

What A Sad Story!

DISTRIBUTION, PRODUCTION AND
GENDER EQUALITY IN THE SWEDISH FILM INDUSTRY

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Distribution, Production and Gender Equality
in the Swedish Film Industry

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FOREWORD FROM THE BOARD OF WIFT • 6

FOREWORD FROM THE AUTHORS • 10

1. WHAT A SAD STORY!
DISTRIBUTION, PRODUCTION AND GENDER
QUALITY IN THE SWEDISH FILM INDUSTRY • 12
Introduction • 12
Overview of the report • 14
A few notes on scope, material, and points of departure • 14
2. FROM CONCEPT TO RELEASE • 18
A film is born • 18
The film industry in research and the public debate • 25
3. FILM POLICY IN FLUX • 28
Stating the Problem • 28
Quality • 31
Financing the Film Agreement • 36
Continuity and change: The 2013 Film Agreement • 41
4. FILM AND GENDER EQUALITY • 44
Previous research on gender equality and film • 45
Putting gender equality on the agenda • 47
5. GENDER EQUALITY IN THE FILM INDUSTRY • 51
Audience, quality, and gender • 51
Distributors and the gender equality objective • 54
Producers and gender equality • 57
6. GENDER EQUALITY AND THE 2013 FILM AGREEMENT • 61
Established producer • 61
Automatic advance funding • 65
Greater window neutrality • 69
7. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS • 79
8. REFERENCES • 86
9. ABOUT WIFT SWEDEN • 94

Foreword from the Board of wift

With this research report, wift hopes to help deepen and expand discussions about reform and development in the areas in which its members are active. Wift's report series is meant to add depth to the conversation; to raise the level of the public debate; and to deflate routine, unconsidered preconceptions with research and facts. The report you are holding is the fourth in this series initiated by wift Sverige.

The stories that are shown in motion pictures shape us, and shape the way we think about the world we live in. It is important for us think critically about who creates pictures of our society, and for whom.

In the first report from wift, *Att göra som man brukar*, Eva Mark analyzed the decision-making processes that lie behind the path a film takes from concept to finished print. In the second report, *Om kvalitet*, Jenny Lantz investigated how and where the notion of "quality" is filled with content through discussions and decisions. In *The fast track*, Maria Jansson discussed potential strategies and concrete tools for achieving gender equality.

Swedish film faces increasing competition and commercial forces pull us in a direction that we may experience as a threat to both diversity and gender equality. New technology has fundamentally altered audience habits and new ways for films and audience to find one another have emerged. In our new report, *What A Sad Story!: Distribution, Production and Gender Equality in the Swedish Film Industry (En riktig snyftare – Om distribution, produktion och jämställdhet i filmbranschen)*, political scientists Maria Jansson and Katarina Bivald take the 2013 Film Agreement as a point of departure. The Agreement eliminated the cinema distribution requirement for films seeking pro-

duction funding. The cinema, however, is still perceived as the window that makes films most visible; changes have been made to the text of the Film Agreement,¹ but cinema distribution maintains a firm grip on the industry. We need to take a fresh approach, re-examine old concepts, and make sure that the funding that makes Swedish film production possible is used in a way that moves us toward gender equality and diversity.

It is our firm conviction that more women working in the film and television industries will expand the range of Swedish film production and deepen our understanding of the human condition.

The Board of wift

September 2013

wift Sweden

women in film and television

¹ The Film Agreement is a contract between the Swedish state and the film industry (producers, distributors, cinema owners, and television networks) and provides the funding for the Swedish Film Institute.

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The Board would like to offer a special thanks to former Members of the Board Görel Elf, Christina Olofson, and Anita Oxburgh for their work on this report.

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Foreword from the Authors

A great deal has already been published on the state of the Swedish film industry and problems with the current film policy. When we were asked by wift to write something about gender equality and distribution, in response to the removal of the distribution requirement from the new Film Agreement², we decided to focus on the relationship between production and distribution in the film industry. Our assignment was to produce an independent research report, and we examined the industry from our position as political scientists with a focus on gender issues. We have studied what you might call the “archaeological remains” of Swedish film policy: documents such as Government bills (*propositioner*) and their immediate predecessors, the Official Reports (*Statens offentliga utredningar, SOU*) produced by Government-appointed commissions of inquiry. We have also reviewed all of the Film Agreements. In addition, we have conducted interviews focused on the present-day situation. We are interested in how film policy creates a system of rules that not only governs how films are funded, but also apportions power within the industry and defines spaces for action.

Our basic point of departure is that all of society is permeated by a power structure that shapes the relations between women and men. In other words, we bring a gender perspective to our questions about the structure of the film industry and the way film policy is shaped. Our interview subjects indicated that, since Anna Serner assumed the position of CEO at the Swedish Film institute, the issue of gender has become much more visible. One or two people even suggested that the gender perspective might have become too dominant. We have seen little discussion, however, about how recent changes in film policy might impact gender equality in the industry. Neither the 2009

² Previous Agreements stipulated that a distribution contract was necessary to qualify for production funding.

Official Report by Mats Svegfors, *Vägval för filmen*, nor the subsequent Government bill, *Bättre villkor för svensk film*, discussed a link between policy design and gender equality – this in spite of the fact that both the Report and the bill highlight gender equality as an important consideration.

Our own report is addressed to everyone who is interested in Swedish film policy, both inside and outside the film industry. In our report, we argue that the 2013 Film Agreement codified a major shift in film policy. The challenge that *Vägval för filmen* found most pressing was the emergence of new windows for distributing films. But it is doubtful whether the changes that have actually been implemented since then will allow for a competent response to this new development. Negotiations to determine how the film industry and film policy will engage with these new windows are still in the early stages. More changes to policy and more changes in the industry will be required to meet this challenge. We hope that our report may contribute to a discussion of how we can integrate the questions raised by underlying power structures based on gender, class, and ethnicity into negotiations about the conditions for and the future of film.

With that said, we would like to take this opportunity to thank the people we interviewed for this report – thank you for offering your time and for sharing your thoughts and expertise with us. For their valuable opinions and important comments on the shape and content of this report, we also warmly thank the following: Eva Beling, Andreas Duit, Görel Elf, Helene Granqvist, Christina Olofson, Anita Oxburgh, Göran von Sydow, and Maria Wendt.

Stockholm, September 2013
Maria Jansson and Katarina Bivald

1. What A Sad Story! Distribution, Production and Gender Equality in the Swedish Film Industry

1.1 Introduction

In the Swedish Government Official Report *Vägval för filmen* (2009; Film at a Crossroads), two questions stand out as critical in shaping a new policy for Swedish film. The first question is how to open the door to new technologies that offer new opportunities for distributing and exhibiting film. The second is how to strengthen the production stage of the film value chain in relation to distributors and exhibitors.

The policy changes that were implemented after this Report appeared, however, did not take the direction it recommended. As we will show, it remains difficult to combine cinema distribution with, for example, exhibiting films on the Internet. Moreover, some of the policy revisions have actually meant a redistribution of power in the opposite direction, from production companies to distributors. Regardless of the policy's exact design, however, what is clear from both the Report and the present policy is that the relationship between production and distribution is one of central importance. This relationship affects both how the industry is structured and how it functions, and it shapes conditions for workers in the industry.

The 2013 Film Agreement can be seen as an attempt to respond to a series of challenges: new windows for distributing films, unacceptable working conditions in the production stage of the film chain, and unpredictable audience behavior. Both the policy that has been implemented and the arguments behind it, however, also influence our perceptions of the film industry, as well as the allocation of power among producers, distributors, and exhibitors; which business models are favored; and what

kinds of films are made. It would be most surprising if all of this did not carry implications for gender equality in the industry.

Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that several reports have indicated that working conditions have an important influence on gender equality in the industry, the relevant elements of film policy are rarely discussed from a gender perspective. This might seem paradoxical, since the gender equality issue is often and readily raised with the introduction of new national film policy. The latest Government bill, for example, emphasized that it made gender equality requirements more stringent.

In the film industry, the issue of gender equality has primarily revolved around the allocation of production funding, and the importance of having equal numbers of men and women in key positions, so that films may reflect different experiences and present a variety of narratives. Since the late 1990s, the Swedish Film Institute (SFI) has been tasked with promoting gender equality. Clear gender equality objectives have been included in the Film Agreement since 2006, and gender parity – numeric equality – has been discussed frequently. Few discussions, however, have connected gender equality objectives to other aspects of national film policy, or to the structure of the industry itself.

Why has the issue of gender equality been absent from such discussions? It seems that gender equality is easily set aside – it always has to yield the right-of-way (Skjeie and Teigen 2003) – when issues that seem more important come to the table.

In this report, we will show that the 2013 Film Agreement articulates a clear shift in Swedish film policy. But what do these policy changes mean? And how will they affect gender equality?

1.2 Overview of the report

This report begins with an introduction that briefly describes our material and the points of departure for the study. The next section acquaints readers with how a film is made and with previous research on Swedish film policy. This is followed by a historical survey of Swedish film policy, to help us conclude whether, and in what ways, the 2013 Film Agreement might represent a change from earlier policy. We discuss how the problem that film policy is meant to address has been formulated over the years, the nature and implementation of the quality objective, and how the Agreement and its financing are designed.

Next, we examine the current state of gender equality in the film industry. First, we discuss how gender equality is formulated, and the significance of that formulation. Then, we take a look at how the SFI, distributors, and producers view gender equality. Finally, we investigate how the policy revisions that appear in the 2013 Film Agreement might affect gender equality in the future. How has gender equality been defined, and how did it arrive on the film policy agenda? What measures have been proposed to correct the prevailing gender imbalance in the film industry? How is gender equality affected by film policy and the conditions it creates for the industry? Is there reason to believe that the changes in the 2013 Film Agreement will have any impact on gender equality, and if so, how?

1.3 A few notes on scope, material, and points of departure

This report covers only one area of film policy: production funding. We do not address questions of film censorship, archiving, cultural heritage, the distribution of film throughout the country, or any other aspects of film policy.

To help us sketch a picture of the historical development of Swedish film policy, we analyzed Film Agreements and the

Government bills on which they were based, as well as a number of other public records from 1963 onwards. To help us understand the more informal conditions and practices that currently prevail in the film industry, we also conducted interviews, chiefly with producers and distributors. We chose our interview subjects by “following” four different films, so that we might deal more in concrete examples and less in abstractions.

From the distribution stage of the film chain, we interviewed the following people: Eva Svendénus, Svensk Filmindustri (SF); Pia Grünler, Nordisk film; and Bettan von Horn, Folkets Bio. The producers we interviewed and the films we discussed are: Lizette Jonjic, *Miss Kicki* (Folkets Bio, attendance ca. 13,000); Martin Persson, *Four More Years (Fyra år till)*; SF; attendance ca. 34,000); Patrick Ryborn, *Behind Blue Skies (Himlen är oskyldigt blå)*; Nordisk film, attendance ca. 210,000); and Josefine Tengblad, *Kiss Me (Kys mig)*; Nordisk film, attendance ca. 35,000).

In addition to these interviews, we also conducted a pilot interview with Ylva Swedenborg, who works in film promotion, and an interview with Anna Serner, CEO of the SFI. We conducted the interviews at the current workplaces of our subjects, with the exception of Jonjic and Persson, whom we interviewed over the phone. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and an hour, and we recorded most of them. We gave our subjects the opportunity to approve the quoted and summarized material used in this report, in order to avoid potential misunderstandings.

One of our points of departure is the idea that how film policy is designed has consequences for the structure of the film industry, for the conditions under which filmmakers work, and ultimately for which films gets made (cf. Neale 1981, Hedling 2013). All of these elements – policy, the state of the industry, and the

types of films that are favored – in turn have consequences for gender equality.

We see film policy as a system of rules and social norms that both shapes industry conditions and influences how we talk about the industry and how we can understand both industry and policy. More actors than just the state, of course, are involved in formulating rules for and speech about the film industry. Moreover, this system of rules and norms is clearly also affected by the structures that shape society as a whole. In general, industry conditions for women are worse than for men; this is one manifestation of the prevailing gender order.

Since 1963, Swedish national film policy has been codified in the so-called Film Agreement. This is a voluntary contract, renegotiated from time to time, in which the Swedish state and representatives for different segments of the film industry decide together upon film policy objectives and design. We describe this arrangement in terms of a *partnership* between the state and several independent actors in the film industry, where the purpose of that partnership is to shape and execute the intentions of public film policy.³

Research suggests, however, that this form of partnership is not wholly unproblematic. First of all, the parties to the agreement may have different goals. Exhibitors, for instance – who own

³ The kind of cooperation codified in the Film Agreement is sometimes known as a private-public partnership (PPP). The academic literature also uses the concept of “governance networks.” The definitions of these two phenomena overlap to some extent (see, for example, Torfing 2007 and Mörth and Sahlin Andersson 2006). PPPs are usually discussed in the context of New Public Management, a neoliberal approach to organizing public services that gained traction in Sweden in the 1990s and is associated with large cuts in public sector spending (for a discussion, see Bäck 2000). The Film Agreement was initiated in 1963; the fact that this form of cooperation found a ready reception at that time can probably be attributed to a corporatist way of thinking – favoring cooperation between the state and other parties – which was not foreign to Swedish politics during the 1960s (cf. Mörth and Sahlin Andersson 2007).

the cinemas – may not be too interested in opening the door for new distribution windows, while we might assume that people who make films would be very interested in the chance to exhibit their work to a larger audience. Second, it can be hard to assemble all of the parties necessary to fulfill the objectives of the agreement. The signatories of the Film Agreement, for example, do not include either video rental businesses or some other important industry players. A third problem that is often mentioned is the question of who bears responsibility for the outcome of this kind of partnership, or for any problems that may arise (Mörth and Sahlin Andersson 2006). This aspect will play an important role in our discussion of gender equality below, where we will see that the Film Agreement gives the SFI a great deal of responsibility, but not necessarily a corresponding measure of authority.

