

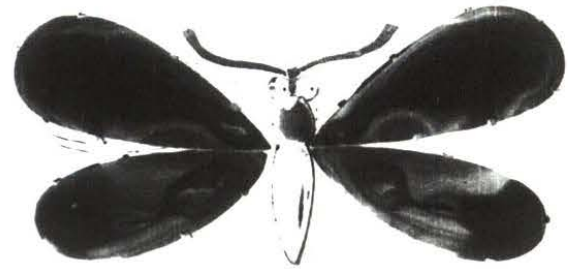


ILUMINACE

Časopis pro teorii, historii
a estetiku filmu

The Journal of Film Theory, History,
and Aesthetics

1 / 2015



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Front cover / Na obálce:

Eurotrip (Jeff Schaffer, Alec Berg, David Mandel, 2004)

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Ročník / Volume 27

TÉMA / MAIN TOPIC:
AMERICAN CINEMA AND YOUTH: NEW GLOBAL HISTORIES

Guest Editor:
Richard Nowell

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Knihovna Národního filmového archivu



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**NÁRODNÍ FILMOVÝ ARCHIV
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American Cinema and Youth: New Global Histories

Scholarship on American cinema and youth is dominated by examinations of Hollywood teen films that relate depictions of young Americans to social, psychological, and/or industrial currents running through the United States. Broadening our understandings of this important and complex media-audience relationship is both a salient and timely endeavor, not least because such fare has consistently occupied a preeminent position in audiovisual cultures across the globe, and because their numbers, loyalty, and supposed vulnerability have made young movie-watchers — American or otherwise — a point of interest for producers, marketers, politicians, watchdogs, and other claims-makers. The themed content of this English-language issue of *Illuminace* aims to do just that by spotlighting the transnational dimensions of this relationship, by foregrounding its transmedia dimensions, and by revising our understandings of well known topics and films. It is comprised of four original essays, which can be seen as answering such calls insofar as they respond to the broader impulses driving them, and two interviews with leading scholars in the field reflecting on this important aspect of global audiovisual culture.

The first of themed essays is a revisionist reception study in which Lisa M. Rabin reopens the casebook on a series of studies conducted in the 1930s into the implications of young people's consumption of motion pictures in New York City. Researchers initially proposed these youths' testimonies were evidence of their pathological relationships to the movies. However, Rabin suggests these data actually reveal a more nuanced picture, one in which movie-going and content in fact helped Italian and Puerto Rican youths negotiate personal identity and human interactions in this economically and socially challenging environment.

If Rabin's essay considers transnational dimensions of studies of American cinema and youth while maintaining a focus on the United States, the second essay provides a case-study of the cross border flow of a talismanic embodiment of American cinema and youth: the starlet. In her contribution, Šárka Gmíterková examines how images of young Hollywood actresses were taken up in two key media sectors of 1930s Czechoslovakia. The country's leading film magazine, she argues, utilized these alluring and otherworldly fig-

ures as a means of imagining local equivalents and of securing female readers on the promise that they too could break into the movies. Moreover, a major film production company saw in Hollywood starlets a potentially replicable model of talent acquisition and development that would help increase the appeal of its output; a fleeting practice which ultimately proved to be rather ill-suited to the dynamics of this small national market.

The third essay, co-written by Jindřiška Bláhová and myself, also approaches the relationships between American cinema, youth, and Czechoslovakia, albeit from a quite different perspective to that of the previous contribution. We consider the different ways this nation's communist-controlled film company appropriated youth-oriented American imports in the 1970s and 1980s, and framed them for local audiences in a manner derived from changing cultural policies. We try to make the case that these films were used in four historically situated ways: to blame student unrest on lax parenting, to demonize American capitalist democracy, to undermine subversive indigenous youth subcultures, and to suggest the liberalization of the cultural sphere. In so doing, this essay — not unlike Gmitterková's — illustrates that some overseas elites embraced youth-oriented dimensions of American cinema rather than only voicing concerns about them.

Whereas the movement of film and film-related phenomena across different texts and channels is central to the three preceding contributions, transmediality is the principal concern of the fourth and final essay. Valerie Wee's contribution brings the historical perspective of this issue very much up to date with an examination of the handling of the GLEE franchise, especially the 2011 spinoff GLEE THE 3D CONCERT MOVIE. Wee considers the industrial dynamics and moral implications of industry stakeholders encouraging young fans to contribute their creative labor to the production, content, and promotion of this property through various online activities marshaled around a competition inviting fans to pronounce themselves the world's "biggest GLEEK". In so doing, she highlights a media conglomerate's efforts to capitalize on the Gen-Z consumer-producer or "producer".

These four themed essays are followed by the aforementioned interviews I conducted with two world leading authorities on American cinema and youth.

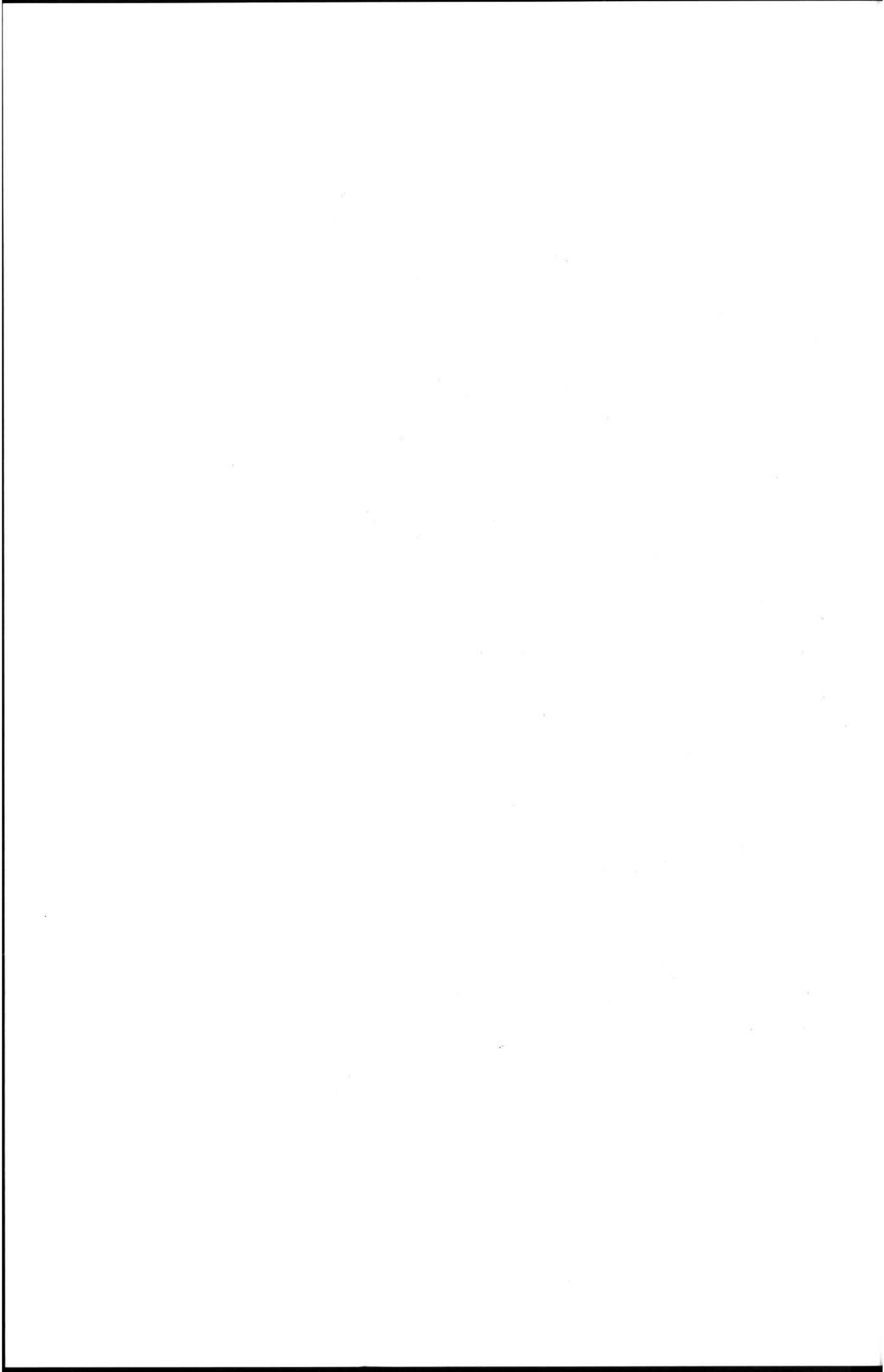
It is at this point that I would like to stress that the point of this issue is not to dismiss or downplay the type of work highlighted in the opening paragraph: much of it still needs to be done after all. Rather, it is to suggest that new work in this vein might be complemented with additional approaches which develop our insights into American cinema and youth. Accordingly, the first of the interviews was conducted with a scholar whose work in this vein is routinely cited to enable others — including myself, I should make clear — to spotlight their intended contributions to the field: Timothy Shary. Shary considers the processes of writing and subsequently revising and updating his seminal study of American youth-centered films of the late twenty first century, *Generation Multiplex*, so as to respond to subsequent developments in this sphere of cultural production and in scholarship examining it.

The themed content of this issue concludes with an interview I conducted with Catherine Driscoll. As well as providing insights into her longstanding research into the topic, Driscoll posits in some detail the value of work which approaches American youth cinema as an international and a multimedia phenomenon; scholarship considering the

transnational dimensions of such fare and its status as a node in the networks of objects and texts traversing audiovisual cultures past, present, and future.

With inward-looking studies of American cinema and youth far from exhaustive, and with the international and transmedia dimensions of this topic only just being systematically explored, much work still needs to be done on this most important of media-audience relationships. While its limited scope means a volume such as this can only make the most fleeting of gestures towards broadening our understanding of the topic, it does so in the hope of inspiring other scholars to work — or to continue working — along similar lines.

RN



Lisa M. Rabin

The Normals, the Questionables, and the Delinquents

East Harlem Youth and the Movies, 1931–1934

In the working-class, largely Italian and Puerto Rican neighborhood of East Harlem, New York City, the best attended films of the late 1920s and early 1930s included *UNDERWORLD* (1927), *ALIAS JIMMY VALENTINE* (1928), *ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT*, (1930), *CIMARRON*, *LITTLE CAESAR*, *SKIPPY*, *UP FOR MURDER* (all 1931), and *TAXI!* (1932).¹⁾ East Harlem teenagers were among the most avid consumers of these films and others like them screened at East Harlem's 16 movie theaters.²⁾ Sometimes they skipped school or flouted their parents' disapproval to see them, and sometimes they acted them out on city streets, often causing adults to worry about the effects the movies might have been having on their upbringing. One East Harlem parent, for example, testified that "in the moving pictures they learn all bad things".³⁾ Similarly, New York City police commissioner William Mulrooney asserted that the city's second-generation immigrant youth "learned twisted things from the movies".⁴⁾

At this time, the anxieties that parents and the police harbored about working-class immigrant teenagers and the movies were not limited to New York City. They were spread throughout the nation, and were entrenched in larger discourses connecting movies to delinquency. As film historians have pointed out, sociological interest in the urban immigrant child and his/her relationship to movies and other forms of commercialized leisure

- 1) Paul Cressey, 'The community — a social setting for the motion picture' (unpublished manuscript, 1932), Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Motion Picture Research Council, 162, reprinted in Garth Jowett, Ian Jarvie, and Kathleen Fuller, *Children and the Movies: Media Influence and the Payne Fund Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 72. Further citations of Cressey's document in this essay are all from the original manuscript.
- 2) Frederic Thrasher, 'Final report on the Jefferson Park branch of the Boys' Club of New York', 1935, The Bureau of Social Hygiene Project and Research Files (1911–1940), a Collection of the Rockefeller Archive Center of the Rockefeller University, North Tarrytown, New York, Series 3.3, Boxes 11, 12, and 13, p. 232.
- 3) 'Interview by Boys' Club study staff member with resident of East Harlem', quoted in Thrasher, 'Final Report', p. 303.
- 4) S.J. Woolf, 'Mulrooney talks of youth and crime: the police commissioner says the number of youngsters in the line-up shows the city to be in a bad way', *New York Times*, 15 March 1931, p. 83.

intensified in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵⁾ This close scrutiny of working-class youth was conditioned by the Progressive-Era truism that mass culture — and particularly movie-going and film consumption — was in competition with settlement houses, social service agencies, and public schools in their socialization of youth.⁶⁾ Such a position posited that movies offered too much of an unregulated environment, which threatened to foster antisocial behaviors such as violence, sexual wantonness, and criminality.⁷⁾

East Harlem teenagers lived in what sociologists deemed an “interstitial” neighborhood — “a kind of urban frontier,”⁸⁾ where the lack of an infrastructure was thought to make these young people particularly vulnerable to the influences of mass culture. As such, they would become the subjects of three sociological studies on the subject of movies and youth, all of which were conducted in the neighborhood in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The first of these studies was the New York University Motion Picture Study (MPS), which the sociologist Paul Cressey conducted on the movie-going activities of 2400 teenage boys, and which was originally expected to become a part of the Payne Fund Studies (PFS).⁹⁾ Meanwhile, 640 teenage girls from East Harlem participated in a study on female youth leisure activities undertaken by the Columbia University educational sociology student Dorothy Reed.¹⁰⁾ In a third study, the National Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) surveyed 1,045 East Harlem girls on their movie-going habits and other leisure activities.¹¹⁾ These studies generated a wealth of documentation, including Reed’s dissertation, the YWCA

5) Lea Jacobs, ‘Reformers and spectators: the film education movement in the thirties’, *Camera Obscura* 22 (1990), pp. 29–49; Richard deCordova, ‘Ethnography and exhibition: the child audience, the Hays Office and Saturday matinees’, *Camera Obscura* 23 (1990), pp. 90–107; Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*, pp. 24–29; Dana Polan, *Scenes of Instruction: The Beginnings of the U.S. Study of Film* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 335–338; Lee Grieveson, ‘Cinema studies and the conduct of conduct’, in Haidee Wasson and Lee Grieveson (eds), *Inventing Film Studies* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), pp. 3–37; Mark Lynn Anderson, ‘Taking Liberties’, in Wasson and Grieveson (eds), *Inventing Film Studies*, pp. 38–65; Mark Lynn Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols: Hollywood and the Human Sciences in 1920s America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 12, 68–69, 171–174.

6) Sarah Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence* (Rutgers, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 77–102.

7) Polan, *Scenes*, pp. 335–338; Grieveson, ‘Cinema studies’, p. 22; Anderson, ‘Taking liberties’, pp. 38–65; Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 171–174.

8) Frederic Thrasher, *The gang: a study of 1,313 gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 22; Cressey, ‘The community’, p. 62; Anderson, ‘Taking Liberties’, pp. 41–42.

9) The Payne Fund Studies was a series of twelve social science projects researching the effects of the movies on children that were conducted across the country from 1929–1932. The series was underwritten by the private foundation The Payne Fund, and was overseen by W.W. Charters at Ohio State University. Well-known academics including educationalist Edgar Dale, sociologist Herbert Blumer, and the psychologists Frank Shuttleworth and Mark May directed other projects in the series. The projects covered a range of movie influences on children including knowledge acquisition, social attitudes, sleep, and behavior. Cressey used the MPS as material for his dissertation ‘The Social Role of Motion Pictures in an Interstitial Area’ at NYU, but he never completed the East Harlem project for the Payne Fund and apparently never submitted his dissertation. Meanwhile, MacMillan published nine volumes and a summary of the Studies between 1933 and 1935. For an overview of the series and its historical significance for mass media studies see Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children*, 30, 17–124.

10) Dorothy Reed, ‘Leisure time of girls in a “Little Italy”’ (Dissertation: Columbia University, 1932).

11) ‘Report of the East Harlem Study, submitted by the Industrial Secretary of the City of New York Y.W.C.A., December 1928, YWCA of the USA Records, 1876–1970, Microform reel #196, ‘Local associations in New York City’, call #689.

national records, and the manuscript collection of Leonard Covello, who was the principal at the Benjamin Franklin High School that was attended by many of Cressey's male subjects.

A close analysis of these studies reveals richly textured testimonies that the East Harlem teenagers provided on their movie-going activities, as well as on their engagement with films and film-related phenomena like stars.¹²⁾ Existing scholarship on both the MPS and similar studies conducted at this time has tended to focus on the sociologists' discursive construction of the teenagemoviegoer and its imbrications within larger structures of power and knowledge.¹³⁾ My research indicates that the documents produced on East Harlem youth also offer an opportunity to historicize youth film reception. Accordingly, this essay offers a case study of teenage film audiences in the working-class immigrant community of East Harlem in the late 1920s and early 1930s. I situate my work within an expanding historiography of film audiences that approaches reception as a form of social history, and which in so doing considers movie-going and film culture to represent a significant way in which individuals and groups perform and craft social identities. To date, scholars have tended to centralize the film text when researching historical audiences. However, as Richard Maltby has pointed out, such an approach risks using individual movies "as proxies for the missing historical audience."¹⁴⁾

Alternate approaches, such as that employed here, ground their analysis on examinations of both primary and secondary sources.¹⁵⁾ This essay therefore draws upon documents related to the three East Harlem studies, upon newspapers and academic journals, and makes use of secondary sources on US immigrant history in order to analyze the social role that cinema played in the lives of East Harlem youth. Because it focuses on the historical specificity of East Harlem teenagers, the essay also contributes to understandings of the valence of class, race, ethnicity, gender, and/or intergroup relations in the historical formation of youth identity.¹⁶⁾ In particular, it develops current understandings of

12) I am grateful to Dana Polan for providing me with this insight.

