €4 to €7 million. CNC, 2019c, La production cinématographique en 2018: 12.

Poles dominate the audiovisual sector regionally, and American products more than any others manage to spread their industry indifferently across many parts of the globe. The market shares of their cinema in Europe are far higher than any other national cinematography, constituting not always the majority of the offer but being what is mostly visible and watched, and this despite the measures to limit the number of American films and the programs implemented to promote national, European, and world creations. The amplification of space, implied by globalization, is clearly visible in this situation: US blockbusters are indeed distributed all around the world, regardless of the differences in cultures, which creates a worldwide market for dominating products.

If we consider the dominant position of the US in the light of the neo-realist position, and more precisely the theory by Ricardo, which says that a state should better specialize in the fields it is more efficient in and rely on international trade to get other goods (“reciprocal advantage”),<sup>237</sup> then cinema would not be the object of such a strong focus in all European countries. Indeed, if we observe the number of national films produced each year by some European countries, their admissions, box-office takings, and final market shares locally, the results are too marginal to consider national film production being worth the investment.<sup>238</sup> The fact national policies maintain strong financial support for their cinema sectors, despite the lack of financial outputs, puts the stress on the importance of cinema as an art representing the nation, its culture, and its identity. This emphasizes the inner dichotomy of the field and the ambiguity in the European discourses and programs which, on the one hand, consider cinema as a creative and artistic sector, but, on the other hand, consider it as an industry as well, that is to say, representing large investments and sometimes a place of profitable business. These two considerations are rarely compatible and their final aims follow different paths. Indeed, from the EU point of view, culture should make countries know each other, which would serve the interests of the Union (and would thus be a diplomatic and political issue). But from the investors and creators’ sides, the question is posed differently, since films very embedded into national European culture rarely manage to be a large success outside of their borders.

Competition between European and American films remains difficult if not impossible. Preserving national production has thus to go through protective measures and specific incentives to encourage the setting up of projects that will enable maintain national cinema as strong locally and possibly also to ensure visibility outside of the domestic borders. These two objectives are salient if we consider the benefits and outputs of the industry. Besides the symbolic importance of having a national film industry, cinema is an important national economic sector which has to be preserved. Admissions in France represented

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<sup>237</sup> 1977: 81-82.

<sup>238</sup> See for example Hungary which produced 18 films in 2018 and whose national market shares were 6.6%, or Ireland which produced 43 films whose market shares were 2.5%, or Bulgaria which produced 21 films whose market shares were 7.9% or Portugal which produced 42 films and whose market shares were 1.9%. European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019.

201.1 million in 2018, with a corresponding gross box office of €1.34 billion. If we go back to the 39.5% market shares for national films that year, it gives a clear idea of the benefits for national producers and all professionals working in the field. The same can be observed in other European countries: in larger countries like Italy, for example, with 92.6 million admissions for instance that same year and a gross box office of €588.6 million or Belgium with 18.8 million admissions and a gross box office of €189 million, and also in smaller territories like Greece with 9.7 million admissions and a gross box office of €70.9 million, Portugal with 35.7 million admissions and a gross box office of €92.6 million, and Finland with 8.1 million admissions and a gross box office of €106.7 million.<sup>239</sup> Most of the box office receipts in those countries are reinvested into national production and make the US films contribution to their gross box office also crucial for the sustainability of their own industry. Nonetheless, national film production should be supported so as to back producers and artists in their creative steps and the making of the films and to keep the field vivid, as well as to keep the whole economy around it profitable and sustainable. Parting again from the prestigious connotation associated with having a national cinema and using it as a showcase to introduce a country to people across the world, the visibility of films abroad is crucial for the same reasons: box office revenues tend nowadays to be more important outside of the national market and are considered primordial for producers to recoup their investments. A recent report by Unifrance underlines this: in 2017, and for the fourth time in 6 years, French films registered more admissions abroad than in their national market.<sup>240</sup> Five films gathered 64% of these admissions, with the list being topped by *Valerian and the City of a Thousand Planets* by Luc Besson, which gathered 30.6 million spectators. Most European markets cannot provide such big budget films for the international market, but the shares of European films abroad are nonetheless quite significant. A report on the circulation of European films outside of Europe by the European Audiovisual Observatory underlined that 50% of European films in 2015 were exported (or a total of 2,990 films), and 10% of the total were exported outside of Europe (599 titles).<sup>241</sup> Admissions for those films represented 45% of the total, 200 million compared to 244 million on national markets, and were mostly outside of Europe (24% of the total versus 21% within Europe).<sup>242</sup> These results let glimpse huge inequalities between countries and indeed the top 5 countries of origin account for 96% of the admissions (France with 48%, the UK with 39%, Germany with 4 %, Spain with 3 % and Belgium with 2%). This however shows the importance of being visible outside of the domestic markets for some of them when the others may focus on securing a place for their films already on the national market before contemplating the international one.

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<sup>239</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2019.

<sup>240</sup> There were 80.5 million admissions on the international market and 78.2 million on the national one for 642 films exhibited. Chiffres à l'international, 2018.

<sup>241</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. 2016: 13.

<sup>242</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory. 2016: 15.

Globalization increased the gap between American and European films by creating a network all over the world for the diffusion of American blockbusters as well as TV programs. Companies have more and more branch offices abroad and are becoming larger and more influential. The position of US cinema today is all the more settled, as what they represent is believed to be universal. Their definition as the “enemy” should however be minimized for two reasons: first, this model, now so much criticized, is the one the EU tries to copy when trying to build a large single market. By confronting the enemy on its own territory, the EU opened the door to big European productions to try to compete with American blockbusters using their own weapons (type of films, actors, language). The second reason is simply that most European countries, as we have mentioned, have a national financing system based on taxes on cinema tickets. Therefore, the takings that stem from the admissions for these movies are then reinvested into the national production, which represents a considerable amount for the field.

Central to the national and European spheres is the question of diversity. Cultural and film policies at those levels focus on diversity as a target to keep one’s national culture alive and visible, on the one hand, and to justify their intervention, on the other hand. As we have seen, national cinema is one manner for nations to reinforce their image locally and to sustain their economy, but also to be sometimes visible on the international scene, and to display their sovereignty through a prestigious and expensive art form. Despite the changing meaning of the term “national” in recent decades, and the use of other concepts to qualify and gather films, the very concept of films’ nationality however proved its resilience over time and its key position in the general organization of the film industry. Keeping the idea of films as national enables to settle one’s sovereignty and, yet, to be still tangible as nations both locally, and on the international scene and on the market worldwide. Film policies instrumentalize the field and frame it scrupulously according to the nationality criteria. They adapted a competitive and challenging context which derived from a very entrenched national base to a more European and global dimension. The implemented European programs and the discourses of the European bodies go along with the national positions on the question of diversity and the protection of one’s specificities. Even if their role is not clear-cut as per the efficiency of the programs they implement to defend these values, and that a gap can be clearly observed between these programs and the content of their discourses, European bodies join the general position of nations to protect their plurality and use it as a valid argument to justify their actions and involvement in the field of cinema and at large in culture. They thus add a supra-national layer to the field of film policies by being, on the one hand, a threat as they are taking over from some responsibilities in terms of culture, cinema, and programs at large, but, on the other hand, by being also a strong support to nations in the general context of the struggle against US domination, a struggle that nations could not lead on their own. Both the national and the European spheres therefore share a common objective as they directly oppose globalization/Americanization.

## 4 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The aims of this dissertation are summarized in the following research questions:

- Do we observe more standardization and/or homogenization in the field of cinema in the last decades due to the influence of globalization?
- Is it still accurate to qualify films as “national” in today’s Europe?
- What is the role the European institutions, and how pertinent are their actions in favor of diversity?

To answer these questions one of the first elements to measure was the use of a global language in national film production. Considering the importance of languages as a basis of national identities and cultures, the use of another language than the national one in feature films would be a strong argument in confirming the standardization of contents according to the American dominant language and industry. My assumption concerning this question was that small countries, because of their small-scale languages, would tend to use English language more than big ones. High proficiency in English of most of these countries would make its use much easier and at the same time would enable them to expand their market, which is limited intrinsically by their geographical limits.

Another important parameter in measuring the possible homogenization of the field was to assert the film offer in cinema theatres, and more specifically in multiplexes. As we have seen, multiplexes, thanks to their high number of screens, enable many different films to be programmed the same week. In parallel, the high number of films released weekly enables programmers to choose films among a large and diverse range of nationalities, genres, and formats. It was thus interesting to analyze what the shares are for genres and nationalities programmed in such venue. The very offer, at the level of a multiplex, would be a good indicator of the real diversity in cinema theatres and if it really reflects the large availability of diverse types of films in France.

In parallel to these symptomatic aspects, the role of the European bodies could also be questioned in regard to their contribution to diversity. Indeed, after more than 30 years in place, a clear assessment could be made of the programs that they implemented. One of my interrogations when starting this study was

to know whether nations were really using the frame of the Eurimages program to diversify their partnerships in co-productions, or whether they were resorting to the same schemes they used along over the years but getting the extra-advantage of European support. An increase and an internationalization of the partnerships could lead to the idea of more diversity among films produced in Europe and a positive output concerning the role of European bodies to make cultures meet and people to know each other. At the same time, this situation could bring about questioning the content of the films as the idea of multiplying the partnerships with remote or different partners could induce a standardization of the projects to better fit into each co-producers' markets and to better fit the requirements of those programs.

Finally, after I investigated the previous issues, the question of nationality applied to films became essential to tackle. This aspect was always underlying and constituted a difficulty when dealing with data/films which had to be sorted out by nationality. As this question had not been analyzed in detail, it was as for me all the more important to discuss the topic and to get some results about the way nationality is attributed and what it really reflects when it comes to nation-states. Considering the multinational context of today's and the last decades' productions, the increasing internationalization of the markets and co-productions formats, the rise of the English language in films, and the general homogenization of the film offers around specific genres and nationalities, it was obvious that attributing a precise nationality to a film in Europe would not be an easy task and that what we most commonly refer to as national in film, certainly did not always reflect upon some specific national cultures and identities. What was then the legitimacy of such a concept? And how could it still rule the whole sector of cinema if not clearly defined?

The following chapter addresses the methodologies which were applied to answer those different issues and problematics. I first get into the details of each article's research design (which type of analysis – comparative, qualitative, and/or quantitative) and the data that were utilized to assess the results. I then address the limits and difficulties I faced as a researcher regarding the four topics, notably, in some cases, the questions of impartiality and objectivity in research. Finally, I tackle the geographical dimension covered by my research and detail more precisely its characteristics.

#### **4.1 Research design: comparative, qualitative, and quantitative analysis**

##### *Applied methodology and data*

The four articles that compose this dissertation are mainly based on quantitative and qualitative material. For some of them, the approach is also comparative, as in article I about the use of English language in nine European countries and article III about the internationalization of co-productions at the Nordic level.

Going back to the definition of cinema in the introduction, cinema in the articles more specifically deals with feature films and focuses on European countries. From the cinema industry's point of view, the sector of exhibition is more precisely investigated (article II).

Article I, on the use of English in feature films is a quantitative and qualitative analysis carried out on nine countries from 1990 until 2010. Denmark, Iceland, Finland, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden were chosen because of the diversity of the cases they represent: big and small productive countries, variety of localizations in Europe, differences in English proficiency, systemic convergences, or divergences of their political, economic, and social systems. Figures for the total feature film production in each country were drawn from national film institutes, the European Audiovisual Observatory, and Mediasalles. These sources were also used to list precisely each title of the yearly film production. The IMDb database was then utilized to determine the language(s) in which films were shot. The reliability of the IMDb can be questioned as it is not an official source; however, it provides comprehensive details on all types of films worldwide, which cannot be easily found elsewhere. These data have then been compared to the general volume of production in the nine reference countries. It is noteworthy also to understand the way films have been counted in this survey, which adds another variable to the whole picture: films where English only is spoken have been counted as "1", and films where it is only partially spoken as "0,5". The total number of films in English taken into account in this analysis thus includes different types of films which either choose this global language and fully resort to it, or films whose narrative/co-production profile uses at some point the use of the English language. The conceptual background of this article refers to the importance of languages in the perception of nations and the danger the use of a non-national language can represent for the diversity of the sector.



TABLE 1 Objectives, Data, and Method(s) per Article

Articles	Objectives	Data	Methods
I. The Use of English in European Feature Films: Unity in Diversity?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To what extent is English language usage becoming more standardized in European feature films?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Statistics from 1990 until 2010 from the National film Institutes of Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden, Mediasalles and film database resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Quantitative analysis of the number of films produced and their shooting languages</li> <li>- Descriptive analysis of the types of films shot in English</li> <li>- Comparative analysis of the type of films in each country</li> </ul>
II. Programming strategies of a multiplex in France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What is the marketing strategy adopted by the Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine to be profitable?</li> <li>- What is the diversity of its programming in terms of genres and nationalities?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Statistics from the CNC from 2001 until 2013</li> <li>- Interview of the director of the multiplex about the programming strategy and the policy of the venue</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the programming of the venue</li> <li>- Discursive analysis of the programming strategy</li> </ul>
III. Toward an internationalization of co-productions in the Nordic countries?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Has the production of films and co-productions increased in the Nordic countries during the 25 years of the study?</li> <li>- Has the internationalization of markets had a direct impact on their coproduction partners?</li> <li>- Have the so-far established schemes of coproduction changed with the setting of dedicated European programs?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Statistics from the National film Centers, Mediasalles in the Nordic countries from 1990 until 2013</li> <li>- Details on the films' co-productions structures from the Lumiere database</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Quantitative analysis of the number of partners</li> <li>- Analysis of variance in the number of partners and their geographical origins over the years</li> </ul>
IV. Film Nationality – the Relevance of this Concept in the Contemporary European Film Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What does “national” mean, and is this term relevant when applied to films?</li> <li>- Do European bodies contribute to a strengthening of national film production, or do they rather work for the definition of a global European cinema?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Theoretical publications and studies</li> <li>- Official reports, texts, and treaties</li> <li>- Details on the films' nationality and their content criteria from the Lumiere database, IMDb, and the Europa Cinemas database</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Descriptive and chronological analysis of the conceptual background</li> <li>- Comparative approach based on different countries and films</li> </ul>

Article II, about the programming strategy of a multiplex in France between 2001 and 2013, is a qualitative analyze of all the films screened during those years at the cinema Pathé Sainte Honorine. It is based on statistics gathered through the French national film Center (CNC), on the database Allociné (which has details of all weekly film releases in France), and on a long interview with the director of the venue about the strategy and the orientation given to the cinema. The statistics principally concerned the number of films, the number of screenings, the number of admissions, the number of new releases, and the number of weeks of programming together with the genres and nationalities of the films programmed; these last two criteria being the ones used to estimate the diversity in the programming of the venue.

In article III, concerning the internationalization of co-productions in the Nordic countries between 1990 and 2013, the approach is entirely quantitative and comparative. Firstly, the number and the titles of the films produced each year have been listed for each of the five countries analyzed thanks to national film center databases. Data have then been matched and completed with the Lumiere database. This database, which lists the admissions and co-producers of all films released in Europe, has then been used to identify the partners in co-production for each of the films investigated, so as to draw a clear trend in partnerships over the years.

Article IV, about the concept of nationality, uses a qualitative approach: it discusses the concepts "national", "nation", and what is referred to when talking about nationality in cinema before tackling some specific films examples. Those film examples were chosen as per their diversity over the years in terms of genre and country of origin, the different partners involved in the projects, and the questioning and polemics they raised when released, concerning their nationality. The manner by which the final nationality is attributed was based on the analysis of different key cultural criteria in the making of the film: the budget, the topic, the language used, the nationality of the director, and the film location. Information was found in three databases: 1) the Lumière database provided information about financing, 2) IMDb provided information about the other criteria, as well as more about financing, and 3) the Europa Cinemas database provided information about final nationality. This investigation also questions the position of European programs for cinema, and official texts and treaties were used for the analyses.

The research questions of the dissertation resume the problematic tackled in the four articles and focus on the possible homogenization of the field of cinema under the influence of globalization, on the accurateness of the concept of nationality when applied to films, and the clear role of the European institutions in the promotion - or not - of diversity. As for that, the analyze focuses on a qualitative approach that resumes the concepts and issues developed in these publications (nation and nationality, identity, culture and national languages, globalization and diversity) and on the quantitative material that has been gathered for these investigations and which supported the discussion with concrete situations (the partners in co-productions schemes, the

diversity of genres and nationalities in a multiplex, the use of the English language in European feature films). The different topics analyzed in these articles are all concerned with the issues of diversity versus homogeneity, and with the idea of a potential standardization of films produced in Europe, under the influence of globalization and of European programs. It thus aims at gathering the scattered problematics into a single text that grounds its argument on the results of the articles.

The topic analyzed is wide and in some ways controversial. It highlights the opposite goals of the different players in the same sector (profit-oriented businesses, art-house producers, and national film policy-makers), the discrepancy that is observed between the discourse on diversity and the reality when it comes to the film programming in a multiplex, and also, and especially, the ambiguity of the European programs put in place which can be questioned as per their real promotion of diversity.

#### *Limits of the research*

From a methodological point of view, several limits and issues have been identified when coming to these different analyzes, among which some are repeated in the four articles:

- The reliability of the statistics, especially from years ago: in article III (the internationalization of co-productions), the number and titles of the films indicated in the Lumiere database did not always match the information that was provided by the national film centers. The same was noted for article I (the use of the English language), where the figures for the total production provided by Mediasalles and the national film centers were higher than the final sample of films used in the analysis. In both cases, this could be partly explained by the inclusion of animated films and documentaries (or films never released) in the yearly film production, which were not taken into account in most of the analysis but were included in the one about the diversity of the programming of a multiplex. Another possibility is a mix between produced films and released films. What is important to underline here is the fact that statistics are gathered at the national level according to local criteria. Even if those criteria do not much differ, they however prevent collecting homogeneous data for the whole European territory as slight differences can affect the final sample. Some countries will for example distinguish majority of minority productions, some will question the amount of films produced per year, while yet others will focus on films released in the same year.
- Another difficulty concerns the fact that co-productions can be considered national in each of the co-producers' countries. As we have seen, this is one of the points of the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-productions, which intends to lessen the problem of the circulation of European films outside of a domestic market and to make easier those films' access to local support on co-producers'

territories. Consequently, a same title can be found in the respective national statistics of each country, thus inflating the total sample of films artificially. A Nordic coproduction between three countries for example will be found in each of the three countries' national statistics (article III) without necessarily making clear the degree of commitment to the project (whether majority or minority co-production).

- Another question concerns impartiality as a researcher. In article II for instance, part of the analysis was based on the nationalities and genres of the films. Both criteria were sometimes unclear or even incorrect in the databases consulted (feature films listed as documentaries, comedies as social dramas, etc). It is then up to the researcher to correct the data and, even more problematic, to make a choice when a film is indicated with many different nationalities. Films' nationalities and genres are most of the time sufficiently clear in the programming of venues such as multiplexes, but, nevertheless, as we have seen in article IV about the definition of films' nationality, some titles can prove to be problematic and referred to as generally "European" in film databases.
- The use of IMDb as a reference for some data is also questionable as it is not an official database, but it is filled-in by users. IMDb was mainly used in article I to define the language a film was shot in. It has the advantage of being the world's largest movie database, of being very comprehensive, and of detailing even small budget and limited released films. The drawback is however that it lacks official control.

The research is also based on recurrent comparisons between the European and the American markets. The US industry is dominant in different fields, among which is the field of cinema. They embody the strength of capitalistic culture and globalization. As globalization is at the center of the issues developed in the articles and the present dissertation, the US is thus naturally central to the discussion. It is principally referred to as per its industrial aspect, providing films for the mass-audience, and as per its conception of films as goods that have to be profitable. This conception, which is the main characteristic of the US market, is however not nuanced. One should indeed stress the fact that distinctions can be made in US production itself: US films are often stigmatized and criticized as a whole for the image they push on the international market through their mainstream productions, whereas at the same time they also offer a non-negligible number of art-house movies directed by well-known directors (Jim Jarmuch, Hal Hartley, and Gus van Sant to name a few). Some of these directors, even if not working for the major studios, can nonetheless manage to some extent to conciliate both art-house content and success. When referring here below to the US market, to its threat to the diversity of European cinemas and to their assimilation to the concept of globalization through "Americanization", we address the industrial side of this market and its specific position toward cinema at large as an entertainment industry aimed to make profit.

## 4.2 Geographical approach and characteristics of the area

The four articles of this compilation address European countries at large, with different focuses in each of them according to the issue that is tackled and what is to be emphasized: article I, about the use of the English language in films, has the largest sample of countries: Denmark, Iceland, Finland, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden (nine in total). These countries were chosen as symptomatic examples of a more general European situation, mixing small and big markets (in terms of size of their territories, population, and volume of film production), northern and southern countries, and also countries with differing levels of English proficiency. Article II takes the example of a multiplex in France, in the West-suburb of Paris. Article III, about the internationalization of co-productions, focuses on Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, and Sweden and aims to analyze the development of partnerships along a time period of 23 years, during which time some joined the EU. Article IV addresses more generally the situation in Europe, with films examples from different countries. The issue of film nationality is something mostly discussed in Europe, and that is why no specific country is used, but instead many are used as references.