2. From Concept to Release

So that readers who do not work in film production themselves may understand the conditions under which films are produced, we need to briefly describe how films are made, and the division of labor among the various players and parts of the film industry. In this section, we sketch a picture of how a film project moves from initial concept to release. Our story is built around the interviews we conducted, and hence also acts as an introduction to our subjects and their films. We follow this first section with a review of previous research on the film industry and its structure.

2.1 A film is born

Film projects may originate, or be initiated, in different ways. Lizette Jonjic, for example, tells us that the film *Miss Kicki* grew out of her collaboration with the director Håkon Liu, who had a story concept that they developed together. *Miss Kicki* is about the relationship between a mother and son. The film takes place during a trip to Taiwan and it was shot on location there. Jonjic adds that in Taiwan, *Miss Kicki* was marketed as a young adult film, focusing on a romantic relationship between the son and another boy. Patrick Ryborn tells us that *Behind Blue Skies* was born when Hannes Holm suggested making a film about a boy striking out into the world and leaving childhood behind. Ryborn and Holm then worked together to find a framework for a narrative of that kind, settling finally on the real story of the so-called Sandhamn Gang. The film *Kiss Me* began as a collaboration between producer Josefine Tengblad and director Alexandra-Therese Keining. *Kiss Me* is about two women who fall in love. Tengblad started her own production company in order to ensure that she was free to make the film the way she wanted. The film project *Four More Years* was begun on the initiative of writer Wilhelm Behrman, who approached first Tova Magnusson and then Martin Persson. “The script was very strong, and we got money to develop it from the SFI right away,” says Persson. The

film is about the president of the Swedish Liberal Party, who falls in love with a high-ranking member of the Social Democrats, an opposing party.

Once the story concept has been established with a team that includes a producer, a writer and a director, the work of developing and financing the film begins. Sources of financing can vary. Filmmakers can apply for support from the SFI and also from regional film funds (production centers). *Miss Kicki* was financed by the so-called Rookie initiative, a project to support new filmmakers, whose funds came jointly from the SFI, national public television broadcaster Sveriges Television (SVT), and the regional film fund Film i Väst. All four of the films we discuss here received support from a regional film fund as well as from SVT and several other co-producers. *Four More Years* and *Behind Blue Skies* were co-produced by their distributors, SF and Nordisk film, respectively.⁴

Besides acting as a co-producer or financier, the role of the distributor is, as Pia Grünler puts it, to package the film and make sure it finds an audience. “That’s what we’re good at; that’s our contribution.” Grünler adds that distributors prefer to get involved in the early stages, so that they can “plant a seed” at the very beginning. Here, of course, we find a potential point of conflict between filmmakers and distributors. Tengblad relates, for instance, that she chose Nordisk film over SF, and in doing so accepted a lower minimum guarantee (MG),⁵ in order to keep the actors she wanted on the film. Eva Svendénus stresses that SF has separate divisions. They have a production division whose work she compares to that of editors in the publishing industry:

4 SF has separate divisions for production and distribution, but those films that have SF as a co-producer are also distributed by SF.

5 The minimum guarantee is an advance on projected revenues, which the producer can use to make the film. An MG may be used when, for example, a film is not co-produced by the company that will later distribute it.

they review scripts and offer suggestions for improvements. The production division either makes films or co-produces them, as with *Four More Years*. SF Distribution is its own division; it distributes the films produced within the company. Even though the production division and SF Distribution are separate entities, distribution still has a say in which films the company takes on. Persson notes, for instance, that production and distribution came up with different forecasts (estimated attendance figures) for *Four More Years*, but SF still signed on as a co-producer.

Films financed by the Rookie initiative, such as *Miss Kicki*, were exempt from the requirement defined in the Film Agreement to have a distributor before receiving funding. Because *Miss Kicki* had a distributor in Taiwan and the team was eager to get started, Jonjic says, they didn't get around to looking for a Swedish distributor ahead of time. Once the film was made, they started screening it for distributors, several of whom signaled some interest. The team also decided to exhibit *Miss Kicki* at a film festival, and the film was accepted to the competition section of the Stockholm Film Festival. The Festival had a partnership with telecom company Telia, and decided to make the films in the competition section available during the Festival to Telia customers as video on demand (VOD). "I thought it was a good idea, a fun idea. People who couldn't make it to the festival in person could pay to watch the film at home," says Jonjic. But before long, she says, headlines appeared in the media that made it sound as if the team had put *Miss Kicki* on the Internet for free. The distributors shied away; finally, Folkets Bio took on the film. "They have their own cinemas, which is good, but they can usually access SF's and [exhibitor] Svenska Bio's cinemas too. I thought it was great, that we'd reach an audience." At an early stage, Svenska Bio indicated that they had a window in which *Miss Kicki* could have opened. But suddenly that window disappeared:

They said the schedule was full. I don't know why, but I assume we got blocked. They got provoked when we put the film "on the Inter-

net,” which is what people said. You could have seen it as an opportunity to try something new, instead of viewing this little film as a threat. No one called us or anything like that, but all of a sudden we couldn’t get any further. What’s going on with our little film? They were making an example out of us.

Almost everyone we interviewed was familiar with the case of *Miss Kicki*. Some thought it was atypical, and we should not include it in our report. Others thought it was a clear example of the power that distributors hold, and showed distributors taking a stance against a new film policy meant to encourage the development of new distribution windows.

The upshot for *Miss Kicki* was that Folkets Bio marketed the film; this in turn meant that the advertising campaign was fairly small. “Folkets Bio is amazing in many ways, but they really don’t have as many resources or as much muscle as the big distributors,” Jonjic says. “We won 100,000 kronor at the Stockholm Film Festival, and we used that for marketing.” She also says that Folkets Bio has not only less money but also less access to the channels other distributors use. A distributor plans and executes marketing and PR strategy, and networks and negotiates with exhibitors about release dates and screen allocation. Our interviews also suggest that PR and marketing questions are something that distributors and producers work together on. This can start at the very beginning of a project, when producers and other team members may consult with distributors on decisions that affect the basic shape of the film. Ryborn mentions several factors that are important for a film to succeed commercially, which almost everyone else we interviewed agreed with: a high-profile director, high-profile actors, and a pre-existing intellectual property to base the film on, such as a book.

In our interpretation, the initial discussion between producer and distributor can sometimes be experienced as a negotiation between the artistic integrity of the film and commercial consid-

erations. Ryborn felt it was an obvious step to choose a framework in the form of a pre-existing story (the Sandhamn Gang) that would kindle interest in his film, and to cast well-known actors, plus some exciting new names. Tengblad, meanwhile, wanted to tell her film's story the way she and the director wanted, even though changes were suggested to them. Grünler describes the relationship between producers and directors as “not conflicts, but compromises.”

The next stage of the film value chain is about selling the finished product. Swedenborg believes that producers play an increasingly important role in this process. In her view, a producer today does much that, strictly speaking, is the job of the distributor. It is obvious to Ryborn that the producer would want to be involved: “We have one film. They [the distributors] might have twenty. Of course you have to promote your own work, push for it.” He and Hannes Holm, for example, added an entry on the Sandhamn Gang to Wikipedia. Tengblad says she could have done “a lot more”: “We had millions of ideas, and then your hands get tied to some extent by the distributor. But they were still good to us – they believed in the film and did what they could.” Nordisk film also agreed to hire Lina Tomsgård to do PR, which was a great success in Tengblad's view. Jonjic, like Tengblad, expresses the feeling that “we should have done more,” although she also points out that once production is over, there are a thousand other things to juggle. Jonjic, for instance, had financial losses resulting from foreign exchange rates, and had to focus on solving that problem.

It is important for a film to open in cinemas and on screens where it is accessible to the public. *Miss Kicki* is an obvious example of this, of course, but even for the other films, we see evidence of a negotiation process with exhibitors (interview, Swedenborg), primarily SF Bio, whose outcome is not always satisfactory to producers. Several of our interview subjects brought up the

importance of the release date. Tengblad felt that the discussions about the release date for *Kiss Me* took a wrong turn. The distributor, in collaboration with SF Bio, decided to set a date that coincided with the Stockholm Pride Festival. Tengblad was dubious about the timing:

We fought not to wind up in the middle of the summer, but they said it was actually a great time, because the Pride Festival would be going on. Which is a thought, I guess, but in fact that's precisely when no one has time...it wasn't the ideal solution.

Persson wanted a cinema release that coincided with the national elections in September, since his film took place during an election campaign. A date in late November was set instead. Factors taken into account in timing releases include not only when there is space in the cinemas, but also the marketing schedule and the kind of audience the film is targeting. It is important that a film not have to compete with others aimed at the same audience (interviews, Swedenborg and Svendénus).

Pinpointing a film's target audiences is important in deciding which promotion channels to use, says Svendénus. Persson, who has also produced crowd-funded films that were released on the Internet, thinks that identifying a specific target audience from the very beginning is even more important when releasing films for non-cinematic windows.

We can also see a contrast between commercial distribution and distribution by Folkets Bio. Folkets Bio is a non-profit cultural organization that was founded in 1973 by film directors Stefan Jarl and Ulf Berggren to create a platform for Swedish films produced outside of the major film corporations. Bettan von Horn tells us that Folkets Bio realized early on that in order to be able to distribute films, they needed their own cinemas. Today, Folkets Bio runs 17 cinemas in 14 cities. Folkets Bio focuses on exhibiting Swedish films, a large number of documentaries, and films

in languages other than English. “We mostly work with documentaries and with debut filmmakers. The ones with bigger films have all the other places. I wouldn’t say we’re the end of the line, but maybe something like that,” says von Horn. Folkets Bio needs distribution funds from the SFI to be able to take on films. After they have received funds and decided to launch a film, they consult with the designer to design a poster, and market the film through the channels available to them.

After a film has a cinematic release, it is reserved for cinema exhibition for 122 days. Thereafter, different windows have different “license periods,” or “holdback.” DVD, TV, and VOD releases follow one another in a specific order and with delays of a specified length between each release. Our interview subjects believe that this system of sequential releases might be the greatest obstacle to a policy that takes a neutral stance on technologies of distribution: if a film has already been exhibited in a non-cinematic window – as recommended by the most recent Government bill – then a cinema release is in principle impossible.

Of our four films, *Kiss Me* has had the most international success. The film is already regarded as a classic in the U.S., and it won the prize for Best Foreign Film at the American Film Institute Fest in Los Angeles. Tengblad says that she negotiated the right to a different distributor for the international market, since Nordisk film did not believe in an international release:

I thought that *Kiss Me* had the potential for big sales internationally, so finally Trustnordisk let me take it to another sales company. I went to Yellow Affair. They lit up. They said, “We can sell this.” Their arrangement is that you split all the revenues 50/50, which turned out to be a very good deal for both of us.

To sum up: this section has followed four different films from their conception to their release. It is clear that producers and distributors engage in negotiation at multiple points during this

journey. They make contact at the very beginning of the process, and producers make decisions about their films – cast, director, subject matter – that affect whether a distributor will accept the film, and thus also what opportunities they will have for financing it. After shooting the film, negotiations continue as producer and distributors agree on a strategy for marketing and releasing the film. Producers do not always agree completely with distributors about how their films should be marketed. Deciding when and where a film will be shown involves another actor: the exhibitors. Folkets Bio, a non-commercial distributor, offers producers more freedom but also fewer resources for marketing the film. Folkets Bio is also an exhibitor – they own their own cinemas – but other exhibitors sometimes show their films as well. The relations among these actors are naturally contingent upon their relative financial strength and power, a point which scholarly research on the film industry can illustrate further.

2.2 The film industry in research and the public debate

In recent years, both academic research and various other reports have shown that people who work in film production – producers, directors, writers, actors, cinematographers and other members of the crew – often work under unsatisfactory conditions. They are often freelancers and may go for long stretches between jobs. The safety net provided by the social welfare system is not ideally designed to fit their situation as self-employed workers. Furthermore, they are expected to be flexible and to work long shifts with irregular working hours (Sørensen 2010, Hedling 2013). In addition, a trend toward greater regionalization in Swedish film policy has meant that they are expected to be geographically mobile as well.