13) I am grateful to Christina Petersen and Laura Isabel Serna for helping me with this insight. See for example deCordova, 'Ethnography'; Jacobs, 'Reformers'; Sharon Lowery and Melvin Lawrence Defleur, *Milestones in Mass Communications Research* (New York: Longman, 1994), pp. 31–54; Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children*; Polan, *Scenes of instruction*, pp. 335–338; William J. Buxton, 'From park to Cressey: Chicago sociology's engagement with mass culture', in David W. Park and Jeff Pooley (eds), *The History of Media and Communication Research: Contested Memories* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), pp. 345–362; Grieveson, 'Cinema studies'; Anderson, 'Taking liberties'; Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 12, 68–69, 171–174; Christina Petersen, 'The crowd mind: the archival legacy of the Payne Fund Studies' *Mediascape* 2013 (Winter). *Movies and Conduct* (1933), <http://www.tft.ucla.edu/mediascape/Winter2013_CrowdMind.html> [accessed 18 November 2014].

14) Richard Maltby, 'New cinema histories', in Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst, and Philippe Meers (eds), *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies* (Malden, MA & Oxford: Blackwell, 2011), p. 12.

15) For useful overviews of this approach see Philippe Meers and Daniel Biltereyst, 'Film audiences in perspective: the social practices of film going', in Helena Bilandzic, Geoffroy Patriarche, and Paul J. Traudt (eds), *The Social Use of Media: Cultural and Social Scientific Perspectives on Audience Research* (Bristol: Intellect, 2012), pp. 120–140; Maltby, 'New cinema histories', pp. 3–40; Eric Smoodin, 'Introduction: the history of film history', in Jon Lewis and Eric Smoodin (eds), *Looking Past the Screen* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 1–34.

16) As Andrew Diamond points out, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies projects on "youth subcultures" were seminal to the development of this field. See for example Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (eds),

the roles that the mass media played in the emergent youth cultures of the early twentieth century.¹⁷⁾ I show that cinema played an important role in East Harlem teenagers' psychological development, serving as a springboard from which teenagers could "try on" or "play with" new subjectivities. We know from developmental psychologists and anthropologists that fictional worlds are used throughout life to cope with increased complexity, and to imagine alternative outcomes. With these points in mind, this essay considers how the psychological investments of East Harlem youth in late 1920's and early 1930's cinema are situated both historically and culturally.

The East Harlem Studies

In 1929, the year in which the MPS began, East Harlem was bounded by 98th and 99th streets on the south, 126th Street and the Harlem River on the north, Fifth Avenue on the West and the Harlem and East Rivers on the east. Twenty blocks in length and six avenues wide, this urban neighborhood, which is now known as Spanish Harlem and populated mostly by Latin@s, was then mainly home to Italian immigrants and their children. In the 1920s and 1930s, up to 90,000 Italian immigrants lived there, constituting the largest Italian American area of the day.¹⁸⁾ A smaller although not insignificant number of Puerto Rican immigrants also lived in the western area of the neighborhood. By the 1940s, they had superseded Italians as the largest ethnic enclave in this part of the city.¹⁹⁾ According to a 1930 survey conducted by the Casa Italiana Educational Bureau, small numbers of African Americans, Jews, Germans, Finns, Scandinavians, and Slavs were also resident in the area.²⁰⁾

Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Postwar Britain (London: Harper Collins Academic, 1976); Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979). Andrew Diamond, *Mean Streets: Chicago Youths and the Everyday Struggle for Empowerment in the Multiracial City, 1908–1969* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), pp. 5, 316 n. 12. I am indebted in particular to US histories of working-class youth culture, including Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1978); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Ruth Alexander, *The "Girl Problem": Female Sexual Delinquency in New York, 1900–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Grace Palladino, *Teenagers* (New York: Harper Collins, 1996); Joel Austin and Michael Willard (eds) *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: New York UP, 1998); Randy McBee, *Dance Hall Days: Intimacy and Leisure Among Working-Class Immigrants in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence*; Kelly Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Mark Wild, 'So many children at once and so many kinds: the world of center city children', in *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), pp. 94–120; Diamond, *Mean Street*.

17) See Kett, *Rites of Passage*, Palladino, *Teenagers*; Chinn, *Inventing Modern Adolescence*; Chinn, Schrum, *Some Wore Bobby Sox*; Wild, 'So many children'.

18) Simone Cinotto, 'Leonard Covello, the Covello papers, and the history of eating habits among Italian immigrants in New York', *Journal of American History*, vol. 91, no. 2 (2002), p. 1.

19) Virginia Sánchez Korroll, *From Colonia to Community: The History of Puerto Ricans in New York City* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), 58–62; Richard T. Schaefer, *Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnicity, Volume I* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Singapore: Sage, 2008), pp. 429–430.

20) Casa Italiana Educational Bureau, 'East Harlem population by nationality, nativity, and color — 1930'.



Figure 1. Youth at the New Progress Theatre, 1892 Third Avenue (106th Street), East Harlem

In the 1930s, East Harlem was one of the poorest areas of New York City. Apartments were cramped, often lacking central heating and baths, and public spaces were few and far between.²¹⁾ East Harlem's lack of a significant economic infrastructure resulted in eighty percent of neighborhood workers commuting.²²⁾ The Great Depression hit this community particularly hard. In 1930 and 1931, 45 percent of adults were out of work, and 28 percent of residents had relief jobs.²³⁾ Many East Harlem youths were, however, employed. Around 28 percent of the girls interviewed in Reed's study held jobs, with almost 11 percent of these positions part-time jobs the girls worked after school.²⁴⁾ A study conducted by sociologist Frederic Thrasher and a team of NYU sociologists revealed that of the 96 percent of boys who were in work, almost twenty five percent held full-time positions.²⁵⁾

To address a lack of public space for play, and to encourage "wholesome" activities among the neighborhood's male youths, the Boys' Club established a Jefferson Park Branch in East Harlem in 1927. Consequently, between 1928 and 1934, Thrasher and his collaborators, who were funded by the Rockefeller Foundation's Bureau of Social Hygiene, conducted a major study of the Boys' Club's role in preventing delinquency.²⁶⁾ After researching the behavior of 11,190 7–18 year-old boys, as well as some young men enrolled at the club, Thrasher concluded that the organization did not prevent crime. Boys' Club mem-

CP Box 6, Folder 7, and Box 77, Folder 5, cited in Michael Johaneck and John Puckett, *Leonard Covello and the Making of Benjamin Franklin High School: Education as if Citizenship Mattered* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), p. 67.

21) Gerald Meyer, 'Italian Harlem: America's largest and most Italian little Italy'. <http://www.vitomarcantonio.com/eh_italian_east_harlem.html#> [accessed 14 November 2014].

22) Ibid.

23) Ibid.

24) Reed, *Leisure Time of Girls*, p. 30.

25) Thrasher, 'Final report', p. 881.

26) Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*, pp. 3, 130–131.

bership was in fact correlated with increased levels of delinquency; members participated in extralegal activities at a significantly higher rate than the area's non-members.²⁷⁾ Underwritten by the Payne Fund and charged with studying the effects of movie-going on East Harlem Boys Club members, the MPS emerged out of Thrasher's Boys' Club project. As noted above, the MPS had originally been projected as one of twelve monographs that would comprise what are now known as the Payne Fund Studies. Paul Cressey was principal researcher of the MPS. From 1931 to 1934, he and his team surveyed 2,400 East Harlem teenagers on their movie-going habits.²⁸⁾ Cressey did not share the strident views on causal relations between movies and youth delinquency held by his former colleagues at the University of Chicago and other PFS researchers such as Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser. Nevertheless, much like Thrasher and their mutual mentor sociologist Robert Park, Cressey still believed mass culture played a profound and poorly understood role in the moral education of American immigrants, and, as a consequence, he felt this relationship should be carefully examined and ultimately regulated.²⁹⁾

Cressey's research revealed that East Harlem boys aged 12 to 16 attended movie screenings at an average rate of 83.4 times annually or 1.6 times per week. Cressey pointed out that the minimum of 166.8 hours per year these youths spent in theaters was about the same as they spent in school.³⁰⁾ These data supported Cressey's belief that movies were in direct competition with American schools and other institutions for the hearts and minds of immigrant youth. In 1933, Cressey lamented to the Ohio State University Professor of Education and PFS research director W.W. Charters that

[c]ertainly it is true that if we were to name the most influential teachers of youth today we would be forced to include, among others: James Cagney, Robert Montgomery, Norma Shearer, William Powell, Joan Crawford and Edward G. Robinson — to mention only a few of the contemporary cinema educators of this new era.³¹⁾

By studying how forms of unregulated mass culture served the working-class youth, Cressey hoped to provide leverage for those elites planning to initiate more wholesome and closely regulated forms of education and recreation, including the development of movie curricula at public schools and a series of screenings at immigrant youth agencies.³²⁾ Because Cressey conceptualized his study of movie influence within what he and Thrasher termed the "total situation" — or the range of social forces shaping the world of

27) Thrasher, 'Final report', pp. 1185–1186, 1187–1191. Although it was submitted to the Bureau of Social Hygiene in 1935, Thrasher's report was not complete (Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*, p. 131).

28) For a detailed history of the MPS see Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*.

29) Thrasher, *The Gang*, 22; Cressey, 'The community', p. 62; Anderson, 'Taking liberties', pp. 141–142.

30) Paul Cressey, 'The motion picture as informal education', *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 7, no. 8 (1934), p. 504.

31) Cressey, letter to W.W. Charters, 05 May 1933, W. W. Charters Papers, Special Collections, Ohio State University Libraries. Cressey file.

32) Cressey, 'The community', pp. 1–64; Cressey, 'The motion picture'. For an analysis of Thrasher's and Cressey's roles in the sociologically-trained "media expert" in American society see Anderson, 'Taking liberties'.

East Harlem boys and possibly contributing to asocial behaviors — Cressey's methods encompassed twenty different approaches. These included movie "life histories" of his subjects, face-to-face interviews, and "special investigations" conducted by anonymous researchers who secretly followed boys in their movie-going activities.³³⁾

Meanwhile, Columbia University doctoral researcher Dorothy Reed yielded key data on the movie-going activities of teenage girls during this period by examining the recreational interests of East Harlem girls aged around 15 years.³⁴⁾ Almost all of Reed's 640 interviewees went to the movies twice a week, and nearly 30 percent of them went more than once a week; frequent movie-goers were quoted as saying "they went as often 'as we got took,' or 'whenever we can get money'".³⁵⁾ Around 93 percent of the girls whom Reed studied preferred movies to other leisure activities, including going down to the front step of one's apartment building, where girls would occasionally be allowed to watch — although not participate in — the world going by.³⁶⁾ Meanwhile, nearly one third of the interviewees in a 1927 YWCA study of East Harlem girls' leisure activities reported movies were second only to family among their "major interests".³⁷⁾

The testimonies of East Harlem youths clearly stood at odds with the sociologists' assumptions. Although Reed sought to establish a link between commercialized leisure and delinquency, her study failed to establish a correlation between movie-going and antisocial behavior. Indeed, girls from all the three groups studied by Reed (whom she termed "normal," "questionable," and "delinquent") reported similar patterns. Conversely, female youths in East Harlem used the movies for what adult elites would have endorsed at this time as positive forms of socialization: being with friends in safe outdoor locations, achieving a measure of independence thanks to expendable income, escaping boredom and cramped spaces, and reflective thought. Cressey's MPS meanwhile provided scant evidence that movies were even partially linked to emergent criminal behavior among teens, and the nominal data that was produced — such as boys' appropriation of crime techniques that had been shown in gangster films — could not be unraveled from broader discourses that may already have convinced teenagers that movies fostered "twisted ideas". One young male MPS subject speculated that he was being interviewed "[s]o you can put me in the papers, eh?".³⁸⁾ Instead, the teenage boys who participated in the MPS revealed that they had gained many positive things from the movies, including a sense of independence, increased self-confidence and self-worth, and inspiration for self-invention. These experiences were either a product of the performative roles that they cultivated during courting rituals, or of their negotiating of social ranking in the urban environment.

33) Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*, p. 126. On the aegis of this holistic method in the Chicago School of Sociology see Anderson, 'Taking liberties', pp. 47–50. The multiple approaches in the MPS are described by Cressey with co-authors Philip M. Hauser, Edgar Dale, and Charles C. Peters in 'The motion picture experience as modified by social background and personality', *Journal of Educational Sociology*, vol. 6, no. 4 (1932), pp. 240–243.

34) The YWCA study included no ethnographic data from teenagers themselves.

35) Reed, *Leisure Time of Girls*, p. 47.

36) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

37) YWCA, 'Report', Chart IV.

38) Cressey, 'The community', p. 127. For this insight, I am grateful to Jowett, Jarvie, and Fuller, *Children and the Movies*, pp. 68, 91; Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 171–174.

Close analysis of such documents reveals that developmental processes for these working-class youngsters overlapped with cinema culture, and that their reception of films was rooted in their social worlds.

Movies as the Material of Daydreaming and Subjectivity

One of the most fruitful debates in Screen Studies concerns the supposedly “immersive” effects that audiovisual media exert upon audiences.³⁹⁾ Although the East Harlem documents do not record testimonies acquired from subjects during film consumption, it is persuasive that a sense of mental reverie and “transport” repeatedly accompanied the teenagers’ subsequent discussions of film. Their testimony often bore witness to the extent to which film appeared in their daydreaming and imaginative role-play. The small amount of available ethnographic evidence that emerged from Reed’s East Harlem study of teenage girls, suggests that romances — her subjects’ preferred genre of film — offered a world of escape that provided some relief from experiences of deprivation, as well as from boredom, and from the sense of claustrophobia endured in the cramped spaces common to East Harlem life in the 1930s.⁴⁰⁾ Statements of this sort included: “I like to see the swells and forget we’re poor”, “I like to see people love each other and be happy”, “I like to be diverted and forget”, “[w]e don’t get no chance to live that way and you can pretend when you see the pictures that it’s you”, and “[t]he movies takes you away from home where there ain’t nuthin’ to do but sit”.⁴¹⁾

The capacity of movie-going and movie-watching to provide a measure of independence — which is clearly evident from these respondents’ anecdotes — seems to be an experience that was distinct to the young female members of East Harlem’s immigrant working-class community; a community in which parents were especially conservative when it came to raising their female offspring. In the YWCA study, researchers found that of the 758 employed youths surveyed, which included young women up to the age of 25, only 60 girls and women did not require their parents’ permission to leave the family home, thereby highlighting the close control that Italian immigrant families in East Harlem sought to exert over female children.⁴²⁾ Robert Orsi’s examination of the history and culture of East Harlem reveals that family and community strictures were overwhelmingly focused on containing and delimiting young girls’ sexuality, by making the “upbringing of female children in East Harlem ... exceedingly strict and fraught with anxiety and dread”.⁴³⁾ In

39) For a partial overview of the debate, see Laura Rascaroli, ‘Like a dream. A critical history of the Oneiric metaphor in film theory’, *Kinema: A Journal for Film and Audiovisual Media* (Fall 2002). <<http://www.kinema.uwaterloo.ca/article.php?id=141>> [accessed 18 November 2014]; Philip Sandifer, ‘Out of the screen and into the theater: 3-D film as demo’, *Cinema Journal*, vol. 50, no. 3 (2011), pp. 66–78.

40) Reed, *Leisure Time of Girls*, p. 47.

41) *Ibid.*, p. 48. Reed’s transcripts, like those of the MPS, demonstrate the researchers’ attempts to replicate East Harlem teenagers’ non-standard speech. Richard Dyer’s analysis of entertainment’s “utopian sensibility” has been helpful to me here. Richard Dyer, ‘Entertainment and utopia’, in Bill Nichols (ed.), *Movies and Methods: Volume II* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 220–32.

42) YWCA, ‘Report’, p. 4.

43) Robert Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 136.

this environment, conflicts often turned on the movies. Thus, twenty-year-old “Miss S.” who was interviewed by the well-known educator Leonard Covello as a part of his doctoral research on Italian American culture and families, yearned to attend movie screenings, and deeply resented her father’s strict dictum on their “demoralizing” effects.⁴⁴⁾ Still, girls and young women did find ways of circumventing parental control in order to frequent their favorite commercial establishments. Reed discovered that while the girls and young women whom she interviewed may have required an escort to attend movie screenings, they frequently flouted this rule. Reed wrote that the girls “side-stepped [their parents’ rules] by going without permission and finding another excuse”⁴⁵⁾

Diachronically produced histories of young working- and middle-class women’s movie-going in the early twentieth century have demonstrated the influence that film culture and other commercialized aspects of culture exerted on evolving forms of public culture and self-expression, although not on their feminist agency.⁴⁶⁾ In light of this research, the significance of the data from the studies of East Harlem girls is deepened. These data suggest that cinema offered a form of independence which enabled young people to circumvent strict parental control, for at least part of the time. When they are compared to other public and commercialized entertainment, movie theaters may also have offered a “safe space” in which to mix with others. Kathy Peiss’ history of women and early cinema supports such an assessment. Peiss argued that a movie culture characterized by interaction both with other women and families provided a relative haven for young women, one that facilitated hetero-sociality without the social and physical risks of engaging in more direct forms of contact with men, as might have been the case with visits to dance halls and amusements parks.⁴⁷⁾ Moreover, although both Thrasher and Cressey worried about what Thrasher called “sub-rosa activities” in movie houses,⁴⁸⁾ theater attendance in East Harlem — characterized by one teenage boy as a “married couples with one or two children, old ladies, old men, young girls in groups of from [sic] two to six and young fellows who come in gangs of from three to ten” — seemed relatively safe.⁴⁹⁾ Teenagers told MPS investigators about the protocols of courtship that shaped heterosexual interaction at theaters, suggesting boys and girls mutually agreed the limits of sexual contact,⁵⁰⁾ with unwanted ad-

44) CP, Box 65, folder 14. Cited in Orsi, *Madonna*, p. 126.