The discussion around diversity and the opposition to standardized forms of cultural domination is something that initiated in Europe. The question of the diversity of languages, of international partnerships, of the diversity of the films to be seen in cinemas, and of the nationalities to be represented are many of the issues that are central to this discussion in the film sector and which do not occur in the same way everywhere. The reasons for this are principally systemic, as the European market, if compared to other geographic areas, is fragmented. This characteristic makes it all the more interesting to analyze but also more appropriate to focus on in the context of globalization, where smaller entities would be more vulnerable. The fragmentation of the market is manifold, and those discrepancies cannot be easily overcome. They concern culture, language, economy, politics in general, as well as structural aspects:

- cultures are different, which makes some genres or types of films difficult to distribute outside of the domestic borders;
- languages are also among the first elements that make the market not united. In terms of strategy, a film cannot be distributed in a large single territory without the need for subtitling, dubbing, dealing with new distributors, and so forth;
- tax systems are not harmonized in the different countries of the EU.<sup>243</sup> Different incentives, cash rebates, and tax relief are settled in most European countries, which need to be scrutinized to choose the best option for shooting in Europe. Besides, the fact that members of a crew are often from different nationalities can bring about some problems concerning the taxes they will have to pay, since countries may apply

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<sup>243</sup> Spence (te), 1996: 7.

taxes to residents who have activities abroad, and non-residents who get money within their territory;<sup>244</sup> and

- the notion of author also differs from one country to the other: in some countries the author of the film is the director (France, Belgium, Greece, Spain, Austria, or the Netherlands), but in others, it is the producer (Ireland, Luxembourg, and to some extent the UK).<sup>245</sup>

Therefore, the European territory cannot be approached uniformly. In the context of globalization, these systemic characteristics are points which weaken the industry. If we compare these issues to the American strategy in disseminating films, the European film sector also lacks international commercial companies, competitiveness, diversity in the products proposed, and European stars. These elements are among the key ones for American products to reach audiences outside of their borders. These major differences make the benefits of cinema in Europe limited in its scale and make the competition much more difficult with the homogeneous market that represents the United-States and to which the sector often compares.

The manner the European sector deals with these weaknesses and differences is thus particularly relevant to address with regard to the global context the film industry is inscribed in. Europe has the advantage of representing a multitude of different countries that claim specific cultures and identities, and which oppose through this argument the dominant US industry. They are all linked by their presence on the European territory and most of the time by their belonging to the EU or to the Council of Europe. This belonging to supra-national bodies ensures, despite their sovereignty upon national policies and the obvious differences between them, a common base, as rules and conditions are required to be part of those entities. Data on most sectors are centralized by those bodies and make research much easier as they ensure an evenly statistical basis to ponder different phenomena and counter-balance individual or very localized results.

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<sup>244</sup> Spence (te), 1996: 9.

<sup>245</sup> Györy, 1995: 7-9.

## **5 RESULTS - IS GLOBALIZATION BRINGING MORE HOMOGENITY TO THE FIELD?**

This chapter includes the results from my publications regarding the questions of homogenization and identity in cinema in Europe. They seek to shed light on and answer the research questions of the present dissertation which deals with 1) the possible standardization and/or homogenization of cinema under the influence of globalization, 2) the pertinence of the term “national” when applied to films, and 3) the role of European institutions with regard to diversity. Table 2 gives a more precise insight to how the four publications are articulated around these questions.

The following chapter aims to gather the problematics and final conclusions of each of the articles to answer the research questions of the present manuscript. Most of these researches have been introduced and discussed at conferences, then published and are used as the cornerstones of my dissertation. The variety of methods applied and the different approaches to the issue of globalization in the film sector enabled me to draw clear conclusions on the question of the homogenization of the field of cinema. The next four sections address the detailed results of each investigation.

TABLE 2 Objectives of the articles and their relation to the research questions

Articles	Objectives	Relation to the research questions (1) <i>the question of homogenization</i> , 2) <i>films nationality</i> , 3) <i>the role of the EU</i> )
I. The Use of English in European Feature Films: Unity in Diversity?	- To what extent is English language usage becoming more standardized in European feature films?	1) Is global English more commonly used in non-English speaking territories?
II. Programming strategies of a multiplex in France	- What is the marketing strategy adopted by the Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine to be profitable? - What is the diversity of its programming in terms of genres and nationalities?	1) Is the marketing strategy of the venue promoting diversity? Which genre and nationalities are concretely screened, and how diverse are they? 2) Is nationality an important criterion for the programming of the venue?
III. Toward an internationalization of co-productions in the Nordic countries?	- Has the production of films and co-productions increased in the Nordic countries during the 25 years of the study? - Has the internationalization of markets had a direct impact on their coproduction partners? - Have the so-far established schemes of coproduction changed with the setting of dedicated European programs?	2) How do multinational co-productions fit into the definition of films as national? 1) Does co-producing with different partners enable to preserve national characteristics in film production? 3) Do European programs have a clear influence on the co-production schemes and number of partners?
IV. Film Nationality – the Relevance of this Concept in the Contemporary European Film Sector	- What does “national” mean and is this term relevant when applied to films? - Do European bodies contribute to a strengthening of national film production, or do they rather work for the definition of a global European cinema?	3) Do European structures contribute to the definition of films as national or rather as European? 2) How does the current context of co-production and globalization enable to qualify films as national?



## 5.1 Global English in European feature films (article I)

National languages are a key element when considering the questions of culture and identity. It is one of the main ways of belonging to a nation, an element of limitation of what is “in” and what is “out”, what belongs to the nation or not. In terms of representation, languages play an important role when it comes to representing the nation. Linguistic diversity is a fundamental aspect of diversity in general. Recent discussions around the rise of global English tackles this question as the linguistic diversity appears to be threatened by Americanization and its associated language. As a visible representative of nations, of their cultures and identities, any disengagement toward the national language might thus be perceived as a threat. As a reflection of the nation, a national film should in logic be shot in the national language. However, the strong dependency of the sector on the international market, the need to have films circulate to recoup their costs on a global scale, and the increasing costs of production lead to favoring co-production and the use of a global language to smooth over these difficulties.

The use of English in national films is often denounced or criticized as an expression of the loss of identity, of a standardization of cultures, and of a threat to diversity. In the field of cinema, no investigation had been done so far concerning the reality of these statements. The following results are based on the analysis of the production of feature films in nine European countries from 1990 until 2010 and aim to draw a possible trend as per this question.

### *The increase of films in the English language*

Results showed a clear orientation of productions toward more films in English, especially from the year 2003. Until then, the increase of films in English had followed the increase of film production in general in the nine countries investigated, maintaining the ratio at the same level. The drop in production in 2003 together with the stable level of films in English increased this ratio. Film production increased again from the next year, but in parallel films in English also underwent a major increase to reach peaks at the end of the 2000s with more than 45 films in English released each year.

This trend was visible in all countries that were part of the sample, either big and small productive countries, when at the beginning of the investigation only a few of them seemed to be sometimes resorting to it; it concerned only up to six countries at the beginning of the 1990, when in the 2000s, six was the minimum. In 2007 and 2008, the Netherlands, Greece, Finland, and France were the ones presenting the broader proportion of films in English. Noteworthy, is the case of the Nordic countries: until the mid-1990s, only a couple of films in English were produced in the area, most of the time by Iceland, Denmark, and Norway. From the mid-1990s, this number increased quite significantly until reaching a total of 10 films for the region in 2006, and the use of English became very regular with at least one film per country each year at the end of the studied period, from 2008 until 2010.

The visible low number of films in English in Nordic and small countries is however to be considered critically, as compared with their general level of production they proportionally tend to resort more often to English. Indeed, the results of this investigation underlined that in the 1990s, small productive countries had on average 4% of their films shot in English. This percentage went up to 8.86% in the 2000s. Big productive countries (France and Spain in our sample) also saw this share double from a decade ago to the other: they went from an average of 3.97% of films in English in the 1990s to 8.31% in the 2000s. The results show that both small and big producing countries are using English in their film production.

#### *Toward a taxonomy of films in English*

The results underlined that most of the films purely shot in English are co-productions, have a large budget, and whose contents are standardized enough to reach wide audiences. Looking more precisely at the films in English, two groups of countries can nevertheless be distinguished: first, the big productive ones, which already in the 1990s produced films in English and whose share of films in English more likely corresponds to big budget films (for example Luc Besson's films *The Fifth Element* (1997), and *Joan of Arc* (1999)), plus a few smaller productions. Secondly, small countries, use English to open up more markets, even if the amount of money invested is far from equaling the one of big countries. The films of the movement Dogme at the end of the 1990s are good examples of a part of production turning to the English language. Lars von Trier's films for example testify to this new trend, which started to be more widely practiced in the 2000s in Denmark and certainly contributed to the wider distribution of Danish films.

Differences have however to be underlined as big countries are able to have many different types of films produced yearly, which include films in English, where small ones have limited margins in that sense. Big countries enjoy more flexibility though: with production levels superior to 100 or 150 films a year, those countries can easily dedicate a few percent of their annual production budget to blockbusters type films while at the same time providing a quality production of films that respect the national language and enter into the scope of the agendas of national and European film policies. In small productive countries, however, this margin is much less, and if about 9% percent of the film production in the 2000s was in English in these territories, at volumes of 10 to 20 films a year, their share is much more visible. Moreover, these films are generally high budget productions, even if the level of what is a high-budget production is relative to each country concerned. What it however means, is that these films are endowed with many promotional tools and are more visible than other types of films, especially abroad, where they are displayed as national.

The added value of English language in these films is however difficult to establish. In big countries, most of those films are conceived as blockbusters: they are most of the time action films, starring well-known actors, and the impact of the use of a global language in the narrative is thus difficult to address specifically

compared to other parameters. Generally speaking, those films are more successful abroad in terms of box-office. One of the conditions to this success is, however, as for all types of films, that those films first proved profitable in their domestic markets.

#### *Further discussion*

In cinema, the temptation created by becoming more global leads to the increase of one's limits and to look overseas for more admissions. Languages appear as a barrier since the audience in large English-speaking areas is reluctant to watch movies in foreign languages. European production companies sometimes try to extend their activities to the US by signing pre-buying and distribution agreements with the major studios. As such, films are made in English and in an American style.<sup>246</sup> This trend was visible in France with Luc Besson's films. This strategy was more generally adopted by non-English speaking countries as a way to open their markets and be "exportable" in English-speaking territories, making the world market prevail based upon protectionism and national identity. As Peter Aalbæk Jensen, president of Zentropa Entertainments, says,

Today it is impossible to package a film with a budget exceeding \$3 million, if you insist on shooting it with Danish dialogue. It will take international investment, and foreign financiers will never place their money in a Danish language film.<sup>247</sup>

The logic behind it is that it would not make sense to make a high budget movie in Danish (or any other small-scale language) when even a low budget one cannot recover its costs. It is what the Danish director Ole Bornedal means when saying "*if you want to make expensive films for the international market, they have to be in English*".<sup>248</sup>

In most legislations, a national film should be made in the national language, but as discussed by Karlsson,<sup>249</sup> the "cultural discount" of films in English is less than in another language. English has become a widespread language, which minimizes this cultural discount as it is not identified primarily with a specific country. As Crystal writes, the English language has become the possession of everybody using it in any way.<sup>250</sup> In cinema this trend is maybe more obvious in the case of small linguistic areas, which, to minimize their national characters and to avoid dubbing and subtitling in English speaking countries, resort to this language more often to access more markets. As Graddol says, "*the proportion of English ends up highest where the local language has a relatively small number of speakers and competence in English is high*".<sup>251</sup> In the Nordic region, the case was first seen in Iceland and Denmark, which had to adopt new legislation concerning the film's nationality and the language that should be used. Denmark

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<sup>246</sup> Forest, 2001: 88.

<sup>247</sup> European Film Promotion, 2002: 8.

<sup>248</sup> European Film Promotion, 2002: 7.

<sup>249</sup> 2002.

<sup>250</sup> 2003: 140-141.

<sup>251</sup> 2006: 45.

was actually the first, after the success of Lars von Trier's *The Element of Crime*, in 1984, to suppress the language criteria from its requirement to qualify a film as Danish.<sup>252</sup> Moreover, co-operating raises the problem of communicating and being understood by others. The increase of co-productions leads to more joined international partnerships, thus more crews speaking English on the set of a film, as well as also more films being shot in English. As a global language, English offers an immediate solution, but in the long-run problems of the film's nationality and cultural belonging are targeted and open a larger debate. Lowering the barrier of language and cultural differences seems nowadays to go through a diminution of national appeals, which are first visible through language. Far from art for art's sake, cinema in this dimension refers purely to its commercial aspect, the practicality of the use of a global language, and the desire to make profit. This directly questions the idea of diversity at the core of national and European policies and the impact globalization has on the sector as well: on the one hand, they ensure and support the production of national films and their circulations, while on the other hand, they also contribute to the standardization of the field by supporting principally co-production schemes, enabling films in English to be considered as national and highly promoted as such internationally.

## 5.2 Film programming in multiplexes (article II)

Part of the raised issues when talking about diversity in cinema is which films can be seen by the audience. As we have seen, globalization is mainly addressed under the concept of Americanization when dealing with the film sector at the European level. This concept is at the forefront mainly because of the high visibility of American films on the screens worldwide and the shares they represent of their domestic market, admissions, and at the box-office. Film programming is thus essential to analyze. The offer is in itself a measurement of the diversity to which the audience is exposed. The analysis of the programming of a multiplex was in that sense interesting for several reasons: firstly, multiplexes, by their high number of screens, enable the simultaneous programming of many films, and thus more possibilities for diversification of the offer; secondly, they are the most accessible and visited venues by mainstream and young audiences, thus engaging a huge part of the population and responding to its demand; thirdly, their function in France as chains, i.e., even if a director is in charge of a specific venue, his/her strategy depends on the group policy in terms of programming, image, and profit. In that sense, it was thus easy to expand the results of a single venue to the others nation-wide to get a bigger picture of the situation. France was also the case to be investigated in this context

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<sup>252</sup> The Danish Film Act of 1997, which rules film funding in Denmark, defines a "Danish film" as "a film of which the producer is Danish" and whose soundtrack is in Danish. See chapter 4, point 17.

insofar as its national market shares are among the highest in Europe,<sup>253</sup> allowing much less room for programming of US productions.<sup>254</sup> The situation in France could thus be considered as one of the best examples at the European level of a possible attempt to diversify the offer. The article is focused on the watching of films on the big screen, as the original form of film viewing, and more precisely in a multiplex, which does not constitute the totality of possibilities to watch a film. Today, besides art-house and smaller venues, films benefit from different diffusion platforms. Television used to be the main form from the 1960s on, together with video (VHS) from the late 1970s. Nowadays, the digital world increases the possibilities of watching films, overtaking DVD and blu-ray, which in the late 1990s had already replaced the VHS format, to make place for online services such as (subscription) video on demand (SVOD and VOD), pay per view, and online video renting represented by dominant online platforms such as Netflix, Amazon Prime, Hulu, Disney+, and more generally by the GAFAM which include Google (YouTube), Amazon, Facebook, and Apple.<sup>255</sup> The upsurge of these platforms has raised large controversies around what is defined as the “media chronology”. The economy of the sector is so tight and competitive that clear barriers have to be drawn. France is particularly virulent in this battle to protect its film industry, its actors, and creators and to ensure a fair distribution of the receipts. The multiple platforms enable prolongating the carrier of a film far beyond the few weeks of months it will stay on the cinema screens and will thus increase its incomes and accessibility. However, the chronology should not be too fast, nor too flexible, so as to ensure the best potential and incomes for films in their prime channel of diffusion, i.e., the cinema theatre.<sup>256</sup> The evaluation of the diversity of films’ offers and consumption is thus based on those “partial” results, which are however symptomatic of the attitude toward cinema in general as a practice (going out to the cinema rather than watching films at home) and of the majority of the audience’s preference (big venues versus art-house cinemas).

The Pathé Sainte Honorine was built in 2001 in the West-Parisian suburb, in a place where there was no other offer. A commercial area developed quickly

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<sup>253</sup> According to the European Audiovisual Observatory’s Focus 2019, market shares in 2018 for national films in France were 39.5%, in the UK 44.8%, in Poland 33.3%, in Germany 23.5%, in Spain 17.6%, and in smaller territories such as in Denmark 29.8%, in Finland 23.6%, in Belgium 11%, in Greece 7.1%, and in Hungary 6.6%.

<sup>254</sup> Market shares are usually divided between the national and US ones. The other nationalities’ shares are generally very low and do not make a significant change in the general balance between the shares of domestic productions and US productions.

<sup>255</sup> According to the European Audiovisual Observatory, SVOD counted in 2017, 53.9 million subscribers, who were mostly affiliated to Netflix and Amazon (80% of the total) (2019c: 50) while pay VOD had grown by 34% between 2016 and 2017 and represented, 77% of total market revenue growth in 2017, which was mostly represented by subscriptions (67%). 2019c: 44.

<sup>256</sup> The tight and swift chronology cinema is facing is comprehensively analyzed in the report by the European Audiovisual Observatory on *La chronologie des médias: une question de temps*, where 30 European countries’ chronologies are compared. 2019b: 59-74.

around the cinema and three more rooms were added to the first nine, a few years after the opening, which offered a good perspective of analysis in terms of diversity.

Many different quantitative analyzes were conducted to get a clear and comprehensive picture of the policy of the venue: number of films and programs screened each year, number of screenings and admissions per year and per month, number of different genres programmed, number of different nationalities programmed, breakdown of programs according to their nationality, offer and demand of films according to their nationality, release dates of films, number of weeks on the screens, rotation of films in the cinema rooms, results for the main distributors in terms of programs, admissions, and screenings. All these indicators enabled to draw clear conclusions about the type of programming and about the strategy of the venue over the 13 years.

Despite its high number of screens (12 from 2008), the bigger capacity of the venue with the extension from 9 to 12 rooms a few years after the opening, the subsequent increase in the number of films and programs, in screenings, and in admissions, the results concluded that there is high homogeneity and limited diversity as per the genres of films offered as well as per the number of nationalities represented.

In the first year of full activity (2002), the multiplex recorded 176 different programs for a total number of 794 films (a program is defined as a single film entity which is counted once, at the time it is released, whereas a film is counted as many times as it occurs in the programming). The peak was reached in 2013, when the number of programs reached 241, for a total of 1340 films screened. The development of the number of different programs proposed to the audience increased smoothly over the years. We can observe a ratio of 3.3 programs and 15 films per week in 2002, which was maintained in the next years, at approximately 3 programs and 13 films a week until 2008. That year, 2008, constituted a pivotal year with the opening of 3 more rooms, and the overall figures increased after this period. The number of programs per week kept above 3 from 2009 on and even above 4 from 2011 until reaching a peak of 4.5 in 2013. Similarly, the number of films per week increased above 15 in 2009 and above 21 in 2011 to reach a peak of 25.3 in 2013. The number of screenings and admissions observed the same pattern: 2011 constitutes a peak with 21,356 screenings and 1,056,863 admissions over the year. Until 2007, the average number of screenings a year was 15,500, but it increased to stabilize at around 20,000 screenings a year from 2008 onward. The number of admissions also increased with time as the new venue found and retained its audience. From 541,381 admissions in 2002, they increased smoothly to stabilize at around 740,000 between 2004 and 2008, before maintaining (but the peak year of 2011) at around 965,000 admissions a year. These increases in the number of programs, films, and screenings could lead one to think of an intrinsic increase in the diversity of the offer.

TABLE 3 Number of programs, films, and their ratio per week, and number of admissions and screenings, Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine, 2001-2013

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
<b>Number of programs</b>	55	<b>176</b>	154	148	147	163	150	<b>147</b>	181	190	<b>218</b>	<b>213</b>	<b>241</b>
<b>Number of films</b>	210	<b>794</b>	702	708	677	646	657	689	829	879	1125	1283	<b>1340</b>
<b>Number of programs per week</b>	4,2	<b>3,3</b>	2,9	2,8	2,8	3,1	2,8	2,7	3,4	3,6	4,1	4	<b>4,5</b>
<b>Number of films per week</b>	16,2	<b>15</b>	13,2	13,4	12,8	12,2	12,4	12,7	15,6	16,6	21,2	24,3	<b>25,3</b>
<b>Admissions</b>	109.186	<b>541.381</b>	621.632	753.195	724.677	747.630	706.177	779.443	918.483	973.276	<b>1.056.865</b>	999.701	969.727
<b>Number of screenings</b>	3.894	15.599	15.935	16.092	15.852	15.412	14.993	17.299	20.411	20.276	<b>21.356</b>	20.574	20.207

Sources: CNC.

TABLE 4 Number of different genres and nationalities, and ratio per program, Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine, 2001-2013

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
<b>Number of different genres</b>	16	23	21	23	21	20	21	<b>25</b>	25	25	<b>24</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Number of different genres per program</b>	3,4	7,7	7,3	6,4	7	8,2	7,1	<b>5,9</b>	7,2	7,6	9,1	10,1	12,7
<b>Number of different nationalities</b>	7	11	10	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	7	9	7	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	8	<b>12</b>	10
<b>Number of different nationalities per program</b>	7,9	16	15,4	24,7	24,5	23,3	16,7	21	15,1	15,8	<b>27,3</b>	17,8	24,1

Source: CNC.



