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## **Influence of the female audience on the program structure of early cinema and the changes of the modes of reception (1906-1918)**

First I am going to present the main ideas of my project, then I'll talk about the composition of the audience and the relation between audience and program, after that I'll make some remarks on the reform movement and what the reformers thought about women in the cinema and about the programming practices, and as a last part, we'll have a look at what actually happened in the cinema and at the program of the year 1911/1912 and how this program catered to the interests of the female audience. I'll conclude with a short outlook on the changes that occurred during WW I.

### **1. Presentation of my idea**

In my dissertation project I work about the mutual influences between the female spectators and the programming practices of Imperial Germany's cinema. I will focus on the period of the transition from the short film program of the "cinema of attractions" to the dominance of the long feature film, i.e. from 1906-1918. I ask questions why the longer feature film began to dominate the program and why it became so popular, and how the presence of women in the cinema (the place where they first entered the public sphere) influenced the practice of programming. So I will deal with the relatively new topic of the cinema-program (and its structural changes) as a mode of exhibition and I will try to connect this to the role the female audience played in shaping this format: how does the female audience affect the changes of the program patterns, the modification of genres and their meaning within the structure of the program and does it finally bring about a change in the mode of reception. And on the other hand how does the cinematographical program represent and influence the female identity, and cater to women's wishes and needs.

One must ask for the reasons why the early cinema, which was characterised by diversity regarding class, gender and cultural issues and which formed a kind of alternative public sphere, was displaced by an institutionalised, state monitored and nationalised German cinema during the time of WW 1.

Taking into account that this change of film forms was not a teleological evolution, “gender” might be a more useful and insightful social category than “class affiliation” is to explain the changes of the program and the essence of early cinema. So the category of „the audience“ in general is able to compliment other influences like economical and technical ones.

In my paper I will merely concentrate on the female audience, but let me first make some remarks about the **program**: The program as a mode of exhibition has been an unattended topic until now. So research on programming regarding early cinema is something quite new (one has only recently started to work on that). Therefore standards, methods or theories don't exist yet in this innovative field of research. Although the program as such is quite unstudied, it is nevertheless very meaningful, because developments on the production side (that means films as mediaproducts ), the distribution side (which films were delivered by whom) and finally the reception side (exhibition and audience) converge in the concrete programs that were shown as well as in their changes. So my approach of doing programming history is able to transcend previous approaches and to merge those different aspects. The empirically substantiated analysis of the program is able to supplement existing research and to provide new ways in doing research in early cinema. The formations concerning film forms and gender that have already been researched converge in the field of exhibition, e.g. the composition of the programs.

Concerning the **audience** I have the impression that it is still somehow a matter of belief whom it really consists of. Until the seventies it was stated that proletarians built the main part of the audience, but one has refrained from the thesis of early cinema as a merely proletarian amusement now. Besides workers children are often named to be the main clientele of early cinema, whereas newer inquiries relying on local studies stress that the audience was rather heterogeneous. Bourgeois circles were attracted and, of course, women. This is indicated by contemporary sources and social-economical facts like increase of female labour, more money in female hands and more leisure time of bourgeois women. Already Emilie Altenloh in her groundbreaking study from 1913, which was the first empirical attempt to study cinema audiences and the only empirical data we have, alludes to the social diversity of the audience. Her study was carried out in that period of transition of cinema, and Altenloh especially stresses the enthusiasm of women with regard to cinema. For them going to the cinema

quickly became a habit and while the husband went to election meetings his wife went to the cinema. But not only working class women appreciate cinema, women from the upper classes went to the cinema, too.<sup>1</sup> For women from bigger cities going to the cinema was an intermission from shopping; for women from smaller towns cinema was the window to the world (Altenloh, Screen, p285), Altenloh says.

**Now to synthesise the concept of the program and the audience:** I suppose that there is a correlation between the emergence of a female audience and the establishment of the longer narrative film. Looking at the program, what was shown and how it was structured can give good insights in which audiences were aimed at. So if women build a major part of the audience, this firstly must have had consequences for the program and secondly one might arrive at the conclusion that the change of the programming patterns, e.i.. the emerge of the „Kino-Dramas“ (Cinema-drama) and the emergence of a female audience might correlate. I would like to trace and disentangle this web of correlations.