In Sweden, and in Europe as a whole, the production phase of filmmaking is fragmented, consisting of many small production companies each of which makes a limited number of films. According to statistics from the European Commission, in

2005, fully 92% of Swedish production companies made only one film (Dahlström and Hermelin 2007). According to statistics from the SFI for 2002–2010, 180 Swedish companies produced films during this period, and 67% of these companies made only one film (Proposition 2012/13:22, p. 29). Although a few larger actors, such as Rupert Murdoch's News Corp, have started acquiring smaller production companies, the structure in the production stage of the industry remains fragmented. In contrast, at the exhibition end of the chain, a monopoly basically prevails, with SF holding 91% of the cinema market share in larger Swedish cities. Among distributors, we find a few large actors, including SF and Nordisk film, but also a number of small companies, which may sometimes be created to distribute just one film.⁶

Distribution is often described as the most profitable segment of the industry, and it is the segment, along with exhibitors, that recoups expenses first (Hedling 2013; interview, Persson; Proposition 2012/13:22, p. 29).

SF has a de facto monopoly on exhibition, a situation that has been the subject of much discussion. The Swedish Government Official Report *Vägval för filmen* (SOU 2009:73) explicitly recommends that national film policy be reformed to address and correct this imbalance. The construction of the Film Agreement carves out a very specific position for exhibitors; nevertheless (aside from the monopoly issue) discussion of film policy in relationship to exhibitors has thus far been limited (although see Lindqvist 2013).

To sum up, we can say that slightly different kinds of discussions are being held about each segment of the industry. The condi-

⁶ Data from the Swedish Film Database, maintained by the SFI. The data cover all films longer than 70 minutes, including documentaries as well as feature films.

tions and problems of producers have sparked a fair amount of study and discussion (considering that film policy is not a large research field). When it comes to distribution and exhibition, however, discussions have focused on single topics such as the cinema monopoly. From this sketch of the current state of the film industry, we now turn to a historical survey of Swedish film policy, which to a great extent has shaped the relations between the segments of the industry as they exist today.

3. Film Policy in Flux

Swedish film policy has historically rested on two fundamental principles. The first principle is that financing which does not come directly from the Swedish state comes chiefly from lowering the value-added tax (VAT) on cinema tickets. The second principle is a consistent focus on quality films. Both principles play a central role in formulating, and forming, relations within the industry. In this section, we will first describe how the problem that motivates national film policy is formulated. Understanding how the problem has been stated is important. For one thing, the way the problem is stated helps determine which measures can be taken to fix it. It also says something about where issues lie and how they are addressed; this means in turn that the formulation of the problem constructs a set of relations among the various parts of the industry. The second part of this section examines the concept of quality, and the last part discusses the forms of the Agreement and its financing.

3.1 Stating the Problem

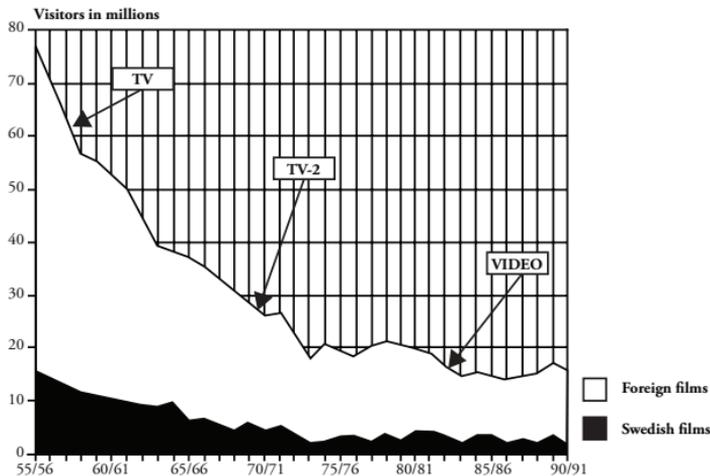
In the Government bill that preceded the 1963 Film Agreement, it is established in the introduction that “an unsustainable financial situation has arisen for the film industry, as a result of the growth of television and the size of the amusement tax” (Proposition 1963:101, p. 4). This situation, however, was not news. By 1951, so-called “special subsidies” had already been introduced in response to worsened economic conditions for the industry.

Following a golden age for film in the interwar period, cinema visits had decreased dramatically. By about 1960, they had declined by about half (Snickars 2010, Vesterlund 2013). The change was visible both in decreased ticket sales and in a decrease in the number of films being produced in Sweden. During the

early 1960s, 17 Swedish films opened in cinemas, compared to 51 just five years earlier. Not since the days of silent films had so few films been produced in Sweden.

The reason for the economic crisis in the industry may be primarily ascribed to the entry of television onto the stage, and a resulting decrease in cinema ticket sales. The new windows of TV, and its successor, video, were discussed frequently in Government bills until into the 1990s. In Government bill 1992/93:10, a graph shows the numbers of cinema visits decreasing with the introduction of television's Channel 1 and Channel 2, and finally video (Fig. 1). The bill states that during the fiscal year 1990/91, 15.7 million visits were made to the cinema. In 1956, that number was 80 million. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the number of cinema visits has remained relatively constant at about 15 million annually (SOU 2009:73). As Figure 1 shows, the greatest part of the decline came before 1990.

Figure 1. Annual cinema attendance.



Source: Government bill 1992/93:10

The measure of the industry's vulnerability, then, is the change in the number of tickets sold. Even though the audience for films has grown steadily as new windows have emerged – first television, then video, most recently streaming, VOD and so on – it is not this increase that has drawn most attention. Instead, discussion has focused on tickets, on the composition of the audience, and on filmgoing habits.

The problem, then, has been framed as follows: Swedish cinema films are threatened, because the film industry faces competition from other windows for viewing motion pictures. This is problematic because, given the model currently used to bring money into the industry, this competition makes it harder to produce new films. It is clear that this understanding of the problem has changed surprisingly little since the first tentative moves toward public film funding in the 1950s. That it has been possible to construe the problem as “new” on repeated occasions is probably due to the fact that new windows have been constantly emerging.

When the problem is stated in this way, the task of film policy must logically be to find money with which to produce Swedish films. The problem is seen to lie with the producers, while the solution lies with the Swedish state and with exhibitors.

When the 2009 Report *Vägval för filmen* observed, therefore, that Swedes were actually consuming more film than ever before, this had great importance for the framing of the problem. Previously, non-cinematic windows had been understood as threats to the vitality of the Swedish film industry. *Vägval för filmen* broke with that understanding, instead seeing new windows as opportunities for a more dynamic, more versatile kind of film production. This also constituted an implicit challenge to the prevailing model for making money from the consumption of film.

The removal of a requirement for cinematic release is a controversial change; we can see this reflected in the fact that even as the wording of the Agreement is revised, it is also qualified in different ways. The bill that preceded the Agreement, for example, notes that “normal cinematic exploitation” will still prompt most producers to seek a cinematic release (Proposition 2012/13:22, p. 27). And a protocol note to the Agreement itself states: “the parties confirm that the removal of the requirement concerning normal release in the cinema (Section 5 of the 2006 Film Agreement) is not intended to entail any significant change in the meaning of the concept ‘feature film.’” The fact that film is still understood primarily to mean “cinema film” is reflected in other ways, too. For example, the 2013 design of automatic advance production funding is based on projected box office sales.

The notion of “window neutrality” – the idea that film policy should not favor any particular distribution window – challenges both the foundations on which film policy has been built and the definition of a feature film. But the reform appears hard to implement within the framework of film policy in its current form.

3.2 Quality

As film policy has been defended over the years, both economic arguments and arguments based on industrial policy have sometimes crept into the discussion (see Gaustad and Gran 2010), often with nationalistic overtones: the contention, for example, that it is important to have a stable Swedish film industry. Or, in the area of film policy that takes up the political process of regionalization, the notion that film production can increase tourism and create jobs. Mostly, however, the discussion has been dominated by cultural policy arguments. It has been about film as a means of expression and about facilitating the production of films of great artistic quality. As the 1963 Government

bill stated: “the emphasis of the Agreement is on funding measures that will stimulate the production of films of elevated artistic and cultural standing” (Proposition 1963:101, p. 17).

What, then, is good quality? The 1963 Agreement describes in detail the criteria for judging quality:

A number of factors, more or less independent of one another, can thus be of deciding importance in an assessment of quality. These include a film’s originality of expression and idiom; the relevance of its message; the intensity or freshness in the way it depicts our reality or criticizes our society; its degree of psychological insight and its spiritual level; playful imagination or strength of vision; epic, dramatic, or poetic values; technical expertise in the writing, direction and acting; or other artistic elements. No genre as such shall be preferred over any other. Comedies, animated films, children’s films and documentaries should therefore all be judged in the same way that feature films are, taking into account the conventions of their genre. (Filmavtalet 1963, Annex 2, Point 13).

No definition of quality is included in the Film Agreements from after 1983. Instead, the evaluation of quality and the criteria for evaluation have been outsourced, first to various juries, and then, starting in 1993, to film commissioners with time-limited appointments. The question of who defines quality has thus had different answers. The guiding principle, however, has remained constant – support should go to quality films – and the Film Agreements have always specified the procedures for evaluating quality.

The various forms of financial support have usually been based on quality assessment. Most Agreements, however, have also provided for a pot of money for funding based on attendance figures. Thirty percent of the revenues raised by the 1963 Agreement were designated for financial support based on gross revenues from cinema ticket sales. Under this Agreement, all

funding was paid out retroactively, and quality assessment occurred after films were completed.

When the Agreement was renegotiated in 1983, so-called production guarantees were introduced, which allowed for funding to be paid out in advance.⁷ This Agreement did not include directives for funding based on ticket sales, and accordingly maintained an unadulterated focus on quality film. The 1993 Agreement introduced the commissioner system, where commissioners were allowed “great personal discretion to recommend funding for different film projects” (Proposition 1992/93:10, p. 13). Of the resources available for film funding, 75% were allotted to advance funding for films selected by commissioners, and 25% to post-production funding, which was shared among films that sold more than 30,000 cinema tickets. These funding structures, as well as the commissioner system, were basically preserved in the 2006 and 2013 Agreements.

In the 2006 Agreement, it is possible to discern a shift away from the focus on quality with the introduction of formulations about allocating funding so as to “promote...rational and efficient production” and “establish Swedish film production as a dynamic growth industry” (§2–3).

Between 2008 and 2012, various central players in the industry (including Film i Väst and the SFI) sponsored research reports by Olsberg SPI (2008, 2012), an independent consulting agency based in London. These reports, on the basis of inter-country comparisons, among other things, offer fairly substantial criticism of Swedish film policy, though it is couched in terms of suggestions for change. We find, for example, the notion that production needs to be economically sustainable, and a business model is recommended in which each company is capable

⁷ According to Hedling (2013), the necessity for advance funding has increased as the industry has become more international and foreign investment and private financiers more common.

of managing its own risk. In our analysis, these ideas show a new discourse gaining a foothold in Swedish film policy. Much of this discourse is visible in Government bill 2012/13:22, and in accordance with that bill, the SFI began to work in a way that would benefit the most established producers even before the 2013 Agreement.

One basic assumption of the new discourse is that the shape of Swedish film policy has contributed to the fragmentation of the production stage of the industry. It has been relatively easy for small companies to get production funding from the SFI, because it is the film project that is assessed, not the company. This means that the threshold to entering the industry is low. People with little experience as business leaders or project managers have been able to receive financial support to produce a film (Olsberg 2008, 2012; see also Hedling 2013, Proposition 2012/13:22).

According to the latest bill, this creates a number of problems that undermine the creation of a stable film industry. The new discourse holds that fragmentation, in its turn, is the cause of the unsatisfactory working conditions that prevail in production. The fragmented structure of the production stage, moreover, makes it impossible to spread out risk, and leads to deprofessionalization and a loss of experience for the industry. An industry with larger production companies, where risk can be spread among several different projects within a company, is more resilient if some films realize losses (Proposition 2012/13:22, p. 29, cf. the objectives of the 2013 Agreement). Furthermore, commercial considerations need to carry more weight if the businesses are to make a profit (Hedling 2013).

We believe that the 2013 Film Agreement reflects this market-oriented shift in discourse, for example in the way it divides its overarching objective into two parts: “to promote Swedish

film production of high quality and high attractiveness...*and a strong and dynamic film industry*" (§2, emphasis added). The objective is further elaborated:

Funding shall be distributed so as to create the best possible conditions for a modern, vigorous and independent film production and film industry, so that cyclical circumstances can be managed and necessary funding obtained (§4).

The 2013 Agreement clearly reflects a shift in film policy focus towards *industry*, in contrast with earlier Agreements' sole focus on *the quality of film projects*.

The new discourse also suggests that there is an advantage to funding not based on subjective assessments, because it creates greater predictability (Olsberg 2012). The new funding form – automatic advance production funding – that is introduced in the 2013 Agreement reflects this line of thinking, and also gives the Agreement a more commercial direction. The Agreement makes automatic funding available to films that meet the following criteria: SFI funding may represent no more than 30% of their total funding; a minimum budget of 14 million kronor and multiple independent financiers, including a Swedish television network; private investment from outside of the film industry; and financing from a distributor. In addition, the film should have a projected attendance by a distributor of at least 250,000 (SFI 2013a).⁸ The introduction of this funding form, which is a type of advance funding, means that the quality standard no longer applies for films that are projected to attract a large audience. Automatic advance funding is drawn from the same pot as other advance funding forms; in other words, automatic funding and funding based on commissioner assessment are competing for the same money. Automatic funding also, in practice, outsources assessment from the SFI to distributors and

⁸ The European Commission must approve this form of funding before it can be implemented, but it is already possible to apply for a so-called Letter of Intent.

financiers: it is distributors and financiers who decide whether a film meets the criteria for advance funding, even if it is still the SFI who makes the formal decision to allocate the funds.