Over the 13 years of the analysis, 29 different genres were programmed in the venue, of which 12 were regular. The year 2008 is the most diverse in terms of programming, with 147 programs and 25 different genres. Paradoxically, the less diverse years of the study are situated a couple of years after the extension of the multiplex to 3 more rooms: the number of programs indeed increased, but the diversity in terms of genre decreased (218 programs and 24 genres in 2011, 213 programs and 21 genres in 2012, and 241 programs and 19 genres in 2013). The most programmed genres are comedies, dramas, and animations, which all together represented more than 43% of the total programming. The extension of the venue to 12 rooms did not change the variety of the genres programmed, instead, it maintained the genres already screened previously.

Concerning the diversity in terms of nationalities, 25 different nationalities have been programmed over the 13 years. The figures then fluctuate between a minimum of 6 different nationalities a year (2004 and 2005) and a maximum of 12 (2009, 2010, 2012). Considering the number of films programmed annually in the venue and the screen capacities, even the maximum figure of 12 seems low in terms of diversity. The increase to 12 followed the general increase in the number of programs from 2009 on. If we compare the number of nationalities to the number of films programmed those years, this increase is put into perspective. Indeed, the maximum ratio of 27.3 is attained in 2011, which corresponds to 8 different nationalities for a total of 218 titles. The number of different nationalities seems to be higher than at the time of the opening of the venue, but this is a natural effect of the increase of the number of films programmed. Besides, the inclusion of one more nationality in the yearly statistics can be due to simply a single title. For example, in 2012, there were 12 different nationalities, but 5 of them are only represented by one film (*The Sapphires*, by Wayne Blair from Australia; *Sammy 2*, by Ben Stasser and Vincent Kesteloot, an animation film from Belgium; *Niko 2 - Little Brother, Big Trouble*, by Kari Juusonen, an animation film from Finland; *Lock Out* by James Mather and Stephen St Leger from Ireland; and *From up on Poppy Hill* by Goro Miyazaki, an animation film from Japan). The diversity in terms of programming is thus symbolic. The overall film programming is dominated by US and French productions. They represent together 88.64% of the films programmed with respectively 49.47% and 39.17% of the yearly titles. Other nationalities' programming is then marginal, especially if we consider the third most diffused nationality, the United-Kingdom, which represents 3.02% of the programs over 13 years and is mostly represented by films with incoming US investments. Other nationalities represent less than 1% each of the programming over the time period analyzed. US films' programming is in full correlation with the demand, which makes them very profitable for the venue. On the contrary, French films, despite the high number, do not offer such a balance with the admissions.

The increase in the number of rooms from 2008 also reveals a shift in the programming strategy: films on the one hand stay longer when successful and can thus, but very partially, contribute to a potential lack of diversity in the programming. Over 9 years, from 2001 until 2010, 21 films stayed more than 11

weeks on the screens, among which more than half stayed 11 weeks. From 2010 until 2013, over 4 years, 17 stayed longer than 11 weeks on the screens, and they were more evenly distributed over a number of weeks, i.e., between 11 and 14. Records were reached twice with 2 films staying 17 weeks on the screens in 2009 (*Avatar*, James Cameron) and in 2011 (*The Intouchables / Intouchables*, Olivier Nakache and Eric Toledano). On the other hand, in parallel with this phenomenon, we can observe an increased rotation of the films in the venue, with a majority of them staying 1 or 2 weeks on the screens from 2010 on, whereas most of them used to be programmed between 2 and 4 weeks until 2009. This shows a change in the strategy of the multiplex; they had more flexibility to accommodate successful titles longer in the venue and at the same time “got rid” of less profitable titles more quickly. The fact that diversity in terms of genres and nationalities did not change despite the three more rooms can be partially explained by those few films that stay longer on the screens. This is more specifically underlined because of the general increase in rotation of the titles in the venue, and a lack of interest in diversifying the offer which remains focused on the same type of movies.

Results showed that the multiplex follows the strict objective of making profit. It is conceived as a commercial entity where the four least successful films go off the screens the following week or may even change room during their programming week to a smaller one to benefit a bigger hit. US films, with their proved rentability, make up most of the offer, together with French films. The structural capacity of the venue, its high number of rooms, and the possibilities they offer in terms of number of films screened are nonetheless oriented to direct profit based on mainstream films and the mass offer with no place for diversity per se. The spread of such venues over the territory, their high visibility, the variety of the ticket prices they offer, their easy access compared to other types of cinema, and especially their high number of admissions are many arguments which counter the idea of diversity at the offer level. Diversity has to be found in other types of cinemas, which do not benefit from as many systemic advantages and visibility.

### 5.3 The internationalization of co-productions (article III)

According to the figures by the European Audiovisual Observatory, co-productions count for 25% of the total film production today in Europe.<sup>257</sup> This figure takes into account official international co-productions, meaning “(...) co-productions which follow the rules of an international co-production agreement (bilateral or multilateral) or the rules of the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production (or similar treaties)”.<sup>258</sup> Those agreements and treaties pre-establish the rules to be followed by the different parties in the co-production and facilitate the

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<sup>257</sup> Focus 2017: 14.

<sup>258</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory, 2018b: 37.

partnerships. They also include both financial and artistic participations, unlike unofficial co-productions which can either be produced by big producing companies looking for partners for blockbuster-type projects, and whose reach they try to extend by attaining possible access to a market (for example the *Harry Potter* series, which were all produced with US incoming investments), or be simple artistic collaborations, mostly engaging smaller countries that cannot afford to participate financially, but which can provide quality infrastructures locally. These latter cases are not the majority of what is counted as co-productions and are based on clearly strategical partnerships. Official co-productions are however different, as even though the strategical aspect needs to be kept in mind, one has to be convinced about a project and its content, its potential and feasibility, when there is no obvious profit to provide motivation.

The share that co-productions represent is sufficiently important for the question regarding their impact on the film sector to be addressed. Co-productions enable easier circulation within the partners' countries, which means a larger diffusion which could thus be planned ahead by selecting the partners. Co-producing has been practiced for longtime already, but the difference now is the higher costs which make co-productions essential for some countries to produce their films, but also to access the global market to be profitable.

The analysis carried out at the Nordic level confirmed firstly the increase in co-productions in the five countries, which was slightly higher to the general increase of production. If at the beginning of the 1990s countries such as Finland, Denmark, and Norway still produced films some years with a purely national budget, a few years later only a part of film production could rely on such support. In Iceland, an extreme openness to foreign investments was observed with all the projects being carried out with foreign partners in 1991, 1994, and 1996. This situation was principally attributed to the fact that television has never been a strong player in film production, unlike in most other countries. This pushed producers to more frequently look for forms of partnerships abroad. With the later focus on Nordic cinematographies and the success of a few Icelandic films on the international scene, the industry was then able to produce films with exclusive national support. In 1993, Norway produced all of its films with foreign co-producers. However, on average, in the period from 1990 until 2013, the share of pure nationally produced films remained quite balanced: 42.5% in Norway, 47.1% in Iceland, 53% in Sweden, 55.2% in Denmark, and 59.5% in Finland.

Films produced as co-productions clearly relied on more diverse partners and more specifically due to the incentive of European programs' participation, especially from the 2000s. If the priority has always been in favor of Nordic partners, a clear tendency to have more European co-producers was noticed. The Nordic countries indeed settled specific organizations to organize and support, among others, the field of cinema in their territories (among others, the Nordic Council, created in 1952, and the Nordisk TV and Film Fund, created in 1990). Denmark and Sweden are still the main partners for co-production in the region,

followed at the European level by Germany, France, and the UK, depending on the country of origin of the project. The Europeanization of partnerships is clearly assessed in terms of number of partners but also in terms of diversity. In Iceland, more European partners were observed from 2000. Similarly, in Finland, from the beginning of the 2000s, more European and US-like partners (US, Canada, Australia, and New-Zealand) were noticed even if only to a small extent for this last group. The recurrence of the three main European partners was also more noticeable in Norway from the end of the 1990s, and from the mid-1990s for the other partners. Denmark and Sweden do not show the same profiles, as their long-lasting and strong position in the field of cinema is shown in the figures by more homogeneous and regular partnerships over time. If the impact of the EU programs cannot be quantitatively proved, it is noteworthy to underline the obvious implication of Eastern countries in co-productions at the Nordic level from the 2000s on, following their entry into the EU and their adherence to the specific programs for cinema. The European schemes created for cinema at the end of the 1980s and the admission of the former Eastern European countries into the EU in the 2000s clearly shows the impact of those schemes on the general orientation of partnerships.

The results also emphasized that of the five countries, the smallest productive ones tend to diversify their sources of financing more often than their bigger neighbors. Firstly, they try to cope with the increasing production costs by mutualizing the financing; secondly, they try to be more open to the international market by ensuring some additional territories for distribution by co-producing (which is facilitated by their level of English, which is above the European average level); and finally, they also need to be more extroverted as co-productions are seen as compulsory to sustain a national production in most of them, and they need to have professionals active as well on projects other than only national ones all year round.

The diversity that the five Nordic countries represent in terms of the history of cinema, industry, territory, and approach can easily be considered as a microcosm of what is happening at large in Europe in the field, and we can with no risk speculate on the fact that this Europeanisation of partnerships is happening in the very same way in the other territories.

#### **5.4 The difficulty of defining films as national and the ambiguous role of European schemes (article IV)**

Most publications concerning nationality in the field of cinema have dealt with the definition of a national cinema. The manner to define a film as national is however a slightly different question. It consists of applying specific criteria to a film to endow it with a nationality; that is to say a precise belonging to a country that it will represent and stand for, and from which it will also benefit from the supporting schemes and systems. Despite the fact that this attribution of a

nationality is central to the organization of the whole sector, the question has never really been raised by professionals and policy makers especially when issues around some titles occurred and when difficulties appear for example when compiling statistics. The role of supra-national organizations, and especially European bodies, is particularly debatable in this context, since they officially encourage countries to work together and co-produce their films internationally, which, thus, blurs somewhat the link of films to a unique nation.

### *Films as national*

Defining a film's nationality is a complicated question. To define precisely what is a nationality we have to return to the very concept of nation on which the term is based. This concept, as we have seen, proved to be easily shaken as it only dates back to the eighteenth century and is qualified as a construction and a utopian form of gatherings -despite the fact that in practice, it nonetheless orders today's society.

Nations are today being disrupted by a world that has become increasingly multicultural, transnational, and ruled by supra-national organizations that challenge the unity nation-states were built upon. National films are by definition supposed to reflect upon the national symbols, cultures, and manifold references that constitute a nation. Their link to the nation, through those elements, is however weakened by the fact that the very concept of nation is itself challenged and questioned, but also by the fact that the multiplication of co-productions supported by supra-national schemes fragilizes this immediate link that could be made to a single country through the depiction and acknowledgement of its particularities. The relation between nation/national and cinema has also gone through many different phases and has constantly been redefined under the influences of various movements and of globalization at large, especially from the end of the 1980s. Films have indeed first been defined as national before being attributed other qualifiers such as European, post-national, or hybrid, to reflect both their changing and multicultural contents but also the reality of their financing. The definition of films as national also directly reflects upon the global market and the need to be visible as national entities and to oppose larger spheres of influence. As we have seen, national cinema has often been defined in terms of opposition or relation to Hollywood (Higson, 1989; Crofts, 1993; Elsaesser, 2005). There is no doubt that the strong emphasis put on diversity and the specificities of nations in a global context is directly related to the competitive environment that the sector is submitted to, as well as to the high profit it can generate. The GATT negotiations in 1993 and the subsequent definition of cinema as "cultural exception" was a strong and symbolic step toward maintaining the sovereignty of nations upon the field.

Analyzing how the film's nationality is attributed, the results indicated that despite the discussions mentioned above, a nationality is however defined by economic criteria, which lie far beyond the idea of culture and values that the term "nationality" implies. Besides, its definition is not harmonized at the European level where states decide upon their policies. The examples of the

treatment of films with US inward investments in France and the United-Kingdom show this discrepancy: *A Very Long Engagement* (Jean-Pierre Jeunet, 2004) was defined as a US film in France, whereas *Chocolat* (Lasse Hallström, 2000), was defined as British in the United-Kingdom. The same assessment can be made through the particular example of *Certified Copy* (Abbas Kiarostami, 2010), whose French nationality was based on the fact that the French language was slightly more spoken in the film than English and Italian. Sketching a unique manner to define a film's nationality is thus a difficult mission, as different systems apply, and is all the more complicated when many different countries are working on the same project. The very principle of cooperation encourages one to find more advantages in partnerships. Local interests are the main target, and one will use the tools at one's disposal to maximize resources and to take advantage of the opportunities as a nation and as an industry.

#### *The question of co-productions*

This maximization of the potential of national films is what we can observe when looking more precisely at co-productions. Co-productions can be defined, as we have seen, in two-ways: as official and non-official. However, concretely, three kinds of co-productions can be distinguished:

- The ones regulated by bilateral, multilateral, or European agreements which constitute what is called "official co-productions". Those include financial and artistic participations by the parties. They are the ones also defined as "European" and include films by directors such as Ken Loach, Pawel Pawlikowski, Lars von Trier, Michael Haneke, and so on.
- The ones not regulated by any treaties that are "non-official" or "unofficial co-productions" and which are initiated by producers and mainly defined as primary co-financing partnerships. Those films are likely to be produced by big producing countries which aim to make US-like films to be profitable. These types of films are a small part of their overall yearly film production, often have US investments, and include films such as those by Luc Besson or different versions of *Harry Potter*.
- The ones not regulated but which are mainly defined as artistic collaborations. Those are generally not given much spotlight mainly because smaller countries cannot afford to contribute financially to a film production but can provide lots of expertise or technical means as an input. With no financial contribution, the film will however not qualify as national in the country providing the artistic or technical support.

Today, the share of official co-productions is 25% of the general film production in Europe.<sup>259</sup> The whole share of co-productions is thus higher if we include the other two ways of co-producing. If we take into account the results of the report by the European Audiovisual Observatory, we can see that co-productions are more successful than pure national films in their own market.<sup>260</sup> The report

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<sup>259</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory, Focus 2017: 14.

<sup>260</sup> Between 2010-2015, 24.2% of European co-productions accounted for 50.3% of the total admissions of European films. Yearbook 2017-2018, Key Trends: 10.

evokes five reasons for this: a possible more “cross-border” topic; a more international cast; the use of the English language; the budget, which is likely to be higher; and the access to international broadcasters and distributors.<sup>261</sup> These criteria are somewhat worrisome: indeed, the first three on the list directly deal with the content of the films and would imply a more standardized way of producing them. The film topic would not be deeply entrenched into a specific culture, the actors would be known internationally, and a global language would be used to harmonize this multicultural team and maximize the possibilities of distribution afterwards. This report puts the stress on the loss of diversity co-productions would imply.

When looking at them more precisely two trends can nonetheless be observed, which somewhat nuance these results. In “official” co-productions, also referred to, mostly, as “European”, we can see that the European culture or values are respected and displayed. Good examples are the films by Ken Loach, Pawel Pawlikowski, Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne, Pedro Almodovar, and Cristian Mungiu. Their films are conceived as co-productions but they nonetheless respect the criteria that would make them qualify as national or more largely as European (topic, language, film location, nationality of the director, and main cast). In contrast, “unofficial” co-productions include films that are conceived as big productions and endowed with all the marketing tools to be successful: their topics are directed to mainstream audiences, they cast international stars, they make use of the English language, and their budget enables them to target the market at large and have huge marketing and communication campaigns. Those films have the advantage, due to their budget and the strategical choice of partners, of being very visible. They thus hide the diversity of the other “products” offered on the market at the same time as they present themselves, with their “standardized package”, as European-based co-productions. They enter the general system of a film’s nationality definition, count on national statistics, and give visibility to a certain category of films presented as national/European internationally.

This situation emphasizes once more the division of the sector between art and industry. This internal conflict in the sector is a question that has very much been debated at the national film policy level. Higson takes the example of the United-Kingdom where

(...) from the late 1990s onwards, two issues were paramount. First, there was the tension between those who valued the film business for its economic benefits and achievements, and those who valued the cultural contribution that films made to national life. Second, there was the tension between the national and the international in an increasingly global business. On the one hand, as a Treasury spokesperson put it, tax policy was designed to ‘strengthen... the British film industry and encourag[e] the production of high quality homegrown films’. On the other hand, some in the film industry were arguing that transnational arrangements were absolutely vital to the

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<sup>261</sup> The Circulation of European Co-productions and Entirely National Films in Europe. 2008: 24-25.

financial well-being of film productions, and that film content needed to look beyond national boundaries if films were to be marketable and profitable in global markets.<sup>262</sup>

We can still observe this situation some 30 years later, but with perhaps higher discrepancies. Talking of a national cinema or of the definition of films as purely national is thus not coherent in this context anymore. First, topics are influenced by the multicultural societies we live in and include different issues that are not specifically linked to the nation as it used to be defined in the past. Then co-productions may also orientate the topic and the whole setting of the film, which means that its references will most probably not be as easily traceable. Then the financing system with mixed sources also brings confusion, all the more as this criterion is the one taken on to define the final film's nationality. Last but not least, the crew is often multicultural and may contribute to a wider vision of the film content and of the technical practices. Qualifying a film as national does not thus always match its content and what it represents. In that sense it reflects upon the diverse society we live in, on the complexity of the financing of cultural industries, on the importance for nations to sustain a national film industry and perpetuate the image of the nation – to “perform” citizens' identities but also to maintain the economy of the sector –, and on the importance for some of them to generate profit abroad and to also attain a certain prestige by being present on the international film sphere.

#### *The role of European bodies and programs*

The European bodies made cinema one of the pillars of their action in the field of culture, especially due to the threat identified by globalization (or rather Americanization) upon cinema, but also nowadays because of the challenge that the digital world represents. The roles of the EU through its program Creative Europe-MEDIA and of the Council of Europe through its program Eurimages can nonetheless be questioned with regard to their contribution to diversity and to the promotion of national cultures due to their contribution to the evasiveness of the concept of nationality in the film sector.

Principally co-production, distribution, and promotion have been supported by those programs for more than 30 years with the aim to make nations understand each other better and to favor diversity. As such, they answered their difficulties with regard to film circulation and film production by implementing programs that were to help overtake the fragmentation of the market. Central to these schemes is the collaboration between the different countries at the co-production level and the idea of recognition of a film as national in each co-producer's territory. This last measure is as we have seen part of the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production and aims to facilitate the access of films to the market at the same time as they can benefit from the local incentives of the markets in which they are distributed. As co-productions increase, the number of films benefiting from this scheme increases, thus, multiplying the number of films having multiple nationalities. Besides, co-

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<sup>262</sup> 2010: 65.



productions still hint to the fact that contents can end up more standardized so as to better fit the requirements of the programs and to find more easily partners in the other territories. The topic, the actors, and the use of the English language are the main elements of a film that would be diverted from their national roots to answer the needs of easier production and easier distribution internationally.

European bodies indeed theoretically aim to protect diversity, and their discourse focuses on the importance and the opportunity that the plurality of European nations and cultures represent for humanity. However, in practice, the programs they implement pose a double problem: firstly, they foster joint projects through co-productions, which, as we have just seen may make films evolve toward more standardized contents; secondly, they also enable, in this frame, to apply indifferently the nationality of each co-producer to a film. To recognize as national a co-production in each producer's territory is problematic as we have seen in the third article about the internationalization of co-productions in the Nordic countries, where the films were counted as national in each partner's territory. This "technical" aspect of co-productions also drives one to consider the possibility of "artificial partnerships": partners would be strategically chosen on the basis that they are eligible for their local support schemes, and secondly, to ensure the distribution in their territories. These projects, to be attractive to different producers, may have their topics standardized and their cultural characteristics minimized.

If the involvement of the European bodies in co-productions indeed facilitates the setting up of collaborations, it does not obviously mean that a specific national identity or the European values will be displayed or highlighted. The third article clearly shows that co-productions underline the inner dichotomy of the sector by being at the edge of both art (mostly "official" co-productions) and industry (mostly "unofficial"). Co-productions lead one to think of the film sector as an industry. Cinema, as a cultural industry, cannot "escape" being dependent on it and must adapt to the challenges of globalization. The whole economy of the sector is based on the success of films –at the box-office - which is linked to the international sales and the audience that the film will meet nationally and especially internationally. The results of the investigation however clearly underlined two main film categories:

- Films that are initiated nationally and grounded on local problematics and themes, which seek for co-production to secure their financing and ensure a minimum distribution. Those films are clearly identified as European and can benefit from the different support schemes in place nationally and at the European level. They are the ones defined as "official co-productions". A sub-part of this category concerns the "strategic co-productions", which are a small part of this group, and not officially identified as such.
- Films that are conceived for a larger audience, that have mainstream contents, and that are provided with all the marketing tools to be visible and successful on a large international scale. Those films, qualified as

“unofficial co-productions”, are co-produced between big production companies and are more kin to blockbusters.

The programs implemented by European bodies participate in the financing of the first type of co-productions and cannot, in that sense, be directly accused of more homogeneity in the film sector. However, part of these films can, as we have just evoked, be built up artificially as co-productions to access the associated resources. They may have more mainstream topics and a wider reach due to not being too entrenched in a specific national context. Moreover, the fact a co-production can be recognized as national in each partner’s territory adds a complication and a real challenge as per the definition of films as national. Moreover, the definition of a film’s nationality based only on the financing is supported by co-production agreements at the European level and thus contributes to blurring its perception even more. Indirectly through these two aspects European bodies can be held responsible for a certain standardization of the field.

