

Film Festivals and the Internationalization of Recent Chilean Cinema¹

Festivales de cine y procesos de internacionalización del cine chileno reciente

Festivais de cinema e processos de internacionalização do cinema chileno atual

MARÍA PAZ PEIRANO, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile (mppeirano@uchile.cl)

ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the internationalization process of the Chilean cinema of the last decade in relation to international film festivals. Based on a multi-situated ethnographic research conducted during this period, the text analyses how recent Chilean cinema has internationalized its modes of production and circulation, aspiring to become a global art cinema thanks to the articulation of local policies with the international trends of contemporary cinema. The article focuses on the participation of Chilean professionals in the festival circuit, discussing its role in the internationalization of small and peripheral national cinemas.

Keywords: film festivals; internationalization; global art cinema; Chilean cinema.

RESUMEN

Este artículo da cuenta del proceso de internacionalización del cine chileno de la última década en relación con los festivales internacionales de cine. A partir de una investigación etnográfica multi-situada realizada durante este período, el texto analiza cómo ciertas prácticas de internacionalización de la producción y circulación del cine chileno reciente se han institucionalizado con el fin de posicionarlo como un cine-arte global gracias a la articulación de políticas locales con tendencias globales del cine contemporáneo. Se enfoca en la participación de profesionales chilenos en el circuito de festivales, discutiendo los modos en los que estos eventos facilitan la internacionalización de cinematografías pequeñas y periféricas como la chilena.

Palabras clave: festivales de cine; internacionalización; cine-arte global; cine chileno.

RESUMO

Este artigo aborda o processo de internacionalização do cinema chileno da última década em relação aos festivais internacionais de cinema. Com base em uma pesquisa etnográfica multi-situada realizada nesse período, o texto analisa como certas práticas de internacionalização da produção e circulação do cinema chileno atual foram institucionalizadas, visando posicionar o cinema nacional como um cinema-arte global, obrigado à articulação de políticas locais com tendências globais no cinema contemporâneo. Centra-se na participação de profissionais chilenos no circuito de festivais, discutindo as maneiras pelas quais esses eventos facilitam a internacionalização de cinematografias pequenas e periféricas como o Chile.

Palavras-chave: festivais de cinema; internacionalização; cinema global; cinema chileno.

How to cite:

Peirano, M. P. (2018). Festivales de cine y procesos de internacionalización del cine chileno reciente. *Cuadernos.info*, (43), 57-69. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.43.1485>

INTRODUCTION

On October 9, 2018, the Valdivia International Film Festival (FICValdivia), held in southern Chile, organized the discussion panel on Chilean cinema, industry and internationalization, with the participation of directors Sebastián Lelio, Alicia Scherson and Maite Alberdi, whose works have circulated successfully in the international circuit and who have several years of experience in that circuit. This conversation was moderated by Bruno Bettati, film producer and former director of the festival, who has been an active agent in the internationalization initiatives of Chilean cinema in the last decade, conceiving –for example– the agency CinemaChile, which promotes Chilean cinema abroad. This conversation panel was the first of the *Voces Cine* series, in which the festival invited the public to discuss and openly reflect with some experts on topics relevant to local cinema.

The conversation, held in a room full of film students, was based on the experience in the international circuit of the invited filmmakers, relatively young (between 35 and 45 years old), but already a reference regarding the regular ways of making movies in Chile. Many of the topics were not particularly new for those who have been working in the film industry for years (“What is the use of going to festivals?”, “Why should we internationalize?”, “What happens with local audiences?”), especially in the last decade, where going to festivals has been installed as the standardized route for the circulation of national cinema. The constitution of the panel and the presence of these issues evidences, nevertheless, the centrality granted to the idea of internationalization for the development of the national industry and the feeling of reiteration experienced by expert professionals reveals how much this idea has been institutionalized. The questions show certain patterns of concern in the national landscape that –even if they have been historically coupled with the attempts to build a film industry in Chile– now become more relevant than ever, since for the first time the positioning strategy of Chilean cinema in the international market seems to be working systematically.

Indeed, during the period covered in this paper (2009-2018), we can confirm that the field of Chilean cinematographic production has changed considerably, notably increasing production levels and collecting

international awards at prestigious film festivals and at the Hollywood Academy. Among the several award-winning films we find, for example, *No* (2012), by Pablo Larraín (Art Cinema Award of the Cannes Directors’ Fortnight in 2012, and first Chilean nomination for the Oscars in 2013), *Gloria* (2013), by Sebastián Lelio (Silver Bear for best actress in Berlin in 2013), *El Club* (2015), also by Larraín (Silver Bear Grand Jury Prize in Berlin in 2015), *Bear Story* (2014), by Gabriel Osorio (first Chilean Oscar, best short animated film in 2016) and probably the most outstanding, *A wonderful woman* (2017), again by Lelio, that won the Oscar for best foreign language film in 2018 (it had already won the Silver Bear for best script and the Teddy Award for best film in Berlin, in 2017). These awards, probably the most visible in the mass media, are just some of those that these films received abroad (more than 50 in 2017) (CinemaChile, 2018, p. 5), and are also only part of the amount growing successes of Chilean cinema in the international circuit. During the last decade, Chilean cinema has consistently found its place in the programming of international festivals, both in the exhibitions and in the competition selections; the awards have legitimized their presence and increasing circulation in that circuit. Therefore, it has gradually become visible, positioning itself as a recognized cinematography within the scope of the alternative authorial film or contemporary global art cinema.