45) Reed, *Leisure-Time*, p. 46. Notably, these questions were not asked in the MPS study, presumably because it was understood that immigrant teenage boys were extended certain freedoms in East Harlem. For an historical analysis of the conservative attitudes of Italian families towards their female children in American cities of the early twentieth century see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), pp. 68–70, 73, 51; Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880–1960* (New York: Penguin, 1988), pp.10–11; Palladino, *Teenagers*, pp. 11–12; Orsi, *Madonna*, pp. 129–149.

46) Judith Mayne, ‘Immigrants and spectators’, *Wide Angle*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1982), pp. 32–41; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Shelley Stamp, *Movie-Struck Girls* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Schrum, *Some Wore*.

47) Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, p. 153.

48) Frederic Thrasher, ‘Social attitudes of superior boys’, in Kimball Young and Luther Lee Bernard (eds) *Social Attitudes* (New York: H. Holt & Co., 1931), p. 247; Cressey, ‘The community’, pp. 103–110.

49) Thrasher, ‘Social attitudes’, p. 249.

50) Cressey, ‘The community’, pp. 108–109, 110.

vances rejected easily by girls and young women. “A few of the males are so thick-skinned that only a good slap in the face will cure them of their ‘hand trouble’”, explained one youth;⁵¹⁾ another suggested that “De girl calls an usher if dey get wise”.⁵²⁾

For the young immigrant girls of East Harlem interviewed in Reed’s study, movie-going and film consumption offered a way of temporarily circumventing the difficulties of material circumstances, of living in close quarters, of loneliness, and of poverty, as well as the possibility of achieving both homo- and hetero-sociality in safe, public spaces.⁵³⁾ Reed’s study nuances the girls’ connection between *getting outside* to the movie house, and an expansion of the mind, by which I mean a *getting outside* of the normative views on teenage female heterosexual desire, with romance movies providing them with “ideas”. Indeed, in the one movie testimony from a teenage girl that is in fact cited in the MPS documents, the writer asserts that the girl used such fare to try on new states of mind and to explore her emotions:

[T]he best thing about a movie is that it’s like a dream. ... [T]he movies give us a chance to enjoy things we wouldn’t dare do ourselves and to realize what they’re like second hand. ... We wouldn’t dare do some of the things we see the movie heroines do, but we let the movie heroine do it for us. But we don’t know, really. Maybe we’d violate the commandment and do those things if we were faced with the situation shown in the picture. That’s why I don’t always condemn a movie heroine for doing them. In fact, when I see a picture I sort of put aside in my mind what she did and how she met her problem, as a sort of reference to myself, in case I might run into that problem in the future.⁵⁴⁾

Although Cressey comments on this girl’s “imaginative adjustments”, he expressed doubts about her and her peers’ capacity to deal with “problems in sex conduct which they encounter [on the screen]”.⁵⁵⁾ Yet, however much Cressey’s comments might emphasize the need for pedagogical intervention into teenagers’ engagement with “love pictures”, this young girl clearly demonstrates a sophisticated propensity for self-reflection. Her description of making a “reference to myself” suggests she is placing film narrative onto a mental bookshelf filled with other stories; one which she may “consult” at a later date. In this respect, the girl can “try on” an adult judgment safely without needing to experience that story firsthand.

51) Thrasher, ‘Social attitudes’, p. 247.

52) Cressey, ‘The community’, p. 109.

53) I am indebted to Annette Kuhn’s view of British movie theaters as independent childhood destinations. Annette Kuhn, *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger: Cinema and Cultural Memory* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), pp. 16–37.

54) Paul Cressey, ‘Youth looks at the world’, in *Youth Looks at the World: Specific Contributions of the Photoplays to Youth*. Unpublished manuscript, n.d., CP Box 65, Folder 14, pp. 9–10.

55) *Ibid.*, p. 9. Cressey was probably referring to the so-called fallen woman pictures that Lea Jacobs identified as a significant source of anxiety and regulation during the 1930s. See Lea Jacobs, *The Wages of Sin: Censorship and the Fallen Woman Film, 1928–1942* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

The girl's anecdote coheres strikingly with what developmental psychologists and anthropologists have suggested about the world of play, which includes the spheres of art, reading, film consumption and reflection, and other cultural practices. From these perspectives, playing with reality — as in the girl's drawing on romantic films as a “reference” in her mind — is an essential way of modulating life's complexities and expanding one's sense of possibility in the world.⁵⁶⁾ Providing additional perspectives on these theoretical concepts is Ien Ang's and Jackie Stacey's research on women audiences. Both Ang and Stacey argue that although media texts like television shows or feature films might express traditional patriarchal values, some women still find the very act of consumption and reflection of these media to be liberating, because they use these experiences mentally to “transcend” everyday circumstances and hardships, and to consider ideas from multiple angles. Similarly, even though the romance films that East Harlem girl teenagers preferred did not feature liberatory narratives, they did offer content and themes that facilitated East Harlem girls' consideration of new states of desire — ones that were disavowed in the repressive environment of their immigrant culture.⁵⁷⁾ These ideas could help girls to test the adult world's conceptions of sexuality and gender in a non-threatening way — that is without needing, as other commercial establishments demanded, the presence of a real-life male partner. In Blumer and Hauser's study, a teenage girl in Chicago summarized the value of these films thus: “[p]assionate love pictures make me think most.”⁵⁸⁾

The Movies and Role-Play

The MPS contains a wealth of information about East Harlem male teenagers' imitations of movie stars, and about their using film to try on new versions of themselves, whether privately, among peers of both sexes, or in the wider adult world. Their adult interviewers may have sometimes dismissed teens' actions as “dressing up” or as mimicking the idiolect of movie stars, but a significant amount of material exists to suggest that the teenagers embodied these characters wholesale by playing them out on city streets. Many instances of role-play described in MPS documents revolved around the actors Rudolph Valentino and James Cagney, and tended to engage with ethnic and gendered aspects of their respective star personae.

In what is perhaps the richest document on role-play included in the MPS, one teenage boy, who is described as “like [Valentino] both in appearance and nationality,”⁵⁹⁾ recounts this star's effect on his fantasy life in the following way:

56) D.W. Winnicott, *Playing and Reality* (New York: Routledge, 1971), p. 13; Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*, pp. 11–12, 18–27; Roger Lancaster, ‘Guto's Performance’, Daniel Balderston and Donna J. Guy (eds), *Sex and Sexuality in Latin America* (New York & London: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 24–26.

57) I am indebted for this insight to Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, p. 120; Janet Staiger, *Perverse Spectators: The Practices of Film Reception* (New York & London: New York University Press, 2000), pp. 77–92.

58) Herbert Blumer and Philip Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency, and Crime. Payne Fund Studies Vol. 8* (New York: MacMillan), p. 85.

59) Cressey, ‘The community’, p. 149.

My first yearning to become a movie star was when Valentino passed away. That was because my folks and friends were saying that I looked very much like him. I had a scar on myself as he had and combed my hair in the same style. Then I did not think of the fact that I lacked eight or nine inches to be as tall as he was. I could already picture myself taking Vilma Banky in my arms and kissing her. Flashing my eyes here and there. And whenever I would reach the Grand Central Station young ladies would beg for my autograph or attempt to kiss me and probably swoon away. The idea of running away to Hollywood began to gnaw on my brain but thank heavens I got over it after a few years.⁶⁰⁾

From a developmental perspective, role-play, whether it is enacted as play or in therapeutic contexts, is considered to be a developmentally complex undertaking that shows a person's ability to stand outside the self and to craft the self differently, even as a possible "self" he or she may inhabit one day.⁶¹⁾ In the passage cited above, the young man advances a remarkable narrative of self-transformation that reveals something of his social world. He inserts himself into the narrative of Valentino's 1926 film *The Son of the Sheik* when he talks of "taking [the actress] Vilma Banky into my arms and kissing her", even as he relocates this story to a local setting by adding "when I arrived at Grand Central Station, the girls would swoon". This youth's imagined diegetic and extra-diegetic participation in the film is rich in kinetic and spatial detail, which conveys his connection to Valentino's physicality. The youth's identification with Valentino also overlaps with extra-textual discourses that circulated contemporaneously around this star, especially his appeal to both working-class immigrant and middle-class non-immigrant women fans. Valentino's cross-class and cross-ethnic appeal is recast by this youth as the teenager's own magnetism for girls in East Harlem and at Grand Central Station.⁶²⁾ By invoking Valentino's Hollywood success, this youth also invokes a public manifestation of the immigrant worker's socio-cultural integration, financial prosperity, and professional success that were central to the American Dream.⁶³⁾ The testimony of this Italian-American teenager supports recent claims about the more radical dimensions of immigrant audiences' perceptions of Valentino's star persona, particularly its invocation of the social boundary-crossings offered by contemporaneous urban life, including mixed-class, racial, and ethnic socialization, as well as its embodiment of a form of male heterosexuality that departed from dominant norms of white, middle-class masculinity.⁶⁴⁾ Valentino inaugurated what Anderson called the "desegregation of modern cinema", a phenomenon that would be continued by such immigrant stars

60) Ibid.

61) Peter Fonagy, Gyorgy Gergely, Elliot Jurist, and Mary Target, *Affect Regulation, Mentalization, and the Development of the Self* (New York: Other Press, 2002), unpaginated.

62) Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 70–124; Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, pp. 245–94; Gaylyn Studlar, *This Mad Masquerade: Stardom and Masculinity in the Jazz Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 150–198.

63) Anderson considers the ambivalent reception of this story. See Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, 106–109; see also Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, pp. 258–259).

64) Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 70–154; Giorgio Bertellini 'Duce/Divo: masculinity, racial identity, and politics among Italian Americans in 1920s New York City', *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 31, no. 5 (2005), pp. 685–726.

as the Mexican-born heartthrob Ramón Navarro and the attractive Polish-born actress Pola Negri; Valentino himself opened myriad points of identification for diverse ethnic groups.⁶⁵ Accordingly, Giuseppe Bertellini has heralded Valentino as a new model for Italian-American audiences, one marked by youthful, urbanized sophistication and pleasure-seeking sensuality, which working-class Italian Americans could celebrate as a departure from nativist and Italian middle-class gender norms.⁶⁶ In the MPS, East Harlem boys frequently referred to themselves and their male peers as “a sheik” (by which they meant a lady’s man), or they shared Valentino’s influence on their own courting practices. A special investigator interviewed a youth called “Patsy”, reporting that “I ... asked him if he knew Big Jack (a youth who resembled Clark Gable). ‘Sure, I know that shiek [sic]. He’s a sucker for de women’.”⁶⁷ In another movie life story, a youth recalled emulating Valentino’s “long kiss” on a first date, and boasted that his date had called him a “*man of the world*” [emphasis in original].⁶⁸ This youth’s anecdote reveals how Valentino’s projection of a mysterious, sexually-experienced, and exotic persona resonated with boys and girls who wished to escape the confines of East Harlem’s patriarchal culture, if only through a fleeting kiss.⁶⁹

As suggested by the first Valentino movie anecdote cited above, the possibilities evoked by Valentino’s reputation as an adventurous libertine had uses beyond East Harlem. Robert Orsi has underlined the importance of the southern Italian “domus” or patriarchal culture in circumscribing immigrant social relations in East Harlem. He argued that immigrants were expected to perform traditionally gendered roles of self-abnegation and loyalty to family and community, both at home and in public:

In a very fundamental way, the individual could not exist apart from the domus and remain a human being. He or she could not make plans or take steps apart from the priorities of the domus. All were expected to forego personal satisfaction on behalf of it.⁷⁰

Orsi explains that this loyalty was translated frequently into indifference and aversion to community outsiders — attitudes which contributed to hostility among Italians towards their African-American and Puerto Rican neighbors.⁷¹

From an anthropological perspective, role-play is a means of testing of social relations, as one group member tries out a role or a social activity that has a bearing on the entire group’s belief system and culture.⁷² For the East Harlem youth who breaks away from the neighborhood in his imagined role-playing of the star, Valentino — especially in terms of

65) Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, pp. 138; Bertellini, ‘Duce/Divo’, p. 706.

66) Bertellini, ‘Duce/Divo’, p. 717.

67) Cressey, ‘The community’, p. 142.

68) *Ibid.*, p. 145.

69) I am grateful here to Anderson’s subtle analysis of Valentino’s “ideological crossing of sexual desire and an exotic distant past”. See Anderson, *Twilight of the Idols*, p. 128.

70) Orsi, *Madonna*, p. 82.

71) *Ibid.*, p. 102.

72) Nigel Rappaport and Joanna Overring, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 30.

his youth and physicality — represented independence, mobility, and a trying on of new social relations, notably in terms of forging new intimacies outside the circumscription of ethnicity and class. After all, Grand Central represented both the quintessential “central” station to New York’s mixture of cultures and a prime route to the outside world. “[T]hank goodness I got over that”, remarked the youth. Such a declaration invites a number of interpretations: his recognition of the caprice of his Hollywood dream, his comprehension of the futility of crossing larger structural boundaries of class and ethnicity, and his resignation to the domus. Although it is impossible to know precisely what this youth is referring to, his testimony does make it possible to more fully conceive of Valentino’s meaning for immigrant male youth in East Harlem. Valentino offered a vehicle through which these youth could test social boundaries, offering a sense of possibility for otherwise unattainably fluid forms of contact and intimacy.

Cressey notes in the MPS that in 1930–1931 James Cagney and Edward G. Robinson were the “unquestioned ‘favorite actors’” of East Harlem.⁷³⁾ One interviewee noted “[a]lmost all the guys imitate Cagney.”⁷⁴⁾ A smaller survey determined that 50% of the 20 older teenage boys that were interviewed in this study emulated Cagney. The investigator wrote that most subjects:

[Used] Cagney’s friendly, ‘one, two’ punch to the rib, chin, and shoulder. They imitate his little jig. They fake his ‘shake hands’ and laugh at you as they point their thumbs back over their shoulder as Cagney might have done. They develop that big Cagney swagger. They smiled a la Cagney with all teeth exposed and two of the boys wear the Cagney spear head shirts.⁷⁵⁾

One MPS interviewer noted that his Italian-American subject had adopted Cagney’s trademark accent and dialect, encapsulated in the following utterance:

I ain’t going to get in Dutch wid de law [meaning: to get in trouble with the law] ‘cause I’m gonna get protection before I do anything. An’ I ain’t havin’ no broads aroun’ while dere’s work to do. You can’t trust ‘em and dey get you in trouble. If it wasn’t for a broad dey never woulda got Little Caesar.⁷⁶⁾

Cagney’s codification of the gangster type in *THE PUBLIC ENEMY* (1931) and later films held special significance for second-generation immigrant male youths, who were negotiating the demands of American society and traditional attachments in the 1930s.⁷⁷⁾ As well as contemporaneous new gangsters played by George Raft, Paul Muni, and Edward G.

73) Cressey, ‘The community’, p. 140, n.1.

74) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

75) *Ibid.*

76) *Ibid.*, p. 136.

77) Richard Maltby, ‘Why boys go wrong: gangsters, hoodlums, and the natural history of delinquent careers’, in Lee Grieveson, Esther Sonnet, and Peter Stanfield (eds), *Mob Culture: Hidden Histories of the Gangster Film* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), p. 55; Lizabeth Cohen., *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919–1931* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 144–147.

Robinson, Cagney's personae signified an explicit confrontation with the larger structural order.⁷⁸⁾ In the MPS interview cited immediately above, Cagney's sartorial and vernacular style serves to enhance the content of the interviewee's testimony or to support his claim to have figured out the system, as exemplified by his boast that "I ain't going to get in Dutch wid de law because I'm gonna get protection". This teenager's affectation of Cagney's style is at least in part a resistance to power.⁷⁹⁾ It also illuminates gendered power relations in East Harlem. Both Robert Sklar and Norman Mailer have pinpointed Cagney's specific and inimitable contribution to the tough guy figure, namely what Sklar called Cagney's "softie side" — a trait rooted in his characters' dependence on strong women.⁸⁰⁾ Cagney's embodiment of masculine independence, coupled with an attachment to strong females, was perhaps particularly appealing to East Harlem's immigrant male youth, on account of their need to negotiate what Orsi has called the "public patriarchy" and the "private matriarchy" of the domus.⁸¹⁾ Orsi writes that mothers in the community were the "hidden center of the domus-centered society, the fountainhead of the blood which bound together members of the domus and connected it to the rest of the community."⁸²⁾ Compared to playing at Valentino, taking on the role of Cagney on the city streets may well have represented a different and a more complex way of testing social relations. The role of Cagney revealed the gender conflicts subtending East Harlem culture, even as it represented a challenge to the larger racialized order.⁸³⁾ In another MPS testimony, a teenage boy rationalized his emulating of Cagney thus: "Well, it makes me feel big."⁸⁴⁾

Crucially, however, it was not gangster pictures' narratives — the rise and fall trajectories of some high-profile films or the redemptive arcs of others — that were naturalized by East Harlem youth.⁸⁵⁾ As Cressey laments with respect to the older teens, "there is a strong discounting of the (outcome) of the underworld pictures."⁸⁶⁾ Such sentiments are apparent in the previous Cagney testimony, where the youth asserts that while he likes "*Little Caesar* and Jim Cagney ... dat's de baloney dey give you in de pictures. Dey always die or get canned. Dan't ain't true. Looka Joe Citro, Pedro Salami, and Tony Vendatta. Looka de ol' man."⁸⁷⁾ During this interview, the teenager — and perhaps even more so in his affectation

78) Giorgio Bertellini, 'Black hands and white hearts: southern Italian immigrants, crime, and race in early American cinema,' In Grieveson, Sonnet, and Stanfield (eds), *Mob Culture*, p. 209.