Defining a film’s nationality is in this context a complicated question. Especially co-productions sometimes contribute to the ambiguity, if not the inaccuracy, of the term “national”, when applied to films. Co-productions vary greatly and include different types of gatherings and collaborations, which contribute to the general confused vision and definition of what is national in films. Nationality in this sense may appear as a convenient technical tool that enables to access financial support and schemes, but it does not obviously always link a film’s content to a specific nationality.

The different approaches investigated in the articles of this dissertation underline the increased homogeneity in the field of cinema: more European films are shot in English, especially in small countries; the programming of big cinema venues is standardized; and more cross-border and international partnerships are concluded (in co-productions), which although sometimes making a film’s production easier, sometimes lead a film’s content to be more general, which leads to a more complicated task when defining a film’s nationality or identity in general and thus brings about a disconnection between European policies’ goals and what can be concretely observed.

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this dissertation was to assess whether we can observe more homogeneity or standardization in the field of cinema through the influence of globalization. Clear trends were to be analyzed so as to evaluate this possible orientation. Cinema was defined as a central art form when discussing the question of globalization because of its close connection to the market and to the symbolic power of images today but also because of its strong dependency to the term “national” which rules and organizes the sector. In this context, diversity was claimed as an argument to protect national cinemas, but the belonging of cinema to both spheres of art and industry makes a clear and unique position toward this art form difficult, maybe even impossible.

To investigate this issue, the following research questions were addressed:

- Can we observe more standardization and/or homogenization in the field over the last decades due to the influence of globalization?
- Is it still accurate to qualify films as “national” in today’s Europe?
- What is the role the European institutions and how pertinent is their action in favor of diversity?

### 6.1 Is cinema becoming more homogeneous today?

This wide and controversial question has been addressed in the four articles to different extents. Based on their conclusions, we can indeed conclude on a partial homogenization of the film sector with, on the one hand, some films that are produced in a more standardized manner and, on the other hand, a film offer that is not as diversified as it could be. Nuances have of course also to be added in regard to these remarks.

Firstly, results show a clear orientation of productions toward more films in English. This trend is visible in all nine countries that were investigated (big and small productive countries). The situation is however more problematic in small countries which, proportionally to their yearly level of production, tend to

resort more often to English to coproduce more easily and to facilitate the circulation of films on the international market. The use of a non-national language in films is in contradiction with the idea of diversity and the promotion of the richness of nations. As we have seen, languages are a key component of the definition of identities and cultures. It is one of the first elements that can be determined as belonging to a nation and what also makes a country different and closed to others. Using another language than the national one is a clear renunciation of one of the key national components that should be displayed in films. The scope of these remarks should however be nuanced: most of the films resorting to the English language in their narrative are co-productions, yet co-productions account for 25% of the total number of films produced today in Europe. This means that the proportion of films shot in English remains small compared to the general volume of films and even of co-productions. What is nonetheless noteworthy is the fact that small productive countries proportionally use English more than their big neighbors, which is meaningful with respect to the small number of films they produce every year. Small countries' films in English usually have among their highest film production budgets but are however neither as financially supported as their big neighbors' blockbusters to be really considered competitive on the international market, nor endowed with the same selling features which consequently means the films are not guaranteed success in terms of audience numbers and box-office receipts (see for example *I am Dina* by Ole Bornedal, 2002, a co-production between Norway, Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden which despite its budget of almost €18 million,<sup>263</sup> the use of English language, and international cast only gathered a total of 700,531 admissions most of which were in Norway and Denmark<sup>264</sup>). Big countries can differentiate their production and have films responding to the global market and endowed with the specific marketing tools whilst at the same time as preserving an art-house national film production. Small countries, however, due to the limited number of films they produce per year, see the share of their films in English occupy a much greater and more visible proportion of their overall production. As they are endowed with larger budgets and include more countries in the making of the film, co-productions are also more visible on the market. Among them, films in English are all the more noticeable as they are conceived to reach larger audiences by resorting to a global language and endowed with the matching promoting tools. Their accentuated visibility compared to other titles (100% national and other co-productions) thus contributes to a plain vision and an understanding of what national and European films can be in Europe despite the fact that they represent a quite small share of the total film production at the European and national levels. The increasing number of co-productions in the last decades and the necessity for many of them to be shot in English to facilitate teamwork and to recoup their

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<sup>263</sup> Its DKK 135 million budget made this film one of the most expensive productions ever shot in Norway and in the Nordic countries at that time. Sundholm, Thorsen, Andersson, Hedling, Iversen, and Thor Møller, 2012: 85.

<sup>264</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory, 2008: 34.

costs by being more easily distributed could however develop toward a more significant generalization of English language in European films in the future.

In parallel to this assessment, the analysis of the concept of nationality arrived at similar results when concerning co-productions. As we have seen, co-productions blur the definition of what is national by having the nationality of each of the co-producers involved in the project, but also by being more visible on the international market. The definition of what is a national film, based on the financing, is part of the difficulty in understanding what really means “national” in cinema, and all the more as the very concept of “national” itself was constructed purposefully around cultural characteristics. The ambiguity of the terminology lays in the use of an already questioned and multi-referenced concept whose application is thus all the more challenged when dealing with films. Once again, the results have to be nuanced as not all co-productions participate the same way in the vagueness of the terminology in the field. Official co-productions we have seen, generally make use of the schemes provided at the European level to increase the potential of projects initiated nationally. These co-productions benefit from local supporting schemes and can be defined as national in the co-producers’ territories at the same time as they promote or represent the nation they are originally from, as we have seen with the examples of Ken Loach, Jean-Pierre, and Luc Dardenne, among others. Nonetheless, the ones benefiting from the highest visibility are the ones that are conceived as standardized films for the global market and that are largely exhibited as national or as European internationally. They provide a plain vision of what is European or national, and in that sense contribute to the vision of a homogenous creative sector at the European and international levels. This situation goes against the idea of diversity and underlines the inner dichotomy of the sector divided into art and industry. Co-productions lead to seeing the film sector as an industry, and if some films are respecting the objectives of public film policies, unofficial co-productions through their wide visibility offer a standardized image that is generalized to the whole production sector, which thus contributes again to a homogenous idea of what the sector is.

The third analysis concerned the internationalization of co-productions in the Nordic countries. Results show that even though the general level of production increased in the five countries, the level of co-productions proportionally tends to be higher. If the priority has always been on Nordic partners, a clear tendency to have more diversified European co-producers is also noticed. The European schemes created for cinema at the end of the 1980s and the admission of Eastern European countries into the EU in the 2000s clearly prove the impact of those programs on the general orientation of partnerships. The development of co-productions toward more diverse collaborations is however two-sided: they can be considered positive, insofar as they prove the openness of the Nordic countries to other markets and their flexibility in terms of partnerships, but they can also be problematic as per the content of the films directed within this frame. As we have seen, co-productions are doing better abroad than totally national films principally because of their more mainstream

topic, their international cast, and the use of English language. When co-producing at Nordic level, those concessions in terms of content can be somewhat minimized as the five countries share many similarities in their cultures, languages, environment, and even systems at large. Co-producing with more diverse and remote countries leads to making more concessions on key cultural elements that may not have been approached the same on the basis of a more local project. If the increase in co-productions and in the diversity of partners can be considered at first sight a mark of diversity, in actual fact it concretely represents a risk of more standardized films aimed to satisfy all the co-producers and to be more easily distributed in their respective markets and internationally. What the results also emphasize is that small productive countries tend to diversify their sources of financing more, which is a fact that can be observed in general in all small markets that wish to sustain their domestic production. This observation is also questionable when dealing with diversity as small countries are more exposed and fragile regarding the visibility of their national features. The possibilities of displaying their national characteristics are limited on the domestic market because of their very size and even more restricted in general as their participation in the global market includes a potential smoothening of their national characteristics. The observed internationalization of co-productions is thus participating in a potentially more homogenous national cinema as well.

Finally, the last study concerned another part of the sector: the offer in the cinemas. Despite the fact that the results of this analysis should not be completely generalized based on a single-case multiplex in France, the importance these venues represent in the country in terms of admissions and box-office returns and the similar programming they show as part of big cinema chains can lead to some clear overall conclusions. In 2018, multiplexes in France represented 11.1% of the cinemas and 43.1% of the total number of screens.<sup>265</sup> Whereas Paris and other big cities have also art-house cinemas, this is not the case countrywide where big venues can more easily pull in large audiences and especially youngsters. The analysis of the programming of the 12-screens multiplex Pathé, located in Conflans Sainte Honorine, concluded that there is a very homogeneous and limited diversity as per the genres of films offered as well as per the number of nationalities represented. The opening of three more screens a few years after its construction and the fact that films' rotation is more and more used in practice in such multi-screen venues did not change the offer in terms of diversity, but on the contrary it emphasized a mainstream programming around a few genres and nationalities. A standard programming directed to a mass audience is usually the target of such venues, which do not make profit on diversity. On the contrary, they provide the audience with mainstream films, without taking any risk in terms of box-office takings. These considerations should raise awareness as per the impoverishment of contents which are shown, the visibility of mass products on the screens, and of course the evolution of the field, especially for young people, toward a more standardized offer. Young people mainly attend

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<sup>265</sup> CNC, 2019a, Bilan 2018: 82.

screenings in such venues and are not exposed to other offers than the limited ones, which thus creates a potentially even-more standardized demand for the future.

The overall conclusion of these analyzes emphasizes the homogenization of the film sector: English is more commonly used in countries' films production where it is not the national language; co-productions, by bringing together different international partners contribute to more standardized contents; co-productions are indifferently defined as national in all co-producers' territories according to the European Convention, which sets their guidelines. The absence of diversity as well in the offer of multiplexes leads to the conclusion that the sector is becoming more mainstream in general. Nuances should however be brought to this assessment. The study on the question of nationality showed that the films which are the most visible are the co-productions conceived as blockbusters. They nonetheless co-exist on the market with other co-productions, supported by national and/or European schemes, and pure national films which are both supposed to represent local values and history and are considered to reflect the nations and the diversity of the sector. Those co-production schemes allow setting projects at the European level that would have been more difficult or even impossible to set nationally. It also gives them more opportunities to be exported and to circulate, even if one of the pitfalls might be the more "transnational" conception of these projects, which would not be so entrenched into a specific cultural reality and so would be more attractive to other coproducers and to the audience out of the domestic market. The main difference between these films and the blockbusters remains the scale of their visibility: due to big budget co-productions being more visible, it gives the general impression that films are becoming more homogeneous, which partly conveys the reality of the situation. The general homogenization of the field can thus be put into perspective, even if the main trend underlines that the sector is going in that direction. The division of the sector with two antinomic remits is again here underlined, with an even clearer gap between the two conceptions of cinema, as an art and as an industry.

Globalization and its link to the international market is said to contribute to the homogenization of national cultures. Cinema, as a cultural industry, is particularly at stake as it totally depends on the market to be profitable and visible, which thus induces a possible smoothing of national characteristics to more easily comply with the requirements of this market and the demand. As a response, states and European bodies use the argument of diversity and the importance of its upholding as a defense against this pervasive global trend. The effect of such a threat drove to put more stress than ever on the "national" and the diversity of national cultures to be preserved. The global context thus led to a reshaping of identities and cultures within the nation-state and a higher need to display them and be visible to justify the diversity argument pushed forwards. A much more multicultural and plural society was thus defined. As Hedetoft says:

Both within and outside Europe nation-states and identity structures are being reformed by forces of globalization which make them into reactors to transnational processes more than the shapers of those processes, and in the same vein make nation-states and national/cultural identities into defensive, dependent bastions of communication, organization and 'domesticity'.<sup>266</sup>

Indeed, changes carried out by globalization are neither foreseen nor predictable. Their consequences are not controlled and as such nations and their related identities have to adapt and fit into the new order. National marks are challenged and so are national cultures, especially cultural industries that follow the market changes and are becoming borderless due to the easiness for films to cross borders and the international audiences' access possibilities to foreign and different contents. Our results concluded on a partially more standardized film production and film offer, together with the idea of a more complicated task to define films as belonging to a specific nation through the qualifying concept of national. This move toward more homogeneity is considered a threat, and even if it is not really quantified so far by policy makers at the national and European levels, the awareness of this issue contributes to the defensive and protective approach of the field and a possibility, still, to maintain a real diversity in cinema. The example of cinema in the global context is a key to the understanding of the international balance of powers and what is at stake. Cinema embodies the paradox of Europe and nations as it is, on the one hand, focused internationally, receptive to global flows, and adapting its content and discourse to worldwide audiences and trends, as it longs for recognition and success on the global market. On the other hand, as a reaction to this possible loss of "nationality", it emphasizes the role of the nation, national identities, and their promotion through culture and cinema. This situation somewhat empowers the nation through cinema. This is what we can see in the example given by Blomgren of the EU's impact on regional funds for cinema in Sweden. In film activities, it enabled regional funds (Film I Väst and Filmpod Nord) to offer extra-financing to producers coming to film in their region. Thanks to the EU, regions started to play a key role in the national film production at the same time as invigorating decentralized areas. This became so institutionalized that Blomgren states that nowadays, "*It is almost impossible to produce films in Sweden without having support from the regional centers*".<sup>267</sup> Globalization in fact redefines nations as commercial entities and obliges them to be competitive and reactive in the field of culture and built up common strategies so as to maintain their national production for their local audience and to keep existing in a market that is more and more challenging and international.

Our analysis meets the same conclusion as Bonet and Négrier<sup>268</sup> when questioning whether cultural diversity means the end of national cultures. Their approach aimed to analyze whether diversity within the nation did not go, as an inward force, against the national culture when our approach consisted of

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<sup>266</sup> 1999: 89.

<sup>267</sup> 2008: 10.

<sup>268</sup> 2008.



assessing the influence of globalization, as an outward force, on the singularity of nations perceived as monocultural entities. Those two approaches, although at first sight being opposite to one another, are however complementary. The ambivalence of globalization indeed creates an antagonism at the national level. Nations are submitted to two forces: from inside, with populations that are more diverse, due to cross-border fluxes, exchanges, and a sort of permeability to products and messages linked to “supranational” media, and from outside, with a standardized form of thinking driven by globalization and considered as a norm. The nation is thus the meeting point of those antagonist forces which both, in their own way, upset its unity and stability. As a reaction, diversity is enhanced at the international and consequently national levels to block the slide toward homogenization and counter the omnipresence of American products in European territories, which are said to be carried out by globalization. Globalization makes plurality legitimate and accessible everywhere, and at the same time it promotes dominant powerful cultures. Facing this threat the national culture is reinforced and redefined as a new way to maintain and strengthen national identities, notably through language and its associated policies. Both the concept of “globalization” followed by the concept of “cultural diversity” led to a revival of the discussion about national culture and its promotion, thus strengthening nations in a global context.

## **6.2 Is it still accurate to qualify films as national in today’s global context?**

The results of the study on the term “national” concluded with the fact that nationality is applied to films as a convenient manner to organize the sector and to symbolically display the nation. The financing criteria are at the basis of this definition whereas the notion of “national” itself induces a specific cultural or identity content. As we have observed, under the qualifying adjective “national”, films are expected to show something constitutive of the nation, something that is defined within the frame of the nation-state as “belonging” to the nation. What could reflect upon this content in films is linked to the topic, the actors, the language spoken, and the landscape, as many elements that are more and more disconnected from their national roots in today’s film world, and especially when dealing with co-productions. Co-productions indeed create a context in which the cultural discount has often to be minimized, where a common language has to be spoken, and where technically, to follow the rules of the co-production agreement, all countries should artistically participate, be it by providing actors or technicians, the shooting location, or the place of post-production. In this context, the criterion of nationality can be said to be mechanically applied to keep the sector organized and to give the nations attributes to exhibit on the international scene.

Moreover, if we look more precisely at what concretely represents the nation in films – even in pure national films – the elements that should be taken into account are not clear-cut. We mentioned the topic, the language, the actors, and the landscape, but it depends, on the one hand, on the imaginary one has of the nation and which referents are considered as national, and also, on the other hand, on what the film is about, how it displays nationally-embedded elements, and how entrenched also they are in the national imaginary. The perception one has of “national” can thus be very subjective, and the perceived nationality by the audience may not be linked to the referents in place in the film. National cinema has a “cultural history” and follows the thoughts and problems of the moment. Even watched retrospectively, films are inscribed into a context (social, cultural and so on) that is not always the case for films produced for the largest audience, which are denationalized, decontextualized, and with no clear cultural or geographical references.

Globalization pushes to maintain the definition of the field as national. Indeed, the defense against its homogenizing effect, and more specifically against the Americanization of the sector, takes the shape of a mission for the protection of diversity. Diversity is first embodied by the variety of the nationalities represented, be it in festivals, in the cinema theatres’ programming, and in the market shares of different countries. The appreciation of the richness of programming and of the “openness” of the selection is first quantified according to this criterion. Giving up on the term of nationality would lead to a collapse of the system in place and a threatening exposure to the American products and their influence, thus depriving the nation-states from the huge benefits of the sector, from a window to its own culture to provide the local audience with, and from a prestigious and symbolic art to display them as sovereign and powerful nations in the eyes of the world. Even if not obviously matching the symbolic representation of the nation, the term “nationality” in films gets its legitimacy by the framing of the field it creates for the nation-state system to be perpetuated.

An alternative that could be contemplated for the term “national” could be the term “country of origin” to qualify the relation a film has to a country. This term, not connected to any cultural or identity reference sources, evokes a factual situation which is actually fully pertinent and legitimate to refer to. This qualifying term would besides be much more appropriate when talking about co-productions and the country from where the initial idea came.

Clearly defining the role and impact of globalization in such a context is difficult as it is not materialized through a territory and specific physical entities that could be identified as orchestrating the changes or accused of causing more homogeneity – hence the usual assimilation at the European level of globalization to Americanization. Globalization is a concept that comes to gather and identify a set of situations on the market and in everyday life, but which is not defined in terms of identity, territory, or concrete elements unlike nations. It is claimed to bring more homogenization to the sector and to the field of culture in general. Its position is however highly paradoxical: it makes more diverse products available as theoretically everyone can participate in the global sphere and market, yet at

the same time it also leads to a clear domination by the most powerful countries; more precisely, by the widespread American culture. Its impact is thus two-fold: positive, as it provides markets with a large number of cultural contents, be they international or promoting a main power, and negative, as the US industry can easily dominate this sphere. Globalization enables goods to circulate without borders, more quickly, and simply and national cultures to potentially become known better. This creates an anarchical sphere that is not monitored by any specific organization but the global economy.

Films are at the center of these global tides as they embody modernity and technical performance. Film policies, even if they are defined at a national level, have to adapt to the new order that is more and more international and competitive. Since globalization has an influence on culture, which is the very basis of the nation-state, nations and the definition of what is national are thus also influenced and threatened. The realization of this threat and the need to make nations stronger and more visible led to a rethinking of the “national”, and also therefore a revival of the nation. The thought of facing a homogeneous culture, spreading all over the world, led to rethinking national policies and to focusing on ways to vividly maintain the national creation and to promote it locally, and possibly internationally, through cinema, which is a key sector in the global context. This promotion was mostly done through discursive practices and techniques so as to keep the national concept strong, when in parallel, a drift toward more homogenization could be noticed and the pertinence of the concept could be questioned. The concept of nationality is in this context crucial and would not be given up for any other term, even if such a term were more appropriate to qualify it. It is too highly symbolical in the general defense of diversity and of the nations which compose it. If Europeanization and globalization are considered a threat for nation-states, it does not concretely “materialize” locally. It in fact redefines societies as multicultural and revitalized, leading the states and their policies to adapt and interfere with the new environment. Globalization in this respect motivates a redefinition of national identities or cultures, putting much more stress on the local, the regional, and the national. In that sense, it adds but one more step to a field that was already considered under the perspective of larger spheres such as Nordic, European, and transnational and that managed to co-exist with a resilient national definition of films.

### **6.3 Do European programs favor diversity or homogeneity?**

If film policies defined at the national level frame the national film production and the general organization of the sector nationally, European bodies intervene in the field on a supranational basis by implementing programs that all European countries can join. Those programs are however ambiguous in regard to their concrete relation to diversity and paradoxically interfere in practice with the discourse on the diversity of films.

First of all, the programs implemented do not highlight specific national cultures. They instead rather participate in the mixed perception of what could be a national film and in the blurring of the concept of nationality because of two main factors: firstly, most of them (Eurimages and different MEDIA calls) concern production and project development which contribute to a higher number of co-productions at the European level, which often put strong national features aside in order to make their products more international. Secondly, they enable co-productions to be recognized as national in each co-producer's territory, thus disconnecting films from a specific national identity.