The structuring of automatic funding constitutes a shift away from the quality goal. As such, it reflects the new market-oriented discourse that argues for policy to incentivize new structures for production companies. The new funding also shifts power towards distributors, both in relationship to the SFI and in relationship to filmmakers, who must now either adapt their films to meet the criteria that have been established for automatic funding, or compete for fewer resources when they apply for assessment funding.

3.3 Financing the Film Agreement

When a national film policy was designed in 1963, with objectives explicitly guided by cultural policy, it took the shape of a collaboration between the Swedish state and representatives of the film industry. That collaboration was regulated in a formal Agreement that also regulated the foundation that would act as the hub for the implementation of the policy: the Swedish Film Institute. The 1963 and subsequent Film Agreements deal with the organization of film policy; ways to fund film production and other activities related to film policy that are included in the Agreement; and finally, how to finance the policy and the funding it makes available.

The very first Agreement underscores the nature of this enterprise as a collaboration between industry and government:

Efforts to improve conditions in the film industry must therefore take a range of diverse interests into consideration. For this reason, it is especially significant that representatives for all of these interests have succeeded in uniting on the proposal for a new way of structuring film funding that is outlined in the Agreement they

have reached...The implication is that society continues to shoulder its cultural policy responsibility for film, at the same time that the film industry acknowledges its own responsibility (Proposition 1963:101, p. 18).

The text stresses that collaboration creates legitimacy and unity, and that government and industry also share both responsibility and risk in the enterprise. Collaboration, moreover, is also a way to capitalize on experience and expertise, which is expected to benefit both the industry and the policy objectives. It is important to keep in mind, however, that far from all industry actors are involved in the Agreement, and different actors have chosen to sign the Agreement over the years. There is good reason for asserting that one of the dilemmas of the Agreement has been participation: who ought to participate and who wants to, in relationship to the overall goals of the document.

The Agreement is funded by the parties who sign it, although the state offers them a certain amount of financial compensation. Even before 1963, tax relief was available for exhibitors who helped provide financial support for film production. The 1963 Agreement established the system that has more or less been preserved until today, under which the 25% amusement tax then levied on cinema tickets was removed. When the amusement tax was generally revoked and the value-added tax introduced, cinema tickets remained exempt from VAT. In exchange, exhibitors pay 10% of their revenues from ticket sales to finance the Film Agreement. After Sweden entered the EU, the regulations changed, and a “cost-neutral” VAT of 6% was levied on cinema tickets; this is the same rate that is applied to newspapers, for example. The description of the VAT rate as “cost-neutral” is based on the calculation that deductions and revenues will cancel each other out (Proposition 1995/96:191). Since the 2000 Agreement, the Swedish Film Producers Association (Föreningen Sveriges Filmproducenter) has also contributed a

certain sum to the financing of the Agreement. The contribution of the state is shown in Table 1, below. When reading the table, it is important to remember that before 1993, costs for certain responsibilities of the SFI, including the Archival Film Collections, were also included in the totals. In addition, until 1993, it was possible for the SFI itself to participate in producing a film. Certain special initiatives sometimes also fall outside the scope of the Agreement.

Table 1. State contributions to the Film Agreement, adjusted for inflation.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Kronor (nominal value) adjusted value</i>
1963	(1.5 million) 15.2 million
1983	(32.2 million) 75.8 million
1993	(61.5 million) 78.9 million
2000	(200.5 million) 239.9 million
2006	(185 million) 203.1 million
2013	(200 million) 200 million

The Agreement and the model for financing it have been roundly criticized at times. A number of the Official Reports from the Government's commissions of inquiry (which are the forerunners to the various Government bills) have suggested an alternative, if the Agreement negotiations should stall: to abandon the current model and reinstate VAT on cinema tickets, as a "plan B." Government bill 1992/93:10, in particular, seems to bear the stamp of a contentious journey towards a new Agreement. In reviewing that process, the Government stresses that the

form of the Agreements has benefitted the film industry, since “the Agreement has made it possible to channel greater financial support to the Film Institute than would have been possible through appropriations based on cultural policy alone” (Proposition 1992/93:10, p. 9). The bill says that exhibitors and video rental companies believe (not quite for the same reasons) that they have received less and less financial compensation from the Government, and that their contributions are set too high. Moreover, “the actual benefit to the industry of participating in the Agreement has been questioned” (Proposition 1992/93:10).

Others have pointed out that only a few actors are included in the Agreement, which creates an imbalance of power and poses an obstacle to a traditional kind of film policy. They contend that the form of the Agreements, rather than coordinating and capitalizing on industry experience, creates a watered-down policy based on the least common denominator, and is more directed at preserving the Agreement itself than growing the industry (see, for example, Oberoende Filmares förbund 2013; for a description of the criticism, see SOU 2009:73; cf. Olsberg 2008).

A number of organizations and critics today have come out in favor of replacing the Agreement model with a film policy that would be financed by reinstating full VAT on cinema tickets (Oberoende Filmares förbund 2013, SOU 2009:73). These actors believe that such a change would reduce the dominance of exhibitors over producers, increase dynamism and diversity in filmmaking, and make it possible to develop new ways to exploit films in new windows.

Just as this criticism suggests, the current financing model gives rise to a series of relationships that make some things possible and prevent others from happening. The system of lowered VAT

on cinema tickets means that the money exhibitors pay to fund the Film Agreement is financed by corresponding tax reductions from the state. As a result, the state's contribution appears lower than it is, while the exhibitors look like important financiers of the Agreement. This gives the exhibitors power, although there is a catch. In exchange for the tax reductions, in addition to the fees they pay, the exhibitors also assume an ethical obligation to exhibit Swedish films in their cinemas, even when foreign films (read: Hollywood films) might be more profitable. The relations that the Agreement constructs are important here, because the principle that justifies the Agreement – to support high quality film – does not necessarily square with the commercial principle that generates the highest revenues for exhibitors. We should also recall that the system can work to reinforce the legitimacy of the policy. The policy may draw increased legitimacy both from the fact that the Agreement is “co-financed” by the industry, and from the fact that the state contribution appears lower than it is. The design of the Agreement, however, also has power to change the way we think. Both its statement of the problem and the way it is financed reinforce our perception of film as a product intended mainly for the cinema.

In conclusion, we can say that the design and financing of the Film Agreement greatly empower exhibitors. The Agreement is constructed in a way that makes it difficult to change the practice that is described as “normal...exploitation at cinemas” and is associated with licensing periods (holdback) and the idea of the cinema as the primary window for film. It thereby also reinforces the prevailing model for the exploitation of film. To fully understand the relations that the Agreement constructs, it is also important to note that the financial contribution from producers is relatively small, and that producers are constructed as “beneficiaries” or recipients within the system, even though formally they are also signatories of the Agreement.

3.4 Continuity and change: The 2013 Film Agreement

As we have shown, the new Agreement departs in several ways from what had been the guiding principles for Swedish film. It is also important to note, however, that several central elements of the Agreement, including its basic form and the way it is financed, remain the same.

Because of this, what is perhaps the most challenging change in the Agreement – the goal of window neutrality – has ended up as a very ambivalent change. What is more, the shift in power that *Vägval för filmen* predicted might result from this change has been counteracted by the new automatic advance funding, which makes distributors and financiers more powerful. The shift towards a more market-oriented discourse suggests that both automatic advance funding and the established producer requirement reflect a political desire for a new system of financial incentives.

This market-oriented discourse directs its searchlight primarily toward the production stage of the film value chain. In doing so, it avoids problematizing either distribution or the issue of distribution windows. It also obscures questions about the appropriate distribution of finances among the stages of the chain. The cause of the unacceptable working conditions in film production is placed in the production stage. Restructuring incentives to encourage the formation of larger, more stable production companies then appears to be a logical solution.

What is more, automatic advance funding has also shifted more power towards the distribution stage. This is over and above the power distributors already possess in their roles as co-producers, financiers, and gatekeepers who select films to receive production funding. Distributors play a central role both in the industry and in the design of film policy; nevertheless, the ques-

tion of how distribution and film policy influence one another is almost never raised. Distribution is constructed as basically unproblematic.⁹ This is true, despite the fact that what is often described as the greatest challenge – how to handle new windows for film – is above all a distribution challenge.

We believe that the issue of new windows and new models for exploiting films in these windows has wound up in a vacuum, as a result of the fact that exhibitors have been given an important role and a great amount of power, as well as the relations of interdependence that exist between distributors and cinema owners. These relations have been made possible by the fact that the cause of industry problems has been said to lie in the production stage alone.

Following *Vägval om filmen*, an alternative approach would be to first problematize the current state of relations and the power balance among the different segments of the industry, and then conceive a policy that would alter those relations. Perhaps turning film producers into CEOs is not the answer? In the words of Sir Alan Parker: “On their own, producers will never be able to deliver the sustainable film industry we need” (Parker 2002). It is unreasonable to imagine that both the problem and the solution for the entire film industry are to be found in production. We would suggest, instead, that the solution may lie in the relations between and among all the segments of the industry.

⁹ *Vägval för filmen* is an important exception, as it clearly problematizes the power relations that exist among the different segments of the industry.

To summarize, we have found that:

- A discursive shift has shifted Swedish film policy in a more market-oriented direction.
- This shift has put more power in the hands of distributors
- The cause of the problem, and thereby its solution, have been placed in the production stage; thus, according to the new logic, production is also where changes need to occur.
- The changes in the 2013 Film Agreement regarding established producers and automatic advance funding may be traced to this shift.
- The move in the 2013 Agreement toward greater window neutrality has been of minimal consequence in practice.

4. Film and Gender Equality

In this section of our report, we will discuss what consequences the discursive shift in Swedish film policy and the changes in the new Film Agreement may have for gender equality in the film industry.

The discussion is informed by feminist principles: that in society, a power structure exists that subordinates women, as a group, and places men, as a group, above them. This structure finds both ideological and material expression, and may manifest itself in many different ways. Conditions for men and women are different in all contexts: at work, at home, and in the film industry just as much as in the rest of society.

This power structure also entails that women's and men's actions and practices are imbued with different meanings, and that different norms for men and women control what behaviors are encouraged and what is perceived as appropriate, good, or bad. Society is permeated with a male norm that constructs men, and what men do, as normal and as the reference for how things should be done. This influences such things as the idea of what counts as a universal narrative, how quality is judged, and whether a person can be considered a "genius." It also manifests in unequal conditions on the job market and in how people expect their environment to react to their actions and decisions. The different conditions under which men and women live create different opportunities for them, and this can be reflected in how men and women act and how they decide how to act. When we say that women and men tend to act in specific ways, we are not suggesting that women and men have different biological or genetic predispositions. Rather, we suggest that differing conditions and expectations for women and men may cause them to act in different ways.

The next sections of this report are organized as follows: first, we provide some background on how gender equality arrived on the film policy agenda and the discussions it has inspired. Next, we describe the situation in the film industry today and the responsibilities of various industry players as well as the opportunities they have to influence gender equality. Then, we explore how our interview subjects view gender equality work and what the recent changes regarding established producers, automatic advance production funding, and window neutrality may mean for gender equality in the industry.

Because we cannot know exactly what these changes will bring, our arguments consist in large part of discussions that build on previous research on gender equality.

4.1 Previous research on gender equality and film

Earlier studies on gender equality and Swedish film policy have predominantly focused on questions about the allocation of funds and gender distribution among scriptwriters, directors, and producers. Studies have addressed, for instance, attitudes toward using quotas when allocating funds (Hermele 2004) and how people who make financial decisions consider gender equality in their decision-making process (Mark 2006); and offered critical examinations of the ways in which notions of quality are gendered (Lantz 2007). Studies have also been done on how women producers view their industry and their situation within it (Elf Karlén 2006) and on the paths by which women and men directors enter the industry (SFI 2010a). Other studies have pointed out that precarious forms of employment, irregular work hours, and periods of intensive work can all be conditions that are more difficult for women to handle than they are for men (Sørensen 2010). The trend toward regionalization that has occurred in the Swedish film industry as a result of the establishment of regional film funds also makes it increasingly necessary for industry workers to be geographically mobile

(Dahlström and Hermelin 2007), something which research in other fields has shown to pose larger obstacles for women than for men (Heldt Cassel et al 2010, Vinnova 2010). A Norwegian report proposed that gendered working conditions in the film industry might explain the fact women can more often be found working in a field like television, where more orderly working conditions prevail (Sørensen 2010).

Internationally, a great deal of research has applied a gender perspective to film production. A number of researchers have shown that conditions in the film industry can constitute an obstacle to gender equality in and of themselves. Bielby and Bielby (1992, 1996) mention factors such as the following: 1) work is regulated by short-term contracts; 2) quality and accessibility can only be assessed after the fact; 3) success depends on one's standing with a few "brokers"; 4) one's standing is based on present success in whatever genres and style currently predominate; and 5) many decisions are made by men in a male-dominated industry.