## **2. The Cinema-Reform-Movement and the female audience**

Now I would like to briefly talk about the reform-movement and what its adherents thought about the female audience and the cinema program. The authors of the reform-movement were mainly concerned about young people and children in the audience and the dangers cinema entails for them. But subliminally and in marginalia they often talk about women, too. Children and women were treated as the same. Thus the statements of reformers and other authors give good hints for how the emergence of the female audience and the practice of cinema programming was seen from a bourgeois and patriarchal perspective. So these statements can be taken as a kind of negative foil for what actually happened. That the reformers rarely forget to mention mothers with babies, worn-down working women and even whores when they started to write about the cinema shows their moral indignation with regard to women in the audience. Cinema was considered as a dangerous place for women, not only physically but also morally. The pleasure women experienced there was recognized with unease. This attitude is expressed in a series of small articles in the trade paper „Der Kinematograph“ with the title „The cinematograph as traitor“, which talks in a moral tone about small incidents in which cinema and film debunk the „immoral“ behaviour of young

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<sup>1</sup> Emilie Altenloh: A sociology of the cinema and the audience. In: Screen, vol. 42, issue 3, 2001, p 275. original: Emilie Altenloh: Zur Soziologie des Kinos . Die Kino-Unternehmung und die sozialen Schichten ihrer Besucher. Jena 1914.

girls and women in the audience. For example a secret rendez-vous that was shown on screen an parents watched their daughter. But not only the institution of the cinema itself was regarded with distrust, it is exactly in the mode of programming the reformer saw endangerments (in the short film program, and mixed longer feature film-short film program).

The author Bertha Göring of the magazine *Die christliche Frau* (*The christian woman*) takes cinema and above all its program as an epitome and symptome of modernity. Her catchwords for a kind of program in which one could “watch flying by” „half a dozend different incidents in a quarter of an hour” are fragmentation, curtailment and extraction. Those short excitations of the nerves are typical for modern culture and appeal to modern men according to Göring<sup>2</sup> What is considered relatively neutral by Göring is criticised by the reformer Robert Gaupp from the point of view of a medical doctor: the rapid succession of the images increases the tension of the mind beyond all bearing and there exists no mental compensation. This is in particular harmful for children and sensitive people (writing this he apparently thinks of women)<sup>3</sup>. According to him the variety of impression in the cinema is considered as unhealthy, because it leads to a over-excitation of the nerves, to an overloading of the brain and an increase of imagination. This amount and variety however is founded on the structure of the program. So it is exactly the structure and composition of the program that was made responsible for modern afflictions like neurasthenia, a nervous disease typical for that time, women were primarily seized with.

What can happen to sensitive women watching a cinema program is described by Albert Hellwig in an article called „Über die schädliche Suggestionskraft kinematographischer Vorführungen“ (“About the harmful power of suggestion of cinematographic presentation”). In it he talks about some woman suffering from hysterical seizures and hallucinations after attending a cinema show.<sup>4</sup> But there is also something else behind all critique on the program and its alleged dangerous influences: that is to say the fear to lose control. While women lose control in the cinema (while becoming hysterical and also in a wider sense) they, the reformers and men in general, might lose control over women.

For the reformers, the freedom of choice that the special structure of the program offered might have been dubious. The “Nummernprogramm” with its diversity is propositioning to different classes, ages and of course sexes. The program as such, which was able to present various contents and messages, offered by its sheer structure the possibility of an alternative

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<sup>2</sup> Göring, Bertha: Für und gegen den Kinematographen. In: *Die christliche Frau*, No.1, Jg. X, 1911, S.17-22.

<sup>3</sup> Gaupp, Robert: Die Gefahren des Kinos. In: *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, Jg.9, Bd.2, Juli 1912, S.363-366.

<sup>4</sup> Hellwig, Albert: Über die schädliche Suggestionskraft kinematographischer Vorführungen. In: *Ärztliche Sachverständigen-Zeitung*, No. 6, 20. Jg., 15.3.1914, S.119-124.)

public sphere. Therefore this kind of exhibition and programming has to be condemned as dangerous ( see Curtis Scott, Miriam Hansen). So these writings don't deal so much with what was actually shown but with how it was shown, e.i. the ways of exhibition and programming.

Someone who carries this critique to the extreme was the prolific Reformer Hermann Häfker. He not only criticizes that the films were unrolled so quickly one after another and the incoherent impression that could cause visual fatigue, which women were especially susceptible to. He also developed his own sample programs, which ultimately should lead to a total control of the audience's experience.