79) Kuhn draws similar conclusions about working-class male youth subjects growing up in 1930s England. See, Kuhn, *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger*, pp. 108–109). Meanwhile, Chicano poet José Montoya wrote a poem entitled "El Louie" about a Northern California pachuco (a Chicano teenager identified by his idiolect and zoot suits) who was also an admirer of 1930s gangster stars: "El Louie's" emulation of the gangster stars is linked in the poem to the pachuco culture's larger resistance to Anglo power structures. José Montoya, 'El Louie,' *El Sol y Los De Abajo and other R.C.A.F. poems por José Montoya* (San Francisco: Ediciones Pochoche, 1972), unpaginated.

80) Norman Mailer, cited in Richard Schickel, *James Cagney: A Celebration* (New York: Applause, 1999, p. 10; Robert Sklar, *City Boys: Cagney, Bogart, Garfield* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 34.

81) Orsi, *Madonna*, pp. 120, 131.

82) *Ibid.*, p. 131.

83) I am grateful to Cindy Dell Clark for this insight.

84) Cressey, 'The community', p. 153.

85) For an analysis of the later, reformist narratives of the gangster genre, see Lee Grieveson, 'Gangsters and governance in the silent era,' in Grieveson, Sonnet, and Stanfield, *Mob Culture*, pp. 13–40.

86) Cressey, 'The community', p. 136.

87) *Ibid.*

of Cagney's speech and dress — distinguishes between the movie gangster's style and the fate of actual local gangsters. The reality of successful extralegal activity in East Harlem is encapsulated in an anecdote that he was told by a Boys' Club counselor, and which is printed in Thrasher's final report. The counselor, who worked in a male youth reformatory, instructed his students to draft a job application letter. All of the students wrote to gangsters. Perhaps assuming that the mass media had a negative effect on vulnerable youth, the counselor was surprised to find that they were not writing to celebrity criminals of the day, but to local gangsters. Extralegal activity was clearly a source of income, survival, and even deference on the streets of East Harlem. As Orsi revealed, the Mafia was seen as a protector and enforcer of East Harlem's patriarchal culture.⁸⁸⁾ The community conflated the mob's extralegal activity with the *domus*, believing it to be an institution that outsiders misunderstood and unfairly maligned.⁸⁹⁾ Thus, the fate of celluloid gangsters had little purchase for youth in a neighborhood where gangsters "g[o]t away", ran well-known businesses, forged important political connections, and garnered respect from the community. For East Harlem's teenagers, if not for well-meaning middle-class reformers, it was obvious that one's fate was conditioned by structural forces, and not by the influence of James Cagney.

Conclusion

East Harlem youths of the 1930s viewed movie-going as an act of independence that involved a location to which they returned time and again in the process of separating themselves from the adult world.⁹⁰⁾ The route to the movies was hewn by these teenagers, often with their own income, in pursuit of freedom and breathing room from the home, the school, and the street; for aspiring to a future; for imagining and sometimes trying out romantic intimacy in a safe and secure environment; and for trying on new roles, including those that promised to generate visibility and status in the community. In particular, cinema seemed to offer a way for East Harlem immigrant youth to mitigate the strains of negotiating the polarizing modes of growing up between the patriarchal strictures of their immigrant families and the individualizing and often racializing culture of American consumerism and schooling. In this sense, theatres provided an opportunity to get lost in play and to try on new subjectivities, actions which psychoanalyst D.W. Winnicott deems necessary to lifelong human development.⁹¹⁾ Just as love stories and fallen woman pictures allowed East Harlem's teenage girls safely to imagine new states of desiring, so Valentino's star persona permitted teenage boys increasingly flexible options for asserting gendered, sexual, and class identities, and Cagney provided many boys a conduit through which to take a public stance in their neighborhood and in the culture at large.

Importantly, East Harlem youths' play with filmic worlds also created local culture, as teens engaged their movie knowledge in courting rituals, cinema talk, and public perfor-

88) Orsi, *Madonna*, pp. 103–104, 127–129.

89) *Ibid.*

90) Here I am again indebted to Kuhn, *Dreaming of Fred and Ginger*, pp. 16–37.

91) Winnicott, *Playing with Reality*, p. 13.



Figure 2. East Harlem youth, photograph Helen Levitt, c. 1940

mances on city streets. Crystallizing this phenomenon is a rare Puerto Rican testimony in Thrasher's final report on the Boys' Club Study. Entitled "Porto Rican Life in East Harlem", this document recounts the separate behavior of different generations of Puerto Ricans at a wake. While the elders are described as "immediately gathering to exchange their various premonitions before the unfortunate incident occurred", the youth notes that "[t]he younger people gather and discuss the various topics such as dances, movies, parties, etc., all of course, with proper decorum."⁹² The juxtaposition of adult discussion of older Puerto Rican folkways related to death, on the one hand, and on the other youth talking about movies and other urban leisure activities, underscores how cinema helped to create new demarcations of social groups in East Harlem between the generations.⁹³ While their elders looked to the past, the teenagers embrace the present and the possibilities of the not-too-distant future.

Recent developments in Reception Studies stress that movie-going and movie culture can provide deep fonts of social history. Meanwhile, existing histories of twentieth-century childhood and adolescence have shed new light on the role that movies and other consumer culture played in helping teenagers to more clearly demarcate the culture of adolescence.⁹⁴ This essay has developed these two strands of historiography by showing that in East Harlem, film and film culture helped teenagers forge youth identities. The East Harlem Movie Studies aimed to determine how working-class immigrant youth's consumption of movies was connected to what their writers saw as a failure of culture in that community: a lack of tradition, of middle-class morals, of parental control, of schooling. What the documents reveal, however, is that cinema was very much a part of East Harlem teenagers' own culture, a culture in which issues of class, ethnicity, and gender were both salient and deeply intertwined. As I hope this essay demonstrates, East Harlem youth used the images and narratives of cinema for vital, creative, and social acts: that is, for making themselves subjects in the world.

92) Unnamed Porto Rican resident, quoted in Thrasher, 'Final report', p. 296.

93) Sarah Chinn's historicization of an earlier generation gap between immigrant teenagers and adult society in the first decades of the twentieth century has been helpful to me here. See Chinn, *Inventing*.

94) Joseph Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1978); Palladino, *Teenagers*; Chinn, *Inventing*; Schrum, *Some Wore*.

Notes

I am extremely grateful to Dana Polan, Lewis Grossman, Richard Nowell, and my anonymous readers for their perceptive readings of earlier iterations of this essay. Kathryn Fuller-Seely generously shared documents and insights from her influential research on the Payne Fund Studies. Kathy, Mark Lynn Anderson, and Eric Smoodin's collaboration on a panel at the SCMS annual conference in Boston, 2012 was a catalyst for this essay's development. I also wish to thank colleagues at the New York Metro American Studies Association and the Mid-Atlantic Popular Culture Association's annual conferences in November of 2011, and the librarians at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Rockefeller Archive Center, the Bobst Library at New York University, the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College, and George Mason University. This essay is dedicated to the memory of Irving Denowitz, Samuel and Geraldine Fried, and Isidore and Celia Grossman, children of the city.

Films Cited

Alias Jimmy Valentine (Jack Conway, 1928); *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Lewis Milestone, 1930); *Cimarron* (Wesley Ruggles, 1931); *Little Caesar* (Mervyn LeRoy, 1931); *The Public Enemy* (William A. Wellman, 1931); *Skippy* (Norman Taurog, 1931); *The Son of the Sheik* (George Fitzmaurice, 1926); *Taxi!* (Roy Del Ruth, 1932); *Underworld* (Josef von Sternberg, 1927); *Up for Murder* (Monta Bell, 1931).

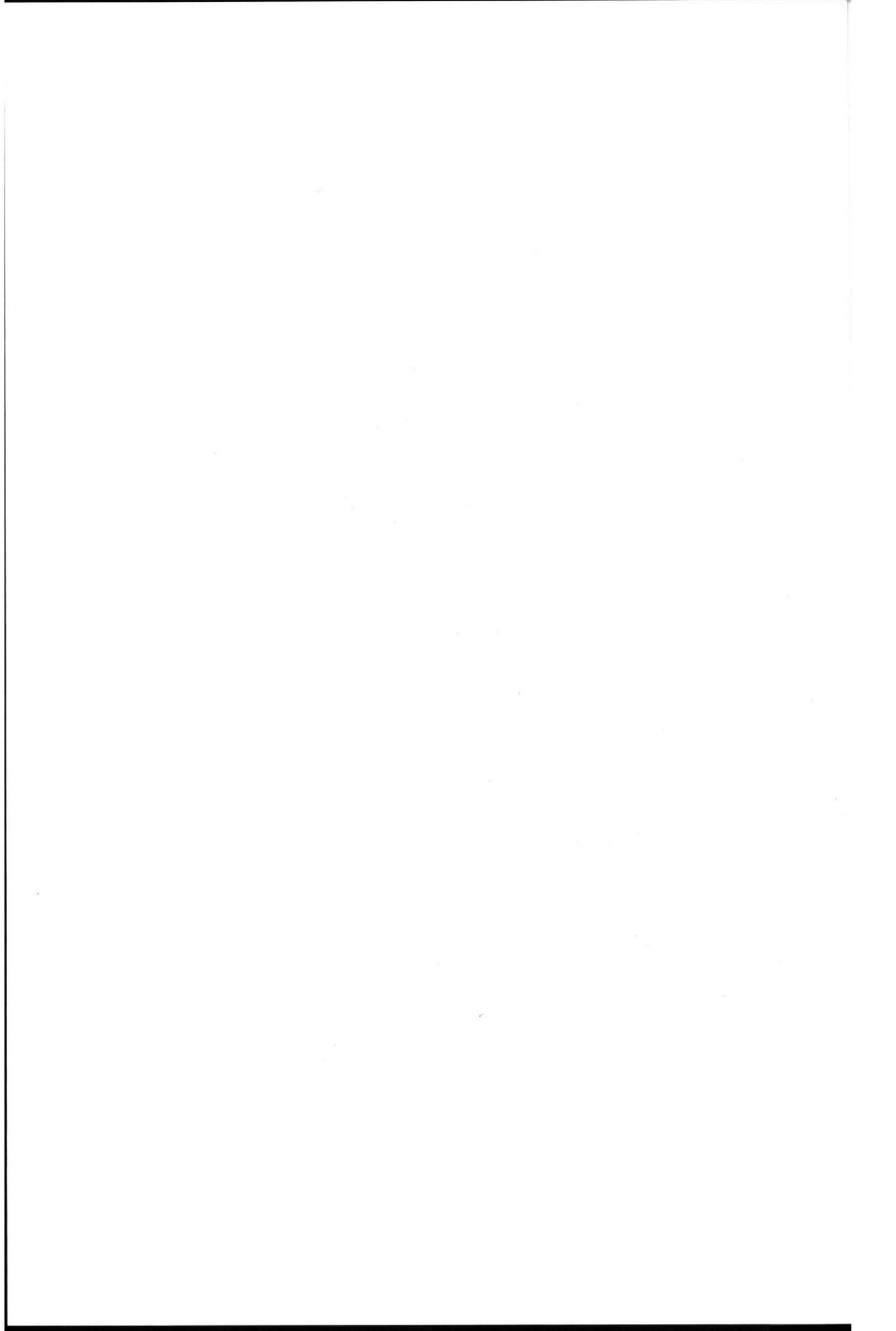
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SUMMARY

The Normals, the Questionables, and the Delinquents:
East Harlem Youth and the Movies, 1931–1934

Lisa M. Rabin

This essay is a reception history of adolescents' encounters with cinema in the working-class and predominantly Italian and Puerto Rican neighborhood of 1930s East Harlem. From 1929 to 1934, sociologists at the Payne Foundation conducted a "Motion Picture Study" on the allegedly deleterious effects of Hollywood cinema on the area's male youths, with two similar studies of girls also undertaken at this time. I examine the institutional forces shaping these young people's testimonies and the ways in which these testimonies show immigrant teenagers' using films and movie-going as a means of negotiating both their roles and independence in this urban environment. I also analyze the gangster movies and romances they discuss in order to understand the aesthetic and gendered influences these films exerted on the formation of new youth identities in East Harlem.



Šárka Gmitterková

Importing Modern Venus

*Hollywood, Starlets, and the Czech Star System
of the early-to-mid 1930s*

The relationships between Hollywood and young American womanhood, especially in the years after the coming of sound, have drawn a significant amount of scholarly attention. A number of studies have emphasized the extent to which, by virtue of their public visibility and their apparent sexual and intellectual autonomy, Hollywood's female stars embodied the "New Woman".¹⁾ This figure surfaced on the silver screen in such sexually-charged and attention-grabbing forms as the vamp and the flapper.²⁾ Where the exoticism of the former is widely understood as a manifestation of western fears of non-white female sexuality, the latter is generally seen to strike a balance between light-heartedness and sexiness vis-a-vis beautification, fashion, and lifestyle,³⁾ combining sexual and social rebellion with "girl next door" innocence. Youth was central to both figures, even though the term "teenager" had yet to be coined, as neither of them accommodated markers of aging, not even positive ones such as elegance and grace.⁴⁾ Although it is difficult to assign a specific

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- 1) The concept of the New Woman emerged in industrialized countries at the turn of the nineteenth century in relation to several images of rebellious womanhood such as suffragists, anarchists, and flappers. The concept reflected the growing number of middle- and working-class women embracing new and more publically visible roles. See Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture*. (London and Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 78.
 - 2) This figure previously appeared in a series of Charles Dana Gibson illustrations published in *Life* magazine. The Gibson Girl presented a romanticized vision of the New Woman. Beautiful and idealised, she pointed to supposed female limitations vis-a-vis sports, education, and masculine dress. See *Ibid.*, p. 85–99. For more on flappers see for example Sara Ross, 'Good little bad girls: controversy and the flapper comedienne', *Film History*, vol. 13, no. 4 (2001), pp. 409–423.
 - 3) On the relationships between lifestyle and modern womanhood as promoted by Hollywood's stars and starlets, particularly in terms of the importance of leisure and consumption, see Joanne Hershfield, 'The Hollywood movie star and the Mexican chica moderna', in Rachel Moseley (ed.), *Fashioning Film Stars: Dress, Culture, Identity*. (London: BFI Publishing, 2005), pp. 98–108.
 - 4) See for example Report from Newcastle Revisiting Star Studies Conference, < <http://www.necsus-ejms.org/revisiting-star-studies-12-14-june-2013-newcastle-university/> > [accessed 12 April 2014].

age to vamps and flappers, their make-up and revealing clothing certainly suggests women in their twenties, an age very much congruent with youth.

When considering the young performers who embodied these youthful types, we need to recognize fundamental differences between these “starlets” and their more established counterparts, stars. Conceptually, the starlet is presented as an industry newcomer who, through a combination of intensive promotion and good fortune, has achieved sufficient professional success to bring her to the cusp of fame.⁵⁾ Rather than being associated with a new film role, she is more likely to be positioned as an off-screen presence about to receive her big break. The star, on the other hand, is presented as having ascended to a position of power and status on the back of creative labor exerted over a lengthy period of time.⁶⁾ Differences between stars and starlets are also historically specific. As exemplified by the countless close-ups of actresses like Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo, the face was central to Classical Hollywood star images.⁷⁾ And, while costuming played a key role, the bodies of such actresses remained largely hidden from view.⁸⁾ By contrast, the spectacle of the visible female figure was central to images of 1930s starlets, who were often pictured outdoors, either relaxing or playing sports in revealing outfits like swimming costumes, short trousers, and low-cut dresses.⁹⁾ This emphasis on close-ups imbued the star with a degree of polish and sophistication, which contrasted with the more “natural” feeling of the young, active female body captured in medium shots. The transition between these two types of shot was therefore central to an actress’s development from starlet to fully-fledged star. It entailed a shift from appearing merely to be captured by the camera to playing directly to it, through such valued techniques as impersonation and personification. Finally, the transition from starlet to star was completed by the act of speaking, as the star complemented the primarily visual nature of the starlet with a voice that might showcase singing, an educated accent and vocabulary, enlightened views, and the capacity to convey agency through the very act of talking.

The ways in which Hollywood’s youthful star images were appropriated and recalibrated overseas have also been examined by several scholars.¹⁰⁾ For example, the local negotiation of imported star images is central to a study by Neepa Majumdar, in which she argues that, from the 1930s to the 1950s, a combination of Hollywood star images and nationalistic impulses drove the proliferation in Indian audiovisual culture of the “cultured lady”; this culturally powerful construct stood as an epitome of stardom, and served as a vehicle through which female public visibility could be negotiated.¹¹⁾ Meanwhile,

5) On fame versus stardom see Catharine Lumby, ‘Doing it for themselves? Teenage Girls, sexuality and fame’, in Sean Redmond and Sue Holmes (eds), *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2007), pp. 341–352.

6) See for example Ginette Vincendeau, *Stars and Stardom in French Cinema* (London: Continuum, 2000), pp. 82–109.