There is also a connection between how women are portrayed in film and the typecasting of scriptwriters, such that women are not expected to be competent writers of things like action screenplays. The idea that an actor should be able to "carry" a film – that an audience will flock to a film for the sake of that actor alone – is also clearly gendered and works to the advantage of male actors, according to Bielby and Bielby (1996; cf. Lantz 2007).

Research has also indicated that a link exists between the gender of directors and writers, and how women and men are portrayed onscreen. Smith et al have shown that for films produced in the U.S. from 2007–2012, the proportion of women in the films increased by 10.6% if a woman director was involved, and by 8.7% if a woman worked on the script. The results also indicate

that when women participate in direction or writing, women are portrayed in a sexualized way less often than when the directors and writers are all men (Smith et al 2013).

4.2 Putting gender equality on the agenda

In film policy, we can discern various conversations around the question of equality. One conversation is about the right of all people, regardless of gender, ethnicity or class, to access film and other cultural products. In film policy, this has been discussed in terms of making cinemas accessible across the entire country, for example, or developing special initiatives in film and film-making directed at children, youth, and schools. Another conversation is about who gets to participate in producing films: who makes the films that receive production funding under the Film Agreement, how industry conditions differ for women and men, and which types of film narratives are foregrounded. It is the latter conversation that will be the subject of our discussion here.

The 1993 Government bill that preceded that year's Film Agreement was the first to take up gender issues. The comment of the Swedish Women's Film Association (Svenska Kvinnors Filmförbund) on the proposal noted that "today only 9% of producers in Sweden are women"; therefore, measures ought to be implemented that would promote increased numbers of female producers in the country.

The 2000 Film Agreement did not explicitly address the proportional distribution of advance film funding. In the bill that preceded the Agreement, however, that question was discussed, and it was acknowledged that previous recipients of advance funding had almost all been men. Therefore, the bill suggested, "one important task of a new film policy ought to be to disrupt this pattern and improve conditions for women filmmakers" (Proposition 1998/99:131, p. 18). It was proposed that, in

addition to the individual film commissioners, a committee be formed to make decisions about assessment-based funding, and that an effort should be made to fill the committee with equal numbers of men and women (Proposition 1998/99:131, p. 18). It is unclear whether the committee was intended to be a tool for increasing gender equality more broadly, or whether it was only the gender parity of its membership that was important.

From 2000 to 2006, Åse Kleveland was CEO of the SFI. She had previously served as the Norwegian Minister of Culture and was known for putting gender equality issues at the top of the agenda. Under her leadership, for example, a research report was prepared on gender equality in the film industry (Hermele 2002); she also arranged various education initiatives aimed at raising awareness among film commissioners of how gender structures could affect their assessments. A 2002 written communication from the Government on gender equality established that the Government had

decided that a goal for state film funding during the 2003 fiscal year shall be to increase the number of women among the filmmakers that receive production funding. The foundation SFI has also been directed to provide an accounting of the proportion of men and women who have received production funding and other forms of film funding (Regeringens skrivelse 2002/03:140, p. 196).

The 2006 Film Agreement stipulated that one of its aims was to “improve the conditions of women film-makers” (§3) and that “the parties agree to work to increase gender equality in the area of film. The target is for support for Swedish film production to be divided evenly between men and women” (§4). In addition, during the period of the Agreement, at least 40% of funding recipients were to be women and at least 40% men, in each of the categories of scriptwriter, producer, and director.

The Agreement also directs the SFI to provide an annual report on gender distribution within these categories.

In the 2013 Film Agreement, we find several minor but significant changes. First of all, the gender equality objective is no longer formulated as an improvement to conditions for women filmmakers, but as “funding shall be divided evenly between women and men.” Second, the reporting requirement has been altered, and the categories of feature films, films for children and young people, and short and documentary films are now to be reported separately. Moreover, regarding funding distribution, the phrase “both women and men should be represented at the level of at least 40% each” has been changed to “divided equally between women and men.”

The latest approach to gender equality in the film industry, therefore, focuses on representation: the number of women and men in certain central positions. This ambition had been formulated previously, when it was motivated by the idea that the underrepresentation of women was linked to industry conditions. This is clear in the bill that preceded the 2000 Agreement, and in the wording of the 2006 Agreement. Balanced distribution of funding is a means to an end, and that end is the improvement of industry conditions for women filmmakers. This is no longer the case in the 2013 Agreement, which only stipulates that funds shall be distributed evenly. Where previously, the goal had been increased gender equality, and the equal distribution of funds was merely the tool, in 2013, equal distribution of funds became both the tool and the goal itself.

The 2013 Film Agreement also sets out more stringent criteria for measuring whether that goal has been achieved. The statistics on funding distribution are now to be broken out into genres. The gender equality objective has been more narrowly

defined even as the methods for measuring results have been honed. Measurement and evaluation can have a governing and disciplinary function (see, for example, Sjöberg 2011 and Jarl 2012): when it is possible to critically examine someone's work, that person will often choose to behave in a way that bears up under examination.

We find yet another way to talk about gender equality in *Vägval för filmen* (SOU 2009:73). Here, the argument for an equal gender distribution in the film industry is linked to democratic values and is predicated on the value of reflecting a diversity of experiences and narratives in the films that are produced.

To summarize, we have identified three different dimensions of gender equality in the film industry:

- Gender parity, or equality of numbers.
- Gender equality in the sense of improved conditions for women.
- Gender equality as a guarantee for a diversity of narrative in film.

The SFI has a central role to play in all of these dimensions, but as we shall show, they cannot act independently of various other players in the film industry.

5. Gender Equality in the Film Industry

In this section, we examine the attitudes of different film industry players toward gender equality goals. Our aim is to shed light on how the film industry as a whole negotiates and works toward those goals. We begin with the Swedish Film Institute, move next to distributors, and finally to producers.

5.1 Audience, quality, and gender

The 2013 Film Agreement assigns the SFI formal responsibility for achieving the objectives of an equal division of funds between women and men, and reporting back on the results. Thus, in effect, the Agreement makes the SFI responsible for gender equality.

In our interview with Anna Serner, we discussed the task of distributing advance production funding. Serner drew a 4x4 matrix, with attendance numbers along one axis and quality along the other. According to Serner, the SFI's most important task is to guarantee that films awarded advance production funding after assessment by a commissioner will land in the top half of that matrix – among the films of greater-than-average quality. She adds that statistics in fact show that advance funding does go to such films. The cutoff point for attendance figures is set at 100,000 tickets. Of course, Serner says, they want advance-funded films to achieve not only good quality but also good box office numbers, but ensuring quality is their main job. These two metrics are completely consistent with how public film policy has been constructed: the standard for a film's success is the number of tickets sold; meanwhile, quality is the most important consideration in the distribution of advance funding. This policy decision draws legitimacy from the fact that the SFI can compare the films they support with films that do not receive any quality-based advance funding. Of course, it is obvi-

ous that no matter how good a film is, the legitimacy of the policy is diminished if attendance figures should be very low.

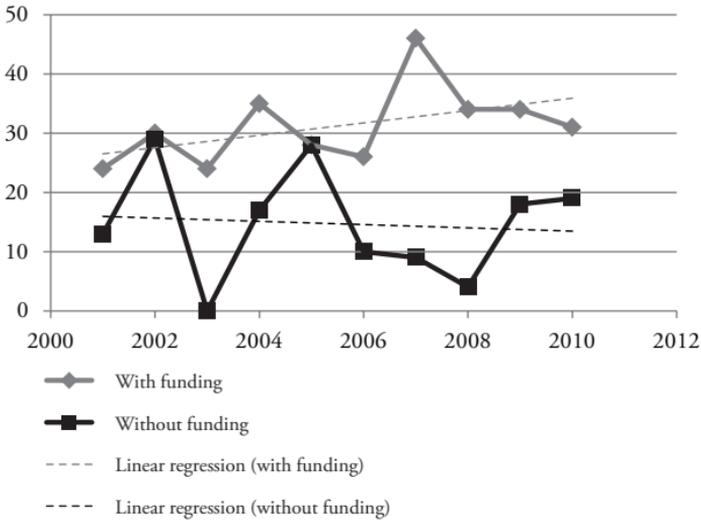
Compared to quality and box office success, gender equality appears as an addendum both to the SFI's brief and to the policy as it stands – an add-on to the primary aims. As a result, the provisions for achieving the gender equality objective are also different. One way of seeing the problem that has gained a foothold, both in the world of policy and in the film industry, is that the women are “missing.” Support for this view comes, for instance, from a 2010 SFI report on debut directors. The report states that women and men follow partly different paths into the industry, and fewer women than men consider entering the industry at all (SFI 2010; for a discussion of the report see Jansson 2011). It has also been noted, however, that women experience difficulties establishing themselves in the industry after their debut. Serner has initiated a mentoring network, *Movement*, to actively help younger women in the industry forge contacts with those who are more established:

We call it a collegial program for change. The basic idea is that five established women directors are paired together with ten newer women directors. Because even if you have your debut, it's hard to establish yourself afterwards. We try to help out with that.

If we look at the statistics for feature films that did or did not receive assessment-based funding, and focus on the number of women that work as directors, it is clear that SFI has at least partially succeeded in distributing advance funding equally between men and women. Films without assessment funding are trending towards fewer women directors; for films with assessment funding, the trend is an upward one. In other words, men more often occupy the key role of director in films mainly financed by private investors (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Percentage of women directors in films that did and did not receive assessment-based advance funding.

Source: Statistics from the SFI.



It is clear that the SFI has assumed responsibility for working toward the objective stated in the Agreement. It has seldom been discussed, however, whether that responsibility comes along with the necessary scope for action. It is hardly within the SFI’s power, for example, to influence the choice of director, writer, or producer for any film project directly. It would be more accurate to say that the SFI’s directive to distribute funding in a gender-equal manner grants them power indirectly, by creating incentives for other actors to choose women. As Martin Persson says, “now we get rewarded for working with women.” The SFI also has no direct opportunity to make decisions that affect work conditions in the industry or to make any decisions about distribution. On the other hand, the SFI can take an active part in discussions and the public debate; it can inform and educate; and it can develop other initiatives aimed at heightening the awareness about gender equality questions. Nonetheless, in order to truly achieve equality in the film industry, the SFI needs

help from other actors. Several of these actors are parties to the Film Agreement and its gender equality goals – but how do they view their roles and their responsibilities?

5.2 Distributors and the gender equality objective

Because they have a hand in deciding which projects are eligible for assessment funding, distributors play a crucial role for the Agreement’s gender equality objective, although an indirect one. Previously, films were required to have a distributor before they could receive production funding. This “distribution requirement” meant that distributors functioned like “gate-keepers,” determining which films could seek funding – and whether those films had women or men as producers, directors or writers. This raises the question: what was that gender distribution like for each of the various distributors?

The Swedish Film Database lists 192 Swedish feature films released between 2002 and 2011. We should note that this includes all films longer than 70 minutes, feature films as well as children’s films and documentaries. The four largest distributors handled a total of 131 films, or 70%, divided as follows: Folkets Bio, 42 films; Svensk Filmindustri AB, 41; Sonet, 34;¹⁰ and Nordisk film, 14. The remaining 64 films were handled by other distributors, including the now-defunct Sandrew (12 films during 2002–2009). Of the whole group of 192 films, 49 were directed by one or more women; 5 by one woman and one man; and 141 by men only. In other words, 72% were directed by one or more men, 25% by women, and 3% by both a man and a woman. Table 2 shows how these films are apportioned among the various distributors:

¹⁰ Since 2008, Sonet has been a part of SF.

Table 2. Long films (over 70 minutes) released between 2002 and 2011, broken down by distributor and gender of director.

<i>Distributor</i>	<i>Directed by a man or men only</i>	<i>Directed by a woman or women only</i>	<i>Directed by both a man and a woman</i>
Folkets Bio	22 (52%)	15 (36%)	5 (12%)
Svensk Filmindustri AB	31 (76%)	10 (24%)	
Sonet	25 (74%)	9 (26%)	
Nordisk film	11 (79%)	3 (21%)	
Other	52 (81%)	12 (19%)	
Total	141 (72%)	49 (25%)	5 (3%)

Source: The Swedish Film Database.

As we can see, the only distributor that approaches a balanced distribution of directors by gender is Folkets Bio. All the other distributors lie just at or below the group average. The category “others” is the least gender-balanced of all. This category includes a number of different kinds of films: several documentaries and some films for which the director and the distributor were the same person or company, but also some feature films that were rather big in terms of box office.

One thing we asked the distributors we interviewed was how they saw the previous distribution requirement in relationship to gender equality objectives. Pia Grünler of Nordisk film says that Nordisk film does not consider gender when they evaluate a film project. They do not use any “gender equality parameters when they evaluate projects – our point of departure is more commercial.” On the other hand, she also says that they have become increasingly aware of the issue, in part because it has been raised by the SFI.

Eva Svendénus at SF points out that she cannot speak for SF’s production department, which chooses the films that SF co-produces – the films for which she then works on distribution. She does say, however, that SF has no formal policy on gender equality as it is presented in the Film Agreement objectives. She personally does not consider the gender of the filmmakers but rather evaluates the project as a whole, reasoning along lines rather similar to Grünler.