Co-productions, as we have seen, are two-sided: on the one hand, they enable films that start from a local initiative to be directed more easily and with more resources. On the other hand, they attract film projects which are conceived as standardized products to better adapt to all markets. Those films, which can be due to a European local initiative or conducted by independent companies, are often made in English, have cross-border plots minimizing entrenched cultural references, international casts, and non-specific geographical locations. In all cases, the co-producers can apply their nationality to the film. In the first case, when the films are locally embedded (for example the films by Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne, Pedro Almodovar, Cristian Mungiu, Ken Loach, etc), giving another nationality to the film than the one of its directors may seem unsuitable. In the second case, where national references are erased or minimized, this will not have a real impact on its perception as originating from one country or another; this mixes official co-productions strategically conceived to answer European programs together with unofficial co-productions. Unofficial co-productions gather films which target the market and are provided with all the marketing facilities to be successful. They are not embedded into any specific culture and rather follow a standardized way of producing films which would guarantee a better distribution and success. The main issue concerning these films is that they are immediately visible on the market. They thus contribute to the general overview of a cinema production becoming more standardized. The question of visibility is a symptomatic aspect of the ambivalence of the sector: unofficial co-productions, conceived as industrial products, can afford large promotions and communication campaigns, whereas smaller official co-productions, even if supported by European funding, belong to the art-house film category and do not have the same promotional possibilities to ensure such visibility.

The question of visibility is all the more important as the whole economy of the sector is based on the success of films - their box-office and thus their admissions- which are totally linked to the international sales and the public the film will meet abroad. As we have seen, in 2017, and for the fourth time in 6 years, French films registered more admissions abroad than in their national market.<sup>269</sup> This stresses the importance of the circulation of films in the global market and the need to make films visible internationally to be profitable. Visibility has been an underlying argument in most of the issues tackled in this dissertation's articles.

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<sup>269</sup> UNIFRANCE. Chiffres à l'international, 2018.

It is on the one hand considered a criterion of quality (see the number of film posters which state the different festivals the film has been selected in) and an increased possibility of profit on the other hand. Co-productions help to reach this goal more easily since such a film will most probably be released not only in the co-producers' territories, but also on other markets. Visibility is in all those cases a catalyst for the actions that are taken, whether they concern the content of films (the use of English language) or their very structure (the internationalization of co-productions). The increased exposure given by the larger circulation in the international market is given as an argument and justification for those choices. Visibility is also what is at stake when defining a film nationality. It is a source of prestige and of recognition for a nation which thus displays itself through a prominent and modern art-form. In that sense festivals play a crucial role.<sup>270</sup> Films help nations to maintain their integrity as specific cultural entities both on the national and on the international markets, to edict canons or models of nationalism, and to promote *in fine* their image by showing a positive and specific aspect of their reality (be it objective or not). Films can be in that sense considered as an instrument of "soft power"<sup>271</sup> or of "cultural diplomacy"<sup>272</sup> as they intend to convey a positive image of a country and give a position to a specific nation within the world system at large.

The position of European bodies is not clear-cut in this context: they indeed facilitate the setting up of nationally entrenched film projects by supporting financially their production and by making easier their distribution and higher their visibility. But at the same time, some films, to access the support mechanisms and to be more trans-border, are conceived in a more standardized manner and with strategical partnerships which also give them more visibility in the same way unofficial co-productions are constructed. Moreover, the definition of nationality, based on the financing and the partners in co-production, contribute to a general blurring of what is national and rather work for the definition of a European cinematography at large, which thus does not highlight any national specificities. Consequently, if European bodies aim to enhance diversity through incentives for film creation and circulation, they are in fact contributing to a partial standardization of the contents and do not favor, through these programs, the mutual knowledge of each nation's culture, which was defined at first as the aim of the EU and the reason which would justify their action. Their role in favor of diversity is thus debatable.

However, the level of the impact of European programs on the film sector has to, as we have seen, be put into perspective. Of the yearly film production in Europe 75% is defined as being completely national. We can assume that those films are in line with what would stand as a definition of "national", or at least of what is expected to be national by film policy bodies. Unofficial co-productions, since they do not enter the frame of official treaties and schemes, are not listed in

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<sup>270</sup> See Czach, 2004 and Yoshimoto, in Vitali and Willemsen, 2006, about the contribution of festivals to the definition of specific canons and models of national films.

<sup>271</sup> See Nye, 2004; Nye and Landman Goldsmith, 2011; Dagnaud, 2011; Koichi, 2015.

<sup>272</sup> See Ang, Isar, and Mar, 2015; Koichi, 2015; Hurn, 2016.

the remaining 25% but are instead included in the overall 75%. However, since they represent co-financing for big budget productions, their number cannot be expected to be really high. Besides, they only concern big productive countries, which list them in the overall national statistics as part of the majority co-productions (the ideas of co-financing and co-producing are not distinguished). The 25% left concern official co-productions, which are not all conducted with EU support but which can also be ruled by bilateral or multilateral agreements. The data concerning the share of co-productions conducted at bilateral or multilateral levels are not precisely available, but when considering the number of partnerships officially in place between European countries and non-European ones, this share can be expected to be significant. The percentage of films conducted with EU support is thus minimal. Among them, some will benefit from the advantages of the system, without giving up their national characteristics, whereas others will be more strategically built to benefit those schemes and to be to some extent profitable. Those films could be assimilated into unofficial co-productions with their intention to make a profit but reduced to a much smaller-scale due to the limited investment they are originally provided with. The co-financing would thus be disguised under the cover of a European film project.

The distribution and exhibition of films are also partially escaping the scope of the European programs. Those sectors have not been tackled precisely in the dissertation but reflect upon the same situation: big distribution companies and cinema chains are indeed not concerned nor influenced by EU measures, whereas they hold a key position in the market.<sup>273</sup> The EU is thus “limited” there also to smaller companies and art-house cinemas which account for a small proportion of the business when it comes to market shares, attendance, and box-office receipts. If the action of the EU is somewhat restricted in that sense, it does not erase the fact that its presence in the film sector is duly acknowledged and trusted by small and/or independent film businesses, whose working capital is highly dependent on the EU’s financing.

This more comprehensive insight into the scope that represents European projects out of the total volume of films produced in Europe is quite enlightening. The margin by which Europe can have an influence is indeed in practice limited to not even one fourth of the films. Some of these films reflect on the diversity claimed in the discourse, while some are conceived on a more standardized basis, so as to have more chance of profiting on the global market. If we can argue about the status of the EU in relation to its contribution to diversity and the real impact it has on the sector at large, it is however certain that it participates in maintaining the current European art-house system. This situation once more emphasizes the division of the sector between art and industry. Even if clearly stated, this acknowledged ambivalence is not the object of specific measures and would

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<sup>273</sup> In France, where the sector and independent art-house films are among the most protected, the leading five distribution companies held 49.8% of the market shares in 2018 and cinema chains/multiplexes, which represented 43.1% of the cinema screens in the country, received 58.8% of the yearly admissions. CNC, 2019a, Bilan 2018: 51 and 82.

prove difficult to apply in practice: if the distinction could be easily made between small-budget films and blockbusters, the category named “films of the middle”, which have an average production budget,<sup>274</sup> could however sometimes be difficult to objectively classify, as the profit intention can also be the main motive for a company to settle a project even if there is a minor budget. Both types of co-productions co-exist. However, what is worth emphasizing is their higher and unbalanced visibility: if co-productions in both cases ensure more exposure, the more standardized ones (official or unofficial), put more stress on their promotion. As a consequence, this higher visibility leads to perceive co-productions as homogeneous.

The strong discursive emphasis of European bodies on their role in the sector gives the impression that their sphere of influence is much larger and that their contribution to the field is determinant. In the facts, states remain sovereign and dominant in ruling their cinematographies and in taking the more profitable options to develop their national productions and to make them visible on the international scene.

#### **6.4 Further perspectives for film policies in the future**

The objective of European structures when first getting involved in the field of film policies at the end of the 1980s was to give a jumpstart to European cinema by making it more competitive and by facilitating its cross-border circulation. Its diversity was to be protected and enhanced to oppose globalization and more precisely the Americanization of the audiovisual sector at large. If this argument stood in the 1980s onwards, we can notice today that the limits of this system lay in the fact that those programs have not been fundamentally revised since they were implemented and that the objectives remain the same, despite their regular renewals. Those programs are often criticized as not fighting for the interests of the sector and as not answering the true concerns of the professionals, even if sometimes they substantially support the field financially. They are clearly identified and form a comprehensive set of film policies at the European level which are fully part of the cinematographic landscape nowadays, especially for co-productions. But do these schemes still correspond to the needs of the sector today? Should the priority really be given to another dimension of cinema or segment of the sector? All these questions are legitimate, especially after the conclusions that were drawn from the different analyses conducted.

The evaluation of the accuracy and of the efficiency of European programs can be achieved through two main analyses: first, a clear analysis of the weaknesses of the sector could be carried out to identify what should be the priorities, and, secondly, a comparison between the goals claimed in the discourse and the results of the actions in place could be done with quantitative and qualitative tools.

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<sup>274</sup> Four million in France in 2018. CNC, 2019a, Bilan 2018: 90.

If distribution and circulation were stressed some 30 years ago as the main weaknesses of the sector, things may indeed have changed or be approached differently now. Recent changes such as the rise of film digital distribution platforms for example which have been a revolution in the sector in the last years lead to considering the questions of access and circulation differently, as well as the whole organization of the sector, which counts on new operators besides the cinema theatres for films to be viewed. The overall sphere of action of European programs should thus be clearly redefined and the weaknesses of the sector at European level precisely identified so as to answer the current concerns of the professionals facing those swift changes today. As such, new potential axes and priorities should be targeted. To identify them more precisely two main methods can be contemplated: the first would consist on an awareness of the different reports, studies, and evaluations that pinpoint some specific problematics or contradictions in the sector or have specific reports conducted by experts or professionals. The issues addressed in the present compilation aroused some remarks about the adequacy of the European programs and the threats hanging over the field in a global context. A clear investigation on how European programs address those issues, and whether they actually do, would be a first step toward forming a clearer picture of the EU's role. For example, the importance of using a national language in feature film production is rarely addressed even locally when part of a discourse focusing on diversity and the plurality of nations in a European and global context where language is crucial. The evolution of co-productions in small countries toward proportionally more films in English and more diversified partnerships is also an issue. The representation and defense of the diversity of nations go through the visibility of the different national specificities on the international scene. Access to the international market is highly competitive and all the more difficult to reach when countries are small. A standardization of the contents has been observed in those territories which have gone unnoticed so far at the national and European levels. The question we raised about the issue of nationality also proves the absence of harmonization of practices at the European level. Since this does not hinder the organization of the market and the general profit making, it has not been tackled thoroughly, whereas in a discourse engaged into diversity, the question of nationality, which is one of its fundamental elements, should be a priority. A more adequate definition, such as "country of origin", could help take a first step into the rationalization of the terminology. Finally, the question we tackled about the diversity of the offer in multiplexes is also at stake with a diversity which is not displayed in this kind of venue. They represent in France more than 43% of the screens. France is very well provided for in terms of cinema theatres and has a parallel offer of art-house cinemas that is often envied abroad. Most European countries are not as well-endowed, and the share of multiplexes in their territories is usually much higher. A specific program, Europa Cinemas, favors the diversity of European film programming in Europe, and it addresses multiplexes in countries where no other possibility to diffuse European film is



possible. Still, an evaluation on the impact of this measure on the programming of these multiplexes should be carried out to really legitimate their financing.

Another possibility to better define actions and priorities for EU programs would be to note the principal concerns in the sector, the ones reported by professionals and actors of the system, and see if and how they are reflected in European film policies. Among the often-heard issues, we can mention the desertification of cinema theatres due to the emergence of new viewing practices on mobile phones and tablets with contents provided by VOD or streaming platforms. Linked to this issue is the lack of education of young generations toward visual media and their lack of connection to the cinema venue per se. Another issue that is noteworthy is the status of the heritage or classic film, both in regard to its regulation and to its protection and diffusion. No EU program addresses the question of heritage in cinema, but reflection upon the history of European nations can be considered as a crucial basis for the understanding of each other's cultures in the European and global contexts. Even though it is partially done already, all those issues could be considered by European policy makers to more strongly address the present worries of the professionals, to anticipate future developments, and to answer the future challenges the sector will have to cope with.

Secondly, a precise evaluation of the programs in place should also be carried out. If their goal is to ensure diversity or better access of films to the markets, indicators should be put in place and studies carried out to evaluate the results and the adequacy of the schemes implemented in the sector. Those quantitative or qualitative indicators would enable us to comprehensively assess the efficiency of European programs in relation to their initial goals, to measure their impact across years, and to recommend possible further developments, thus settling the legitimacy and validity of the actions in the long-term. Likewise, any inadequacy or absence of convincing results could be corrected within a specific call or by dropping the action for another more pertinent one. For instance, the drawback we mentioned in the case of co-productions, and the fact they can call for strategical partnerships, is an issue that should be investigated (except if the aim is not a real diversity and the mutual knowledge of cultures, but the artificial inflating of figures). The idea of diversity and the way to measure it should be precisely addressed so as to be able to evaluate the impact and accuracy of the current settled actions. What is clearly defined as diversity in the field? What are the priorities in terms of diversity? Which part of the sector should be prioritized?

Those two complementary approaches addressing the precise weaknesses of the sector and evaluating the results of the programs in place in relation with their initial goals would enable us to better answer the difficulties that the field of cinema encounters today. A stronger connection of the European bodies with the professionals, a more accurate appreciation of the results of the past and current actions, and an increased ability to adapt to the fast changes in the field of cinema would position the EU as a leader in the definition of European film policies. They would also get the general endorsement of the professionals at large and of the nations, whilst at the same time more adequacy would be found

between the aims underlined in their discourses and their practices as organizations.

## YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY IN FINNISH)

Väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan kansallista elokuvaa suhteessa globalisaatioon nykypäivän Euroopassa. Siinä pohditaan elokuvien kansallista luonnetta, joka vaikuttaa koko sektorin rakentumiseen. Eurooppalaisten toimielinten roolia tarkastellaan kriittisesti tässä yhteydessä – erityisesti sitä, onko niiden Euroopan kansallisen monimuotoisuuden turvaamista korostava diskurssi linjassa niiden elokuva-alalla toteuttamien ohjelmien kanssa. Kaiken kaikkiaan pyritään tunnistamaan selkeitä kehityssuuntia, joissa näkyy ylikansallisempi tapa tuottaa ja kuluttaa elokuvia ja jotka siten johtavat monimuotoisuuden köyhtymiseen Euroopan elokuvamarkkinoilla. Globalisaation vaikutusta elokuva-alaan ja siitä seuraavaa diversiteetin puutetta tutkitaan erityisesti suhteessa amerikkalaisen filmitieteellisen dominoivaan asemaan.

Elokuvien määrittely kansallisiksi tarkoittaa, että ne heijastelevat kansoja, kansojen identiteettiä ja sitä käsitystä, joka jostakin maasta on. Tämä ”kuulumisen” tunne on erityisen merkittävää elokuva-alalla johtuen sen yhteydestä maailmanmarkkinoihin ja elokuvien kuvallisesta ilmaisuvoimasta.

Globalisaatio ja maailmantalouden ylikansallistumiskehitys vaikuttavat suoraan elokuva-alaan. Globalisaation ajatellaan vaikuttavan kielteisesti kulttuurisiin ja olevan suoraan yhteydessä eurooppalaisen elokuvan ”amerikkalaistumiseen”. Sen uskotaan lisäävän homogeenisuutta ja olevan siten uhka eri kansojen ilmaisujen monimuotoisuudelle. Tätä monimuotoisuutta suojellakseen eurooppalaiset valtiot ja instituutiot oikeutetusti toteuttavat tiettyä toimintapolitiikkaa elokuvasektorilla. Monimuotoisuus on yksi elokuva-alan ylikansallisten toimielinten päätavoitteista: Euroopan unionin MEDIA-ohjelma ja Euroopan neuvoston Eurimages-rahasto pyrkivät edistämään Euroopan maiden keskinäisiä suhteita, kumppanuuksien luomista ja eurooppalaisten elokuvien kansainvälistä levitystä, jotta maanosan kulttuuriperinteen monimuotoisuus ja rikkaus pääsisivät esille.

Elokuva-alan riippuvuus kansainvälisestä taloudesta tekee siitä haavoittuvan voidessaan johtaa uusiin yhteistyömuotoihin, minkä uskotaan vähentävän kansallisten kulttuurien monimuotoisuutta ja niiden kuvaamista. Tämä taloudellisten ja taiteellisten näkökohtien välinen ristiriita on ominaista elokuva-alalle, joka joskus joutuukin sovittamaan yhteen keskenään vastakkaisia tavoitteita.

Väitöskirja perustuu seuraaviin tutkimuskysymyksiin:

- Voidaanko elokuva-alalla havaita lisääntyntä standardisoitumista ja/tai homogeenisuutta, jonka globalisaatio on viime vuosikymmeninä aiheuttanut?
- Onko nykypäivän Euroopassa yhä oikeutettua määritellä elokuvat ”kansallisiksi”?
- Mikä on eurooppalaisten instituutioiden rooli, ja kuinka relevanttia niiden monimuotoisuutta suosiva toiminta on?

Kysymyksiin vastattiin sekä määrällisen että laadullisen aineiston pohjalta. Osassa tapauksista käytettiin lisäksi vertailevaa tutkimusta, jotta monimuotoi-

suutta voitiin tarkastella eri näkökulmista. Käsitteellisen viitekehyksen muodostivat kansa ja kansallistunne, identiteetti ja kulttuuri sekä globalisaatio ja monimuotoisuus, samoin kuin elokuva-alan kytkös osaan näistä käsitteistä.

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä julkaistusta artikkelista, jotka käsittelevät monimuotoisuuden ja homogeenisuuden suhdetta eri näkökulmista. Yhteenvedossa tutkimustulokset kootaan yhteen ja esitetään huomioita globalisaation vaikutuksista elokuva-alaan. Näitä vaikutuksia koskevaa kirjallisuutta ja tutkimusta on vähän, vaikka ne ovat yleinen keskustelunaihe. Tutkimuksessa pyritään osoittamaan nykytilanteeseen johtaneiden kehityskulkujen mahdollisia seurauksia ja mittaamaan niiden todellista vaikutusta.

Ensimmäisessä artikkelissa, *The Use of English in European Feature Films: Unity in Diversity? [Englannin käyttö eurooppalaisissa kokoillan elokuvissa: yhtenäisyyttä monimuotoisuudessa?]* tarkastellaan kriittisesti englannin maailmankieliasemasta mahdollisesti aiheutuvaa elokuvien yhdenmukaistumista. Kieli on tärkeä osa identiteettiä, ja lingua francan käyttö elokuvissa kansalliskielten sijasta merkitsisi välitöntä uhkaa monimuotoisuudelle ja kyseisten kansojen ominaispiirteille. Artikkelia varten kartoitetut yhdeksän Euroopan maata, jotka poikkeavat toisistaan maantieteelliseltä sijainniltaan ja suhteessaan elokuvateollisuuteen, ovat Espanja, Hollanti, Islanti, Kreikka, Norja, Ranska, Ruotsi, Suomi ja Tanska. Tutkimuksessa analysoitiin elokuvatuotantoa kussakin näistä maista vuodesta 1990 vuoteen 2010.

Toinen artikkeli, *Programming Strategies of a Multiplex: The Example of the Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine 2001–2013 [Elokuvateatterin ohjelmastrategiat: Pathé Conflans Sainte Honorine 2001–2013]*, analysoi Pariisin läntisessä lähiössä sijaitsevan monisaliteatterin ohjelmastrategioita. Kysymys englannista maailmankielenä liittyy elokuvan ydinsisältöön, minkä rinnalla oli tärkeää selvittää monisaliteatterien tarjoamaa todellista monimuotoisuutta. Tavoitteena oli arvioida, tarjoavatko suuret elokuvateatterit katsojille genreltään ja kansallisuudeltaan monimuotoisia elokuvia. Pathé on yksi Ranskan tärkeimmistä ja vanhimmista elokuvayhtiöistä yhdessä UGC:n, Gaumontin ja mk2:n kanssa. Tätä nimenomaista elokuvateatteria oli erityisen kiinnostavaa tarkastella myös, koska se avattiin vuonna 2001 täysin uudella alueella. Se joutui luomaan yleisönsä tyhjästä paikasta, jossa tuolloin ei ollut vastaavaa tarjontaa. Tutkimus kattaa vuodet 2001–2013. Useimpien ketjuliiketoimintaan kuuluvien monisaliteatterien ohjelmisto on oletettavasti saman tyyppistä kaikkialla Ranskassa ja yleisö pääasiassa kotimaista. Tutkimustulokset voivat täten kuvata yleisempää elokuvaohjelmiston monimuotoisuuteen liittyvää suuntausta saman tyyppisissä teattereissa ja Ranskassa yleisemmin.

Kolmas artikkeli on nimeltään *Towards an Internationalization of Co-productions in the Nordic Countries? The Impact of Europe and the Development of the Sector since the 1990s [Kohti pohjoismaisten yhteistuotantojen kansainvälistymistä? Euroopan vaikutus ja alan kehitys 1990-luvulta lähtien]*. Siinä pyritään selvittämään, ovatko globalisaatio, Pohjoismaiden ja muiden uusien maiden liittyminen EU:hun sekä osallistuminen EU:n tukihankkeisiin luoneet lisää kumppanuusmahdollisuuksia yhteistuotannoissa ja monimuotoistaneet hankkeita pohjoismaisella tasolla. Ta-

voitteena oli selvittää, näkyikö maailmanmarkkinoiden vaikutus elokuvasektoriin kansallisen elokuvatuotannon rakenteellisena laajenemisena ja voitiinko osoittaa kehitystä paikallisemmista kumppanuuksista laajempiin yhteistyömuotoihin, erityisesti Suomen ja Ruotsin liittyttyä EU:hun vuonna 1995. Yhteistuotantoja oli tärkeää tutkia myös sen vuoksi, koska niiden määrä lisääntyy Euroopassa. Keskityin Pohjoismaihin, koska suuntaus kohti kansainvälisempiä yhteistyömuotoja oli helpompi tunnistaa pienissä maissa. Lisäksi viidestä tutkitusta maasta kahdella (Ruotsi ja Tanska) oli jo ollut yhteistuotantohankkeita johtuen niiden aiemmasta merkityksestä elokuva-alalla. Norja ja Islanti EU:n ulkopuolisin maina tarjosivat myös hyviä vastaesimerkkejä muissa maissa havaituille suuntauksille.