7) See for example Roland Barthes, ‘The Face of Garbo’, in *Stardom and Celebrity*, pp. 261–262.

8) See Charlotte Cornelia Herzog and Jane Marie Gaines, ‘Puffed Sleeves before Tea Time: Joan Crawford, Adrian and women audiences’, in Christine Gledhill (ed.), *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 74–91.

9) *Ibid.*

10) Hershfield, ‘The Hollywood Movie Star and the Mexican Chica Moderna’.

11) Neepa Majumdar, *Wanted Cultured Ladies Only! Female Stardom and Cinema in India 1930–1950s* (Urbana, IL, and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010).

Erica Carter has argued that the partial modeling of Third Reich stars on their Hollywood counterparts generated tensions between authenticity and excess, artistry and craft, and generality and specificity.¹²⁾ Studies such as these suggest that we might enrich our understandings of how the Czech film production and publishing industries of the 1930s negotiated imported images of Hollywood's young female stars.¹³⁾ The interplay of discourses pertaining to stardom, womanhood, and beauty influenced both talent scouting and the circulation of star images in this country. As understandings of stardom in Czechoslovakia have derived mainly from case studies of individual actresses' career histories,¹⁴⁾ this topic may also be developed by studies that focus on the structure and production of star images within this particular context.

Accordingly, this essay shows that imported images of Hollywood starlets were largely embraced in early-1930s Czechoslovakia, especially within publishing and film industrial circles. Their mainly positive reception, I argue, led to attempts to fashion similar images of, and around, Czech starlets, as new film magazines were used to disseminate pictures of aspiring young actresses in a manner indebted to such American archetypes as the chorus girl, the pin-up, and Hollywood stars. The appeal of young modern womanhood lay in its supposedly democratic underpinnings; practically anyone with the requisite looks and talent could make it, irrespective of class, nationality, connections, and experience. Press discourse frequently offered readers a chance to break into the movies through photo contests, thereby deepening the talent pool for the production sector. Accordingly, the essay opens by considering the representational practices of the film magazine *Kinorevue*, before examining how these practices shaped the Czech film industry's recruitment and promotion of young female talent. In so doing, I hope to enrich understandings of Czech film stardom in the early 1930s in a manner that promises also to offer transferable insights that might deepen our knowledge of other nations' relationships to Hollywood star images. Across Europe, countless creative industry personnel, intellectuals, and artists saw American culture as a force capable of liberating them from the limitations of national heritage. They saw in Hollywood stars the promise of replicable models of physical perfection and reminders of the possibility of social and economic upward mobility. This essay therefore invites scholars to consider not only the reception of youthful star images but also the process of manufacturing these starlets in various national popular and artistic cultural productions.

12) Erica Carter, 'Marlene Dietrich — The Prodigal Daughter', in Tim Bergfelder, Erica Carter, Deniz Gokturk (eds), *The German Cinema Book* (London: BFI Publishing, 2008), pp. 71–80.

13) This essay follows standard practice by using the term "Czech", as opposed to "Czechoslovak", film industry and film culture because, prior to World War Two, Prague served as the center of film production, distribution, and exhibition. See for example Petr Szczepanik, *Konzervy se slovy. Počátky zvukového filmu a česká mediální kultura 30. let* (Brno: Host, 2009).

14) See *Iluminace*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2012). In particular see Šárka Gmíterková, 'Filmová ctnost je blond: Jiřina Štěpničková (1930–1945)', pp. 45–67; Vladimíra Chytilová, 'Olga Schoberová, filmová hvězda v kontextu československé kinematografie 60. let', pp. 87–112. The case of Štěpničková highlights the connections between stage and screen stardom in their interwar years, showing how appropriate femininity, notions of acting quality, social prestige, and citizenship were articulated in these arenas. The case of the 1960s bombshell Olga Schoberová marked a shift away from the facets exemplified by Štěpničková toward notions of youth, beauty, style, and sexual allure that reflected the liberalization of 1960s Czechoslovakia.

In need of young talent

The early-to-mid 1930s was a transitional period for the Czech film industry, especially in terms of the state's funding of films. With the coming of sound, this small national cinema faced a number of challenges. For one, the talkies tripled production budgets, due to the cost of implementing new technologies during shooting, postproduction, and exhibition. What is more, this additional expense was not offset by a comparable increase in box office returns on the domestic market. With an average of twenty five releases annually, only two tended to generate sufficient revenue to cover production costs. It was estimated that Czech films lost an average of CZK 162,000.¹⁵⁾

Deeming films to be culturally significant objects in spite of their economic shortcomings, the Czech government decided partially to underwrite production in the country.¹⁶⁾ Yet, because its contributions amounted to only one quarter of a film's production costs, industry decision makers were required to secure additional sources of financing. For one, even though most Czech producers were well aware of the limited commercial potential of exporting their films, the popular success of *C. A. K. POLNÍ MARŠÁLEK* (1930) in its German-speaking target markets gave the industry a reason to be optimistic. While penetrating international markets promised to increase revenue, this film also highlights the deeper connections between the Czech and German markets, in terms of shared audience preferences and cultural practices. While Czech moviegoers tended to prefer films in their own language, they also gravitated en masse to some Hollywood imports, first talkies and by 1935 star vehicles.¹⁷⁾ The biggest draws on the Czech market were the Swedish-born Greta Garbo with five hit films to her name, and the Frenchman Maurice Chevalier with two. Drawing on the model of Hollywood stardom therefore offered Czech industry insiders a practical method of breaking into foreign markets.

The limited contributions made by the state also encouraged Czech filmmakers to develop commercially-oriented approaches to motion picture content. For example, in 1935, Miloš Havel, an influential producer-distributor and the owner of Barrandov studios, suggested that "[...] to make Czech cinema healthy again we must take greater responsibility when selecting subject matter, developing screenplays, and recruiting above-the-line talent".¹⁸⁾ Producers therefore fashioned screenplays that centralized genres and topics which promised to appeal to a sizable audience at home and ideally abroad. Crucially, Czech producers also saw casting, especially the cultivation of a homegrown star system, as central to their financial wellbeing. However, their attempts to systematize talent scouting, based on a highly subjective view of Hollywood practice, clashed with the rather informal nature of Czech film elite circles, where belonging to a certain clique and frequenting the right cafés was of utmost importance.¹⁹⁾ This clash resulted in starlets failing to develop into fully fledged stars.

15) Szczepanik, *Konzervy se slovy*, p. 39.

16) *Ibid.*, p. 42.

17) *Ibid.*, pp. 273–274.

18) Translation: "Ozdravení československého filmu má předpokladem odpovědnější výběr námětů, pečlivější zpracování scénářů a rozšíření sboru hereckého a režiséřského. Po stránce technické a výrobně organizační je vše v pořádku". Jiří Havelka, *Československé filmové hospodářství 1929–1934* (Praha: Čefis, 1935), p. X.

19) For a detailed discussion see Petr Szczepanik, "Machři" a "Diletanti". Základní jednotky filmové praxe

The mid 1930s were a good time to develop emerging stars, as the Czech cultural industries were becoming increasingly interested in capitalizing on the phenomenon of youth. Since the 1920s, this nation's theater sector had incorporated avant-garde trends, including those associated with Meyerhold theatre and the principles of *comedia dell'arte*, in terms of prioritizing physical expression.²⁰⁾ Even the illustrious National Theater embraced experimental practices, employing a troupe of young performers experienced in this type of performance.²¹⁾ In addition to prestigious institutions seeking to increase their cultural cache, light entertainment enterprises demanded young, physically fit performers for leading roles and especially background choruses. Revue operettas in particular were dominated by spectacularly orchestrated dance numbers centralizing large troupes of chorines or "girls", as they were often called at this time.²²⁾ The sense of an international standard of feminine identity that was summoned by leaving the term "girls" un-translated also emerged in film magazines. It is clear that by the early-to-mid 1930s the concept of the girl was understood across the developed world as one derived from American cultural artifacts but ultimately adaptable to other national contexts. Therefore, *Kinorevue* could state that "Girls were invented in America"²³⁾ but still publish similar images from Czech, German, French, and Japanese sources.²⁴⁾ The broad visibility and international appeal of the girl therefore highlighted the existence of an element of content that promised to be easily exportable. This potential was further enhanced by the assumption that regular moviegoers and film buffs tended to be quite young themselves, and would therefore gravitate to films which featured talent of a similar age.²⁵⁾

The theater was thus seen to provide the Czech film industry with a solution to one of its biggest challenges: a dearth of young screen actors. The stage would provide a talent pool from which film producers could draw younger performers. Another solution to this problem was offered by the popular press. Film magazines posited an easily applicable model of youth stardom, one derived from a local understanding of the ways Hollywood constructed star images. The latter brought with it the challenge of adapting American models to local cultural dispositions however. It needs stressing that the Czech star system did not correspond fully to Richard deCordova's model of stardom, whereby stars are seen to offer public access to an actor's biographical legend and "private" informa-

v době reorganizací a politických zvrátů 1945 až 1962', in Pavel Skopal (ed.), *Naplánovaná kinematografie. Český filmový průmysl 1945 až 1960* (Praha: Academia, 2012), pp. 27–101.

- 20) For a thorough overview of theatrical trends of the period see František Černý, *Dějiny českého divadla IV. Činoherní divadlo v Československé republice a za nacistické okupace* (Praha: Academia, 1983); Jan Císař, *Přehled dějin českého divadla II, 1862–1945* (Praha: AMU, 2004).
- 21) Between 1925 and 1930 the National Theatre employed promising young talent such as Jiřina Štěpničková, Jarmila Horáková, Ladislav Pešek, Ladislav Boháč, and Jiřina Šejbalová, some of whom were the first performers to develop concurrent film and stage careers.
- 22) Operettas are lighter, more comical versions of prestigious operas. Revue operettas were then-popular updates of traditional versions of the genre. See Miroslav Šulc, *Česká operetní kronika 1863–1945. Vyprávění a fakta* (Praha: Divadelní ústav 2002).
- 23) *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 16 (1934), pp. 305–6.
- 24) See Czech "Jenčík Girls", *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 27 (1935), p. 8; "Japanese girls posing on a beach", *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 25 (1935), p. 492; "A group of French girls", *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 13 (1934), p. 241.
- 25) Markéta Lošťáková, *Čtenáři filmu — diváci časopisu. České filmové publikum v letech 1918–1938* (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2012), pp. 73–95.

tion.²⁶⁾ In this respect, Czech stars perhaps better exemplified what deCordova called the picture personality, without ever truly attaining the status of bona fide stars, precisely because of a lack of “private” information about them entering into the public sphere. Substituting for the absence of such information was the positioning of Czech film stars as artistes. This facet derived largely from their associations with legitimate theater; the majority of Czech film stars not only started their careers on the stage but usually continued working there after they started appearing on the silver screen. Various national and cultural discourses imbued the Czech theater with a genuine sense of heritage and respectability, which in turn exerted a profound influence on the manner in which the personae of Czech stars were seen at this time. Where Hollywood starlets were widely perceived as attractive yet superficial and unreachable, indigenous stars were typically promoted on their talent, beauty, and charisma.

Stars and starlets in the discourse of *Kinorevue*

A popular film weekly launched in September 1934, *Kinorevue* sought to nurture closer relationships between film stars and fans. Like its American equivalents, most of the news and profiles published in this magazine tended to reproduce film industry positions and rhetoric. The “official biographies” featured therein often blurred the lines between a star’s persona and the personality of the character s/he played in a particular film, insofar as biographical narratives echoed key elements of the storylines of their latest star vehicles.

Kinorevue conceptualized stardom around two pairs of contrasting ideas related to visibility and age; the distinction between the Czech and the international star, and between the star and the starlet. Czech stars were seen primarily as artistes, on account of their being framed as supremely talented individuals, on their projecting an air of national authenticity based on speaking Czech and their physical appearances, and on their conveying a sense of personal substance and depth due to their professional mastery, beauty, everydayness, and accessibility. By contrast, Hollywood stars were seen to possess an almost otherworldly quality, on account of their romantic and luxurious lifestyle, their air of superiority, and their sophistication, elegance, and charisma. The term star itself was reserved for Czech leading ladies that journalists considered marketable, and who could pursue professional activities outside Czechoslovakia.²⁷⁾ Czech stars were nevertheless treated with reverence, in contrast to their American counterparts, who were usually pre-

26) This definition is offered by Richard deCordova, who suggests that film stardom was developed in three stages in the United States: from a discourse on acting through to the picture personality and finally to the star. These phases also describe the general trajectory of a performer who achieves the status of a star. The discourse tied up with stardom allows for private information such as romance, familial ties, and scandals to enter into the public sphere. Such mediated and publicly consumed images may not accurately or fully reflect the “authentic” self of the star, but pleasure can lie in this illusion of access. See Richard deCordova, *Picture Personalities: The Emergence of the Star System in America* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

27) With the exception of the first homegrown star in the 1920s, Anny Ondra who worked in the German film industry, and Lída Baarová, who enjoyed a promising start in that country, no Czech stars actively pursued an international career in the 1930s.

sented in a slightly ironic way that allowed for doubts about their performance skills and private personalities to be countered in publicity materials. Nevertheless, from beneath this form of image management surfaced a clear admiration for Hollywood's apparent systematic and successful cultivation of internationally embraced on-screen performers. Starlets however, whether Czech or American, were firmly rooted to the bottom of the pecking order. These young women were effectively excluded from prestigious columns such as biographical portraits, because they were mainly presented as anonymous performers. Yet, they could be found regularly adorning fashion pages and articles on beauty and lifestyle. For example, in an article entitled "Swimwear Season", photographs of starlets featured alongside text describing Joan Crawford's and Greta Garbo's bathing suits.²⁸⁾ In *Kinorevue*, American starlets projected the notion of Hollywood as a site of eternal springtime, leisure, and sport. In many cases, this notion stood in marked contrast to Czech discourses on stardom, which emphasized that focus, discipline, and hard work were needed to maintain this professional standing.

The presentation of Hollywood starlets also largely characterized their Czech sisters, although the latter were invariably named by the press. Czech starlets were introduced to the public by way of one- or two-sentence captions, a photograph, and notification of their upcoming motion pictures debuts.²⁹⁾ Such an approach spotlighted selected experiences of individual starlets, and accentuated their physical assets. For example, Eliška Pleyová, who came from the fashion industry, was introduced in a studio photo sporting a bathing suit (Figure 1).³⁰⁾ Julka Staňková was also presented in swimwear, but in an apparent outdoor snapshot (Figure 2).³¹⁾ Marta Fričová, however, was captured dancing, alongside a reference to the growing popularity of her film dancing school, thereby invoking the nature of her talent.³²⁾ Other promotional stills focused on the faces of particularly photogenic starlets. A specific category of talent scouting existed which offered readers the opportunity to break into the film industry; however, these were geared less to the needs of film producers than to increasing the magazine's circulation, based on the opportunities they appeared to offer fame-hungry girls and women. Newcomers recruited from the readership of *Kinorevue* could in principle be employed either as screenwriters or as starlets. Potential starlets were evaluated on the photographs they submitted, but which the magazine's editors tended to relegate to readers' letters pages. In reality, these photos were just another attraction for the magazine, offering, as they did, little chance for a would-be starlet to actually break into the business.³³⁾

28) 'Sezona plavek', *Kinorevue*, vol. 2, no. 41 (1936), pp. 290–291.

29) As much as it seemed to reflect the dominant imported strategies of promoting starlets, not all young Czech screen talent was presented in this way. This being said, the motivation behind the various approaches remains unclear.

30) *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 46 (1935), p. 393.

31) *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 46 (1935), p. 387.

32) In the case of this particular photograph, as well as other images centralizing female subjects, it is possible to see evidence of broader cultural influences, such as avant-garde photography, modern dance techniques, and experimental theater. However, because they appeared in a section dedicated to educating of non-professional filmmakers, these images were effectively excluded from the main part of *Kinorevue*.

33) Lošťáková, *Čtenáři filmu — diváci časopisu*, pp. 90–95.



Fig. 1. Eliška Pleyová posing in a bathing suit (*Kinorevue*)



Fig. 2. Julka Staňková pictured outdoors (*Kinorevue*)

More so than any other film magazine, *Kinorevue* printed countless photographs, making it an ideal site for the naturalization of Hollywood imagery in Czechoslovakia during the interwar years. Between 1934 and 1936, production stills from upcoming Hollywood films, chorus girls (usually from Eddie Cantor movies), and pin-ups appeared regularly on the pages of this magazine. Such images either captured a group of girls performing ornate routines or honed in on a specific girl who was being given a professional push. Where pin-up aesthetics informed the presentation of those starlets who exuded a hint of sexual magnetism or individuality, chorus girl heritage placed an emphasis on styling and physicality. Limiting our focus solely to the image of the single starlet allows us to trace a complex set of negotiations between interchangeability and uniqueness, between the visible and the concealed, and between artificiality and naturalness.

The pin-up provided a key visual reference point when Czech starlets were introduced to the public. Beyond its popular status as a “cheesecake” shot adorning countless American G.I.s’ walls or fighter planes, the pin-up represented a publicly displayed and publicly consumed exemplar of feminine portraiture, one in which the pin-up’s isolation from men lent itself to both a male and a female gaze.³⁴⁾ Sexuality was always already im-

34) See Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, pp. 1–26.