This success of the recent Chilean cinema in the international circuit cannot only be explained as a simple convergence of emerging talents in the last decade (which, obviously, exist), but mainly as the result of the institutionalization of an effective strategy of international positioning of the Chilean professionals in the cinematographic industry, product of their constant and systematic participation in the circuit. This has been fostered and supported by an audiovisual policy that seeks the development of cinema as a creative industry (CNCA, 2011; 2016), promoting a film production that can participate in the international market in a competitive manner, directed not only to local audiences but also to global audiences (CinemaChile, 2016). Thus, there have been joint efforts aimed at the organization of public-private partnerships, a professionalization of national film directors and producers, a generation of local and transnational work networks, and a systematic participation of Chilean productions both

in festivals and in international cinema markets, where they have gained a place hardly imaginable in previous decades. In this paper we will explore this last process, analyzing some of the ways in which the Chilean cinema industry has internationalized its modes of production and circulation, institutionalizing practices that have facilitated the production of an export cinema thanks to the articulation of local policies with global dynamics of contemporary cinema. Specifically, we will focus on the ways in which the participation of Chilean filmmakers and movies in the international film festivals circuit has allowed this process, discussing the ways in which the internationalization of Chilean cinema in these spaces takes place.

This work is the result of a long-term research, a multi-situated ethnography (Marcus, 1995) conducted between 2011 and 2014, both in Chile and at festivals and international markets in Europe (Cannes, Berlin, IDFA and San Sebastian, among others), and an intermittent follow-up between 2015 and 2018. The research focused on the trajectories of filmmakers and other professionals in various contexts, following the transnational movements of people, films and discourses as part of a global network (Marcus, 1995, pp. 106-111), looking into the ways in which the national cinema is negotiated in these spaces. The study is based on participant observation and in-depth interviews with different agents of the national industry (directors, producers, distributors, programmers, film critics and film technicians, mainly), involved in the renovation of the “field of cultural production” (Bourdieu, 1993) of Chilean cinema. This long-lasting ethnographic approach allowed us to have a longitudinal perspective of the practices associated with the internationalization process, as well as to contextualize the successful explosion of national production in recent years.

INTERNATIONALIZATION, GLOBAL ART CINEMA AND FILM FESTIVALS

In the production of media and entertainment industries post-industrial context, dominated by global and local flows and constraints (Cresswell & Dixon 2002), cinema has increasingly tended towards the deterritorialization of its practices and the circulation of its professionals in spaces of transnational exchange,

particularly in festivals circuit and the market spaces associated with them. The circulation practices of professionals in the circuit are directly related to the attempt to internationalize their film production, basically understood as the “growing export of films beyond their country of origin” (Lorenzen, 2007, p. 5), a fundamental concern for contemporary cinema, in an attempt to ensure its survival within the global economy (Grainge, 2008). This is particularly relevant for peripheral filmmaking (Iordanova, Martin-Jones, & Vidal, 2010), i.e., those that develop on the margins of global film production centers, which usually have limited internal markets and seek to expand to the international market, increasing their possibilities of circulation and exhibition.

Internationalization should, in theory, provide more growth opportunities for small film producers around the world; however, historically the conditions to participate in these markets have been very disadvantageous for small film industries, as the international market has been dominated by the production of the United States, whose film companies created a strong comparative advantage in the international arena very early (Crane, 2014). That is why internationalization is a constant economic challenge and a preponderant cultural horizon in peripheral countries, which usually seek strategies to enhance the exportability of their films (Barthel-Bouchier, 2012).

A fundamental strategy has been to attend the circuit of festivals and film markets that operate during the festival days (such as the *Marché du Film* of the Cannes Film Festival, or Berlinale’s European Film Market (EFM), which follow a model of trade fair), because these events transcend national borders, working as nodes of industrial support and enabling the circulation of a certain type of small and peripheral cinema (de Valck, 2007), such as recent Latin American cinema (Falicov, 2012). The festivals operate as spaces of economic exchange, cultural showcases and prestigious nodes for the alternative cinema (or non-Hollywood), particularly for what has been called world cinema (Durovicová & Newman, 2010), of authorial production, or global art cinema (Galt & Schoonover, 2010).

For most countries of small production or small cinemas (Hjort & Petrie, 2007) that are heavily dependent on the funding of the national States

to which they ascribe, this global art cinema that circulates in festivals provides the only context for having audiences outside their countries of origin. For Galt and Shoonover, this type of cinema corresponds to “narrative feature films in the margins of conventional cinema, located somewhere between totally experimental films and openly commercial products” (2016, p. 7) whose typical (but not necessary) features include the manifest commitment to aesthetics and a narration mode free from classical structures and distanced from its representations. These films would be characterized precisely by a transnational condition: not only do they articulate an ambivalent relationship with their geographical origin, but the same art cinema concept is eminently international, as it is often used as a code for foreign films rejected by Hollywood’s systems and values², as well as a synonym for world cinema. This international identity builds art cinema as intrinsically cosmopolitan, dislocated from its patrimonial or ethnic references, and associated with forms of production and aesthetics inherited from a modern authorial art cinema, universalist, mainly of European tradition.