Folkets Bio, in contrast, actively seeks out women filmmakers; the statistics on their films make that clear. It is important to note that they have a different mission statement from Nordisk film or SF. Folkets Bio is an enterprise that was founded by filmmakers; they own their own cinemas, and their stated goal is to exhibit quality films, documentaries, and films from all countries and in all languages. Asked about the distribution requirement, Bettan von Horn says:

We get involved early on and write a letter of certification if people need it, although much less often than we used to. Such incredible numbers of films are being made, so we can’t take all of them. But we do try to write certifications nevertheless, because we don’t think we’re the ones who should decide whether a film gets funding. That’s a job for the commissioners.

In general, then, we can say that although it is still somewhat unclear what the new wording of the Agreement will mean in practice, distributors will retain a key role in deciding which films receive funding. Accordingly, they also have an important role in efforts to achieve the general equality objective set out in the Agreement.

We cannot, of course, explore the full complexity of the issue here. For example, there may well be individuals at the commercial distributors who actively apply a gender perspective in their work. Distributors' efforts toward the goal of gender equality may also express or manifest themselves in ways that we have failed to capture. At the least, however, our investigation suggests that commercial distributors do not consider themselves bound by the gender equality objective laid out in the Film Agreement.

5.3 Producers and gender equality

The producers we interviewed tended to collaborate with directors and writers with whom they had worked before. Grünler characterizes production as “a little world, like a family.” Tengblad uses the same image, saying that you have to “build your own family.” And Jonjic believes that a good film builds upon long-term relationships. In general, almost everyone describes production as a rather small world where everyone knows one another. The possible exception is Persson, who says searching out a new woman director or writer is no extra effort – he has a hard time finding people anyway, since he is not based in Stockholm but in southern Sweden.

Both Persson and Ryborn, however, say that women are generally hard to find. Women rarely call producers themselves; both men think women ought to be a little tougher, more confident and assertive. Women can't be afraid to try, Ryborn says. He is

reluctant to generalize about women and men; he also sees the advent of a new generation of women who are better at asserting their own interests. However:

Historically, my experience is that men – generally speaking, at least – are better at pushing their own projects forward. I like to say that as a director it's easier to manage if you're a just little bit stupid, and the same goes for producers, because the number of risks is insane. I guess the thing is, we're all slightly different kinds of people – and I'm not talking about women and men, but about being the kind of person that can handle being a director or a producer. You have to lead an entire team, 30–35 people, with everything that that entails, you have to manage the financial side, fight with the distributors, and so on. I think most people feel like: I can't handle it; is it worth it? And unfortunately, I think that maybe slightly more women than men have thought this way. So in order to have their freedom and do their projects, they've opted out of larger projects in favor of smaller films and documentaries.

That more women are found in alternative film genres finds support in the study *Män, män, män och en och annan kvinna* (Hermele 2002). There, we see that the percentage of women among available production personnel increased from 2000–2001. The number of women actually working in production during the same period does not show a corresponding increase. There are several ways to explain this state of affairs. Hermele argues that issues of space and working conditions lead women into alternative genres; they do find space there, but money and career opportunities are in shorter supply. The fundamental issue is that women and men face different conditions within the industry. In Tengblad's words, women are “forced” into smaller film projects. Tengblad also thinks people in the industry often suggest that women are not capable, a notion that she says “always turns out to be wrong.”

The argument that women “choose” other genres, such as documentaries or alternative films, is common in the industry. This reasoning is often combined with the idea that women do not assert their own interests as much as men do (Jansson 2011). This kind of explanation locates the problem in what women are like by nature, rather than in the fact that women and men face different conditions.

A study about the film and TV industries in the UK offers an example of how conditions for men and women may differ. The authors show that personal networks and previous collaborations greatly impact career success. They point out that different groups, men and women among them, do similar amounts of networking, but when it comes to generating actual job offers, those networks favor white middle-class men:

Significantly, it was the access which networks provided to quality work, rather than their strength or size, that secured advantage. Working-class BME (Black and Minority ethnic) and female informants did not network any less actively than their white, male, middle-class colleagues, but they had far less access to high-quality productions (Grugulis and Stoyanova 2012, p. 1327).

The issue, in other words, is not that women do not try. The problem is that the same amount of work generates different results. In light of Grugulis’ and Stoyanova’s results, it also makes sense to posit a connection between the fact that women are more often found in some kinds of film projects than others, and the fact that invitations to participate in projects are largely regulated by informal networks and personal contacts.

Although distributors may offer their input, it is producers who decide who will direct and who will write a script. The results of those decisions often depend on how the project was initiated. Even if a director or screenwriter gets the ball rolling by contacting a producer, in the final analysis, it is the producer

who decides which projects they will take on and seek funding for. Producers, therefore, play the decisive role in determining which projects apply for public funding from the SFI.

We can sum up our discussion of these industry actors – the SFI, the distributors, and the producers – by observing the following:

- The objective to distribute film funds equally between women and men has had some effect.
- Films that receive funding based on a commissioner's assessment are more likely than other films to have women in key positions.
- The directive to distribute funds equally is made more difficult for the SFI to follow by the existence of gatekeepers elsewhere – chiefly producers and distributors. These gatekeepers determine which projects the SFI sees.
- Commercial distributors do not feel bound by the Film Agreement's gender equality target.
- Folkets Bio is the only distributor with a policy aimed at distributing more films with women in key positions.
- Films distributed by commercial distributors have a substantially lower percentage of women directors than those distributed by Folkets Bio. The proportion of women in these films is also lower than the average for Swedish films with production funding from the SFI.
- Producers play a central role in decisions about who will work on a project, and thereby also determine how many projects have women in key positions.
- Networking among producers is the most important factor in deciding who works on what projects.
- Research suggests that while women and men are equally active networkers, men's networks yield better results, both in the number and quality of jobs offered.

6. Gender Equality and the 2013 Film Agreement

We have established that certain built-in obstacles stand in the way of achieving gender equality goals. Even so, generally speaking, film policy has historically been designed in a way that has increased filmmaking opportunities for women. We might also say that when policy directs the distribution of funds, this favors gender equality, while market-controlled distribution works to the disadvantage of women.

Thus far, we have looked at factors that currently influence gender equality in the film industry. But what future consequences might the changes in 2013 Film Agreement have?

Under the new Agreement, commercial factors play a more important role in the allocation of production funding, due to the introduction of automatic funding. The threshold for receiving funds is also higher, due to the requirement for an established producer. We have interpreted these shifts as manifestations of a desire to guide the industry towards bigger (and fewer) production companies, in keeping with the logic of a new, market-oriented discourse. The third change in the Agreement, which we have also called a non-change, or perhaps the illusion of a change, is the question of window neutrality.

In this section, we will explore what these changes may mean for the three dimensions of gender equality that we identified above: gender parity, or equality of numbers; equality of working conditions and opportunities; and equality in terms of increased diversity in film narratives.

6.1 Established producer

The change with regards to an “established producer” codifies a shift that in practice has already begun. The Government bill

that preceded the 2013 Agreement stated that industry profitability (measured in the proportion of films whose earnings recouped their production costs) had increased as a result of the SFI's policy of "concentrating supporting funds in fewer companies that have continuous activity, which has helped lift the experience base and promote economic stability" (Proposition 2012/13:22, p. 30).

Section 8 of the Agreement defines an "established producer" as follows:

The term "established producer" refers to a natural person defined in the first paragraph who has produced at least two feature films or two drama series or one feature film and one drama series. The productions must have been carried out without technical or financial fault being found.

In addition, an established producer must be professionally active in the film and television industry and be associated with a production company that has film and television production as its principal activity. The company must:

1. have well-developed production activities for regular film and television production, or
2. be able to present a well-considered and long-term plan both for production activities and for the general development of the company.

Martin Persson believes these changes are for the better, since many industry workers are self-employed, and so for a company to go bankrupt is a disastrous event for them. It is experiences of this kind, he suggests, that lie behind the changes:

When this has happened, it's been due to a lack of experience on the producer's part. Clearly, a film is a complex financial undertaking, and you employ a lot of people, and so having experience is important.

The bill also concludes that larger, more established companies will increase profitability and spread out risk.

Some interpret the requirement for an established producer as an extra barrier to entry into the film industry. The first consequence we see for gender equality is that today, there are more men producers than women, and as we have seen, producers often collaborate with directors and writers they have worked with in the past. Raising the barrier to entry into the industry might therefore tend to preserve the present gender distribution in all of the key positions.

On the other hand, all of our interviewees point out that there is more than one way to establish oneself in the film industry. Many think that television is the best path into film, and a path that can provide a foundation for a stable film industry. Patrick Ryborn says:

You have to start in TV. Because that's where people learn the craft. At the moment, there are people who have made two shorts who get a budget of eight million kronor. And then you have to do a feature film. The chances of making that succeed are one in a million. Of course there will always be incredibly talented people. They come along from time to time. But that's not something you can build on.

Ryborn is saying, we believe, that an industry has to be built on a broad, solid foundation of experienced and professional filmmakers; the “geniuses” will always make a path for themselves, regardless.

Persson suggests that possibilities exist even for inexperienced people who want to produce a film, if they are prepared to collaborate with a more experienced producer:

I myself have stepped in and acted as established producer for some people, and it went well...Charlotte Most wanted to produce but

hadn't done it previously, so we made two films together. We don't work together any more, but she is certified by the SFI now, so to speak... China Åhlander, who made *Eat Sleep Die (Äta sova dö)*. She asked if we could apply together and she has also given lectures about how it's a good idea to have a partner. After all, you have workers that depend on you. As long you're open to collaboration it's no problem.

One problem with relying on collaboration to establish new filmmakers, at the same time that film policy encourages fewer and bigger production companies, might be that women entering the industry would end up in already existing companies owned and run by men.

It is also possible to imagine that women already established in the industry might find it easier to get new jobs and take charge of larger productions. Bigger companies with more employees, moreover, ought to raise gender quality standards. Inequality within organizations might become more visible; more active efforts to recruit additional women might result.

Another goal in changing the fragmented structure of production, of course, is to improve working conditions for people who make films. According to this logic, larger and less vulnerable production companies lead to greater job security. If it is true, as some research suggests, that poor working conditions present an obstacle to women entering the industry, then improving working conditions ought to reduce that obstacle.

In short, the established producer requirement has a number of plausible outcomes. It might increase gender parity and promote gender-equal working conditions – *but only if*:

- Established women producers get opportunities to lead more productions.
- Larger companies lead to greater visibility for gender equality issues within the companies.

- Larger companies lead to improved working conditions in a way that benefits women.

On the other hand, the established producer requirement might also decrease gender parity and make working conditions less equal, *if it results in:*

- The cementing of the present structure, where most producers are men.
- Women who enter the industry being forced into companies owned by men, instead of starting their own businesses.

Finally, there is also a risk that the established producer requirement will undermine gender equality in the sense of diversity of narrative and the representation of diverse experiences onscreen. If production companies are pressured to become larger and more financially stable, then these companies and their employees, when deciding what films to make, are more likely to conform to the male norm that dominates the industry. As a result, we would expect to see films for smaller markets crowded out, and diversity in film production decrease.

6.2 Automatic advance funding

Most of the people we interviewed were optimistic about automatic advance funding. It was a good idea, they thought, to making advance funding available for mass-market productions. Patrick Ryborn suggests that films with a large audience are good for the industry, although narrowly focused high quality film also has a legitimate place, since it helps raise interest in Swedish film: “Bergman’s films didn’t have a large audience,” he says, by way of example. Other interviewees see a link between automatic funding and industry stability. Eva Svendénus, for instance, says, “if you want to make films, and do it well, and find an audience, it’s hard if there are no financial resources.” Mainstream films are also a way to “keep the ten per cent [levy on cinema tickets] rolling in,” she says. The criticism of auto-

matic funding that we heard centered around two issues: gender equality concerns, stressed by both Anna Serner and Josefine Tengblad, and the fact that automatic funds come from the same pot as commissioner funds, which Martin Persson mentioned.

Like the established producer requirement, we can see automatic funding as a consolidation of a change already set in motion. Previously, films with large audience forecasts could receive advance funding if they met quality standards in a commissioner's assessment. Now all films with a sufficiently good forecast can receive funding. The notion that commercial films did not receive funding before, however, is mostly a myth. Among the films released in 2010, four of the 10 with the biggest box office numbers had received advance funding. In 2011 this number went up to seven out of 10, in 2012 to nine out of 10. Among these films we find titles such as *Easy Money (Snabba cash)*; ca. 600,000 tickets sold), *Hamilton – In the Interest of the Nation (Hamilton – I nationens intresse)*; ca. 513,000) and *Jägarna II* (ca. 537,000). Of the films that in fact sold more than 250,000 tickets, two of four in 2010 had received advance funding, three of five in 2011, and seven out of seven in 2012 (SFI 2010b, 2011, 2012). We find men in key positions in all 16 of these films. Only nine of the films hired any women at all. Seven of the films had only men in key positions, and only three had a women director.

The fact that automatic advance funding now comes from the same pot as other advance funding makes it probable that a gender-equal allocation of advance funding as a whole will become basically impossible. Tengblad points out this problem and discusses it against the background of her role at TV4:

It feels like so much money goes to automatic funding. The idea was to keep an eye on the big films too, to make sure the content was

good enough. But what we have noticed is that it's male producers and male directors who apply for big money to do these huge commercial projects. And then, for there to be any women directors at all, they'll clearly be doing the smaller, less mainstream films, and then they get stuck in that swamp instead of coming up and doing big films with big budgets. Plus, we might lose some male talents along the way, ones who want to make less mainstream films.