Fig. 3. Anonymous Modern Venus
(*Kinorevue*)

placit in these snapshots and in the full body images, but it was rarely explicit, the revealing nature of the images notwithstanding. Their invocation of the pin-up imbued the Czech girls with some of the values and meanings ascribed to American youth. Their intimidating physiques, which Johanna Frueh insightfully describes as a monster/beauty,³⁵⁾ coupled with their apparent self-confidence, lent these young women a measure of sexual allure. Chorus girls or troupes of young women delivering intricately choreographed dance routines, on the other hand, connoted a sense of collective identity. Siegfried Kracauer has aptly described these girls as an exemplary product of what he called “American distraction factories”;³⁶⁾ while noting that their geometrically precise performances were sufficiently accessible to be enjoyed across the globe. Their performances involved myriad female bodies partially covered by bathing suits, albeit with the potential sexuality and sensuality of these displayed bodies minimized by the collective nature of the performance. The visible parts of the dancers’ bodies — their arms, legs, and torsos — were presented in such a way as to offer the viewer a distinct visual arrangement.³⁷⁾ What emerges here is the calculated and mechanical character of a choreography that ap-

proximates that of the classical Hollywood star system, especially in terms of the talent scouting described in *Kinorevue*. The magazine often compared Hollywood’s organization of creative labor to a factory; to a standardized process designed to deliver predictable and satisfactory results. Its articles typically presented Hollywood in a playful, slightly ironic tone, and sought to undermine the glamorous aspects of the accompanying photographs. Critiques tended to be subtle; gestures to the petulance, grandiosity, vanity and superficiality of certain tinsel town “divas” only became truly apparent in the context of their Czech counterparts presentation as authentic and dedicated artistes. The pictured American starlets were usually buttressed by commentary that highlighted their symmetrical beauty, slimness, discipline, and healthy lifestyles involving sports and other outdoor activities. Beautification, dieting, and physical training were seen as aspects of working life, but

35) Joanna Frueh, *Monster/Beauty: Building the Body of Love* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001).

36) Siegfried Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 75–76.

37) Kracauer’s assumption that cultural production invariably mirrors contemporaneous ideological undercurrents may be questionable, but his description of the dance performances and the look of the girls are in this case is sound, I maintain.

a strong accent was also placed on leisure. Thus, a fairly typical series of photographs showed a young woman posing on a beach and striking statuesque poses while undertaking various physical activities, including tennis and working out at the gym. One of the captions that accompanied these images read: “Modern Venus: After a long day in the studio, a shapely movie starlet unwinds at the beach with the sun, sea, and cooling breeze” (see Figure 3).³⁸⁾

Kinorevue therefore posited a somewhat schizophrenic and unattainable sense of female beauty, which was offered as a prerequisite for those aspiring to become starlets themselves. In this respect, beauty was frequently considered in terms of geometry; symmetry, proportions, and “adequate” measurements. It was also constructed around expertise, both in terms of marketing operations and the democratization of stardom, wherein even the brightest stars had physical flaws which needed “correcting” with cosmetics such as creams and make-up. After the emergence of affordable beauty products after World War I, the feminine ideal could not be attained without the aid of the cosmetic industry — the natural needed to be modified with various touch-ups. For example, one article centered on Katharine Hepburn’s purported attempts to remove freckles from her face. Lastly, female beauty was constructed around notions of strict physical self-discipline related to dieting and the sculpting of a fit, lithe body. These elements were more or less attainable; however, the conferral of star status called for additional qualities, which were harder to emulate and sometimes even escaped precise description. This slipperiness related to notions of talent, charm, and above all else, to sex appeal, the combination of which became something of a leitmotif for *Kinorevue*. Sex appeal, which made speaking about sexuality possible at high society events, and in magazines and newspapers, was mystified however. “Sex appeal doesn’t need any justification. It can’t cease to exist because its bond with our lives is too strong. Sex appeal makes art and our lives meaningful” noted one writer.³⁹⁾ Such broad and vague definitions echo Kracauer’s description of girls losing their sexual allure and their individuality in the context of precisely orchestrated choreography.⁴⁰⁾ From their bathing suits and revealing shorts to their outdoor settings and their focus on the body over the face, these promotional materials were clearly inspired by the chorus girl.

The production and education of Czech starlets

Despite their apparently random application, the efforts described above were widespread in the industry, and were closely tied to changes in film importation and the organization of audiovisual culture. One of the institutions that flourished in the mid 1930s by looking

38) Translation: “Moderní Venuše — krásně roslá, usměvavá filmová hvězda na mořské pláži, kde si v blahodárné lázni vzduchu, slunce a vody uklidňuje nervy, unavené vyčerpávající práci v ateliéru” *Kinorevue* vol. 1, no. 44 (1935), p. 345.

39) Translation: “Sex-appeal vůbec nepotřebuje obhajoby. Nemůže zaniknout, protože je příliš silně spjat s naším životem. Je v něm smysl našeho života i smysl věčného umění, které nerozlučně provází” ač, ‘Ideální ženská krása a kolik měří...’, *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 44 (1935), pp. 344–347.

40) Kracauer, *The Mass Ornament. Weimar Essays*, pp. 76–78.

qualitatively to elevate of domestic film production was the company Filmové Studio, founded in 1934 by Miloš Havel. First and foremost a businessman, Havel set up the company not only as a means of acquiring young talent but above all else as a way of securing state subsidies. These were tied to fulfilling several imperatives, chief among which was the recruitment of filmmakers and actors. In its first two years, Filmové Studio concentrated on searching for photogenic types.⁴¹⁾ The company originally toyed with the idea of making a star out of a newcomer who would be groomed for cinematic stardom. The candidates or “adepts”, as they were called, tended to lack acting or performing experience, but Filmové Studio was willing to train them. This educational mission was, however, rather loosely defined. Talent would either be shown films selected by tutors before participating in a discussion or would join the film department of the conservatory.⁴²⁾

Across the early 1930s, it was clear that the lack of young screen actors was a major problem for the Czech film production sector. The emergence of sound had precipitated a shakeup of who was deemed to be a top star. Generational shifts had also contributed to this state of affairs. But a hitherto unprecedented premium was now placed on the vocal skills of those aspiring to stardom in sound cinema. Filmové Studio wanted to continue the practice of scouting and grooming talent based on what was widely believed to be the Hollywood standard. *Kinorevue* frequently parlayed the Hollywood approach in the following terms. In Hollywood, strict selective criteria were applied to the vast numbers of aspiring stars; these criteria were based on evaluations of the photogenic potential of the face and body. When a promising starlet was offered a contract, she would undergo a transformative process that accentuated her beauty and personal style, which would then be followed by a series of screen tests. *Kinorevue* claimed that this was a standard process, pointing to Katharine Hepburn, Joan Crawford, and others as evidence of its routinized role in Hollywood. Yet, we should not forget that Czech publicists would have lacked precise information about the Hollywood studio system; about how this institution actually operated. Their interpretation was therefore based on promotional materials that presented the manufacture of stardom as a coherent and replicable formula. This step-by-step process indicated that Hollywood’s conceptions of star-making could be employed as a practical “research and development” model.

Even though these ideas about Hollywood’s stardom might have been rather ill-informed, Czech producers nevertheless aimed to adapt what they believed to be essential aspects of the star system: selectivity, efficiency, and standardization. As Karel Smrž, a Czech publicist, journalist, and an influential figure at Filmové Studio explained, the number of individuals who made it to the screen was minute in comparison to those who aspired to such a position. “From almost eight hundred applicants only ten percent succeeded in the preliminary test shots”, he detailed, adding: “even those ten percent have

41) Inventory no. 14, p. 1, f. Spolek Filmové studio, Oddělení písemných archiválií, Národní filmový archiv (hereafter OPA NFA).

42) This idea evolved into collaborations on short films between trainee directors and novice actors, even though formal filmmaker training institutions only existed in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. Again though, there is no evidence to suggest that this plan was actually put into practice. ‘Inventory no. 8, p. 15, f. Spolek Filmové studio, OPA NFA.

only the slimmest of chances of succeeding on screen.”⁴³⁾ Smrž would go on to assert that starlets were usually driven not by a dedication to their craft or to the medium of film, but by the pursuit of fame; a misguided motive, he felt.⁴⁴⁾ His position promotes a vision of stardom determined by creative labor and by the long-term pursuit of noble goals such as the cultivation and mastery of one’s craft. The search for prospective talent was therefore considered to be a lengthy and exhausting process. Consequently, those starlets who were fortunate enough to be selected would not be treated as mere extras but instead cast in minor roles with some dialogue. In its first year of existence, Filmové Studio regularly conducted screen tests; however, these were abandoned, partly due to financial restraints but mostly to Czech film directors’ indifference to screen tests. This indifference was most likely the result of two factors. First, directors did not have the time to shoot them; they were put through grueling schedules with feature films typically needing to be shot in nine to twelve days. Second, the branding of Czech cinema as a cinema of quality incentivized the positioning of its films in relation to elevated culture, which ranged from adapting literary classics, making costume dramas, and drawing upon prestigious topical themes to the recruitment of prestigious human resources such as those with an established career in legitimate theater.

Conclusion

While they may have been short-lived, the practices described above nevertheless represented part of the systematization and consolidation of the Czech cinema in the 1930s. The “contingent system”, a means of controlling imports provided support for the domestic film industry. State subsidies led indigenous productions to increase from an average of twenty-three films in the early 1930s to thirty five by the middle of the decade,⁴⁵⁾ highlighting two problems: the challenge of producing polished internationally appealing films, and a shortage of screen talent. With the Czech film industry’s demand for new talent was only partly met by theater performers transitioning from stage to screen, producers wanted to institutionalize a star system of their own. However, rather than lending themselves to emerging talents, star vehicles were intended to showcase the talents and presence of celebrated stage performers. This situation may have been complicated by the fact that long-term investment in stardom would have undermined the financial security that state subsidies provided the industry. With capital investment in the cultivation of human resources increasing with the act of grooming each new aspiring starlet, producers were ultimately content to limit major speaking roles to a handful of A-listers that included Lída Baarová, Adina Mandlová, and Nataša Gollová.

43) Translation: “Z téměř osmi set přihlášených adeptů jen asi 10% obstálo při předběžné zkoušce a bylo filmováno — a i z těchto deseti procent jen malá část má naději, že by se mohla se svými schopnostmi ve filmu uplatnit”. Karel Smrž, ‘Filmové studio a český film’, *Kinorevue*, vol. 1, no. 33 (1935), pp. 121–124.

44) Ibid.

45) Ivan Klimeš, ‘Kulturní průmysl a politika. České a rakouské filmové hospodářství v politické krizi třicátých let’, in Gernot Heiss and Ivan Klimeš (eds), *Obrazy času. Český a rakouský film 30. let* (Praha, Brno: NFA, 2003), p. 318.

These financial disincentives effectively limited starlets to publicity materials, especially their presentation in *Kinorevue* as personifications of an international vision of young female beauty. There were several reasons for this development. For one, critics dismissed the films in which the starlets appeared as commercially-minded trash, all but ignoring their admittedly minor roles and thus stalling their careers. The starlets of the 1930s also failed to survive in cultural memory, and all copies of a film introducing some of the starlets, *POLIBEK VE SNĚHU* (1935), are believed lost. Filmové Studio therefore serves as something of a proxy case study, as it was at this company that the systematic cultivation of starlets flourished, for a short time at least. At the outset, Filmové Studio's quest for fresh faces was clearly inspired by "Hollywood machinery"; a notion that was both ridiculed and ironized in Czech film cultural circles, but which was at the same time quietly admired. The Czech film industry was in reality closer in its structure and outlook to the German and Austrian film industries. Consequently, it produced stars that embodied forms of national identity derived from heritage culture such as literary classics, especially the solid, busty "blood and milk" type. However, the images of slender, modern young American womanhood featured in *Kinorevue* were also alluring. The starlets fashioned to this mold, echoed Hollywood archetypes. The emphasis placed on physicality in body-centric photographs of active starlets engaging in outdoor and sporting activities highlighted sexiness and youth. It may have resonated well with young urban audiences, but Czech films generated most of their revenue from small-town and village theaters.⁴⁶⁾ These moviegoers demonstrated a preference for a highly valued vision of Czech womanhood based on endurance, self-sacrifice, and chastity that harked back to nineteenth-century literary heroines seen as important symbols of national pride. The influence of this nationally gendered figure was felt well into the twentieth century, when such images conveyed a combination of doe-eyed innocence, mild eroticism, and dramatic suffering, and conjured the figure of the dedicated, serious artiste behind them. While photographs of Hollywood starlets may have provided a pleasant distraction, it might well have been unfeasible to present young Czech actresses in a similar way. The public might not have been offended by such imagery, but in all likelihood it would not have embraced it either. While Hollywood was frequently portrayed as the land of eternal youth and springtime, the Czech audience was probably not ready for Czech starlets who exuded leisure, insouciance, and notions of wellness.

Films Cited:

C. a K. Polní maršálek (Karel Lamač, 1930); *Polibek ve sněhu* (Václav Binovec, 1935).

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46) 'Jak se dělá film. Rozhlasová reportáž z AB akciových filmových továren na Barrandově', *Filmová Politika*, vol. 2, no. 17 (1935), p. 2.

SUMMARY

Importing Modern Venus*Hollywood, Starlets, and the Czech Star System of the early-to-mid 1930s*

Šárka Gmitterková

It is generally accepted that, as ambassadors of modern womanhood, Hollywood's youthful stars of the 1930s boasted international appeal. Accordingly, this essay examines the two areas of Czech film culture that benefited most from embracing the American starlet at this time. The first was film magazines like *Kinorevue*, which published numerous photographs of young actresses both from Hollywood and closer to home. The democratic nature of starlets — promising fame to anyone with the requisite looks and talent — attracted readers of a similar age who harbored such ambitions. The second was the newly established Filmové studio, which used Hollywood models as partial templates for grooming the young talents it expected to increase the international appeal of its films. While short-lived, these transatlantic exchanges represented a key part of Czech cinema of the 1930s.

Jindřiška Bláhová – Richard Nowell¹⁾

“If not for their Artistic Merit then their Capacity to Connect with People”

*Czechoslovak Communists, Late Cold War Cultural Policy,
and Youth-oriented American Films*

Youth-oriented American imports such as *FIVE EASY PIECES* (US release: 1970/ Czechoslovak release: 1973), *SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER* (1977/1979), and *FLASHDANCE* (1983/1989) were a prominent part of Czechoslovak culture during the late Cold War period.²⁾ In the 1970s and 1980s, the State Film Company (CSF), via its distribution branch the Central Film Distributor (Ústřední půjčovna filmů, hereafter CFD),³⁾ targeted young people with domestic productions like *HOLKY Z PORCELÁNU* (*Girls from a Porcelain Factory*, 1975) and *DISCOPŘÍBĚH* (*Disco Story*, 1987), and those of other nations including West Germany (*ERSTE LIEBE*, 1970) and Poland (*TRZEBA ZABIĆ TĘ MIŁOŚĆ*, 1972/1979).⁴⁾ This Communist-controlled, vertically integrated organization's handling of such fare was governed by Party ideology and economic pragmatism. On the one hand,

1) The authors would like to thank the reviewers of this essay, the general editor of this journal, and its copy-editor for their valuable insights.

A note on the contributions of the authors: research conducted in Czech archives and surveys of Czech-language secondary sources was conducted by Jindřiška Bláhová. Research of secondary English-language sources, analysis, lines of argumentation, choice of examples, as well as the organization and writing of this paper are products of close collaboration between the authors.

- 2) It was not uncommon for some time to pass between a film's US and Czechoslovak releases. We need to appreciate that a number of factors, many of which were not ideological in nature, affected the timing of a film's purchase and release in Czechoslovakia. These included long-term distribution plans, the lower cost at which older films could be acquired, the willingness of a rights holder to lease a film for a lump sum as opposed to a share of the profits, and the thirty percent cap the Communist Party placed on the amount of films from capitalist countries in circulation at one time.
- 3) Reinvigorated academic interest in the working lives of media workers suggests new lines of enquiry which promise to shine a light on the decision-making behind the activities discussed in this paper. Such endeavor is welcomed but ultimately beyond the scope of this essay.
- 4) Robert Kolář, 'Rok 1973 v našich kinech. Hovoříme s ředitelem ÚPF Vladislavem Maškem', *Záběr*, 25 January 1973, pp. 3, 6; Zdenka Silanová, 'Ústřední půjčovna filmů uvádí...', *Kino*, 26 September 1973, p. 5; Ludvík Toman, 'Z referátu na mezinárodním sympoziu o působení filmu a televizi na společenské vědomí ve dnech 14.–18. ledna 1974', in Slavoj Ondroušek (ed.), *Za socialistické filmové umění (sborník dokumentů 1969–1974)* (Praha: Čs. filmový ústav, 1975), p. 153; Miroslava Knoflíčková, *Podíl filmu na šíření uměleckých a kulturních hodnot* (Praha: Ústav pro výzkum kultury, 1988), pp. 1–43.

the Czechoslovak Communist Party had commissioned the CSF to expose young people to pictures advancing socialist values. The CSF's promotion of Party policy was determined less by mandate, however, than by personnel politics, professionalism, naturalization, and self-censorship. This being said, the Party did ensure the CSF executed policy by employing trusted managers and by monitoring the marketing materials it produced.⁵⁾ On the other hand, the CSF deemed US imports particularly valuable because they were thought to attract the young people who dominated ticket sales at a time when attendance was generally declining.⁶⁾ The CFD estimated that 12–25 year-olds accounted for eighty percent of the tickets sold in Czechoslovakia, with 15–19 year-olds representing the most avid motion picture consumers. Naturally, it sought to retain this powerful audience.⁷⁾

The specific logic and strategies that underwrote the CFD's handling of its youth-oriented American imports across the final two decades of Communist rule are examined in this essay. From an analysis of cultural policy statements, press coverage, and promotional materials, we argue that the organization framed these films in four historically situated ways reflecting changes in cultural policy.⁸⁾ We begin by explaining that all of its approaches were rooted in an important series of social and political developments that unfolded in the late 1960s. From there, we detail how each approach was also informed by conditions characterizing the period in which it was widely adopted. From 1969 to 1970, the CFD used youth-oriented American imports to blame student protests on bad parenting. Then, across the early 1970s, this organization used counterculture films to critique various aspects of American capitalist democracy. It would appropriate musical movies in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a means of promoting anodyne alternatives to indigenous music subcultures associated with antiestablishment sentiments. And, finally, the late 1980s saw the CFD utilize another selection of musical movies to mitigate consumer dissatisfaction when public frustration was growing at the failings of the Czechoslovak economy.