Nevertheless, despite their cosmopolitanism, the films that circulate in the global circuit also become references of the nations they represent, because regardless of the increase in co-productions and international exchange in contemporary cinema, they continue to be classified as belonging to a particular country: they are categorized under national labels in most of the exhibition programs and in the international markets according to the percentages of participation of the countries involved in their production. The films are also part of a certain localism that positions and differentiates them within the common discourse of the world cinema market. This national identity is usually linked to that of the director, who holds a double status as an individual artist, with a cosmopolitan pretension, and of a professional who ascribe and participate in the international market, as representative of that country (Ross, 2010, p.141).

The importance of directors as nationality representatives is explained because global art cinema is strongly linked to the idea of authorial cinema, which highlights the personal vision and style of the filmmaker and constitute an international canon of

great directors, to which eventually the directors who participate in the international circuit could belong. For filmmakers, this is particularly relevant because, as Staiger and Gerstner (2003, p. 12) have pointed out, authorship allows filmmakers in non-dominant positions to affirm a partial agency and alternative practices that can allow their survival in a production context as unequal at the global level as the film industry. Thus, authorial cinema has become one of the most accessible possibilities for small filmmakers, not only because of its low-cost potential, but also because it constitutes a gateway to integrate and legitimize themselves within the international film market as part of a national cinematography in dialogue with the codes of global art cinema.

In addition to the visibility and international prestige that participation in the circuit represents for this type of cinema, the festivals constitute nodal points of the contemporary international film production network (Stringer, 2001), where internationalized production and exchange practices that precede the sale take place, with the main objective of ensuring the exportability of these films. Since the nineties and especially since the 2000s, film festivals have been proliferating and developing an increasingly important industrial focus, which tends to promote small and peripheral cinemas. The tendency towards the industrialization of festivals develops, as Vallejo (2014, p. 31) states, parallel to the expansion of the Third Sector in the global economy, under a mixed model of funding and cultural management of independent organizations with State support. This entailed, since the 1990s, a growing institutionalization and professionalization of festivals, as well as an increase in the inclusion of industry activities in their programs (project development workshops, business meetings, co-production meetings, market spaces, etc.). These activities are meant to enhance international production, offer networking spaces and allow economic, social and cultural exchange. Therefore, like other cultural trade fairs, they work as field configuration events (Lampel & Meyer, 2008; Moeran, 2010) that allow the emergence and reproduction of global industries.

This “business festival” model (Peranson, 2009, p. 26) has displaced the festival for cinephile audiences, characteristic of European festivals up to the last decade. Following the industrial model has allowed

the festivals to attract more and more international attention from different professionals in the sector, fundamental in an increasingly competitive context also for the same festivals, which depend on their capacity to gather a greater number of such professionals if they want to ensure their survival and expansion. The festivals' industrialization policies have led them to become, consequently, the obligatory meeting points for various agents of the international industry. We can then see them as nodes for cinematographic circulation, i.e., points of intersection in the world cinematographic network with a strong tendency towards transnationalization, acting as mediators in said network. Festivals have thus become strategic spaces for industry professionals who can access them, because they allow them to get in touch and be part of the global macro-networks of cultural circulation that they help to configure.

LOOKING TO INTERNATIONALIZE CHILEAN CINEMA

Considering the global context, the orientation toward internationalization that Chilean cinema has taken in recent decades should not come as a surprise. In addition, the search to internationalize cinema in Chile is not something new. This idea has usually gone hand in hand with various attempts to promote the creation of a competitive local industry, both in Chile and in other Latin American countries, assuming that the cinema needs large markets to sustain itself economically. The search for internationalization has therefore historically focused on the idea of protecting or enhancing the national industry –understood as the cinematographic production carried out under the institutional and territorial frameworks of a particular national State– but whose growth depends on its possibilities of expanding outside its origin country.

In the Latin American context, the struggle to have a national industry can already be seen in the first decades of the 20th century, when the potential of cinema as an export product and synonym of economic progress began to be evident. States like the Chilean, looking for nationalization and industrial development under the ISI model (Import Substitution Industrialization), began to consider the cinema as an important area for such development, particularly

during the interwar period and in the decade of 1940³. At that time, internationalize production was considered a fundamental strategy, with the idea of creating universal stories that could be sold outside of Chile. This idea was abandoned along with the industrialization project, and Chilean production turned to the culturalist project with a more artistic and political focus during the 1960s, shaping the New Chilean Cinema. What may seem paradoxical today is that international circulation in film festivals also began to have greater importance in that period, given the interest of European festivals in the promotion of peripheral cinema (Campos, 2018), particularly of the new authors of the New Latin American Cinema.