After the reformer had turned against the new institution of the (stationary) cinema and its programming structure, they now addressed themselves, under the impression of the emergence of the long features film, to the concrete **contents** of the film. This is where the question of physical health reveals its true concern and turns into a question of moral health, as Curtis Scott had pointed out. It is significant that these expressions of worry became the loudest at time when single longer films began to dominate the program, because their „message“ became formative in the program. The reformers couldn't rely on the diversity of impressions, that might neutralise each other. So the fight against the „trashy film“ started. The reformers demonized dramas like westerns or detective films but they came down the hardest on the so-called **“Sensationsdramen” (sensational dramas) and “Sittendramen”** “Dramas at manners”. Those were characterized as „products of the same bad taste that operated in trash-literature „*Schundliteratur*“ in German. Most notably the Danish „Sittendramen“ were seen as „ the biggest menace to the audience's the cultivation of taste, „die größte Gefahr für die Geschmacksbildung des Publikums“.<sup>5</sup> Besides these Danish “Sittendramen“ of the years 1911/1912 German drama production were criticized, too. The reformers held that these dramas would derogate the moral health, stir up hate among the classes by showing the luxurious life of the upper class, lead to a vulgarizing of manners and to a wrong perception of the world by showing brutality and crime and even sex.

The view that mainly women were susceptible to these “wrong perceptions” is held for example by Max Grempe in his article *“Gegen die Frauenverblödung im Kino”* “Against the stupification of women in cinema” in the socialist paper *Die Gleichheit*. There he states that the cinema-image (Kinobild) has a strong effect on everybody „even on men“, i.e. in

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<sup>5</sup> Studien vor der Lichtbildbühne, GA 8.2.1912

inference, particularly women are effected. They can be influenced much easier because of their stronger emotional life.<sup>6</sup>

The critique of the reformer on the „Sittendramen“ and „Sensationsdramen“ and their exhibition of immorality, adultery and sensuality is presented in an even more severe tone because these film mostly display the fate of women. These representations are often accused of a “certain lewdnes” that „likes to nose into sexual problems”, as the medical doctor H. Dünschmann states<sup>7</sup>. Exhibiting women’s life is equated with exhibiting sexual life. Here a general fear of curiosity/scopophilia on the part of women is revealed. The “*Sexual Danger*“ that is ascribed to these films<sup>8</sup> (thus a title of an article from 1912, the highpeak of sittendrama) results from the fear that women might see sexual alternatives in these films or even more: that women might see alternatives at all: alternatives of how to live a woman’s life. Already Miriam Hansen in her insightful article „Early Cinema – Whose Public Sphere“ has hinted at the point that in the writings of the reformers the fear of the sexual, i.e. the female, other lurks in a subtext behind the fear of the proletarian other. In this article she talks about an alternative female public sphere and about the anxieties, this alternative public sphere provoked in the predominantly male and bourgeois society. Therefore the cry for censorship, and the proposals to control and regulate cinema was consequently the expression of the fear of the impact cinema and film might have on women. Besides, it expressed the fear of the bourgeoisie to lose their power of cultural definition not so much with regard to the proletarian other but the sexual other. So in Germany the entrance of women into the cinema was not appreciated, in contrast to the USA where the increase of the female audience should lead to a integration of cinema into the bourgeois cultural cosmos as Russel Merrit had pointed out.

For a better understanding of the intense reactions of the reformers and to verify the assumed benefit of the female audience it might be useful to look at the programs, this means to look at what was actually shown in the cinema during that time.

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<sup>6</sup> Grempe, Max: Gegen die Frauenverblödung im Kino. In: Die Gleichheit, 1913, Nr.5, S.70-72

<sup>7</sup> H. Dünschmann: „Kinematograph und Psychologie der Volksmenge“ In: Konservative Monatsschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst. Berlin. Nr. 69, 1909/1910, Jg. 12, S.920-930.

<sup>8</sup> Spier, Ike: Die sexuelle Gefahr im Kinos. In: *Die neue Generation*, Nr. 36, Jg. VI, 1912, S. 192-198.)

### 3. Programming practices

If we look at the other side we will see a totally different image, from what reformers and others saw when they looked at the (female) audience. Their perception differs completely from how women experienced their movie-going: They did not perceive it as danger (moral or physical) for them it was recreation and a place to reassure themselves of their femininity (as I will show by analysing the programs). Cinema was an integral part of women's life, and the film industry in its attempt to be profitable, catered to the needs and the interests of this segment of the audience.