Neljännän eli viimeisen artikkelin otsikko on *Film Nationality – the Relevance of this Concept in the Contemporary European Film Sector [Elokuvan kansallisuus: käsitteen relevanttius nyky-Euroopan elokuvasektorilla]*. Siinä pyritään selvittämään elokuvien kansallisuuteen liittyviä kysymyksiä, jotka ohjaavat koko elokuva-alaa. Tavoitteena oli analysoida, mitä kansallinen elokuvasektorilla tarkoittaa ja kuinka elokuvan kansallisuus yleensä Euroopassa määritellään. Lisäksi pyrittiin arvioimaan, edistävätkö eurooppalaiset instituutiot kansallista elokuvatuotantoa vai onko niiden tavoitteena mieluummin yleiseurooppalaisen elokuvataiteen määrittely. Oli olennaisen tärkeää selvittää, mitä kansallinen tarkoittaa ja kuinka elokuvan kansallisuus määritellään, koska se ohjaa koko toimialaa. Tätä kysymystä koskevien lähteiden puuttuminen kannusti myös tutkimaan sitä. Erityisesti tarkasteltiin yhteistuotantohankkeita, jotka osana kansainvälistä yhteistyötä kyseenalaistavat kansallisuuden relevanttiuden tai kytköksen yhteen ainoaan maahan.

Tulokset viittaavat osittain homogeenisempaan elokuvatuotantoon ja -tarjontaan sekä osoittavat, että on hankalaa määritellä elokuvan kuuluvan tietylle maalle kansallisuuden käsitteen perusteella: yhä useampi eurooppalainen elokuva on englanninkielinen, varsinkin pienissä maissa. Ne ovat enimmäkseen korkean tuottavuuden maissa isolla budjetilla tehtyjä elokuvia, mutta useimmiten myös yhteistuotantoja. Suurten elokuvateatterien ohjelmisto on samanlaista kaikkialla keskittyen muutamaan genreen ja kansallisuuteen – usean teatterisalin tarjoamista mahdollisuuksista huolimatta. Yhteistuotantoihin kuuluu monimuotoisempia kumppanuuksia, jotka helpottavat tuotantoa mutta voivat valtavirtaistaa elokuvien sisältöjä, jotta ne kiinnostaisivat rahoittajia. Lisäksi elokuvien määrittely kansallisiksi yhteistuotantomaissa hankaloittaa niiden pääasiallisen kansallisuuden määrittelyä. Tämä voi joskus johtaa elokuvien sisällön ja kansallisuuden välisen yhteyden katkeamiseen, mutta myös irrottaa Euroopan elokuvapoliittiset tavoitteet todellisuudesta. Tämä rahoitukseen perustuva määrittely lisää yleistä epäselvyyttä siitä, mikä on kansallinen elokuva.

Elokuva-alan kehityksen arvioinnin tulisi kuitenkin olla monivivahteista. Globalisaation sanotaan osaltaan vaikuttavan kansallisten kulttuurien yhdenmuukaistumiseen. Tämä koskee erityisesti elokuvaa kulttuuritoimialana, koska se on täysin riippuvainen markkinoista, tuottavuudesta ja näkyvyydestä. Kansallisia ominaispiirteitä saatetaan häivyttää, jotta markkinoiden vaatimuksiin ja kysyntään olisi helpompi vastata. Tutkimuksen perusteella globalisaatio kuitenkin saa

valtiot ja eurooppalaiset toimielimet reagoimaan ja puolustamaan monimuotoisuutta ja sen säilyttämistä arvokkaana osana identiteettiä ja olemassaoloa. Vaikka kulttuurinen argumentti peittää alleen tilanteeseen olennaisesti liittyvän taloudellisen aspektin ja yleisen voimatasapainon, kansallista näkökulmaa sekä kansallisten kulttuurien ilmaisemisen merkitystä painotettiin entistä enemmän uhkaavasta tilanteesta johtuen. Tällaisessa kontekstissa on tärkeää määritellä elokuvat edelleen kansallisiksi. Itse asiassa puolustautuminen globalisaation yhtenäistävää vaikutusta ja alan amerikkalaistumista vastaan ilmenee pyrkimyksenä suojella monimuotoisuutta, jota tukevat sekä valtiot että ylikansalliset organisaatiot. Tässä mielessä elokuvataiteessa ruumiillistuu Euroopan ja sen kansojen paradoksi: yhtäältä se keskittyy kansainvälisyyteen ja globaaleille virtauksille vastaanottavaisena sopeuttaa sisältöjään ja diskurssiaan maailmanlaajuisten yleisöjen ja suuntausten mukaan, koska se kaipaa tunnustusta ja menestystä maailmanmarkkinoilla – ja toisaalta se, reaktiona tähän mahdolliseen kansallisuuden menetykseen, alleviivaa valtioiden, kansallisten identiteettien ja niiden edistämisen merkitystä kulttuurin ja elokuvan avulla. Jossain määrin tällainen tilanne voimaannuttaa kansaa elokuvan avulla. Globalisaatio itse asiassa määrittelee kansat uudelleen kaupallisina kokonaisuuksina ja pakottaa ne olemaan kilpailu- ja reaktiokykyisiä kulttuurin kentällä. Ne joutuvat luomaan yhteisiä strategioita pystyäkseen ylläpitämään kansallista tuotantoaan paikallista yleisöä varten ja jatkamaan olemassaoloaan yhä haastavammilla ja kansainvälisemmällä markkinoilla.

Elokuvista näkyvimpiä ovat kassamagneeteiksi tarkoitettut yhteistuotannot, jotka ovat yleensä englanninkielisiä. Ne ovat kuitenkin markkinoilla muiden yhteistuotant elokuvien rinnalla, kansallisten ja/tai eurooppalaisten hankkeiden tukemina. Samoilla markkinoilla on myös täysin kansallisia elokuvia, joiden oletetaan edustavan paikallisia arvoja ja historiaa sekä heijastelevan kansoja ja alan monimuotoisuutta. Kyseiset yhteistuotantohankkeet mahdollistavat Euroopan tason projekteja, joita olisi vaikeampaa tai mahdotonta toteuttaa kansallisesti. Niillä on myös enemmän vienti- ja levitysmahdollisuuksia, vaikkakin niiden ”monikansallisempi” sisältö voi muodostaa piilevän vaaran. Ne eivät ole liiaksi kiinni tietyssä kulttuurisessa todellisuudessa, joten ne vetoavat paremmin toisiin yhteistuotannon osapuoliin ja kotimaan markkinoiden ulkopuoliseen yleisöön. Joka tapauksessa ne sisällöstä riippumatta määritellään kansallisiksi kaikissa yhteistuotantomaisissa, mikä korostaa kuilua elokuvan sisällön ja lopullisen kansallisuuden välillä. Pääasiallinen ero näiden ja kassamagneettityyppisten elokuvien välillä on niiden näkyvyys: koska isolla budjetilla tehdyt yhteistuotannot ovat näkyvämpiä, saa helposti vaikutelman, että elokuvat ovat muuttumassa homogeenisemmiksi – mikä osittain kätkee asian todellisen laidan. Lisäksi monisateatterien, jotka näitä elokuvia yleensä esittävät, elokuvat eivät muodosta pääosaa tarjonnasta. Useimmissa Euroopan maissa taide-elokuvia ja muita kuin kaupallisia menestyselokuvia esittävät pääasiassa itsenäiset elokuvateatterit ja elokuvakerhot tai vastaavat.

Eurooppalaisten toimielinten merkitystä tässä yhteydessä voidaan pitää epäselvänä, koska ne suosivat ja edistävät yhteistuotantoja ja pyrkivät harmonisoimaan säädöksiä Euroopan tasolla. Niiden roolista saa selvemmän kuvan sen

perusteella, kuinka suuri osa kaikista Euroopassa tuotetuista elokuvista on yhteydessä eurooppalaisiin ohjelmiin: vaikutus rajoittuu käytännössä alle neljäsosaan elokuvista, jotka edustavat virallisia yhteistuotantoja (European Audiovisual Observatory. Focus 2017: 14). Osassa niistä on havaittavissa monimuotoisuutta, mutta toiset ovat standardisoidumpia, jotta menestyisivät paremmin maailmanmarkkinoilla. Tässä näkyy taas selvästi sektorin jakaantuminen kahteen toisilleen vastakkaiseen osa-alueeseen ja yhä syvempi kuilu elokuvataiteen ja elokuvateollisuuden välillä. Korostettakoon kuitenkin niiden laajempaa ja epätasapainoista näkyvyyttä: vaikka yhteistuotannot molemmissa tapauksissa takaavat enemmän julkisuutta, standardisoidumpia elokuvia markkinoidaan enemmän. Tästä seuraava laajempi näkyvyys johtaa siihen, että yhteistuotantoja pidetään homogeenisina. Eurooppalaisten toimielinten monimuotoisuuden edistäminen ja todellinen vaikutus elokuva-alalla yleensäkin on täten minimaalista ja kyseenalaistettavissa. Joka tapauksessa ne osallistuvat eurooppalaisen taide-elokuvatuotannon ylläpitämiseen ja sen – suhteellisen – näkyvyyden edistämiseen Euroopassa sekä jossakin määrin Euroopan ulkopuolella. Niiden asema ei siten ole selkeä: yhtäältä ne helpottavat kansallisten elokuvaprojektien toteutusta jakamalla taloudellista tukea, auttamalla jakelussa ja edistämällä näkyvyyttä. Mutta toisaalta tukimekanismit ja kansainväliset markkinat houkuttavat joskus tekemään elokuvia standardisoidummin ja strategisten kumppanuuksien avulla, jotka myös takaavat enemmän näkyvyyttä.

Väitöskirjan loppupäätelmässä painottuu sektorin kahtiajako ja valtavirtaelokuvien suurempi näkyvyys. Elokuvan kansallisuuden määrittelyllä on ratkaisevan tärkeä rooli elokuva-alan rakentumisessa, vaikka elokuva ei aina heijastelekaan tietyn kansan historiaa, kulttuuria tai identiteettiä. Eurooppalaisten organisaatioiden rooli tässä järjestelmässä ei ole aina tarkoituksenmukainen. Ne keskittyvät monimuotoisuuteen mutta eivät erityisemmin panosta ohjelmiin, joiden kautta eri maat tutustuisivat toistensa elokuvakoulutukseen ja -perinteeseen tai tehokkaampiin elokuvien levityskäytänteisiin. Nämä voisivat olla mahdollisia tulevia tutkimuskohteita.

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## **ORIGINAL PAPERS**

### **I**

#### **THE USE OF ENGLISH IN EUROPEAN FEATURE FILMS: UNITY IN DIVERSITY?**

by

Laëtitia Kulyk, 2014

In Timoshkina, A., Harrold, M., & Mariana, L. (Eds.). *The Europeanness of European Cinema. Identity, Globalization, Meaning.*

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## **The Use of English in European Feature Films: Unity in Diversity?**

Laëtitia Kulyk

Contemporary debates about cultural diversity versus homogenization are reflected in cinema, where the use of the English language in non-anglophone contexts can be considered symptomatic of the move towards greater uniformity in Europe. The following study seeks to examine to what extent English language usage is in fact becoming more standardized in European feature films.

### *Methodology*

The assessment of the increasing use of English in feature films is based on a quantitative analysis summarizing film production and distribution between 1990 and 2010 inclusive in Nordic and a selection of ‘control’ countries, such as France, Greece, the Netherlands and Spain. These markets were chosen because they have been deemed to represent a relatively fair comparative basis with respect to their levels of production, their situation in Europe, their structural similarities and differences<sup>1</sup> and/or their citizens’ average degree of proficiency in English. Sources used to draw the comparison mainly derive from national film institutes, the European Audiovisual Observatory and Mediasalles, which provide comprehensive statistics about cinema in Europe. Figures for nations’ total feature film production are drawn from those organizations’ databases. I then used the IMDb database to determine the language(s) in which films were shot. The reliability of this source is not absolute as the database is updated by users; however, it has the advantage of detailing a broad range of films, even those with limited distribution.

Another variable to take into account in the data is my decision to award films 1 point if they are filmed entirely in English and 0.5 points if English and another one or more language(s) are spoken. The total number of films in English per year thus encompasses various types of films, either completely or partly shot in English. Equally important is the fact that, within a single country, films may figure in a particular year's annual tally whether they were or were not produced or released in that year. If both sources were available, film release has been preferred, as a superior measure of public circulation in a given year. In France, for instance, film production figures were used till 2003, after which year detailed release dates became available. Finally, the number of films that were analysed has been recorded as 'total films' on the graph. Official figures published by Mediasalles or national film institutes might be higher. This is the case for my earlier cited example: Mediasalles announced a total production of 213 for France in 2003, while the total number of films found and analysed was 171. The same is true that year for Spain: although Mediasalles announced a total of 110 films, my research turned up only 91. This is no doubt due to the recognition in the Mediasalles figures of films other than full-length features films (i.e. shorts), which were not taken into account in this study.

### *The data*

Figure 1 below shows the results of my study. The bars corresponding to the left-hand scale indicate the number of films in English produced by particular countries, while the line sitting mostly above these and corresponding to the right-hand scale shows the total films produced by all the countries included in the study.

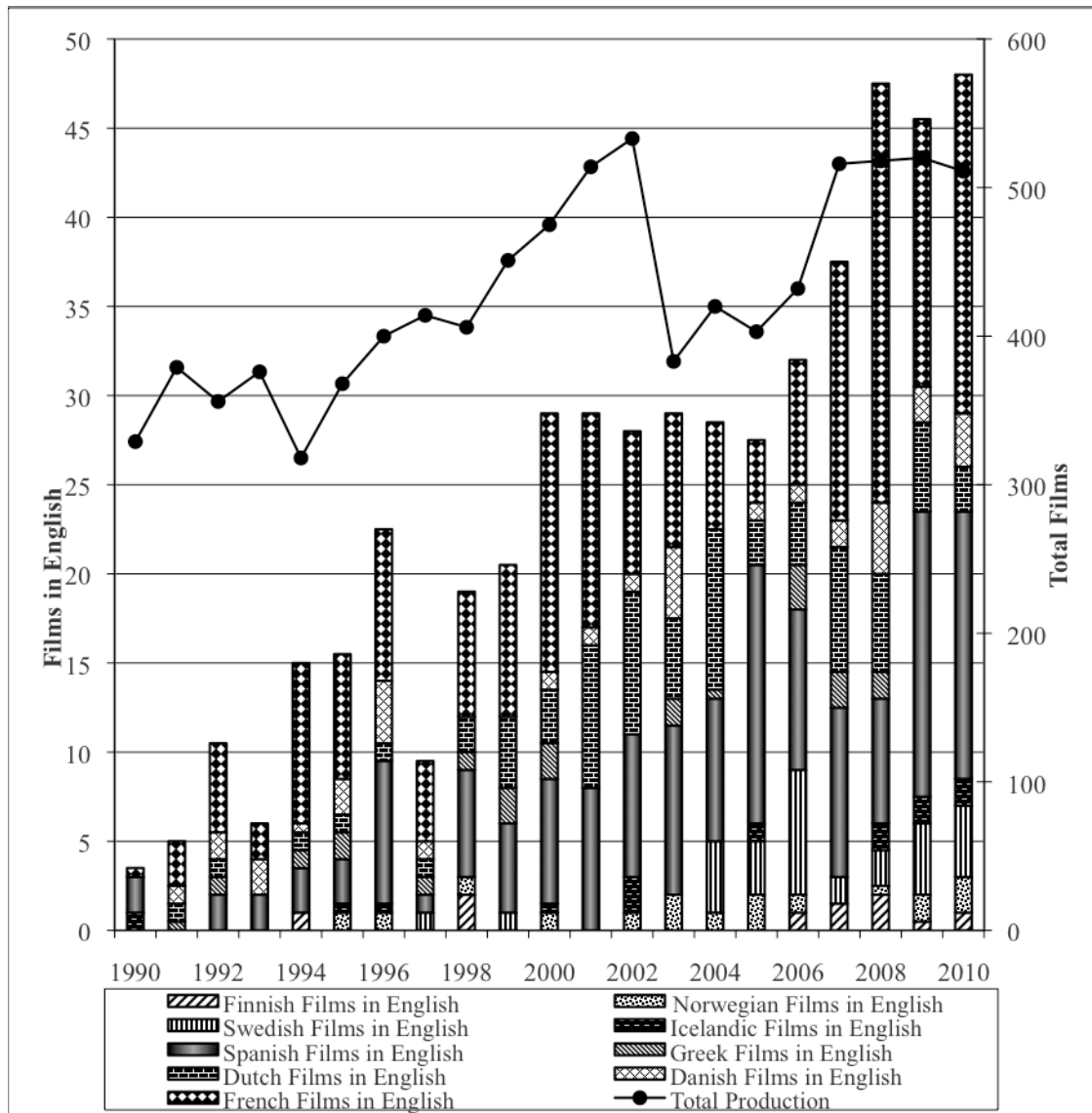


FIGURE 1 Films shot in English in nine European countries from 1990 to 2010

(Sources: Mediasalles, National film institutes and film databases)

The survey shows a clear increase in the use of the English language, especially striking from 2003 onwards. The increase was minimal until 2002 since the markets underwent a parallel increase in production. The drop in film production in 2003, coupled with the stable number of films in English in relation to the beginning of the 2000s, increased the ratio of films in English to overall production.<sup>2</sup> Production both in total and in English then went up again in 2004.<sup>3</sup> From a comparatively stable base

of below 30 per year the number of English films suddenly rose to above 30 in 2006 and to above 45 in 2008, a rise that was maintained up until the end of the period of study in 2010.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the use of English seemed to be centred on only a few countries (mainly Spain, the Netherlands and Greece), before the trend expanded in the following years to encompass many more territories. This change was matched by a rise in the proportion of English being used in individual nations' productions. At the beginning of the 1990s, six or fewer countries produced films in English; by the 2000s, six had become a minimum. Also remarkable is the growth in English-production in Nordic countries from the mid-1990s. Up until then, only one or two films per year were from a Nordic country, mostly from Iceland, Denmark or Sweden. Afterwards their number increased: up to seven in Sweden in 2006, up to four in Denmark in 2008. Even more remarkable is the fact that most countries had at least one title per year - indeed, from 2008 to 2010 the five Nordic countries all produced at least one film in English.

Equally striking is the trend that sees small countries increasingly use English as regularly as larger ones. Taken as a proportion of their overall production, this phenomenon is more indicative of a shift. Indeed, in small countries<sup>4</sup> (the Nordic nations plus Greece and the Netherlands) the total proportion of films in English fluctuated between 1.14 per cent (in 1990) and 10.71 per cent (in 2002), whereas in larger countries this same proportion was between 1.14 per cent (in 1991) and 11.78 per cent (in 2005). What is also apparent is that these proportions increased drastically during the 2000s. In the 1990s, the proportion of English-language production was on average 4 per cent in small countries and 3.97 per cent in larger ones; the maximum reached in the 1990s was 6.14 per cent (1999) and 7.33 per cent (1996) respectively.

In the 2000s, on average, small countries produced 8.86 per cent of their films in English and other nations 8.31 per cent. The percentage figures have thus more or less doubled in both cases. What also used to be a maximum in the 1990s became close to a minimum in the 2000s, with minimum proportions of films in English in small countries 5.73 per cent (2000) and 4.75 per cent in big ones (2002). In the last ten years, the increase in films in English has mostly occurred in Spain, France and the Netherlands, roughly in proportion to their yearly production.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the 2000s, Iceland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain and France dominate in offering a substantial proportion of films in English.

Overall, Figure 1 reveals two trends: there has indeed been an increase in the use of English in European feature films, especially in the 2000s. This is all the more noticeable given that the total number of films produced or released dropped in 2003. The increase is nevertheless divided across two groups of countries: first, major film-producing nations, which in the 1990s were already producing films in English and whose share of films in English is, as I will shortly demonstrate, more likely to correspond to higher budget films; and secondly, small countries, which it may be surmised exploit English in order to broaden their potential markets, in the absence of the draw offered by higher production values.