The idea of boosting the national industry was reinstated only after the restoration of a democratic government in the country during the 1990s, when the State became the main sponsor of Chilean cinema (Mouesca, 1992, p. 135; 2009, p. 84), stimulating a growing national film production. During this period the State, through the National Council of Culture and the Arts (CNCA) and the national Production Development Corporation (CORFO), once again promoted national production. In parallel, film schools in the country were reopened (whose first generations graduated at the end of 1990), and production costs were reduced thanks to digitalization; all this led to an increase in production levels and to the gradual professionalization of the field. This was accompanied by various institutional changes, for example, the enactment of Law No. 19.981, called the Cinema Law, in 2004, which involved the creation of a special program for the promotion of the audiovisual industry administered by the National Council of the Arts and the Audiovisual Industry (CAIA), and the increase of funds and aid programs to promote the national audiovisual, that grant financial aid not only for the production of films, but also for their diffusion and international circulation.

In short, towards the middle of 2000 in Chile the production conditions of the cinematographic field were reconfigured. This, along with the growing participation of Chilean professionals (especially directors and producers) in the festivals circuit during this period, laid the foundations for the definition of a collective internationalization strategy. As noted by Bettati (2012), although since 1992 the government

agency ProChile⁴ had worked supporting the export of Chilean cinema, it was not until the mid-2000, after years of exploration of the international market and individual trips of professionals to markets, that there was enough knowledge to strategically approach the international circuit.

The experience accumulated by Chilean professionals lead them to identify the need to increase their exports and the potentialities of the circuit as an entrance to a niche market, as well as the need to organize collectively to address it. This would then be articulated with the Chilean State's interest in promoting cinema as an economic sector, looking to create a global creative industry. This aspiration implies arguing in favor of internationalization, an orientation that clearly appears in the cultural policy of the period studied (CNCA, 2011) for this and other forms of cultural production –such as music and the publishing industry (pp. 53-54) –, as well as in the recent formulation of the National Audiovisual Policy (2017-2022). The cultural policy of the “neoliberal state” (Harvey, 2007, pp. 64-69) in Chile means, in this regard, a market-oriented strategy to position films in the global sphere thanks to the development of a distinctive brand of Chilean cinema abroad. In this way, Chile has strengthened a national export cinema, which positions the country in those markets. For the Chilean State, this not only boosts the industry, but also makes the nation visible in such contexts, promoting a country image through a cinema suitable for international consumption, particularly in the global art cinema circuit.

A crucial element of this strategy is to systematically promote the participation of film professionals in the international circuit, offering them special funds to attend festivals and film markets around the world, including fiction, documentaries, short films and animation festivals, mainly through the support program for participation in festivals and international awards⁵. This strategy has been facilitated and enhanced by the organization of the professionals of the sector and the creation of CinemaChile, a public-private agency that promotes national cinema, created in 2009 by members of the Chilean Association of Film and Television Producers (APCT), thanks to ProChile's support program for sectoral brands. As a sectoral brand, CinemaChile seeks to strengthen the audiovisual sector⁶. Among other tasks of promotion

of Chilean cinema, it manages and makes visible the presence of a Chilean delegation or mission in festivals and prestigious international markets (such as the *Marché du Film* or the EFM), organized together with ProChile and financed by the government. Although the first mission to Cannes had already been organized in 2006 by the Audiovisual Node of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile Chile, the creation of CinemaChile has allowed, since 2009⁷, to bring together the Chilean professionals under a single brand image and begin to develop a constant attendance at film festivals. Based on previous experiences, CinemaChile groups a series of usual practices, thus beginning a process of institutionalization of participation in the international circuit.

The main strategy of CinemaChile has been to promote Chilean films in festivals and markets thanks to the diffusion of the international achievements of Chilean cinema and the creation of marketing and promotion spaces for Chilean professionals in those markets. As we will see below, this strategy of insertion in the circuit has involved various internationalization practices, aimed at positioning Chilean cinema as global authorial cinema and articulating with the turn of the same film festivals towards the industrial promotion of world cinemas.

INTERNATIONALIZATION PRACTICES IN FILM FESTIVALS

For those attending an important film market like the Cannes' *Marché du Film*, for the first time, the picture can be overwhelming. The halls of the Palais du Festival are filled with film professionals from around the world, bringing together bustling groups of expectant artists and hurried businessmen and women who talk in different languages, greet each other as lifelong friends and discuss films, projects and news between business meetings, promotion stands, business cards, iPads, laptops, and multiple cups of coffee. For Chilean professionals participating in the market, knowing where to go, with whom to speak or what to do in their meetings is part of the learning given by the experience of attending previous versions of the event, which is being perfected with time through the accumulation of knowledge generated by their circulation (Peirano, 2018).

In my first observations in the field, in 2011 and 2012, most of the Chilean professionals were still

neophytes who attended the markets for the first or second time, thanks to the support of the recently created CinemaChile, which was beginning to congregate in a coordinated manner the Chilean participants in the festival. With this agency as an agglutinating entity, Chilean professionals quickly recognized themselves as a small national community within the festival space, which functioned as an intermediary. The most inexperienced trusted other Chilean colleagues who already had previous experience in the circuit to help them navigate the market and move in the other spaces of the festival: film screenings in different parallel sections, premieres, industry events, social activities. In each of these instances, professionals learned different aspects of the internationalization process, mainly in two areas: the selection and exhibition of their films at the festival and the economic and social transactions that take place in industry and market spaces.