Serner agrees: "For us to meet the gender equality objective, I would have to step in and dictate that all of the assessment funding be allocated to films directed by women. And I can't do that," she says during our interview (see also Dagens Nyheter, January 28, 2013).

The divide between automatic funding for commercial film and assessment funding for quality film reflects and preserves the dichotomy between quality film and mass-market film (Pedersen et al. 2013). This distinction must be seen as institutionalized by and through film policy, and it is firmly established in the minds of those we interviewed. We see it, for example, when interviewees talk about making mass-market films as opposed to films that critics like. Ryborn talks about the banter among crew members on *Sune i Grekland*: "We used to joke about it when we made *Sune*, that we'd make two films – one would be for the critics, in which *Sune* digs a deep pit for 67 minutes and then pours all his angst into it." Another way to reference the distinction is to refer to quality film as "art house" or "intelligent" film.

We also see the quality-commerce dichotomy when, for example, Tengblad talks about picking a distributor who would not offer any opinions on her choice of actors. Here, the opposition appears as a negotiation for artistic freedom. One possibility, which both Tengblad and Ryborn touch upon, is that women are more inclined to embark on smaller projects because they feel they have more opportunity to influence the course of the

project and its result. As we have seen, research indicates that women's networks yield fewer job opportunities than men's; thus, we could also imagine that women simply have less access than men to large, big-budget projects. In that case, increasing focus on big-budget film would mean that fewer women get the chance to make any kind of film at all, and it would force those who do want to make films into artistic compromises and ultimately restrict their freedom. If this is correct, then a shift toward mass-market films constitutes an obstacle for women's entry into the film industry. It could also lead to greater segregation within the industry – between women who make more niche films with smaller budgets, and men who make more popular films with bigger budgets.

How automatic funding will affect the balancing act between broad marketability and artistic integrity remains to be seen. For films to achieve commercial success, they have to fit a mold: they have to be the kind of film that “sells.” As we have shown above, this may mean choosing well-known actors or an intellectual property that will excite interest in the film. Clearly, that would put limits on what kinds of stories can be told, which films can be made. Tengblad believes it is hard to make films from a women's point of view whose target audience is women. During her work on *Kiss Me*, she says, a film commissioner told her that the script was the worst he had ever read, and if Tengblad let her director do the film, she would destroy the director's career. But Tengblad thinks it is important that there be a way for films like *Kiss Me* to get made. “There are so many stories and histories and films [about women, for women] left to do.”

What are the possible ramifications of advance funding on future film production? Already today, conditions are tougher for niche films that do not conform to mainstream conventions and ideas than for more popular films. Automatic funding is likely to widen that divide. We often find more niche films in

the stable of Folkets bio, and Bettan von Horn says that Folkets Bio makes it a priority to think about what stories they present; they see it partly as a freedom of speech issue. They want to make space for films that perhaps could not be exhibited elsewhere, and films that engage in social criticism based on political convictions. They also want to expose audiences to spheres of culture from outside the English-speaking world.

In conclusion, we can say that automatic advance funding appears most likely to influence gender equality in terms of numbers and gender equality as it relates to narrative diversity in film. In both cases, the impact of automatic funding will probably be negative, since:

- Currently, men are more likely to take on big productions than women.
- Films that reflect the prevailing male norm tend to be judged more successful and to attract a larger audience.
- Automatic funding implies less money for smaller films, which is where established women filmmakers at present are mostly to be found.

6.3 Greater window neutrality

The change that perhaps represents the greatest challenge to earlier forms of public film policy is the elimination of the requirement for cinematic release. The changes in the wording of the 2013 Agreement seem rather modest: an earlier formulation about cinematic release found under the definition of feature film was altered to state that a feature film should be of “such a quality that it can be shown in a movie theater” (§7). Since, however, the revision is located under the definition of feature film, it disrupts, first, the previous construction of new windows as a threat, and second, the very meaning of (feature) film, which has been the basis for all public film policy in Sweden and for the way the industry exploits films. At the same time, the

revision is undercut by the protocol note mentioned above. It is also undercut by the fact that the success of a film is measured in ticket sales. And we could argue that the Agreement's stronger focus on big box office films actually strengthens the role of the cinema window in film policy – since everyone we interviewed agreed that the cinema is the main source of revenues.

Almost all of our interviewees found it hard to predict what effect these changes would have in practice. Anna Serner thinks that a cinematic release remains an important factor for assessments of new film projects. No specific new directives have been developed for the film commissioners in the wake of the revisions. If a producer does not have an established distributor, he or she will need to present a solid argument and a detailed plan for alternative methods of distribution instead. Serner says that the great majority of films will still need a distributor in order to receive advance funding from the SFI. Projects that start out without a distributor also remain bigger risks as they move forward.

No one we asked believed that the new wording will lead to any major changes in the short term. Regarding a potential departure from the normal release sequence, they mention three problems in particular. First, how will films be marketed and find their audience? Second, what options actually exist for combining cinematic release with exhibition in other windows? This includes questions about license periods (holdback) and possibilities for so-called day-and-date release, when a film is released in multiple windows simultaneously. Third, which kinds of films will be exhibited in which windows?

Finding an audience

Ylva Swedenborg believes that it is hard to get people to notice a film that will not be released in cinemas, and thus hard to get it rooted in the consciousness of a potential audience. Martin

Persson helped produce a documentary about The Pirate Bay for Internet release and is of a different opinion. He believes it is perfectly possible to launch a feature film and find an audience without a cinema release, but says, “of course, you need a different mindset from the very beginning.”

Several of our interviewees suggested that a cinema release goes hand in hand with other things that draw attention to a film, including newspaper reviews and other kinds of attention from the media. This demonstrates how deeply institutionalized the normal release sequence is. Guaranteeing window neutrality will take more than a revision to the Film Agreement; it will also require rewriting the playbook for how media and distributors interact. In an article about e-books that are released on the Internet, Marc Verboord (2011) has shown that moving to Internet release also affects the forms under which information about those books is disseminated. For one thing, he notes, when distribution channels change, the relationship between traditional media and publishers must be renegotiated. The biggest difference, however, results from the “word of mouth” effect that happens on the Internet. Readers write their own reviews and share their reading experiences on the Internet, and this behavior affects book sales. Verboord also shows that this form of distribution benefits women authors in particular. Releasing in alternative windows, therefore, might encourage new ways of disseminating information about films as well.

Hanna Sköld and Helene Granqvist have distributed films via The Pirate Bay under a Creative Commons license. In an interview for the magazine *Vi*, both Sköld and Granqvist argue similarly to Verboord: more windows create a larger audience, leading to more opportunities for traditional exploitation as well. They contend that the idea that moving away from license periods would harm exhibitors is incorrect. “The most-shared films

on the Internet also draw the largest audiences in the cinema,” they point out. Sharing creates multiple kinds of added value:

The more people like, share, and spread a work, the more valuable the work should be in our eyes: it accrues economic value in the form of marketing, social value through people’s engagement, and cultural value, as more people have the opportunity to see the film (Granqvist, cited in Solberger 2012).

For Lizette Jonjic, new distribution windows represent an opening for films with a narrow focus. Maximizing the number of windows, she believes, gets people talking about a film, so it may find a larger audience than it otherwise would have.

Reform impossible as long as exhibitors are in charge

This brings us to the second problem: where do alternative distribution windows fit in the current model for the commercial exploitation of films and the prevailing system of license periods (holdback)? A number of our interviewees feel that it is currently impossible to premiere a film in an alternative window and still arrange a cinema release. Some say the film gets “used up,” and think that even a festival screening can have this effect for non-mainstream films: the small number of people who are interested will already have seen it at the festival. Most, however, believe that it ought to be possible to do something like raising interest in a film by offering it as VOD over a weekend, and still open in cinemas – the problem is that exhibitors will not allow it. A number of our interviewees brought up *Miss Kicki* in this connection, as an example of the impossibility of reforming the license period principle.

Some also found it natural that exhibitors are reluctant to change the way things are now. Pia Grünler and Eva Svendénus believe it goes without saying that exhibitors want to exploit a film as much as possible. Moreover, exhibitors contribute to the funds

that films receive under the Film Agreement, and more ticket sales generate more money for the Agreement.

Jonjic thinks that changing license periods would be hard to do, and not only because of exhibitors' interests:

If you're going to go through a system of public funding and also ask for backing from private investors, you need to be able to say, "we'll earn back your money." They won't believe you if you don't have a cinematic release. You need to see examples that have succeeded and be able to measure the result. Someone has to go first, maybe with a fairly commercial product.

In other words, any changes to license periods, or any real window neutrality, would require an acknowledged model for commercial exploitation.

Jonjic does not think that new distribution windows will actually "ruin" the way things are now. Like Granqvist and Sköld, she thinks that simultaneous release in multiple windows would benefit everyone. "I understand the principle that everyone wants to make money on what they do, but I don't think one thing necessarily has to exclude the other," she says.

Persson believes that the current order mostly benefits distributors and cinema owners, whom he says keep up to 80% of film revenues. He thinks new ways could be found to exploit film using the Internet that would better serve the films' creators.¹¹ He believes an audience exists with both the money and the desire to consume film and to view the newest content in alternative distribution windows, if only that content is made available. "No filmmaker wants a system that stops the film from being available to as many people at once as possible."

¹¹ Persson also directs us to the short animation, *A Swedish Perspective*, at www.tbbaftk.tv.

In Jonjic's world, distributors fill an important function as a link between the filmmakers and their audience: "the distributors know the market," she states. Producers cannot do everything. Currently, however, the people who make film have little leverage. When *Miss Kicki* was kept out of the cinema, she felt utterly powerless. "Of course you want your film to have a life," she says. Still, Jonjic believes that before professional filmmakers are able to exhibit their films in other windows, change needs to happen in the distribution stage, to create a system that financiers can trust. "You have to dare to modify the holdback and territorial protections and make a decision: we're going to do this film this way. And it needs to be a distributor who gets up the courage to do it."

Those we spoke to had a range of ideas about how films might be distributed in windows outside the cinema. All of them, however, bring up changes in the relationship – or the balance of power – between distribution and production, in regards to both industry status and revenue apportionment. A significant move toward window neutrality would fundamentally alter the relationship between distributors and exhibitors as well, since the cinema window would then face increased competition.

Cinema offerings and window segregation

The third problem associated with window neutrality is its potential effect on cinema programming. A few of our interview subjects speculate that window neutrality might make programming more standardized by allowing exhibitors to prioritize foreign blockbusters. This, in turn, might influence what kinds of films could be produced in the resulting film landscape. Ryborn suggests that a trend toward more polarization between films that attract large audiences and those that do not is, in some ways, already visible. As more and more films become available in alternative windows, audiences make greater demands of the films they watch in the cinema:

There's such an overabundance with Netflix and all the others. All the films are available to you. So when you go to the cinema, you want to have something else, something that's more of an event. Visually it needs to be monumental. Think of yourself, going to the cinema, what kinds of films do you see? Don't we often find ourselves thinking, "this is a real 'cinema film'?"

Everyone we spoke to agreed that big American films crowd out smaller, more "difficult" films, as well as the films that used to attract "medium-sized" audiences, in the range of 20,000–200,000 visitors.¹²

Swedenborg agrees with Ryborn's analysis that we are less likely to take ourselves to the movies when we can access so much film at home on the couch. At the same time, she nuances the picture by describing how different marketing conditions can be for big international films and Swedish productions, large or small. When something like a new James Bond film is being marketed, the budget is set by contractual agreement with the international distributor. Swedenborg can only imagine what the marketing budget must have been like for the latest Bond film: "I mean, it's *everywhere*. It's so massive that even I have started to feel like I should probably go and see it." Larger Swedish productions have at best a budget of around 2.5 or 3 million crowns, and smaller productions have substantially less.

Our interview with Serner offered another perspective on the significance of cinema exhibition. Serner believes cinema attendance is critical for more difficult films. Watching a film that offers some resistance requires a setting in which you have to stay in your seat – if you are allowed to get up and make coffee or start another activity, you might end up just turning the film

¹² This perception is supported by statistics from the SFI showing that digitalization of the cinemas results in fewer films on the program, while the films that are shown attract a larger audience (SFI 2013b).

off. Thus, cinema showings are important for niche films as well as commercial ones.

Window neutrality and gender equality

What are we to think of window neutrality and the role of the Internet – can they help solve the problem of gender equality in film? Ryborn does not believe window neutrality will impact gender parity in the film industry; for others, this remains an open question. Persson calls the Internet a democratic medium; we interpret this to mean that it is open to everyone, regardless of his or her social group. Thus, window neutrality might potentially encourage greater gender equality.

The Internet is sometimes described as a revolutionary change that has the potential to affect the distribution of resources, the way we talk about ourselves and about the world, and the opportunities that exist for individuals and groups to make their voices heard and share cultural expressions. A contrasting view of the Internet sees it as a new form, but hardly a change in the prevailing structures of society. The same structures that prevail in other spheres also limit and create unequal conditions for the use of information technology. Equally, these structures influence the content of, expectations for, and opportunities to disseminate everything that is published on the Internet (Dahlberg 2011).