### *The films*

I will now look in more detail at the question of what types of film are being made in English in different European countries. If we look more specifically at the titles of films shot 100 per cent in English, it is apparent that most tend to be high-budget fare, conceived for mass audiences, and that often they are co-productions. One of the characteristics of co-productions is that they are considered national productions by

all participating nations and consequently benefit from local incentives in all partners' territories. In small film-producing nations, then, English has tended to be used either because of its status as a *lingua franca*, for the practical purpose of co-production between multi-lingual groups of nations, or with a view to globalizing the potential reach of an already successful director or initiative.<sup>6</sup> Regarding the latter impetus, in Denmark, for example, this has occurred especially from around the late 1990s. In the 1990s, only a few films were shot in English, among them *The House of Spirits* (Bille August, Germany/Denmark/Portugal/United-States, 1993), *Breaking the Waves* (Lars von Trier, Denmark/Sweden/France/Netherlands, 1996) and *Øen i fuglegaden/The Island on Bird Street* (Søren Kragh-Jacobsen, Denmark/Germany/Great Britain, 1997). Bille August's multinational co-production was directed off the back of the success of *Pelle erobreren/Pelle the Conqueror* (Denmark/Sweden, 1987), which had won a Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1988. Von Trier and Kragh-Jacobsen also started to enjoy worldwide visibility with these early films and their following involvement in the Dogme movement. Unlike *The House of Spirits*, their films were not conceived for global release or an international career. They nevertheless signalled the beginning of a fashion for using English in co-productions involving many of the same territories much more regularly in the 2000s.<sup>7</sup>

Considering from a similar perspective English-language films produced in Iceland, these are again generally made by directors who have already experienced success abroad or are generally operating within the framework of co-production agreements. This is the case for Friðrik Þór Friðriksson, who attained visibility thanks to his second feature, *Börn náttúrunnar/Children of Nature* (Iceland/Germany/Norway, 1991), nominated as the best foreign language film at the Oscars (1991), and Dagur



Kári, whose *Nói albínói/Noi the Albino* (Iceland/Germany/Great-Britain/Denmark, 2003) was an international arthouse hit.<sup>8</sup>

Countries with high levels of yearly production (for instance Spain and France, where annual totals are over 100 and 150 titles respectively) enjoy more flexibility, in the sense that they are able to maintain a highly national production sector, i.e. to produce films in national or regional languages alongside films in English. Titles thus reflect different categories of films, among which the most visible are high-budget genre films, conceived as blockbusters intended for an international market (*Le cinquième élément/The Fifth Element* [Luc Besson, France, 1997], *Jeanne d'Arc/Joan of Arc* [Luc Besson, France, 1999] and *Oliver Twist* [Roman Polanski, France/Czech Republic/Great Britain, 2005] for France or *The Others* [Alejandro Amenábar, Spain/United-States, 2001] and *Darkness* [Jaume Balagueró, Spain, 2002] for Spain).

The use of English in French films is most prevalent in a specific section of film production. In an article on European co-production strategies, Anne Jäckel quotes an official for Unifrance (the agency promoting French cinema abroad) who claimed at the end of the 1980s that films in English such as *L'Ours/The Bear* (Jean-Jacques Annaud, France, 1988) or *Le Grand bleu/The Big Blue* (Luc Besson, France, 1988) seemed 'to bear out the logic of France producing a handful of costly international pictures a year' (Jäckel 1996: 88-89). Today, most of those films are co-productions: indeed, the majority of French films shot 100 per cent in English during 2009 and 2010 were co-produced (*The Tree* [Julie Bertuccelli, France/Australia, 2010], *Miral* [Julian Schnabel, France/Israel/Italy/India, 2010], *The Ghost-Writer* [Roman Polanski, France/Germany/Great Britain 2010], *The Good Heart* [Dagur

Kári, France/Iceland/Germany/Denmark/United States, 2009] and *In the Electric Mist* [Bertrand Tavernier, France/United States, 2009]).

The success of the films cited may indeed be linked to language but it no doubt also depends on the type of film in question. Most English-language French features are action films, starring international actors. The ‘added value’ of English in these circumstances is difficult to determine. Does English really contribute to success or is it only part of the stereotyped idea of what a blockbuster should be? Counter-examples of French-language success stories complicate the picture only somewhat. For example, *Le Fabuleux destin d’Amélie Poulain/Amélie* (Jean-Pierre Jeunet, 2001), despite being a comedy shot in French, was released successfully in most European territories and in the United States, where it attracted more than 5.9 million to cinemas. The two chapters of the action films *Mesrine (Mesrine, l’instinct de mort/Mesrine: Killer Instinct*, Jean-François Richet, France/Canada/Italy, 2007, and *L’ennemi public n°1/Mesrine: Part 2 – Public Enemy #1*, Jean-François Richet, France/Canada, 2008), meanwhile, achieved more than 4.3 million admissions in Europe, but were only released in the United States through a few film festivals. It is instructive to compare these with Luc Besson’s action films *The Fifth Element* and *Joan of Arc*, both shot in English, which achieved more than 13.6 and 2.7 million admissions respectively at the US box office.<sup>9</sup> Box office takings for films in English are in general higher than for films in national languages. A national hit shot in the national language and distributed overseas can be successful but its market penetration is generally inferior to that of English-language films.

What this reveals is that, even if it is not a direct guarantee of success overseas, English generally boosts a film’s international career in cases where the film has already proven its commercial potential locally. Results show, in sum, a clear

distinction between major and minor territories. In the latter, films in English are intended for wider distribution than domestic and rely on the existing success of a particular director or movement. Their budgets are generally lower than those of films produced by large territories; however, they rank at the top of national budgets. For instance, *Dancer in the Dark* (Lars von Trier, Denmark/France/Sweden/Germany/Norway/Netherlands/Iceland, 2000), with an international cast, was one of the most expensive films ever shot in Denmark. In France and Spain, English is used in more than one category of films, either blockbusters or smaller productions. However, there remains a clear emphasis on the production of high budget films in English for the international market. In both large and small countries films intended for the international market are in general co-productions.

### *Conclusion*

The results of this study clearly question the idea of diversity that both national and European policies are committed to promoting. The countries investigated here fit into the ambivalent scheme of globalization: on the one hand, they respond to their national film policies and conform to the definition of what a national film should be, while on the other they contribute to the homogenization of filmic output by providing films in English that also often emulate mainstream models.

This survey represents a first step in what is potentially a considerably wider enquiry. For example, studying more countries would enable clearer profiles of the types of countries using English to be drawn; there is space for a linguistic analysis of the type of English used by the films in question, as well as for an audience reception analysis of those films; questions remain about the best criteria by which to judge

whether a film is principally in English; and the impact of the use of English on films' international distribution could also be investigated. These questions become more pressing as the trend for using English in European feature films looks set to continue.

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<sup>1</sup> Structural similarities and differences include the ways in which film production and distribution are organized in each country, through specific institutes which are more or less independent from ministries of culture and education, but also the level of importance attached to cinema by different nations. For example, due to low admissions, government policy in Greece, the Netherlands and some Nordic countries places little emphasis on cinema.

<sup>2</sup> The drop in production in 2003 is probably connected to a decrease in low and medium budget films and a possible diversification of types of films. It also appears exaggerated because of my decision to switch from surveying films released rather than films produced in France, but nonetheless there has definitely been a general drop in film production in the countries investigated.

<sup>3</sup> From that year, films released rather than those produced in France were surveyed, representing between 30 and 50 films more per year. This difference may arise from the fact that co-productions might not be always listed as French initiatives as early as the production stage.

<sup>4</sup> 'Small countries' refers both to population and to the fact that these nations are responsible for a small proportion of European film production.

<sup>5</sup> Scrutinizing French production and relying on official releases may partly account for the large increase in that territory: films in English represented six out of 167 films produced in 2004, while films released in English represented 22 out of 194 titles in the same year; the same trend continues in 2005 (3.5 out of 143 films produced and 20.5 out of 194 released) and subsequent years.

<sup>6</sup> A study carried out by the European Audiovisual Observatory in 2008 shows, unsurprisingly, that the release of films outside their national markets bears directly on international admissions and all the more so for co-productions.

<sup>7</sup> These include *Dancer in the Dark*, *The King is Alive* (Kristian Levring, Denmark/Sweden/USA, 2000), *Wilbur Wants to Kill Himself* (Lone Scherfig, Denmark/Great Britain, 2002), *It's All About Love* (Thomas Vinterberg, Denmark/USA/Sweden/Great Britain/Japan/Germany/Netherlands, 2003), *Dogville* (Lars von Trier, Denmark/France/Sweden/Netherlands/Germany/Norway/Great Britain, 2003), *Dear Wendy* (Thomas Vinterberg, Denmark/France/Germany/Great Britain, 2005), *Antichrist* (Lars von Trier, Denmark/Germany/France/Sweden/Italy, 2009) and *Valhalla Rising* (Nicolas Winding Refn, Denmark/Great Britain, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> They have subsequently directed two films in English to date: *Næsland/Niceland* (Friðrik Þór Friðriksson, Iceland/Germany/Denmark/Great Britain, 2004) and *The Good Heart* (Dagur Kári, France/Iceland/Germany/Denmark/USA, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> European Audiovisual Observatory, Lumière database.



## II

### **STRATÉGIES DE PROGRAMMATION D'UN MULTIPLEXE : LE PATHÉ CONFLANS SAINTE HONORINE 2001-2013.**

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Laëtitia Kulyk, 2014

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### III

## **VERS UNE INTERNATIONALISATION DES COPRODUCTIONS DANS LES PAYS NORDIQUES? IMPACT DE L'EUROPE ET ÉVOLUTION DU SECTEUR DEPUIS LES ANNÉES 1990**

by

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In Forest, C. (Ed.). L'internationalisation des coproductions  
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## IV

### **FILM NATIONALITY - THE RELEVANCE OF THIS CONCEPT IN THE CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN FILM SECTOR**

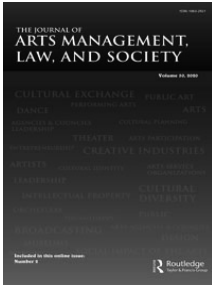
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## Film Nationality: The Relevance of This Concept in Europe

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## Film Nationality: The Relevance of This Concept in Europe

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### ABSTRACT

Discussing films' nationality raises two questions. The first relates to the identity and culture films are supposed to transmit. The second relates to the duality of the sector, which is divided into art / art-house films, defined as "national", and into the industry / blockbuster films, defined as American productions. European institutions facilitate co-productions and the circulation of films. Co-productions have increased in the past decades, and one may wonder how they affect the "film nationality". This issue is particularly important to address at a time when international institutions praise diversity and the specificities of nations in a global context.

### KEYWORDS

Film nationality;  
co-productions; film  
policies; diversity;  
Europe; identity

### Introduction

Questioning films' nationality raises the inner question of identities and how films relate to a nation. When defining or qualifying a film, its nationality is one of the constituents to which we principally refer to in Europe<sup>1</sup> (other forms of arts are rarely described by their nationality). The way it is defined is however rarely questioned even though it is at the basis of the organization of the sector.

Defining a film's nationality is important and is needed for several practical and visible reasons. First, for *statistics*: the nationality is the element according to which the figures of all the films' results will be combined. Statistics enable to evaluate the performances, strengths and weaknesses of national cinemas, to see the circulation of films, to count the potential quotas for national or European works on cinema screens and television, and to draw further policies.<sup>2</sup> Statistics will also enable a country to appear in manifold reports and give it a "factual" visibility, which is all the more increased by a country's position worldwide.<sup>3</sup>

Second, defining a film's nationality is needed for *the financial benefits*: the allocation of subsidies at the national level is intended to help domestic production.<sup>4</sup> A national film will benefit from local public incentives and financial support and thus have better production and distribution conditions.

Finally, a film's nationality is important for the international *visibility* it gives a country: the notion of prestige and the symbolic power of cinema are noteworthy. The visibility a country receives by films circulating in different markets, especially at international festivals, makes it "tangible" in the eyes of the other countries.<sup>5</sup> Films are

the perfect gateway to a country and its image around the world. They may be used as a kind of promotional tool to encourage tourism, language learning,<sup>6</sup> or sometimes also be used as a type of propaganda.

The social importance of cinema has been demonstrated from different perspectives: sociological, economic, psychological, and cultural. The fields often overlap as the duality of cinema, between art and industry, and its many sources and references are hard to dissociate. Cinema has been studied interdisciplinarily. Even though some names can be connected to specific fields (for example in sociology: Sorlin 1977; Morin 1958; and Kracauer 1947/1973; in economics: Creton 1997; Forest 2002; Bonnell 2001), most contributed to different but connected areas: Horkheimer and Adorno (1973), whose approach is esthetic, cultural, and social; Metz (1973), whose semiotic of cinema addresses esthetic, linguistic, and psychological aspects; and Ferro (1977), whose approach is historical and esthetical. Those theoreticians gave a new approach to cinema by inscribing it in a more general and social dimension.

If the use of cinema for the nation was clearly and quickly perceived, its social importance was also discussed in manifold ways as a testimony to a period and a country. As soon as 1947, Kracauer analyzed how the cinema of the 1920s in Germany was forewarning about the subsequent arrival of Hitler to power. Many theoreticians after him developed the idea of a link between society and film: Morin discussed the idea of Bazin (1958) according to which cinema substitutes its own eye with the human one, but it adds a specific look at what is shown. Jarvie (1970) stressed the importance to study the sociological aspect of cinema and argued that people's tastes are determined by the social context. Sorlin (1977) argued that cinema "reveals what can be represented at a moment of its history." According to those theories, a film reveals through its topic and genre, or more latently, a society, a period of history, and a culture and thus becomes a testimony. The power of the sector, principally through its use and the symbolic assets it represents, have made cinema a target of national cultural policies from the start, especially regarding whether we can consider censorship and propaganda as early forms of film policies.

Cultural policies and film policies are defined at the national level.<sup>7</sup> This means that each country decides upon the priorities in culture, regulates the different fields, gives them a frame, and controls, protects, and subsidizes them so as to enhance creativity, give access, and promote national production. The setting-up of cultural policies clearly emerged after World War 2, when culture appeared as an ideal instrument to promote values such as peace (cultural understanding and the knowledge of each other's differences were believed to be the key to a new order). Corresponding policies were defined nationally as representative and promoters of identities, cultures, and nations.

As such, a film policy principally addresses national films, hence the importance of delimiting what "national" means. Countries generally consider the same criteria to attribute nationality, balancing financial and creative indicators. They mark slight differences which do not have any consequence on the general way it is given.<sup>8</sup> That is the reason why this article does not address the question of nationality by investigating regulations at national levels.

The concept of "nationality" is a term much debated nowadays in different fields and especially at the European level. The development of international co-production

schemes and the focus on the idea of a “European identity” and a “European cinema”, despite the acknowledgement of the diversity of nations, question it. What is understood by national, nationality, and film nationality is thus important to decipher in order to understand the “organization” of the sector and what it implies. The aims of this article are first to investigate what “national” means and demonstrate the possible irrelevance of the term in the film sector when applied to films. Second, it is to assess whether European bodies, behind the text, contribute to a strengthening of national film production or rather work for the definition of a global European cinematography. By promoting co-productions for the last thirty years, it is legitimate to interrogate the purpose and consequences of such emphasis.

To answer these questions, the research is principally based on a qualitative methodology. The second section examines the conceptual background by discussing the ideas of “nation”, “national”, and “nationality” in cinema and the way it has also evolved in the last decades. I then discuss the paradox that the definition of films as national represents by highlighting the challenging context of co-productions, the way the film nationality is defined and the role of European supranational programs in favor of co-productions. This chapter is based on official reports, texts and treaties and on specific examples of films. The final section concludes by looking at the relevance of the term “nationality” when applied to films, at the role of European programs and goes on to look at future possible perspectives of research connected to this topic.

## **Nation, nationality and the field of cinema**

### ***What is meant by “nationality”?***

The term “nationality” has been largely theorized and has been at the forefront in the last years because of its link to “identity” and consequently “diversity”, concepts that are much emphasized today at both the national and supranational levels.

The idea of a nation as a distinct and specific group dates back to the eighteenth century. Such a construction was motivated for political and economic ends and shaping a collective identity would serve such interests. The creation of a community that would share the same roots, history, and destiny was part of “propaganda”, a discourse that was repeated and ritualized so as to be believed, shared, and assimilated. Theoreticians give different names to this process of collective identity building around the nation: Ricoeur (1985) uses the term “narrative identity”; Hall (1999) “symbolic formation”, “system of representation”; Anderson (1983), “imagined communities”; for Bayart (1996), there is “no natural identity, only identity strategies”. All these terms revolve around the notion of creation, “narrative”, “imagined”, “symbolic”, “representation”, but a creation that meets a specific goal as assumes the term “strategy”.

A nation is precisely defined by Smith as “*a named human population sharing an historic territory, common memories and myths of origin, a mass, standardized public culture, a common economy and territorial mobility and common legal rights and duties for all members of the collectivity*” (1992, 60). Renan (1997) stresses the temporality of the definition by defining nation as a soul which finds its sense in two aspects: one based in the past, the other in the present. This “soul” is then staged and “materialized” through the same values, history, and language, which have to be taught. This is

underlined by Gellner (1983), who shows the importance of education to deeply ingrain the idea of a common belonging and make the nation united with its citizens around common marks.

Culture and identity are tightly associated and referred to as the essences of the nation. They are conceived, in the frame of the nation-state, as national, that is to say representing and gathering the nation and its people around common values and references.<sup>9</sup> A coherent, distinct identity is defined for the group, which will be all the more identified as different from the others. The language is a clear embodiment of unicity and one marker of national identity.

According to those definitions, and to put it shortly, nationality would subsume these values and codes and reflect upon a certain homogeneity at the national level. Consequently, in the field of cinema, a national film should be a film whose content resumes (some of) those values, reflect upon a sense of “national” through the use of the language, the visibility of cultures, the location and/or the story and which as such would “belong to the nation”.

### ***Defining the “national” in the field of cinema***

Despite very commonly used, the concept “film nationality” has rarely been questioned by researchers. What is a “national film” however has been more widely discussed, especially from the end of the 1980s.<sup>10</sup> The perspective on this question is nonetheless slightly different: defining a national film aims to look for a common aesthetic, subject, atmosphere, or even type of production which could be found in the film and refer to a specific group. On the contrary, defining the nationality of a film requires to apply, on a “film-by-film” basis, precise criteria which will make the film “technically” defined by a specific nationality.

The definition of national in films, and the changes of the concept over the years is however important to understand as both are closely interwoven. According to Elsaesser, discussions around national cinemas mostly took place in the 1960s and 1980s, afterwards there was a “shift from national to European cinema” (2005, 77) or according to Hill to “transnational” (in Vitali and Willemsen, 2006, 154). In 1989, *The Concept of National Cinema* by Higson is the first comprehensive analysis of the question. There, he refers to national cinema as “(...) the films produced within a particular nation state (...)” (1989, 36), emphasizing that “To identify a national cinema is first of all to specify a coherence and a unity; it is to proclaim a unique identity and a stable set of meanings” (1989, 37). In this sense, a national cinema answers the general definition of what is national and follows the same building paths as the building of a nation. It would be built according to the same narrative principles and all the more convincing as giving these narratives to see on the big screen. What is also part of this construction, is the “sense of difference”, or of what is “in” and what is “out”, “included” or “excluded”. National cinema, such as nations, would also build itself by distinguishing from the others, by its “otherness”, to put it as Higson (1989, 38). Part of this differentiation includes the idea of “a strategy of cultural (and economic) resistance”, against dominant US productions in the market (37). This opposition to Hollywood is often quoted when defining national cinema, either in terms of opposition such as Higson

here, or Croft (1993, 49) or in terms of influence (Elsaesser, 2005, 75). In 1997, Hill however questions the notion of homogeneity at national level: we should not, he says, “underestimate the possibilities for a national cinema to re-imagine the nation (...), and also to address the specificities of a national culture in a way that does not presume a homogeneous and ‘pure’ national identity” (in Vitali and Willemen, 2006, 110). Indeed, even if the purpose behind the concept of national is to have an expression and vision of the national culture, a strict definition always proved complicated to establish and the limits of what was to be included as national also questionable. The use of different attributes to qualify cinema proves its “porosity”, its versatility and its capacity to reflect upon larger entities – “Nordic”, “Asian”, “Maghrebi”, “European” or even alternatives such as “transnational”, “post-national”, “post-colonial”, “hybrid” or “Third cinema”. This reveals a broader conception of what should be reflected in films but also contextual aspects, acknowledging the influences and the diversity in terms of national. Those larger qualifications prove the multiplicity of attributes, identities, spaces and temporalities according to which cinema can flexibly be defined.

According to Higson, the plurality or hybridity has always characterized cinema (2010, 1). The move back to nationhood was clearly identified by Hill as taking place in the 1980s (1999; quoted in Higson, 2010, 46). This move was an answer to the rising discourse on globalization, the threat of homogenization and the importance of diversity to be displayed in cinema emphasized by newly created European programs for cinema. The GATT negotiations in 1993 clearly contributed to it and made legitimate the action of the European Union for the defense of the “cultural exception” and of the European diversity in the field of the audiovisual.

However, from the 1990s onwards, the move from the concept of “national” to the concept of “transnational” was obvious, as demonstrates the important number of publications analyzing or resuming this concept.<sup>11</sup> What “transnational” assumed, was the limitation of the nation-state in the field of film studies (Higson 2000, 73), a dissatisfaction with the term (Higbee and Song 2010, 8). It subsumed issues brought by the increasing phenomenon of globalization and notably the changes in the industries. Transnational in its practical form (collaborations and co-financing/co-productions) was not something new, what was however, was the global context which was said to put more pressure on the nations and the sector.