In this context, the stands of Chilean cinema in the film markets allow to have a center, a meeting place within the festival vortex that constitutes as a national collective reference within the market. The stand provides a meeting space for business between Chilean professionals and international agents. It also promotes networking among Chilean professionals in international spaces, enabling collaborative networks and strengthening their ties through the collective experience of the film festival. The community built in these spaces has facilitated a collective learning about the process of internationalization in festivals, which has only recently begun to be part of the formal education of film students.

This collective space also allows the convergence of Chilean professionals with different experiences and agendas within the festival. For each participant, the experience varies according to their role and position in the production field. Touring film festivals means, for some, attending multiple film exhibitions (recent discoveries of world cinema, cinematic retrospectives, market exhibitions for buyers, for example), where they can catch up with the emerging aesthetics and authors that are consecrating themselves in the circuit. For others, the festival involves attending their own premieres, Q&As, press conferences and interviews with the media about the films they present at the festival, promoting both their works and themselves,

as authors within the international circuit.

For all professionals, attending festivals also meant going through a series of daily social events, ranging from business breakfasts to multiple night parties, where work overlaps with informal meetings with other agents of the transnational field. CinemaChile manages social events within the competitive festival agenda, exclusive for professionals of the Chilean industry and their international counterparts. Parties, breakfasts or aperitifs allow the Chilean cinema brand to be disseminated, promoting films and projects and making directors and producers known. These spaces complement the marketing work in other instances, and function as meeting points, allowing the establishment of contacts and facilitating the construction of networks with industry professionals. Thus, ties are generated and maintained with buyers, producers, festivals programmers and international distributors, fundamental for the contemporary industry.

By regularly attending these instances, in various consecutive festivals, Chilean professionals can meet again and again with their international counterparts, which allows building some continuity in ties, generating the necessary confidence to do business in a deterritorialized industry like this one. Thus, meeting in different festivals in a successive and regular manner has formed a relatively stable platform for exchange among film professionals. That is why, after almost a decade of international presence with practices of this type, the relations are consolidated, facilitating the remembrance of the brand and the insertion in an international network of professionals. A fact that evidences this point, for example, is the creation of the Work in Progress Chilean Cinema of the Future in FICValdivia (2017) that has very important international guests from the circuit of festivals and film markets⁸, who agree to travel to Chile to reward a work in development thanks to the ties and recognition previously established with Chilean professionals.

The experiential marketing of Chilean cinema in social events goes hand in hand with the direct promotion of the Chilean film brand in the market stand, making visible the films and directors present in the festival, through decoration, promotional stationery and the annual catalog of Chilean cinema that CinemaChile produces and disseminates in these spaces. The communication axis of all the promotional

material is the international standard quality of the national productions under the slogan Making Chilean Films Global. There is no focus on the local themes of Chilean cinema, but rather on their diversity, and the filmmakers are highlighted as individual world-class talents, which reaffirm the values of both artistic creativity and innovation and reliability. All this enhances the idea of Chilean cinema as a type of authorial cinema for export.

To this marketing work, aimed at ensuring the brand positioning, other fundamental internationalization practices in the festivals are added: the exhibition of selected Chilean films in the festival program, their diffusion and visibility, and the aids to developing project productions. The Chilean strategy has made it possible to increase the constant participation of Chilean producers and filmmakers in international festivals, both in the selection and the official program as well as in the areas of industry, laboratories, work in progress and other instances that occur in these events. Considering the high costs associated with this process, the logistical and monetary support of the State has been fundamental, facilitating that Chilean professionals regularly participate in the festivals, know the expectations of the circuit and position themselves in the imaginary of international agents. Although this does not directly determine neither the selection nor the prizes obtained in each festival, it does facilitate the approach to the agents that make decisions about their inclusion.

The increase in Chilean participation has also been enhanced by the competitive relations between the festivals themselves, which, as we mentioned earlier, seek to have in their programming the latest discoveries of the great and most innovative directors of global art cinema, i.e., the new authors on whom this field of cultural production depends. Particularly, festivals are interested in those that come from non-Western (non-Euro-American) or relatively unknown cinemas, as they may be novel for the international context. The cultural peculiarity of small cinema works, expressed in their ascription to a peripheral nation, acquires a symbolic value that facilitates their exchange in this context and that ensures, for festivals, a certain diversity and universalism in their programming.

Therefore, festivals have actively promoted not only the diffusion of the works of filmmakers of small cinemas, but also their creation, seeking to maintain the level of production of what interests them. As a result, several of the festivals' industrial initiatives are aimed at boosting world cinema production in peripheral countries, through their financing (direct, through production funds, or indirectly, through work in progress awards or prizes to finished films) and the creation of industry spaces parallel to their exhibition program. These serve to create global networks of professionals, as well as for the education and professionalization of directors and producers (for example, through creation laboratories, master classes or workshops). For Chilean professionals, attending these events entails internationalizing their work, increasing their exportable potential, not only because they make their projects known to key international agents before they are finished, but also because they can know their advice and opinions regarding their work and decide (or not) to adapt certain aspects to international expectations. In addition, their participation and, eventually, awards in these instances contribute to increasing the prestige of their works and themselves in the international circuit.