It was above all Heide Schlüpmann with her study „Unheimlichkeit des Blicks“ who, in more recent research, hinted at the correlation of the female audience and the films of the beginning teens: She holds the opinion of a female gaze of early films, i.e. a female point of view during the time of transition from the cinema of attraction to the narrative cinema around 1910. Predominantly in those social dramas the female moviegoer could „see herself“, her everyday-life, her milieu and her experiences. According to Schlüpmann this great affinity is based on those films, that deal with male norms, female reality and gender differences. While Schlüpmann detects this catering to female interests in single films (predominantly German ones), my approach to program analysis is able to mirror this correlation in its total bandwidth and is not restricted to singular film events or the film production of one single country. Analyzing the program, one can detect tendencies and developments, because changes of film forms and the aspect of gender converge in the dimension of the programming and exhibition, i.e. in the composition, configuration and changing of the programs.

This correlation between female affinity to narrative films and the changes of film form and length was already noted by contemporary observers. In the article „Die Frauenseele im Film“ in a special issue of „Der Kinematograph“ from 13.12. 1916, that is dedicated to women, Emil Hartmann states that the change of early cinema from short trickfilms and display of the technical possibilities as well as documentaries to more fictional films is an effect of the entrance of the „women's soul“, as he expressed it, into the cinema.

The strongest hint at that connection is given again by Emilie Altenloh: In her dissertation she deliberates about the profound changes that occurred in cinema during the years from 1908 on (the change of the program patterns), and besides notices that the fictional and narrative film form of the drama around 1912 is the most frequent and the most favoured genre within the program. She detects that the success of certain programs was due to the dramas that were showed within. She writes: “If one looks at those programs that have proven especially

popular, this success can usually be traced to particular dramas“.(Altenloh, Screen, p 259)<sup>9</sup>. At the same time she states that women in general have a special affection for „Kinodramen“, and especially for those, that are related to their lives and milieus and in which „emotional conflicts of a woman“ take center stage<sup>10</sup>. And that predominantly takes place in the so-called „Sensationsdramen“, that came up around 1911, mostly of Danish or German origins. The emerge of female stars like Asta Nielsen was surely conducive to this development. This connection between film and programming forms and the preferences of the female audience, that Altenloh brings up vicariously, becomes more evident, if you have a look at the concrete cinema programs from the years of her study.

### The city of Mannheim as an example of early programming practices

I chose to examine the cinema program of the city of Mannheim because Emilie Altenloh carried out her study in that industrial town in the south-west of Germany. Now we have a look at the changes of the program in the years 1911 to 1912, those years when Altenloh made her survey there. In the course of these two years one can find an increasing presence of social drams in the programs. At the beginning of 1911 the classical „Nummernprogramm“ (short film program), like this one [BILD] is still prevailing.



But already in the first two month two spezial films were promoted prominently, These two films can be considered as initial films of a new genre and precursors for the program changes. On January 28, 1911 the famous Asta Nielsen movie AFGRUNDEN (THE ABYSS) was

<sup>9</sup> Altenloh, S.57

<sup>10</sup> Altenloh, S.89.



released in Mannheim as the first of those so called „Monopolfilms“ and it was longer than most of the films before [BILD].



This film and the way it was advertised hint at the fact that longer feature film, dramas, were used as teasers within one program.

On February, 16, 1911 the film DIE WEIßE SKLAVIN II (DE HVIDE SLAVEHANDEL SIDSTE OFFER, a Danish production ) (THE WHITE SLAVE II) was shown in Mannheim [BILD].



This film Altenloh considered as an initial film for the whole following development. She writes: „A change for the cinema program, a an upswing for the whole industrie was the release of the first modern sensational drama „Die weiße Sklavin“.<sup>11</sup> Although she talks about the first part of DIE WEIßE SKLAVIN, the true change occurred on a massive scale with the 930 m long second part, with this one, a noticable boom of longer films started. But these two films, which marked the beginning of the surge of the social and Sittendramas, are formative

<sup>11</sup> Altenloh, S.9

in another way, as Altenloh remarks: „What is symptomatic for this new genre is the social momentum. Indeed, the affection to that is so deep, that the word social became the most common word in the ads.“<sup>12</sup> What exactly she wants to express with that, can be read a little later in her study: “Social issues are in the focal point of the attention. These dramas usually describe a woman’s struggle between her natural, sensual instincts and the social condition she faces that contradict these instincts.”(Altenloh, Screen, p 259)<sup>13</sup>

For the programs of Mannheim it can be stated that those Sittendramen, also called sensation dramas, increasingly dominate the programs. So in the course of those two years a lot of those dramas were shown, and prominently advertised, that deal with the fate and fortune of women. In the summer of 1911 sensationals dramas, Sittendramas and so called “demimonde” films became extremely popular and they are not missing in any program shown. In the ads they were presented within the Nummernprogramm as a reason to watch that special program. In April, 22, 1911 there is for an example the drama DAS GEFÄHRLICHE ALTER (A DANGEROUS AGE) [BILD], a drama about an elderly woman still looking for love, am 12.8. there is the DIE BALLHAUS-ANNA (BALLROOM ANNA), a „Berliner Halbwelt-Drama“ “a demimonde” drama from Berlin” [BILD], as the advert says.