Despite the evolution of the discourse around the concept of nationality, it is paradoxical to observe that its use has remained identical. The national is still a very important way for nations to display their power and be visible on screens as nations. It constitutes a brand to work with<sup>12</sup> and to proudly exhibit.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, it is central to the organization of the field, even though the context has grown increasingly challenging in the last decades, with the growth of co-productions, the subsequent question of how to establish the connection between film and nationality, and the setting of European programs promoting cooperation.

## **Co-productions, film nationality and European programs**

### ***Definition and challenge of co-productions***

Co-productions take on different forms which are mainly divided into “official” and “unofficial”. The international “official” co-productions are defined as “(...) *co-productions*

which follow the rules of an international co-production agreement (bilateral or multilateral) or the rules of the European Convention on Cinematographic Co-production (or similar treaties)".<sup>14</sup> An "official" co-production involves both financial and artistic participation. They have the advantage to pre-define the partnerships based on the different national laws and thus make the cooperation easier. They are the ones the European system is based on and include films by directors such as Ken Loach, Pawel Pawlikowski, Lars von Trier, Michael Haneke. On the contrary, "unofficial" co-productions must be negotiated case by case and may not balance the financial and artistic inputs. Simple co-financing or mere artistic collaboration can be weighted as significant for the setting of a co-production. In the first case, films are likely to be produced by big producing countries which aim to make US-like films to make profit. This type of films is a small part of their annual production, has most of the time US incoming investments and includes films such as Luc Besson's, or versions of Harry Potter. Artistic contributions, on the other hand, are the fact of smaller countries which cannot contribute financially to the production but can provide high expertise or technical means (East-European countries for instance).

In the last years, co-productions increased significantly, reaching today 25 percent of the overall film production in Europe.<sup>15</sup> These 25 percent consist of "official" co-productions which means that the total share of co-productions is even higher. In a recent report by the European Audiovisual Observatory, co-productions proved to be more successful than other films in their own market.<sup>16</sup> Out of the five reasons enumerated for this success, three are linked to the content: the topic, which may be more "cross-border"; the cast which is more international; and the use of English (the other two being the budget and the "access to international broadcasters and distributors").<sup>17</sup> These three elements are linked to cultural markers and are thus constituent of a sense of identity given through films. These reasons jeopardize the definition of films as national as they suggest more standardization. They also question the objective of European programs which aim to foster co-productions on the advocated argument of promoting diversity.

### **How is film nationality attributed?**

Table 1 analyzes a selection of films chosen for their "international aspect" (topic, cast, etc.), the different partners/countries involved, the mix of nationalities they display or the debate that the film's nationality raised when released. Five main criteria are observed, which lay at the core of different definitions of what could be identified as "national" or that are crucial to the setting-up of the film in terms of content or production: the financing, the topic, the language(s), the shooting place(s), and the nationality of the director. The sources used to define the financing are the Lumière database, plus IMDb, on a separate column, which sometimes includes other contributions. Even if not an official source, IMDb is the most comprehensive database. It is also used to get information about the topic, the language(s), the shooting place(s) and the directors' nationality criteria. The main film nationality and other nationality/ies are based on the Europa Cinemas film database. It is the most comprehensive and precise database regarding the definition of nationality insofar as the support it awards is based on this very criterion. The nationalities listed there are also the ones in which countries the

Table 1. Films' nationalities according to five main criteria.

Film, Director	Year of release	Financing	Financing 2	Topic	Language(s)	Shooting place(s)	Director nationality	Film main nationality	Film other nationality/ies	Admissions
<i>The Fifth Element</i> , Luc Besson	1997	FR	–	US	US	GB/US/IR	FR	FR	–	20,652,758
<i>Chocolat</i> , Lasse Hallström	2000	GB inc/US	–	FR	US/FR	FR/GB	SE	GB	US	10,452,642
<i>A Very Long Engagement</i> , Jean-Pierre Jeunet	2004	FR inc/US	–	FR	FR/DE/Corsican	FR	FR	US	–	6,483,770
<i>Marie-Antoinette</i> , Sofia Coppola	2005	US	FR/JP	FR	US/FR/Latin	FR/GB	US	US	–	2,945,673
<i>Certified Copy</i> , Abbas Kiarostami	2010	FR/IT/BE	IR	EUR	FR/GB/IT	IT	IR	EUR	FR/IR/IT	739,280
<i>Cloud Atlas</i> , Lana Wachowski, Tom Tykwer, and Lilly Wachowski	2012	DE/US	HK/SG/CN	US	US/SP/UA	SP/GB/DE	DE/US	DE	HK/SG/US	4,099,762
<i>Two Days, One Night</i> , Luc and Jean-Pierre Dardenne	2014	BE/FR/IT	–	BE	FR/ARA/GB	BE	BE	BE	–	1,176,584
<i>Mustang</i> , Deniz Gamze Ergüven	2015	FR/DE/TR	QT	TR	TR	TR	TR	FR	DE/TR	1,191,581
<i>Valerian</i> , Luc Besson	2017	FR/CN/US/DE/AE	BE	US	GB/FR	FR/US	FR	FR	–	8,263,957
<i>Cold War</i> , Paweł Pawlikowski	2018	PL/FR/GB	–	PL/EUR	PL/FR/DE/RU/IT/HR	HR/PL/FR	PL	PL	FR/GB	1,974,476

Sources: Lumière, IMDb, Europa Cinemas. Country abbreviations taken from: [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Country\\_codes](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Country_codes).

films are recognized as national. Finally, the number of admissions, based on the Lumière database gives an idea of the visibility those films benefited from in Europe.<sup>18</sup>

What clearly appears in this table is that the nationality of a film is related to the financing and not to any cultural criteria, as the term “national” would suggest. This disconnection is evident when looking at the examples of *A Very Long Engagement* and *Marie-Antoinette*, which deal with French history, take place in France but are nevertheless US films. On the contrary, films by Luc Besson *The Fifth Element* and *Valerian*, are akin to US movies, but defined as French. The examples also suggest divergent approaches regarding inward investments: *A Very Long Engagement* and *Chocolat* were backed-up by US companies, but where the first only defines as US national, the second main’s nationality is British, and secondly US. This testifies of a very liberal approach which, from the beginning, the UK adopted to attract US investments, and of a protective approach in France. This moreover goes in total contradiction with what can be perceived by the audience, as *A Very Long Engagement*, situated in the hereafters of World War I, starring Audrey Tautou and shot in French, by a French director, is totally French in its form and content, whereas, *Chocolat*, may not be clear to the audience as starring Johnny Depp and shot mainly in English.

The transparency of the application of the nationality can also be questioned: Abbas Kiarostami’s film *Certified Copy* (2010) is a co-production between France, Belgium, Italy and Iran, shot by an Iranian director in Italy, starring French actress Juliette Binoche and British actor William Shimell who speak alternatively French, English and Italian. The French nationality was given to the film by the Approval commission of the CNC based on the slight majority of French language spoken in the film (the film is considered as French in the MEDIA database, but more generally as European in the Europa Cinemas).

The nationality is defined “artificially” or “technically” by which country produces the film, and more precisely by the country in which the (main) production company is settled (multiplying the examples would lead to the same conclusion). It is a simple and convenient way to address the definition, which justifies the use of “Nordic”, “Maghrebi” or “European” in cinema. It also makes the definition easier when dealing with co-productions, especially when European regulations state that each co-producer can give their nationality to a film they participate in. Beyond the definition, this however does not promote national contents nor specific characteristics. If some films are regional partnerships, the issue is perhaps less striking - even if this proves the ignorance one has of European national cultures and specific countries - but what about a film like *Mustang*? Can it at the same time reflect upon French, German and Turkish cultures? European Union discourses promote diversity, but concretely, legally applying different nationalities to a film participate in the mixed perception one can have of nationality as a concept.

### ***European Union and programs for cinema – A challenge for diversity?***

The term “European cinema” appeared when the European Union started to be involved in cultural affairs and, more specifically, when the audiovisual sector started to be clearly dominated by the American industry (especially on television) from the 1960s



and more particularly from the 1980s. The protection of a “European cinema” was the perfect occasion to ally all European countries around a common goal and to specifically oppose the more general American domination. Cinema became from then a focus of European policies, and specific programs were created: MEDIA by the European Union in 1987, responsible for distribution and promotion, and Eurimages by the Council of Europe in 1988, focusing mainly on co-productions and film distribution. The problem of films’ circulation between countries was claimed to have limited their potential in Europe and paved the way for American domination. Those programs aimed to provide an answer and enhance the creation and distribution of films within Europe.

The question of nationality is deeply imbedded into the concerns of the European Union which stresses the European diversity that cinema is meant to represent. Those particularities are supposed to constitute the “exception culturelle”, opposing, in a global context, the European diversity and cultures to the American market. However, if indeed, nationality, financial and artistic criteria are used to apply to their supports,<sup>19</sup> the film nationality is nevertheless in the end based on the financing only and, moreover, is independent of the share of each co-producer.<sup>20</sup> Nationally, this rule also applies differently: in some countries, co-producers are equal owners, whereas in others the film is defined as national of the country that has participated the most (see the difference in final nationalities for *Two Days, One Night* and *Mustang*). This lack of homogeneity can partly be attributed to the fact that the European Union has a supranational role and only takes over for the states in some specific and delimited fields such as co-productions. They do not have any policy role and cannot interfere with individual national policies which remain the sovereignty of the nation-states.

This definition of films as national in each producing country creates a misperception of what national films are, even within the boundaries of the concerned nation-states. If this technically solves a problem of circulation and enables the film to access different support schemes, it however presumes that the film can sell as national in each of the markets concerned, which may hinder on the long-term the possibility to make very nationally rooted films. Moreover, co-productions participate in the current debate on homogenization since the most visible part of them, most of the time backed-up by American studios, give to see films that are not entrenched into any national reality but rather smoothen national elements. Even if not supported by the EU, they are nevertheless visible as European co-productions in the international market and thus contributes to conveying a sense of uniformity. The last Focus 2018 by the European Audiovisual Observatory (20), shows that the only two European films ranking in the Top 25 films by admissions for the year, are British films with incoming US investments: *Bohemian Rhapsody* and *Fantastic Beasts: The Crimes of Grindelwald*. The report by Unifrance for 2017 also underlines the importance of circulation in other markets and the need to make films accessible: 2017 represented the fourth time in 6 years when the admissions for French films were higher abroad than in national cinema theaters.<sup>21</sup> What this report emphasizes, is the type of film which is predominant: *Valerian* by Luc Besson, a co-production between France, China, the US, Germany and the Arab Emirates, shot in English gathered 30.6 million admissions or 40 percent of the admissions for French films abroad. The second film in this ranking, *Two Is a Family*, a comedy drama by

Hugo Gélin with Omar Sy, produced by France and the UK, represented 4.8 percent. These films categorized indeed as co-productions, but far from reflecting a specific national or European identity, they are conceived as market-based products meant to make profit. However, as far as “official” co-productions are concerned, we can see that European values are somewhat maintained. The films by Ken Loach, Pawel Pawlikowski, Jean-Pierre and Luc Dardenne are typical examples. Conceived as co-productions, they nonetheless fulfill all the criteria that could make them qualify as national (topic, language, film location, nationality of the directors and main cast). These examples show the dichotomy of the sector divided between art and industry: “official” co-productions mostly take advantage of the opportunities provided by European co-production schemes to implement locally set projects, whereas another part of the sector, based on profit, hides its visibility by being much more showy, dominant and provided with all the marketing assets to attract worldwide audiences.

The position of the European Union - and by extension the Council of Europe - is consequently ambiguous: their discourse emphasizes the importance of diversity and the richness and plurality of Europe, while at the same time, their programs participate in the vagueness of the question of nationality in films by applying it indifferently to films according to the financing contributions. Those programs can besides generate “strategical” partnerships to be eligible for the different support schemes. Consequently, “nationality” can legitimately be seen as a question of “business” all the more as this concept “sells”. Besides, independently on the programs, they are mixed up with “unofficial” co-productions which objectives are market-based, and which contribute to the impression that these schemes bring more homogeneity in the field.

## Conclusion

The aims of this article were to investigate the way film nationality is defined and demonstrate the possible irrelevance of the term in the film sector; and second, to assess whether European institutions contribute to a strengthening of national film productions or rather work for the definition of a more general “European cinematography”, especially through co-productions.

Defining a film’s nationality proved to be a complicated question. The link that is unquestionably made between a film and a nation can easily be shaken and is as fragile as the concept it lays on. Indeed, the obvious immediate connection that can be made between a film and what it would refer to as culture/values/codes, thus nation, proved to be irrelevant insofar as the concept itself is challenged by its very origin (what is a nation?), by its own definition in films, by the increase in co-productions and by supranational schemes that enhance them. The discourse around what is national in films or national cinema has also significantly changed since the end of the 1980s. The term “national” moved to other concepts such as “European”, “transnational”, “hybrid” cinemas to reflect the multicultural contents and contexts films are made in. A nationality applied to a film is thus an empty signifier, a “technical tool”, which nonetheless enables to organize and control the field of film policies at national level, ensuring state sovereignty as well as nations visibility.

As an industry, cinema is particularly dependent on the global market. The economic conditions in which films are created lead producers, and especially producers from

small countries, to look for other sources of financing, often abroad. Co-productions are not a new phenomenon,<sup>22</sup> what is however different from earlier decades are the global market, the strong competition in the sector and the more important symbolic balance of power that is embodied through cinema. The idea of co-production blurs at first sight the sense one may have of European national cultures. However, the volume of films co-produced gives space to a large range of productions whose focus and cultural displays are different. As we have seen, “official” and “unofficial” co-productions stand differently in terms of representation and visibility: “official” co-productions tend to be rooted into single European cultures but produced with international/European facilities, whereas “unofficial” co-productions tend to concern films which aim at the market and are provided with all the marketing elements to be successful. The conclusion on the standardization of national films has thus to be nuanced as both conceptions of cinema coexist. Nevertheless, the standardized and high-budget films are the ones which benefit from the best visibility and give a sense of “national” or “European” abroad, thus contributing to the general overview of a cinema production becoming more standardized. They contribute to a false, simplified, and often stereotyped vision of what is supposed to be “foreign” or “European”.

The mission of European bodies is thus debatable. On the one hand, they indeed facilitate the setting up of some films by supporting financially the production, and on the other hand they rather work for the definition of a European cinematography at large, which brings different partners together and enable them to stamp coproduced films as national. If the aim was indeed really to get European people to know each other, which means being aware of other countries’ histories, culture, languages, more means would be put into promoting and distributing, as well as into education, and not into producing (or only on a one country/European program’s basis).

To go further into this topic, a comprehensive state of the weaknesses of the sector should be sketched out. Comparing the results of the European programs with their initial goals would help to draw up more appropriate and up-to-date policies nowadays. Indeed, the distribution and circulation of films within Europe are often considered as problems for the market. But what are the key reasons why films do not circulate? Is it “systemic”, meaning that there are no active pan-European companies that could work on the same film for many different territories? Is it more specifically grounded in the type of films which are nationally produced? Is it related to what we call circulation and how we measure it if television or new media such as VoD platforms are included? Or is it linked to a real misunderstanding of other European countries’ ways of thinking and locally embedded cultures? As circulation is stressed by politics as weak, it would be noteworthy to carry out a specific study on that question to better answer the needs of the sector and the aims of the European Union.

## Notes

1. “In Europe”, since as Rawle puts it, “For British and American films, we will most likely see them grouped together by genre rather than by language or national origin.” (Rawle 2018, 19).
2. See specific departments of national film centers, the European Audiovisual Observatory (<http://www.obs.coe.int/>), which has been providing facts and figures about cinema, television and video since 1992, MEDIA Salles (<http://www.mediasalles.it/>), which has been

- providing statistics on cinema-going trends at the European level since 1991, and UNESCO Statistics, which provides data on feature films and cinema worldwide (<http://uis.unesco.org/en/topic/feature-films-and-cinema-data>).
3. France is for example among the top five countries for producing films together with India, China, the United-States and Japan, which is important in terms of image as well as ranking. FOCUS (2017).
  4. See the different national support schemes and their conditions of eligibility: to quote a few examples, in France, the production company must be in France. If the author is the beneficiary, he has to be French or from a country which is part of the European Union (see <https://www.cnc.fr/documents/36995/145387/Guide+des+aides+du+CNC.pdf/1faa3cfa-1330-de04-db9c-71c692f94991>); in Denmark, subsidies apply to Danish films or Danish (co-)producers (see [https://www.dfi.dk/files/docs/2019-01/Vilk%C3%A5r\\_SPILLEFILM\\_JAN\\_2019.pdf](https://www.dfi.dk/files/docs/2019-01/Vilk%C3%A5r_SPILLEFILM_JAN_2019.pdf)); in Greece, the Rules and Regulations for Funding Programs state that the aim of the support is “the total protection, support and development of film production and art in Greece” (see [http://www.gfc.gr/images/files/REGULATIONS\\_2015.pdf](http://www.gfc.gr/images/files/REGULATIONS_2015.pdf)).
  5. For example, Ukraine got a kind of revival both as a country and as a filmmaker thanks to the selection of the films by Sergei Loznitsa at the Cannes film festival: *My Joy* in 2010, *In the Fog* in 2012 and *A Gentle Creature* in 2017.
  6. On films and tourism, see Roberts (in Hjort and MacKenzie 2000) on Indonesia, [http://filmlondon.org.uk/library/documents/Research\\_Stately\\_Attraction\\_Tourism.pdf](http://filmlondon.org.uk/library/documents/Research_Stately_Attraction_Tourism.pdf) on the United-Kingdom, <http://oaji.net/articles/2016/2340-1467978958.pdf> on New-Zealand but also more specifically the repercussions of films such as *Euro Pudding* by Cédric Klapisch (see Scappaticci, in *Le Figaro Culture*, 2017), on the number of Erasmus students visiting Barcelona (see *Le Figaro culture*, January 10th, 2017 <http://www.lefigaro.fr/cinema/2017/01/09/03002-20170109ARTFIG00257-cedric-klapischles-inscriptions-en-erasmus-ont-double-apres-l-auberge-espagnole.php>).
  7. See Compendium: <https://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/countries.php>
  8. The nationality of the producer and more precisely the country where the production company is registered is the main criteria to establish a film’s nationality in all countries. Besides, other requisites can be part of the definition: in Iceland, the film must also “be in the Icelandic language or have otherwise an Icelandic cultural perspective, and should improve the conditions under which Icelandic films are produced” (see [http://www.icelandicfilmcentre.is/media/skjol/229\\_2003-Film-Fund-Regulation-ENGLISH.pdf](http://www.icelandicfilmcentre.is/media/skjol/229_2003-Film-Fund-Regulation-ENGLISH.pdf)); in the UK, the film should pass the Cultural Test which has to be submitted by a production company register in the UK. “Cultural Content” and “Cultural Contribution” are the criteria weighting the most in the scale with language ranking top (see <https://www.bfi.org.uk/film-industry/british-certification-tax-relief/cultural-test-video-games/summary-points-cultural-test-film>); in Poland, the “author of the screenplay (...), the director or executor of one of the leading roles should besides be Polish citizens”, minimum share by the Polish producer is 20 percent in case of a bilateral co-production and 10 percent in case of international co-production. In both cases, 80 percent of the production costs must be spent in Poland. Finally, the film should also be in the Polish language (see [http://en.pisf.pl/files/dokumenty/act\\_of\\_30\\_june\\_2005\\_on\\_cinematography.pdf](http://en.pisf.pl/files/dokumenty/act_of_30_june_2005_on_cinematography.pdf)).
  9. See Smith (1992); Hall (1999); Hedetoft (1999).
  10. See Higson, 1989; Crofts, 1993, 1998; Hill, 1997; Hjort and MacKenzie 2000; Bergfelder, 2005.
  11. Among them, Lu, *Transnational Chinese cinemas* (1997); Ashby and Higson (2000); Hjort and MacKenzie (2000); Bergfelder (2005); Nestingen and Elkington (2005); Ezra and Rowden, *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader* (2006); Berry (2010); Higbee and Song (2010) and even a specific publication from 2010 called “Transnational Cinemas”, renamed “Transnational screens” from 2019.
  12. On the “branding” aspect of national cinema, see, Elsaesser (2005, 71); Higson (2010, 47).
  13. Festivals play an important role in their contribution to the visibility of nations but also in defining specific canons of national films. See Czach (2004); Yoshimoto, in Vitali and Willemen, (2006) 255.

14. European Audiovisual Observatory, 2018, 37.
15. FOCUS (2017) 14.
16. Between 2010 and 2015, 24.2 percent of European co-productions accounted for 50.3 percent of the total admissions to European films. Yearbook 2017-2018 (2018), Key Trends, 10.
17. The Circulation of European Co-productions and Entirely National Films in Europe. 2008, 24–25.
18. Lumière only aggregates admissions in European cinemas.
19. See Creative Europe Guidelines for the distribution schemes, 8 and Eurimages Regulations.
20. This is clearly stated in the Explanatory Report on the Cinematographic Co-Production: “The chief aim of a co-production agreement is to confer on qualifying cinematographic works the nationality of each of the partners in the co-production”. 2017, 4.
21. 80.6 million admissions abroad and 78.2 million in France. See UNIFRANCE (2018).
22. See Higson, in Hjort and MacKenzie (2000), 67; Bergfelder, *ibid*, 151.

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