For Marijke de Valck (2007), this implies that festivals are crucial to the filmmakers' experience and to the construction of their professional careers in the international context. According to the author, festivals are "obligatory sites of passage" in the global network of film production (2007, p. 36). Taking the famous concept of Van Gennep (1960), she considers that participating in international festivals is similar to carry out "rites of passage" that change the social status of its participants. The festival experience of the filmmakers, both in their industry spaces and in those of exhibition and meeting with the public, premieres and award ceremonies, are not only instances of learning the know-how of the industry, but also the consecration of the participants as active and validated members of the cultural production field.

Following Bourdieu (1993), the passage through festivals implies for the filmmakers the accumulation of cultural (knowledge) and symbolic (prestige) capital on a global level, which shows that the agents belong to an international cinematographic field (the cosmopolitan

space of global art cinema), legitimizing their position within this field. This is reinforced by their constant participation and circulation in the circuit, which adds value both to the films that go from one festival to another and to the filmmakers associated with them, especially if they are awarded. Moreover, the symbolic capital translates in the increase of the possibilities of participating in new events, since the possibilities of programming and of invitation to other festivals grow. It can also imply, ideally, greater possibilities of obtaining international funds for new projects (several of them sponsored by the same festivals) based on their previous successes in the circuit, as well as in the opening of negotiations for the international distribution of the films that circulate at festivals.

In the Chilean case, a paradigmatic example of this process is the case of director Sebastián Lelio, whose Oscar for *A fantastic woman* (2017) consecrates him as a global art cinema author, after a successful career on the festival circuit since his first feature film, *La Sagrada familia* (2005). Premiered internationally at the prestigious San Sebastian Festival (Spain), *La Sagrada Familia* began a tour of more than 100 festivals, receiving more than 28 national and international awards (see www.cinechile.cl), which positioned him as a consolidated talent in the international arena. He would then be selected to participate in the renowned four-month *Résidence* of the 2007 Cannes Film Festival, a training event organized by the festival's *Cinefondation*, which seeks young, promising world cinema directors. In this context, he made his second feature film, *Navidad* (2009), premiered at the Cannes Festival (where, in addition, the first Chilean mission organized by CinemaChile, in 2009 would take place). From then on, successes, prestige and experience would continue to accumulate. Lelio premiered *El año del tigre* (2011) at the Locarno Film Festival, a film produced by Fábula producing company, property of the brothers Pablo and Juan de Dios Larraín (who had also been accumulating experience and prestige through their own circulation at festivals), where he won the Jury Prize. Also produced by Fábula, *Gloria* (2013) debuted at the official Berlin Film Festival competition, winning a Silver Bear for best actress for Paulina García, the Prize of the Ecumenical Jury and the Gilde Award. Thus, he became an international

author, opening the doors for works in international projects such as *Disobedience* (2017). Evidently, the director had a long journey before the premiere of *A fantastic woman* (2017) in the official competition of the Berlin Film Festival. His success there (Silver Bear for best screenplay for him and Gonzalo Maza, and a Teddy Award for best film) would lead to a new series of awards, including a Goya Award (Spain) and an Independent Spirit Award (United States), until the consecration, finally: the Oscar.

In addition to the artistic merits of the director, it is evident that his career is linked to an accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital throughout his of circuit touring. His films have a balance appreciated by film festivals, with an authorial look that rescues certain elements of the local culture –rooted in the dysfunctional family dynamics of *La Sagrada Familia*, in stories based on real events such as *El año del Tigre*, or in certain winks to national contingency, as the student protests in the background of *Gloria*—while telling stories of universal scope with a delocalized aesthetic, as we can see in *A Fantastic Woman*, facilitating the entrance to the cosmopolitan space of authorial world cinema empowered by festivals.

Sebastián Lelio's case is relevant not only for the achievement of individual success, but also for how this is translated into the whole of Chilean cinema. Since, as stated earlier, the authors of small cinemas can be considered as ambassador of the national identity of their films, their individual successes also tend to be extrapolated symbolically to the whole national cinematography. This means that the more Chilean films are selected and awarded at renowned festivals, the more their directors are positioned in the circuit, and their prestige is projected to the rest of the country's productions. That is why CinemaChile seeks to enhance the collective brand based on the success of a director; for example, its 2018 slogan was Chile: where fantastic things actually happen (CinemaChile, 2018), alluding to the success of *A fantastic woman*. As a result, the awards for Chilean filmmakers have aroused a growing interest in national cinema as a whole in the festival circuit, reflected in the various Chilean cinema specials scheduled at international festivals in the last five years.