Two weeks later, on August 5 the audience could watch the Danish „Sittendrama“ DER AVIATIKER UND DIE FRAU DES JOURNALISTEN (THE PILOT AND THE WIFE OF THE JOURNALIST), a jealousy drama and two days later the German production GESTRANDET (STRANDED), a “fate of life of a misunderstood woman” [BILD] and at the end of August ROMAN EINES BLUMENMÄDCHENS (NOVEL OF A FLOWER GIRL) by Vitascope

<sup>12</sup> Altenloh, S.9.

<sup>13</sup> Altenloh, S.58



In September this trend continues with the German drama SÜNDIGE LIEBE (SINFUL LOVE)(28.9.) [BILD], a „a modern tableau of manners from the elegant world“, about a woman that loves two men and is forced to commit suicide. That film was extremely popular. In November there is for example Danish film DIE LIEBE DES GNÄDIGEN FRÄULEINS (LOVE OF THE YOUNG LADY), also „a modern tableau of manners from the elegant world“ and so it goes on until the end of the year. In 1912 the stories about the fate of women and young ladies are still en vogue: In February 17, the German drama AUSGESTOSSEN (CASTED OUT) (D 1912, Dresdner Lichtspiele), was shown, eine „tragedy of a seventeen year old“ and a „enthalling Sittendrama“ and on February 13 another cinema shows NELLYS ABENTEUER IN DER GROßEN STADT (NELLY’S ADVENTURES IN THE BIG CITY). Other films like the German production FUNKEN UNTER DER ASCHE (FIRE UNDER THE ASHES), shown May 5, a „woman’s fate from Berlin W“ as the ad says [BILD], deal with women’s tragedies.



Asta Nielsen was particularly popular in Mannheim in those days [BILD:]. Altenloh hints to that in her study several times. In 1911 and 1912, too, all the films Asta Nielsen produced were shown in Mannheim and they were heavily promoted, There are often several big ads

Der zweite Film  
der Asta-Nielsen-Serie II  
und zugleich der  
**beste und schönste**  
der bis jetzt erschienenen  
Asta-Nielsen-Filme



**Die Kinder des  
Generals**

Spannendes Schauspiel in  
51 Akten von Urban Gust  
mit der grössten Tragödin

**Asta Nielsen**

in der Hauptrolle  
geliebt von heute an im  
**Union-Theater**  
zur Vorführung.  
Ausserdem noch weiteres.  
Pracht-Programm

[illegible]

In general, dramas from the milieu of artists, actors and the demi-monde, and of life in the big city with, especially the nightlife from Berlin like the drama *UNTER DEN RÄDERN DER GROßSTADT* (*UNDER THE WHEELS OF THE METROPOLIS*)(29.6.) are very popular and frequently dominating the program. Stories from rich female heirs and aristocrats like *OHNE MÜTTERLICHE LIEBE* (*WITHOUT MOTHERLY LOVE*) an Italian production and a „thrilling sensational drama from the aristocracy“ (16.7.) were programmed frequently. In particular dramas about the society circles became popular: “A realistic image from the elegant but worm-eaten circles of Berlin W“ ist says in an ad for *FUNKEN UNTER DER ASCHE* (*FIRE UNDER THE ASHES*) (18.5) Most notably those films dealing with female artist, mistresses or prostitutes were entitled as dangerous by the reformers. For the women, in contrast, those films offered a chance to risk an undisguised look at living alternatives for women especially in the field of gender relationships. Films taking place in the metropolis provide women with a way to explore spaces that were normally barred for them. Along with that, different social spaces were opened up to women by films which feature images of women from different social milieus. like prostitutes, or noble ladies (Miriam Hansen and Shelley Stamp have hinted to that).