By shedding new light on the CSF's investments in the cultural products of an “enemy state”, this essay develops our understandings of how European elites appropriated youth-

5) The CFD typically commissioned its own promotional posters for imported films, and selected lobby cards from those provided by the rights holder. Marie Sylvestrová, ‘Czech film posters since [sic] 1945 to the present’, in *Czech Film Posters of the 20th Century* (Brno: Moravian Gallery and Prague: Exlibris, 2000), p. 56.

6) BK, ‘Bosé nohy v parku’, *Filmový přehled*, 10 October 1969; Aleš Danielis and Radko Hájek, ‘Film a divák X, Nové světy’, *Film a doba*, 1989, p. 556; For Czechoslovakia theater attendance figures see Ladislav Pištora, ‘Filmoví návštěvníci a kina na území České republiky’, *Iluminace*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1997), pp. 63–106.

7) Toman, ‘Z referátu’; Knoflíčková, *Podíl filmu*, p. 12; Anon., ‘Ústřední dramaturg filmového studia Barrandov Ludvík Toman bilancuje rok 1974 a hovoří o dramaturgickém plánu na rok 1975’, *Zpravodaj čs. filmu*, 9 January 1975, p. 1; ‘Závěry 1. schůze komise ÚV KSČ pro práci s mládeží ze dne 14. října 1976’, National Archive in Prague (hereafter NA), Central Committee of the Communist Party Files (hereafter f. A ÚV KSČ), Komise pro práci s mládeží 1945–1989 (hereafter f. 10/20) folder 3, Archival Unit (hereafter AU) 12, sheet 35; See also Ivo Pondělíček, *Proměny filmového hlediště v ČSR (1966–1968): Filmologický sborník, V.* (Praha: ČSFU, 1969); Radko Hájek, *Současná kultura filmového diváka ČSR: Závěrečná zpráva výzkumu* (Praha: ČSFU, 1980); Miloslava Česneková, Helena Vostradovská and Radko Hájek, *Sociologická analýza filmu* (Praha: ČSFU, 1984–1985).

8) The Czechoslovak Communist Party had previously employed American films for ideological purposes. For example, in the late 1940s, they used some of Charlie Chaplin's films, and invoked aspects of his star persona, to criticize Hollywood and American capitalist democracy. See Jindřiška Bláhová, ‘No place for peace-mongers: Charlie Chaplin, *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947), and Czechoslovak communist propaganda’, *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 29, no. 3 (2009), pp. 271–292.

oriented American cinema in the second half of the twentieth century. For one, an examination of the organization's use of such fare broadens our appreciation of the conduct of the most influential body in Czechoslovak film culture at this time. In particular, it provides insights missing from existing quantitative studies, by considering how some American imports fitted into the political and economic strategies of this organization.⁹⁾ To date, historians have explained that the CSF underwrote audiovisual entertainment to distract citizens from social and political problems.¹⁰⁾ Yet, the roles of its imports remain poorly understood; this in spite of the fact that the CSF often considered such films to be better ideological tools than domestic productions, which some viewers avoided due to suspicions of propagandistic intent. The social, cultural, and political importance the CFD assigned to its youth-oriented American imports also reminds us that historians have concentrated on the *concerns* European claims-makers expressed about such fare in the second half of the twentieth century. For example, Daniel Biltereyst shows that stakeholders in 1950s Britain and France feared some Hollywood teen films could incite antisocial behavior among impressionable youngsters.¹¹⁾ Similarly, Uta G. Poiger details how comparable issues preoccupied the regimes of East and West Germany.¹²⁾ By contrast, the case of the CSF reveals some European elites drew fairly positive conclusions about this type of film.

Normalization, youth, and cinema

To better understand the CFD's handling of youth-oriented American imports in the 1970s and 1980s, it is helpful to recognize the impact of social and political developments which took place in the preceding years. The years 1967 and 1968 saw the liberal wing of the ruling Czechoslovak Communist Party push for political and economic reforms.¹³⁾ Calls for increased freedom of speech encouraged some young people, especially students, to voice their dissatisfaction of the regime.¹⁴⁾ In what became known as the Prague Spring, students rallied in cities such as Prague, and rebellious subcultures including hippies, punks, and, beatniks proliferated.¹⁵⁾ Such events suggested that a generational conflict was

9) Luděk Havel, 'Hollywood a normalizace' (MA Dissertation: Masaryk University, 2008).

10) Štěpán Hulík, *Kinematografie zapomnění* (Praha: Casablanca, 2011), pp. 290–292.

11) Daniel Biltereyst, 'American juvenile delinquency movies and the European censors: the cross-cultural reception and censorship of *The Wild One*, *Blackboard Jungle*, and *Rebel without a Cause*', in Timothy Shary and Alexandra Seibel (eds), *Youth Culture in Global Cinema* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp. 9–26.

12) Uta G. Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 32.

13) Zdeněk Doskočil, *Duben 1969: Anatomie jednoho mocenského zvratu* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny, 2006); see also Vilém Prečan, *Proměny pražského jara: Sborník studií a dokumentů o nekapitulantských postojích v československé společnosti 1968–1969* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 1993).

14) Jaroslav Pažout, *Československé studentské hnutí v šedesátých letech dvacátého století* (Prague: Libri prohibiti, 2001); Milan Otáhal, *Studenti a komunistická moc v československých zemích 1968–1989* (Praha: Dokořán, 2003).

15) Miroslav Vaněk (ed.), *Ostrůvky svobody: kulturní a občanské aktivity mladé generace v 80. letech v Československu* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR and Votobia, 2002), p. 7; Miroslav Vaněk, *Byl to jenom rock 'n' roll? Hudební alternativa v komunistickém Československu 1956–1989* (Praha: Academia, 2010), p. 231.

gripping Czechoslovakia; the values these youths held dear appeared at odds to those of a parent generation that included conservative political elites.

The Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 ushered in a draconian period in the country's history known as normalization. The hardline Communists who had consistently seen the young dissenters as an affront to socialist mores and a threat to the regime now wielded greater sway over policy and public discourse.¹⁶⁾ These hardliners were shocked by the protests. As Christiane Brenner has pointed out, the Party had expected State-socialism to eradicate this type of problem; to produce a young people who supported the regime, especially when they had been raised exclusively under this system.¹⁷⁾ In response, hardliners attempted to discredit the protesters and present the Party as the sole guarantor of order, security, and prosperity.¹⁸⁾ These positions were part of a broader strategy that also included discrediting liberal journalists and liberal party members, which the Party used to foster the civil obedience it deemed central to normalization.¹⁹⁾

The ideological education of the country's young became a priority for the Czechoslovak Communist Party during normalization. In addition to commissioning studies on inter-generational tension and juvenile delinquency, the Party redrafted cultural policy to curtail dissent, placing its ideological commission in charge of it.²⁰⁾ The value the Party assigned to the youth-focused aspects of cultural policy was exemplified by its assuming control of Czechoslovakia's largest youth organization: the Socialist Youth Union (Socialistický svaz mládeže). This union was not only tasked with shaping young minds and producing the next generation of leaders, but its council was sought by the CSF when choosing youth-oriented films.²¹⁾ What is more, the Party's Committee for Working with Youth (Komise pro práci s mládeží) was made responsible for ensuring young people's free-time was built around activities that promoted socialist ideals, for policing youth-oriented publications and television broadcasts, and for supervising education centers, youth clubs, and film societies.²²⁾

Naturally, under normalization, cultural policy directly affected cinema.²³⁾ Thus, 1969 saw new editors-in-chief put in charge of film magazines to ensure journalists who had

16) Ibid, pp. 231–232.

17) Christiane Brenner, ‘Troublemakers! dealing with juvenile deviance and delinquency in Socialist Czechoslovakia’, *Acta historica Universitatis Silesianae Opaviensis*, no. 6 (2013), p. 126.

18) See Jaroslav Pažout, *Hnutí revoluční mládeže 1968–1970: edice dokumentů* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobě dějiny AV ČR, 2004); Anon., ‘Proč byl leden nutný. Rozhovor Rudého práva se soudruhem Gustávem Husákem’, *Rudé právo*, 5 January 1970, p. 3.

19) Petr Cajthaml, ‘Nástup normalizace v televizní publicistice a dokumentu’, in Petr Kopal (ed.), *Film a dějiny 4, Normalizace* (Praha: Casablanca and Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2014), pp. 17–24.

20) See Brenner, ‘Troublemakers!’, pp. 123–137; see also Christiane Brenner, ‘Líné dívky, lehké dívky? “Příživnictví” a disciplinace mladých žen v době normalizace’, *Dějiny a současnost*, vol. 9, no. 7 (2013), pp. 19–22.

21) An interview with Aleš Danielis, 23. 3. 2013 (author's archive).

22) The Socialist Youth Union Charta, <http://www.totalita.cz/txt/txt_ssm_stanovy.pdf> [accessed 10 September 2014]; On film clubs see Vladimír Slanař, ‘Filmové kluby dětí a mládeže’ (MA Dissertation: Filmová a Televizní Fakulta Akademie Múzických Umění, 1988).

23) Jiří Purš, ‘Projev ředitele Čs. filmu Jiřího Purše z roku 1970’, in Jiří Havelka, *Čs. filmové hospodářství 1966–1970* (Praha: Československý filmový ústav, 1976), pp. 16–19; ‘Zpráva o plnění Realizační směrnice a další úkoly ideologické činnosti strany, projednané na 2. schůzi ideologické komise ÚV KSČ konané dne

survived the purges of early normalization toed the party line. Party elites also publicly distinguished between the films they found acceptable and unacceptable.²⁴⁾ For example, in an address to the Socialist Youth Union, new Party general secretary Gustav Husák — the face of normalization — denounced some films as peddling “filth, perversion, negativity” and offering little “positive, pure, nice, or cultural.”²⁵⁾ Similarly, the newly appointed director of the CSF accused some filmmakers of corrupting youth with “the wrong philosophical, political, and ideological perspectives.”²⁶⁾ In the hope that it might limit young people’s exposure to themes of nihilism, relativism, and negativity, which the Party deemed anathematic to socialist society, the CSF instructed theaters to only screen films that disseminated Socialist ideals.²⁷⁾ It also withdrew from circulation twenty-three locally produced “anti-communist films”, including new-wave fare like *THE FIREMEN’S BALL* (1967) and *THE CREMATOR* (1968), and condemned imports it saw as “promoting the western way of life.”²⁸⁾ However, at the same time, the CSF recognized some youth-oriented films could be used to advance Party policy and thus catalyze normalization. Such pictures were usually played at the Youth Film Festival in the city of Trutnov (Filmový festival mládeže) and on the Youth and Culture television program (*Mládež a kultura*).²⁹⁾ Among them were those positing parents as accountable for their unruly offspring.

17. června 1970; NA, A ÚV KSČ, Fond Ideologická komise ÚV KSČ (hereafter f. 1261/1/15), folder 1, AU 2, note, 0, l. 6; On normalization in the film industry see: Hulík, *Kinematografie zapomnění*; on normalization more generally see, for instance: Milan Otáhal, ‘O vztahu společnosti k normalizačnímu vedení’, in Oldřich Tůma and Tomáš Vilímek (eds), *Česká společnost v 70. a 80. letech: sociální a ekonomické aspekty* (Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2012), pp. 247–284; Zdeněk Hejzlar, *Praha ve stínu Stalina a Brežněva: Vznik a porážka reformního komunismu v Československu* (Praha: Práce, 1991).

24) Believing that audiences could be both measured and understood, the CSF commissioned sociological research into why individuals attended theaters and expressed preferences for certain genres, subject matter, and sites of production. These studies were expected to make it possible for the organization to devise a formula for appealing to the enlightened socialist moviegoer, which is to say those viewers who were “sensitive to the ethics and issues of modern society”. In other words, the film authorities tried to engineer a situation where audiences would “naturally” choose, say, a Bulgarian film about struggling factory workers over an American musical. Youth figured into this research. The authorities were, for example, concerned by young people who did not pursue tertiary education expressing a preference for spectacle-driven entertainment. Knoflíčková, *Podíl filmu*, p. 11.

25) Husák, ‘Ustavující celostátní konference’, p. 26.

26) Purš, ‘Projev ředitele Čs. filmu’, p. 16.

27) Jiří Purš, *Obrisy vývoje československé znárodněné kinematografie, (1945–1918)* (Praha: ČSFÚ, 1985), p. 101.

28) Purš, ‘Projev ředitele Čs. filmu’, p. 17; On the restrictions on films distributed in Czechoslovakia see Jiří Purš, ‘Naše úkoly a cíle’, in Ondroušek (ed.), *Za socialistické filmové umění*, p. 89; ‘Zápis z 2. schůze ideologické komise ÚV KSČ konané dne 17. června 1970’, NA, f. ÚV KSČ, 1261/1/15, folder 1, AU 2, note, 0b, pp. 5–6, sheets 7–8; ‘Návrh organizačního, kádrového a obsahově-funkčního uspořádání odboru kulturní politiky ÚŘ ČSF’, National Film Archive in Prague (hereafter NFA), Central Directorate of the Czechoslovak State Film Files (hereafter f. ÚŘ ČSF), 1972, R12/AII/3P/2K.

29) ‘Filmová distribuce v roce 1968, 08. 11. 1967’, NFA, f. ÚŘ ČSF, Folder ÚŘ ČSF kolegiální porady 1967, zahraničí a distribuce 70. léta, R10/BI/4P/1K, p. 8; ‘Osnova rámcové koncepce výchovy filmového diváka, 12.12.1967’, NFA, f. ÚŘ ČSF, R10/BI/4P/1K, p. 6.

Juvenile delinquency, parenting, and REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE

Where some European elites found REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE (1955/1969) objectionable, the CFD considered this film so important that it granted it a premiere at the prestigious Workers Film Festival (Filmový festival pracujících) — a roadshow maximizing the availability of ideologically significant films.³⁰⁾ Some British politicians and journalists had derided REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE as “poisonous stuff for the teddy inclined adolescents”, East German authorities had denounced the film as mass culture trash, and their West German counterparts had feared it would provoke riots and destabilize gender relations.³¹⁾ By contrast, the CFD found value in this picture’s renditions of a dysfunctional family, ineffectual childrearing, and adolescent self-destruction. At the time, the Committee for Working with Youth emphasized parenting was central to the production of upstanding socialist citizens,³²⁾ with the Party’s flagship newspaper *Rudé právo* printing numerous articles on the ideological education of the young. One tract published when REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE was on general release blamed student dissent partly on the parent generation instilling lax morals and values into its offspring.³³⁾

REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE enabled the CFD to blame the juvenile delinquency that the Party claimed was sweeping the country on parents, and, by extension, to absolve the authorities themselves of responsibility. The mouthpiece of the CSF, *Filmový přehled*, spotlighted the generalizable nature of the themes summoned by this film, stressing “juvenile delinquency was not restricted to American society”.³⁴⁾ The magazine also invited readers to draw comparisons between the adult world depicted in the film and Czechoslovakia’s socialist system of governance, insisting that REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE “showed juvenile criminality was usually a product of substandard parenting leading to psychological problems in the young”.³⁵⁾ It framed the film as a cautionary tale, one which promised to prevent youngsters from “polluting” Czechoslovakia like their older siblings had in the late 1960s. “Young people who do not trust adults, who do not trust their parent and teachers, and who do not believe in the social order these adults created”, mused one writer, “find themselves drawn to that symbol of rebellion: the gang”.³⁶⁾ This position suggested that the social unrest which had blighted the previous decade could be prevented by a loving home, thereby encouraging parents to attend to the generational conflicts that the Party insisted underpinned such unrest in the first place.³⁷⁾

30) Havelka, *Čs. filmové hospodářství 1966–1970*, p. 74.

31) Biltereyst, ‘American juvenile delinquency’, p. 19; Poigner, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels*, pp. 77–85, 108–110.

32) ‘Závěry 1. schůze komise ÚV KSČ pro práci s mládeží ze dne 14. října 1976’, p. 13.

33) Jan Beránek and Josef Mužík, ‘K problémům světonázorové výchovy na vysokých školách. Hledat a nacházet pravdu’, *Rudé právo*, 13 January 1970, p. 3; See also z., ‘Vychovávat mladé lidi v třídně uvědomělé občany’, *Rudé právo*, 8 November 1969, p. 1; Jiřina Lišková, ‘Z vlastního přesvědčení’, *Rudé právo*, 5 December, 1969, p. 3; tt., ‘O mládí, mládeži a generacích’, *Mladý svět* vol. 12, no. 3, 1970, p. 20.

34) Anon., ‘Rebel bez příčiny’, *Filmový přehled*, 7 November 1969, p. 4.