CONCLUSIONS

The search for the internationalization of their production has historically been a key target for small cinemas, in an attempt to develop the national industry and position in a highly competitive global market. To increase their exports, these film cinemas have tended to either create films that seem to have a universal appeal, trying to erase certain very specific local features, or to look for market niches where national products conform to international expectations. We have seen that the Chilean strategy of the last decade has aimed to combine both paths, inserting itself in the circuit of international film festivals that seek and promote an authorial world cinema. The ways in which the processes of internationalization of Chilean cinema have taken place in the last decade, fostered and promoted by the Chilean State, are articulated with the global tendencies of international cinema, through industrial and exhibition practices that occur in festivals and international film markets. Festivals have become crucial spaces for both the production and the circulation, exhibition and exchange of national films. Festivals embody the value regime of global art cinema, giving value and legitimacy to works and filmmakers, as gatekeepers of international cinema; therefore, they are fundamental spaces for the circulation of an authorial cinema that is better articulated with the possibilities of the small production countries. The value regimes embodied in the idea of authorship challenge the large-scale industrial production models, promoting instead an independent cinema, derived from the personal vision of the filmmaker, which have been enhanced by small cinemas. On the other hand, the turn toward the industrialization of film festivals in the last decade has led them to actively promote the production of peripheral cinemas, opening increasingly transnational spaces for cultural and economic exchange, which has made them fundamental nodes for the internationalization of said cinemas.

Therefore, the internationalization of recent Chilean cinema has been intimately linked to the use of the different instances in which film festivals allow certain exportability of national films. From 2009

to date, certain developed practices have allowed, in the medium term, the positioning of the Chilean film brand in the international context. Through the support of projects and professionals and the creation of communities of practice in the festival spaces, there has been an accumulation of cultural capital and a stabilization of the intensive participation of filmmakers and films in festivals. This has implied a snowball effect for the Chilean cinema exhibition and its consequent accumulation of symbolic value, associated with its constant and systematic circulation in the circuit. The institutionalization of these practices in festivals during the last decade has contributed to the process of internationalization in different ways, enhancing the prestige of the industry and generating knowledge that increases its chances of adapting to international expectations, as well as establishing and strengthening networks and relationships with international agents. The internationalization practices have thus transformed the Chilean cinematographic field, which has expanded and increased its symbolic and cultural value in the global field.

In the struggle to boost national production, some countries have developed an “offensive” rather than “protective” strategy (Barthel-Bouchier, 2012, pp. 78-79), stimulating the participation of national products in external markets, seeking to ensure the exportability of films and local talents, as in the Chilean case. This internationalization strategy has been very effective, both for a small cinematography to now be on the map of international cinema and to open a line of feasibility for local filmmakers’ projects. However, this trend also leaves room to open new (and old) questions about the future stability of these processes and the effective insertion of national cinema in the domestic markets. How are the processes of internationalization articulated with the protection of national cinema in the local market and with its link with national viewers? Now that the practices of internationalization of Chilean professionals in film festivals have institutionalized, we must ask how do these practices reconfigure the relationship of filmmakers with national audiences and with the local contexts from which Chilean cinema emerges.

FOOTNOTES

1. This paper has been written within the framework of the FONDECYT project No. 11160735 *Festivales de cine: experiencias de formación y expansión del campo cultural chileno* (Film festivals: experiences of formation and expansion of the Chilean cultural field). The first part of field research (2011-2014) is part of my doctoral thesis, funded by the CONICYT *Becas Chile* program. I want to thank all the Chilean film professionals who participated generously in this research, sharing their experiences, as well as the staff of CinemaChile, Chiledoc and ProChile, which allowed my observation work in the festivals and markets of Cannes, Berlin, IDFA and DokLeipzig during this time.
2. In this context, the concept involves non-English speaking films.
3. For more details on this process in the Chilean case, see Peirano & Gobantes (2015).
4. ProChile is an institution that depends on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in charge of the promotion of the “exportable supply of Chilean goods and services” (ProChile, n.d.).
5. See <http://www.fondosdecultura.cl/fondos/fondo-audiovisual/ventanilla-abierta/>
6. To this one is added the new sectoral brand Chiledoc (www.chiledoc.cl), launched in October 2018, a public-private alliance between ProChile and the Documentary Makers Cultural Corporation for the promotion of non-fiction films, which would work jointly with CinemaChile.
7. For more details on the first Chilean mission to Cannes organized by CinemaChile, see Bettati (2013).
8. In 2018, FICValdivia was attended by, for example, Giona Nazzaro (Venice, *Visions du Réel*), María Bonsanti (Eurodoc), Matthijs Wouter Knol (European Film Market, Berlin), Andrea Picard (*Cinéma du Réel*), Lorenzo Esposito (Locarno) and Fabienne Hancl (ACID, Cannes).

REFERENCES

- Barthel-Bouchier, D. (2012). Exportability of Films in a Globalizing Market: The Intersection of Nation and Genre. *Cultural Sociology*, 6(1), 75–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1749975511401269>
- Bettati, B. (2012). *Why Not? Política Industrial para el Audiovisual Chileno* [Why not? Industry Policy for the Chilean Audiovisual Sector]. Santiago, Chile: Ebooks Patagonia.
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Campos, M. (2018). Lo (trans)nacional como eje del circuito de festivales de cine. Una aproximación histórica al diálogo Europa-América Latina [(Trans)national as the axis of the film festivals circuit. A historical approach to the Europe-Latin America dialogue]. *Imagofagia, Revista virtual de la Asociación Argentina de Estudios de Cine y Audiovisual*, (17), 11-40. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10486/683950>
- CinemaChile. (2016). *Audiencias Globales del Cine Chileno 2013. Métricas internacionales, participación y desempeño* [Global Audiencies of Chilean Cinema. International statistics, participation and performance]. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/cinema.chile/docs/metricas_2016
- CinemaChile. (2018). *New Chilean Films 2018. Catálogo* [Catalogue]. Santiago, Chile. Retrieved from <http://www.cinemachile.cl/catalogo-2018/>
- CNCA. (2011). *Política Cultural 2011-2016* [Cultural Policy 2011-2016]. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes. Retrieved from http://www.cultura.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/politica_cultural_2011_2016.pdf.
- CNCA. (2016). *Política Nacional del Campo Audiovisual 2017-2022* [Audiovisual Policy 2017-2022]. Santiago, Chile: Consejo Nacional de la Cultura y de las Artes. Retrieved from <https://www.cultura.gob.cl/publicaciones/politica-audiovisual-2017-2022/>