Although one can find female protagonist in most of the dramas, the image of women that is exhibited in the various films differs a lot. We have society ladies, mothers and even prostitutes. So the female audience is confronted with a lot of different images and a diversity of female ways of shaping their lives. One might discuss the emancipatory potential of the programs shown, because besides those modern and emancipated, rather conservative images were displayed. In short-film programs these images might neutralize each other. Therefore in a next step one has to examine more closely which ideas and images of womanhood were displayed and with what kind of other images and ideas, also images of female life were combined in the program. One has to ask for the strategies and kinds of effects a single film evolves in the total context of the program. The relations and interdependencies among the films within the program can be analyzed by a closer and detailed examination of the single programs shown on a special day. Although the emancipatory potential of one single film might remain questionably and assailable, the female movie-goer generally had the chance to see that there were choices and alternatives of different female lifestyles because of the program patterns. So for women from different social environments the program as such offers the chance to acquaint themselves with the lives of other women.

To conclude, one can say that the Nummernprogramm is still prevalent but social dramas and Sittendramas begin to dominate the program of the cinemas in Mannheim. If you combine this

with the following statement of Altenloh it is likely to assume that women formed the main part of the audience and that the composition of the program makes allowance for this factum. So Altenloh states: „Films that allow members of an audience to make a connection with their own social environment, whether depicting life as it is or as they wish it could be, are most popular and allow for greater emotional identification.” (Altenloh, Screen, p 259)<sup>14</sup> As I have shown, women could find their life as it is or as they wish it could be in the programs of the cinema in Mannheim during the years 1911/1912. So if you look at the titles and the content of the longer feature films (what I could do here only shortly), it becomes clear why women were so attracted by dramas and cinema in general.

The fact that women noticed and acclaimed this change in the program pattern is proven by the following article with the title: „*Die mondäne Frau im Lichtspielhause*“ „*The sophisticated lady in the cinema*“ from 1912. The author Nanny Lutze is stating enthusiastically what was shown in my analysis of the programs: „And in nearly all the pictures a woman is playing the leading role!” And then she continues „it is a piece of life [...] an episode – maybe!? – from our being”. Further on she states that „we“, women in general, should draw „our“ conclusions from that. (I guess that’s what the reformers were afraid of, women drawing conclusions). Like the reformers Lutze notices that women get overwhelmed, but she sees positively: all women in the audience show their solidarity with the women on screen as well as with all the other women in the audience. All women regardless to which social class they belong feel for the women and their fates on the screen, because each woman no matter if a worker or a sophisticated woman (as Nanny Lutze, I guess) remains a woman, a mother, a lover in the end. Each fate on screen has some connection (to say it with Altenloh’s words) to their own fates, which is above all a woman’s fate. So women in the audience formed a kind of alternative public sphere by sharing collective images and by watching their collective fate represented on screen. Therefore the preferences of women beyond all class stratifications were widely homogenous.

## Conclusion

As I have pointed out, a direct address to the female audience can be verified (at least in Mannheim). In this time of transition, the program catered to the interests of women in the audience and their desire to „see themselves“. And now the fears and concerns of the

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<sup>14</sup> Ebda.

reformers became more comprehensible, because these first longer feature films mostly addressed women. So you see a paradoxon of that time: exactly those dramas were criticized that were the most popular with women according to Altenloh and that dominated the programs (at least in Mannheim) In the cinema program of that time women had the chance to look instead of being looked at. But the examination of the program may also hint at the fact, that the acceptance of the long feature film might be achieved by a detour via the female audience. So there really seems to be a connection between the changes of the program and the female segment of the audience.

So I come to the end with a short outlook on the next years of cinema and on what needs to be scrutinized: Although the change of the program patterns turned out to be positive at the beginning, in the longrun the variety of the program was embanked. So, was the way for a consistent message, i.e. the reduction of diversity in the program, paved via the female audience and their preferences? It seems as if for a short time around 1911/1913 the cinema catered to the wishes and needs of the female audience. But after that with the emergence of the Autorenfilm (adaption from theater plays and famous writers) and with the beginning of the war, a time when women naturally formed an important part of the audience, I suppose that a paradigm shift occurred. The female perspective of early film is displaced by an increasing orientation of the film production towards patriarchal and bourgeois norms and esthetic standards, which tend to integrate film into the bourgeois cosmos of culture and art. This came along with a recovery of the public sphere and the effort to discipline the audience behaviour. This got down to a change of the mode of reception, i.e. from an interactive and sensual event (with open possibilities to choose in the Nummernprogramm) to a contemplative and private consumption of film as we know it until the thirties. Maybe this could be achieved more easily against the background of a female audience. And as I have pointed out, the program of the years 1911/1912 already hints to the fact that the female audience might have been the catalyst of these changes.