It is safe to assume that in the future, films will be distributed in different windows, in different sequences than the one dictated by the current system of license periods. Other questions are more difficult to answer. Will simultaneous release in multiple windows become more common? If so, which films will be shown in which windows, and how?

It is also hard to know what effect all of this will have on gender equality in filmmaking. Everyone we interviewed appeared to agree that today men occupy the important positions on the

big commercial films. If this state of affairs persists, then greater window neutrality might carry the consequence that films with women in key positions will be shown in “smaller” windows. If exhibitors are no longer morally bound by agreements and VAT exemptions, we might fear that they will end up investing in the biggest commercial films at the expense of more narrowly focused productions.

On the other hand, as we have already mentioned, window neutrality may help non-mainstream films attract more attention through new channels and new media. If (or when) window neutrality results in new forms for exhibiting film and new business models for commercial exploitation, we might also expect that a film could attract a fairly large audience by finding the right niche and addressing specific target audiences. This could increase gender equality by increasing narrative diversity in film. The big question is: what models for exploitation are being developed, and how well will their developers succeed in integrating the necessary conditions for diversity and gender equality?

It is also important to point out that the Internet may not always have the shape it does today, where almost anyone can upload a film to sites such as YouTube. By now we have learned that people would generally rather pay to listen to music on the Internet, for example, than listen illegally. No models yet exist for exploiting film on the Internet in a similar way. But as more and more commercial models are developed for the Internet, it is easy to imagine that what is today sometimes called the free anarchy of the Internet could end up as just one marketplace among many others. As is so often the case, the course of events is difficult to predict.

It seems, however, fairly likely that models will be developed to exhibit and exploit film in ways different from today. This pro-

cess and the challenge it presents, which was forecast in *Vägval för filmen* (SOU 2009:73), cannot be handled with partial solutions such as those we find in the 2013 Agreement. No policy answer to the challenge has yet been formulated. It is important, therefore, that we start trying now to identify the critical parameters for gender equality when the time comes to find new commercial models for distribution in these new windows.

In conclusion, we can say that a policy of window neutrality, if implemented (which was not really done in the 2013 Agreement), has the potential to influence gender equality in all its facets: parity of numbers, equality of conditions, and narrative diversity. The window neutrality issues we have identified as important for gender equality have to do with:

- Changes in marketing and coverage by the media (including new media) for films that do not follow the current release sequence, and whether those changes might favor gender equality.
- Whether distribution in more varied windows will fall along gender lines, such that films made by women tend to be released or exhibited in some windows, and films by men in others.
- Whether new models for film exploitation will be shaped in a way that favors gender equality.
- Whether exploitation models and film policy itself will be shaped in a way that promotes diversity of form and content in newly produced films.

In the next and final section of this report, we will discuss our results thus far, and venture a few tentative recommendations for the future.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

Historically, Swedish film policy has been framed as a response to a problem stated in the following way: that Swedish film production has been threatened by a decline in revenues as film consumption moved to new distribution windows (TV, video, DVD, the Internet). In the Film Agreements, attempts to solve that problem have been fused with a broader cultural policy ambition to support quality film.

Our analysis suggests that the revisions made in the 2013 Film Agreement challenge the earlier understanding of new windows as a threat to film production. These revisions have, however, not led to any real-world changes regarding window neutrality. Meanwhile, the new, market-oriented discourse that we now see in film policy has resulted in a shift of focus, away from quality and towards incentivizing new corporate structures in the production stage of the film chain.

The producers we interviewed describe an under-financed sector in which distributors and exhibitors recoup their expenses first, and pocket the greatest part of a film's revenues. When film policy constructs production as the biggest problem, the power relation between distributors and producers remains invisible. The position of commercial distributors has also been strengthened by the introduction of automatic advance funding in the 2013 Agreement.

The shift in policy focus also brings with it a lessening in the ability of the Swedish Film Institute to implement the gender equality objective set out in the Agreement. The free market appears less good at living up to goals of gender equality and diversity than the SFI, who are regulated by the Agreement. This probably applies to equality both in terms of simple numbers of men and women and in terms of filmic content.

We have shown that film policy formulates three different aspects of gender equality: parity of men and women in numbers, gender-equal conditions in the industry, and the notion that gender equality increases the diversity of experiences that are shown on film.

Since the revisions in the 2013 Agreement cannot yet be fully evaluated, our reasoning is of necessity preliminary. We believe, however, that beyond the relative numbers of women and men in key industry positions, it will be important to keep an eye on the following parameters:

- Whether films with women versus men in key positions are exhibited in different windows, or receive different resources for marketing.
- Whether the gulf widens between the kinds of movies made by men and those made by women.
- How working conditions in the production stage develop.
- What kinds of film are produced and how diversity in production is affected by the policy changes.

7.1 Four recommendations for a gender-equal film industry

Below we present several recommendations aimed at promoting gender equality. We agree with Mats Svegfors and the Report *Vägval för filmen* that some of these changes will be difficult to implement within the framework of the present Film Agreement. The biggest obstacle we see is the current model of financing the Agreement through surcharges on cinema tickets. Nonetheless, we would not like to dismiss completely the idea of building film policy on collaboration between the state and industry actors. We can see several possibilities for exciting and enriching collaborations in which the state and both private and non-profit actors can build on common interests.

Greater focus on distribution and marketing

As we have shown, the distribution stage of the film chain plays an important role in determining what films get made. In practice, a distribution requirement for feature films is still in effect, and with the introduction of automatic funding, distributors acquire yet another key function. As far as gender equality goes, we can note that commercial distributors do not consider themselves bound by the equality aims expressed in the Film Agreement. Distribution through Folkets Bio, which actively works to equalize gender distribution, comes with extremely limited resources for marketing. Swedenborg points out that advertising cannot sell just anything; it needs to be backed up by a good film. But even if that is true, visibility plays a major role in determining what kind of audience a film will reach.

In order to create a diversity of films that address controversial questions and express women's experiences in ways that challenge the male norm, the existence of actors such as Folkets Bio is paramount, as they highlight the more challenging, critical films, even if those films are not immediate commercial successes. However, if the recent turn in film policy toward rewarding a commercial industry structure continues – and we believe that this is what characterizes the new Film Agreement – both producers and distributors of more difficult films will require support of a different kind, more motivated by cultural policy, than the commercial sector of the industry can provide. First and foremost, such films need increased visibility through both traditional and new means. Both new media and new kinds of marketing strategies may play an increasingly important role here. This could promote both gender equality and a general interest in these films.

- Provide special funds for marketing specialty or niche films, and for projects that develop new kinds of marketing strategies.

Window neutrality and revenue distribution throughout the film chain

Window neutrality challenges the basic pillars of Swedish film policy. Simultaneously, however, it opens the door to enormous opportunities. Most film consumption in Sweden today does not take place at the cinema. In addition, Sweden has an excellent infrastructure for distribution through channels like the Internet.

Today, although piracy remains a concern, we know from experience that most consumers prefer to pay for legal downloads if such an option is available. From this perspective, we might see piracy as a response to a market failure – that is, a failure to meet demand for goods and services in a legal market. We also know that cinema attendance has been more or less stable since the early 1990s, in spite of the fact that so many new ways of viewing film have been introduced during that time. We can safely predict that changes will occur in the ways films are exploited for the market. If the political will exists to route a larger piece of the pie to production, at the same time that new models for monetizing film emerge, there would be good reason to reconsider what the partnership between the state and the film industry might look like, and how it might incorporate considerations of gender equality and diversity.

- A proactive stance on new distribution windows and new services, as for example on the Internet, can make it easier to design models for exploiting film in new windows that support gender equality and diversity.

A prerequisite for true window neutrality is the loosening-up of license periods. One suggestion is to establish a platform for streaming quality Swedish film, where it would be possible to download a film from the first day of its release, regardless of whether or not the film received a cinematic release, and where older Swedish films could also be accessed. The forthcoming

digitalization of the SFI's film archive could be part of such an initiative, and could add value to it. The platform could be owned collectively by various interested parties, or by a coordinating industry organization such as the SFI. Revenues could be re-invested in production and in the continued digitalization of older film.

- Create a platform for streaming Swedish quality film.

Window neutrality requires the development of new standards to measure audience size. Such standards could also be an important basis for discussions about how distribution in different windows will look in the future.

- Measure a film's "box office" success using more windows than just the cinema.

Work to help establish women in the industry

Focus has been directed towards achieving a less fragmented industry, where less collective experience is wasted as a result of the fact that key figures such as directors, writers and producers seldom make more than one film. This leads to the suggestion that we could promote gender parity by making it easier for women, in particular, to make a second film. This could be the focus of a special initiative. In the short term, this would also counterbalance the increased number of films with men in key positions that will likely be a consequence of automatic funding.

- Create a special pot of money to finance second films by debut women filmmakers.

What kind of film do we want? What kind of gender equality?

The new Film Agreement can be seen as both a result and a manifestation of the challenges faced by the film industry and film policy: namely, to adapt policy, production and exploitation to the new conditions that arise alongside new windows and new

ways of consuming film. At the same time, we must recognize that the compromise that is the 2013 Film Agreement has only postponed to a later date the important and clearly controversial question of how to handle alternative windows.

A more thorough policy change and a wide-ranging discussion about how it can be effectuated would require taking up questions the film industry has avoided for a long time. What kind of film should receive funding? Is the goal of the policy that there should be a Swedish film industry, in the same way that there is a Swedish airline? Or does the kind of film that is made matter; and if so, what kind of film should that be? What role should gender equality and diversity play in the world of film policy?

- Create a forum for a wide-ranging and open debate on film policy, where both citizens and members of the industry can participate. What kind of film do we want to have?

The new Film Agreement has moved towards a more instrumental view of gender equality, by defining equality only in terms of how production funds are allocated. This is a commitment, in other words, to an equality of numbers only. As we have argued above, a less fragmented industry might contribute to greater equality in that sense. We suspect, however, that a focus on commercial film would counteract the goal of achieving a greater diversity of experience and perspective in Swedish film through the equal distribution of women and men in the industry. What kind of equality is the film industry reaching for? We need to discuss how different values – attendance figures, quality, gender equality, diversity – relate to each other, and how to balance them. This is a complex and difficult task, but an important one, and one that requires careful consideration.

- Start a wide-ranging conversation about gender equality and film. What kind of equality do we want?

Finally, we would like to offer a few rays of hope. Gender studies scholars in the area of political science sometimes talk about “femocrats.” Femocrats are women who are part of a bureaucracy and who work there, rather quietly, in a deliberately feminist way. In the same way, women (and men) who occupy strategic positions in the film industry can contribute to promoting gender equality. Josefine Tengblad, for example, recounts:

[Are things getting better?] I love working here. Åsa Sjöberg, my boss, is great. We're working to bring in more women all the time. But of course it's the producers who come to us, so it's hard for us to control that sometimes. But let's take Maria Lang as an example: we said, if you don't find a woman to direct, we won't do it. And then, of course, the Maria Lang film that was directed by a woman was the best. So we do make demands from our end, because it's only a myth that there are no women directors. At the same time it does get weird if a male producer comes along and says, “Sigh. Now we need to find a woman director.” That gets very forced. It does need to be the right director for the right film.

Everyone in the film industry can help promote gender equality and diversity in his or her own way. But to achieve change that lasts, to shake up a structure as stiff and sluggish as the prevailing gender order, we will have to give initiatives by individual actors more permanent form, through a formalized practice and acknowledged norms and rules. These individual initiatives must be institutionalized. Otherwise the risk will always remain that positive trends will be reversed every time a person who has been a driving force leaves his or her position. Gender equality requires everyone to take responsibility, but it also requires a structure to support people when they do. Today, creating that structure in the film industry is the joint responsibility of politicians and industry actors. Therefore, it is important that we realize that both shifts in policy and changes to the industry structure will affect gender equality. And it is important that we are prepared, in situations when other values may come to the fore, to make sure that gender equality does not always lose the right-of-way.

8. References

A note on sources. The text of this Report refers to several different kinds of public records. These are cited in the notes and the bibliography by their Swedish designations, to aid any readers who may wish to consult them independently. A Government bill is a *Proposition*; Swedish Government Official Reports (as the 2009 Report *Vägval för filmen*) are *Statens offentliga utredningar* (SOU); a Government communication is cited here as *Regeringens skrivelse*. The various Film Agreements are also listed here under the Swedish title, *Filmavtal*. For the 2006 and 2013 Film Agreements, quoted material in the text comes from the English translations, *The 2006 Film Agreement* and *The 2013 Film Agreement*, at www.government.se/sb/d/574 (accessed February 2014).

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Wift Sweden (the Swedish chapter of wift, women in film and television) was established in connection with the Gothenburg Film Festival in 2003. wift is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to strengthening and raising the visibility of women active in all areas of the film, television and other motion picture industries, by the following means:

- creating national and international networks
- creating places where members can meet
- providing members with up-to-date information
- supporting members in their professional careers
- assuming an advisory role and participating in public debates on film and media.

wift was founded in Los Angeles in the early 1970s as a protest against the predominance of men in the film industry. Today wift has over 10,000 members and is represented in some 40 countries around the world.

More information about what we do can be found at www.wift.se

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