- Crane, D. (2014). Cultural globalization and the dominance of the American film industry: Cultural policies, national film industries, and transnational film. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 20(4), 365-382. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10286632.2013.832233>
- Cresswell, T. & Dixon, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Engaging film: Geographies of mobility and identity*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- De Valck, M. (2007). *Film Festivals: From European Geopolitics to Global Cinephilia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Durovicová, N. & Newman, K. (2010). *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Falicov, T. (2012). Programa Ibermedia: ¿Cine Transnacional Iberoamericano o Relaciones Públicas para España? [Ibermedia Program: ¿Latin American Transnational Film or Public Relations for Spain?]. *Revista Reflexiones*, 91(1), 299-312. Retrieved from <https://revistas.ucr.ac.cr/index.php/reflexiones/article/view/1504>
- Galt, R. & Schoonover, K. (2010). *Global Art Cinema. New Theories and Histories*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grainge, P. (2008). *Brand Hollywood: Selling Entertainment in a Global media age*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (2007). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hjort, M. & Petrie, D. J. (Eds.). (2007). *The Cinema of Small Nations*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Iordanova, D., Martin-Jones, D., & Vidal, B. (2010). *Cinema at the Periphery*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Lampel, J. & Meyer, A. (2008). Field-configuring Events as Structuring Mechanisms: How Conferences, Ceremonies, and Trade Shows Constitute New Technologies, Industries, and Markets. *Journal of Management Studies*, 45(6), 1025-1035. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6486.2008.00787.x>
- Marcus, G. (1995). Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24(1), 95-117. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523>
- Lorenzen, M. (2007). Internationalization vs. Globalization of the Film Industry. *Industry and Innovation*, 14(4), 349-357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13662710701543650>
- Moeran, B. (2010). The Book Fair as a Tournament of Values. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16(1), 138-154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2009.01601.x>
- Mouesca, J. (1992). *Cine Chileno: Veinte Años, 1970-1990* [Chilean cinema: Twenty Years, 1970-1990]. Santiago, Chile: Ministerio de Educación.
- Peirano, M. P. (2018). Film mobilities and circulation practices in the construction of recent Chilean cinema. In A. A. Kjaerulff, S. Kesserling, P. Peters, & K. Hannam (Eds.), *Envisioning Networked Urban Mobilities. Art, Performances, Impacts* (pp. 35-47). Routledge: New York.
- Peirano, M. P. & Gobantes, C. (2015). *Chilefilms, el Hollywood Criollo. El proyecto industrial cinematográfico chileno 1942-1949* [Chilefilms, the Creole Hollywood. The Chilean film industry project 1942-1949]. Santiago, Chile: Cuarto Propio.
- Peranson, M. (2009). First You Get the Power, Then You Get the Money: Two Models of Film Festivals. In R. Porton (Ed.), *Dekalog 3: On Film Festivals* (pp. 23-37). London: Wallflower Press.
- ProChile. (n.d.). *¿Quiénes somos?* [Who we are]. Retrieved from <https://www.prochile.gob.cl/landing/quienes-somos/>
- Ross, M. (2010). *South American Cinematic Culture: Policy, Production, Distribution and Exhibition*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.
- Staiger, J. & Gerstner, D. A. (Eds.). (2003). *Authorship and Film*. London: Routledge.

- Stringer, J. (2001). Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy. In M. Shiel & T. Fitzmaurice (Eds), *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context* (pp. 134-144). Oxford: Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470712948.ch11>
- Trejo, R. (2009). *Cine, Neoliberalismo y Cultura: Crítica a la Economía Política del Cine Chileno Contemporáneo* [Cinema, Neoliberalism and Culture: Criticism of the Political Economy of Contemporary Chilean Cinema]. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Arcis.
- van Gennep, A. (1960). *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Vallejo, A. (2014). Festivales cinematográficos. En el punto de mira de la historiografía filmica [Film festivals. In the focus of film historiography]. *Secuencias. Revista de Historia del cine*, (39), 13-42. Retrieved from <https://revistas.uam.es/secuencias/article/view/5838>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

María Paz Peirano, professor at the Institute of Communication and Image (ICEI) of the Universidad de Chile and Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from the University of Kent, United Kingdom. Her research is currently focused on production and circulation practices, film festivals and the development of a film culture in Chile. She is co-editor of *Film Festivals and Anthropology* (Cambridge Scholars 2017) and the researcher responsible for the project FONDECYT 11160735 Film festivals: experiences of training and expansion of the Chilean cultural field.