35) Ibid.

36) Ibid; ‘Distribuční list č. 9/70, ÚPE, 25. 12. 1969’, NFA, Sběrka reklamních materiálů k českým i zahraničním filmům.

37) Controlled by the Socialist Youth Union after 1970, the widely read youth magazine *Mladý svět* ran a series of articles in which Communist top brass insisted young people should stop criticizing the parent generation

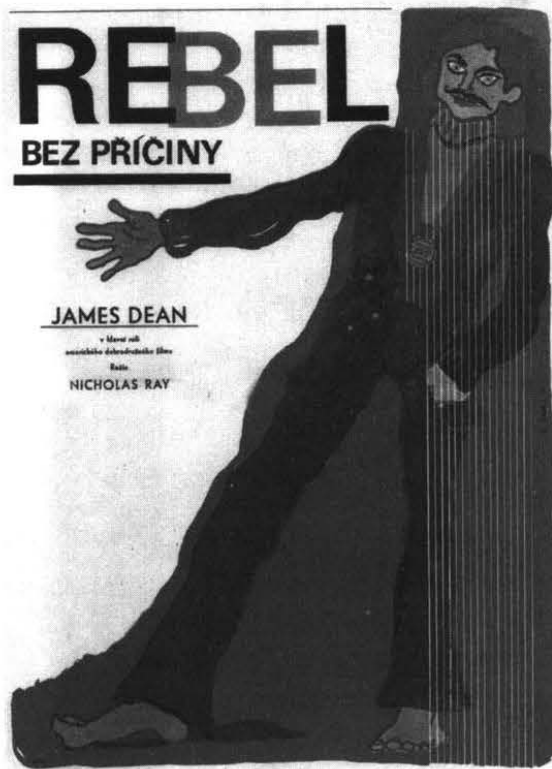


Fig. 1 The Czechoslovak poster for *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE*

The CFD's promotion of *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* also spotlighted a figure which some Communists had consistently invoked as a symbol of failed parenting and western social decay: the hippie (see Figure 1). Whereas the liberal wing of the Party had indirectly facilitated the student protests and the proliferation of youth subcultures, hardliners had long since denounced both, singling out hippies as the most insidious of dissenters. As far back as the mid 1960s, pro-hardline newspapers had demonized the American counterculture, spotlighting permissiveness, drug use, and aimlessness as evidence of young people losing their way under capitalist democracy. Moreover, following several protests, Prague's municipal council had warned it would clamp down on hippies for their purported transgression of appropriate socialist behaviors.³⁸⁾ In his aforementioned address to the Socialist Youth Union, Husák even suggested un-socialist cinema

had seduced otherwise well-adjusted young Czechoslovaks into a "western Hippie underworld".³⁹⁾ Replacing the bankable James Dean whose image had dominated *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE*'s American poster with one of a young man sporting bellbottoms, a flowered shirt, and long hair, allowed the CFD to convey precisely who it considered the rebels without a cause to be, and who parents should fear their children might become. The CFD's use of *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* to advance the Party line on juvenile delinquency and parenting was superseded by its appropriation of other youth-oriented American imports to critique American capitalist democracy.

and redirect their energies to Party-endorsed undertakings. See Anon., 'Na otázku Mladého světa odpovídá JUDr. Felix Vašečka, Csc, ministr spravedlnosti ČSR', *Mladý svět* vol. 12, no. 5, 1970, p. 3; Anon., 'Na otázky Mladého světa odpovídá ministr zdravotnictví České socialistické republiky, RNDr. Vladislav Vlček', *Mladý svět* vol. 12, no. 8, 1970, p. 3; Anon., 'Na otázky Mladého světa odpovídá ministr zemědělství a výživy slovenské socialistické republiky Ing. Jan Janovic, CSc', *Mladý svět*, vol. 12, no. 9, (1970), p. 3.

38) Vaněk, *Byl to jenom*, p. 232.

39) *Ibid.*

Idealization, American capitalist democracy, and counterculture pictures

In the early 1970s, the CSF prioritized youth-oriented American imports that enabled it to spotlight the supposed generational tensions, social problems, and political upheavals blighting the United States. Consequently, the Central Distribution Company framed several counterculture pictures in a manner that suggested the turmoil they depicted revealed the dire consequences of the reforms both the Party's liberal wing and students demanded in the late 1960s. The organization used *SUMMERTREE* (1971/1973), *FIVE EASY PIECES*, and *THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT* (1970/1976) to posit that, rather than guaranteeing freedom, capitalist democracy precipitated tyranny; a position which in turn suggested that the Soviet-led invasion of 1968 deserved to be credited for saving Czechoslovaks from a similar fate. These films were positioned as a direct contrast to CFD releases depicting young people in socialist countries. On the one hand, the Soviet-imports *O LJUBVI* (1970) and *TENDERNESS* (1970/1972), and the domestically made *METRÁČEK* (1971) and *MŮJ BRÁCHA MÁ PRIMA BRÁCHU* (*My Brother Has a Great Brother* 1973), foregrounded humanist themes like interpersonal relationships, romantic love, and social responsibility and harmony. On the other, the CSF-produced musicals *TŘICET PANNEN A PYTHAGORAS* (*Thirty Maidens and Pythagoras*, 1973) and *HOLKY Z PORCELÁNU*, among others, showed Czechoslovak youth contently studying and apprenticing.⁴⁰⁾

This anti-American approach to framing youth-oriented US imports unfolded during a highly draconian period in Czechoslovak history that Jaromír Blažejovský calls “normalization on the offensive”.⁴¹⁾ Policymakers like Jan Fojtík, a member of the Central Committee's Ideological Commission responsible for media and culture, feared Czechoslovakia's pro-American youth destabilized State-socialism and threatened mass defections to the west.⁴²⁾ In response, hardliners sought to stop young people from viewing capitalist nations in general and the United States in particular as beacons of progressivity. Suggesting that such positions derived from romantic fantasy involved contrasting the putative vices of capitalism with the apparent virtues of socialism.⁴³⁾ The CSF believed that some US counterculture pictures promised to undermine young people's idealization of life in this paradigm of capitalist democracy.

The CSF selected *SUMMERTREE* from a cluster of films critical of America's invasion and occupation of Vietnam due to the overt nature of its denunciation of US governmental policy. At the time, the Czechoslovak press regularly condemned Washington for its operations in this Southeast Asian country. The Communist Party's flagship film magazine *Kino* had for example attacked the bellicosity of the pro-Vietnam opus *THE GREEN BERETS* (1968). It had also printed interviews with high-profile American liberals who had spoken out against the war, including blacklisted director Elia Kazan and the actress and

40) The CFD continued to release positive portrayals of student life under State-socialism across the 1980s. Such films included *Snowdrops and Dabs* and *How the World Loses Poets* (both 1982).

41) Jaromír Blažejovský, ‘A Time of the Servants (1969–1989)’, in Sylvestrová (ed.), *Czech Film Posters of the 20th Century*, p. 108.

42) ‘Záznam z 2. schůze ideologické komise ÚV KSČ, 17. června 1970’, NA, A ÚV KSČ, f. 1261/1/15 folder 1, AU. 2, note, 0.

43) Doskočil, *Duben 1969*, p. 21.

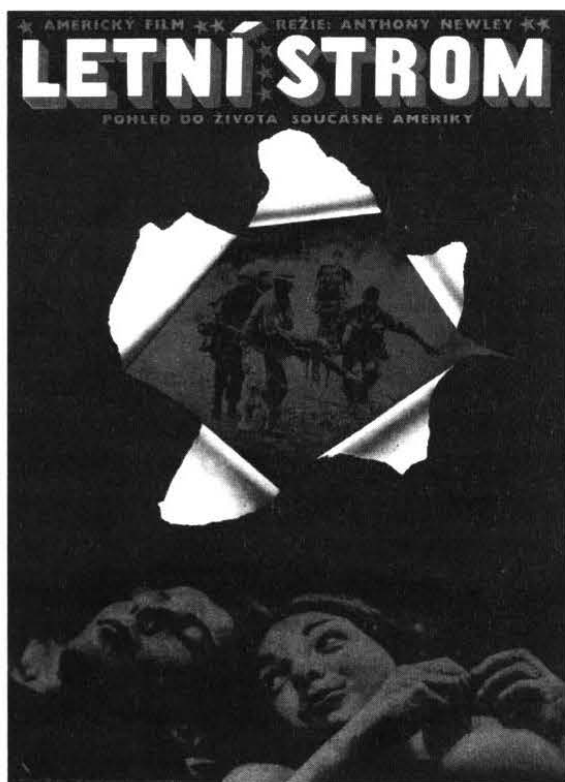


Fig. 2 The Czechoslovak poster for *SUMMERTREE*

couple lying beneath a night sky, pierced, as if by a bullet, to reveal the bloodshed and horror of US military action (see Figure 2). By contrast, Columbia Pictures sold the film to American audiences as a bittersweet romance — “Once there was a girl and a guitar and a summertime” read its promotional poster.

FIVE EASY PIECES permitted the CFD to spotlight the youth alienation hardliners had diagnosed as a symptom of America’s crumbling capitalist democracy.⁴⁷⁾ Stateside, this film was sold as a largely indeterminate quality drama based on the apparent virtuoso performance of star Jack Nicholson and the purported vision of director Bob Rafelson. However, *Filmový přehled* suggested that this tale of a bourgeois dropout was further evidence of “the psychological confusion of young Americans today” and their “futile search for something meaningful.”⁴⁸⁾ The supposed pressures of life in the United States were also emphasized in the film’s print advertising. Where lobby cards pictured a confrontation between two young men, promotional posters featured an expressionistic image of a young man’s blinding rage. Encapsulating the despair many young Americans allegedly felt at

activist Jane Fonda. Rather than being voiced by Communists, these denunciations of a system purportedly built on social inequality, genocide, and bloodlust were shown to be articulated by American citizens themselves.⁴⁴⁾ *SUMMERTREE*, the story of a young draft dodger fleeing to Canada, was seen to exhibit so much political value that it, like *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* earlier, was granted a spot at the Workers Film Festival.⁴⁵⁾ Moreover, its portrayal of the injustices of US capitalist democracy and expansionism allowed *Filmový přehled* to posit an irreconcilable tension between Washington’s objectives and those of the “outraged” young Americans who refused to “fight for goals that were not their own.”⁴⁶⁾ Boasting a tagline that emphasized social engagement (“An Insight into Contemporary America”), the CFD’s print advertising pictured US foreign policy as a ruthless folly doing untold damage to youth. It featured a young

44) jb., ‘Rozpaky kolem Vietnamu’, *Záběr*, 7 January 1971, p. 6; A. Špindlerová, ‘Případ Elia Kazan’, *Kino*, 26 February 1973, p. 15; Anon., ‘Je na čase, aby Amerika odhodila sombréra a kolty’, *Kino*, 22 May 1973, pp. 3–4.

45) BK., ‘Letní strom’, *Filmový přehled*, 29 December 1972, p. 3.

46) *Ibid.*

47) L. Oliva, ‘Skromná mnohostrannost’, *Kino*, 4 December 1973, p. 5.

48) Anon., ‘Malé životní etudy’, *Filmový přehled*, 2 November 1973, p. 2.

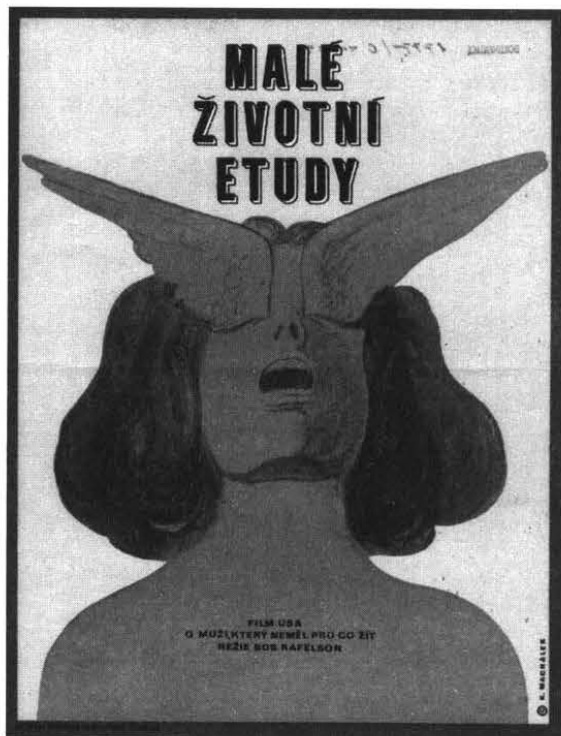


Fig. 3 FIVE EASY PIECES' Czechoslovak poster (top) and one of its lobby cards (bottom)

this time, an accompanying tagline read: “About a man who had nothing to live for” (see Figure 3).

THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT allowed the CFD to suggest that many young Americans were dissatisfied with the very freedoms Czechoslovak youths and Party liberals demanded.⁴⁹⁾ The US marketing of this film was influenced by Hollywood's concerns about counterculture pictures causing public relations headaches, angering the influential college press, and failing to attract large audiences.⁵⁰⁾ It highlighted a romance between two students innocently enjoying the tertiary education they had worked hard to receive, and their being innocently caught up in protests they did not understand. By contrast, the artwork with which the CFD promoted this story of campus protests invoked the idea of a nation on the brink of collapse. It billed THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT as “The US Film Awarded a Special Jury Prize at the Cannes Film Festival”. The presence of the municipal-sounding “US” instead of the more commonly used “American” was significant. In the context of an image of a make-up-clad Statue of Liberty that looked rather like a caricature of imperial Roman busts, this semantic nuance evoked an empire whose bold public façade barely concealed its structural unsoundness (see Figure 4). Such themes were developed in

press discussion of the film. Journalists used THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT to support American protestors, by casting their actions as an understandable response to the injustices of capitalist democracy. At the same time, they used the film to mount attacks on those who had voiced disapproval of State-socialist Czechoslovakia, where, they maintained, such putatively intolerable conditions simply did not exist.⁵¹⁾ Commentators insist-

49) This film also allowed the Ideological Committee to fulfill its brief of showcasing “capitalist governments’ clamping down on student radicals”. ‘Závěry 1. schůze komise ÚV KSČ pro práci s mládeží ze dne 14. října 1976’, sheet 37.

50) See Aniko Bodroghkozy, ‘Reel revolutionaries: an examination of Hollywood’s cycle of 1960s youth rebellion films’, *Cinema Journal*, vol. 41, no. 3 (2002), pp. 38–58.

51) *Atentát na kulturu*, Czechoslovak State Television, originally aired 1977.

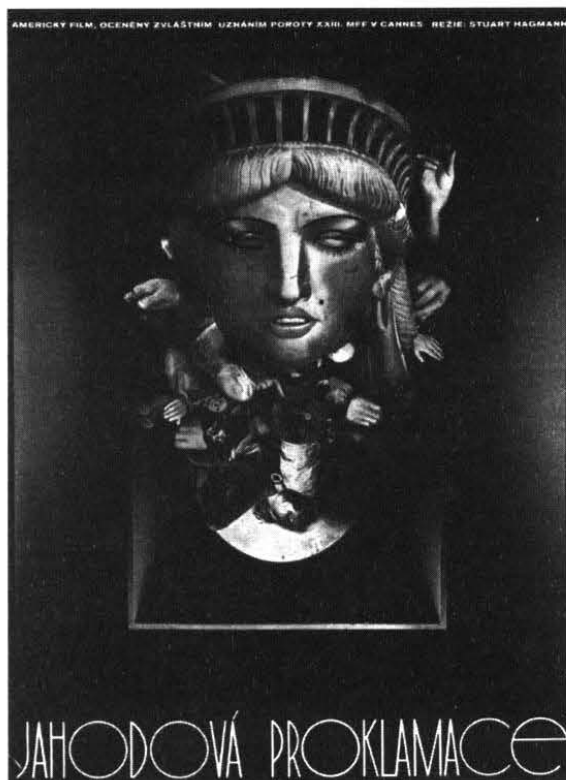


Fig. 4 The Czechoslovak Poster for
THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT

ed that misguided young Czechoslovaks had no real grounds to challenge the regime.⁵²⁾ When presented less as acts of legitimate political engagement than as protesting for the sake of it, these young people's actions could be dismissed and ultimately contained as juvenile posturing. Appropriating youth-oriented American films to discredit segments of Czechoslovak youth continued unabated albeit using different films for different reasons.

Deviant subcultures, anodyne alternatives, and musical movies

In the late 1970s, the CFD mainly used youth-oriented American imports, musical movies to be exact, as anodyne alternatives to subversive subcultures. By mid decade, the Czechoslovak Communist Party was convinced that several subaltern music scenes were leading otherwise up-standing young people into un-socialist thinking. Chief among the culprits, it felt, were rock, punk, and “underground” — a form of psychedelic rock that developed in Czechoslovakia in the 1960s — all of which operated beyond the Party's purview due to holding events at unlicensed venues.⁵³⁾ As the agenda of the Committee for Working with Youth and a conference held in Moscow in 1983 both demonstrated,⁵⁴⁾ the Party feared that, what it saw as, anti-socialist provocateurs would grow in numbers, initiating a groundswell of calls for reform. Whereas the Party's concerns had primarily been directed at students following their protests in the late 1960s, now both its Committee for Working with Youth and film experts identified another vulnerable segment of the population. Young male trade apprentices were deemed at-risk on the rather patronizing grounds that their supposed intellectual limitations made them particularly susceptible to the “patently anti-socialist” values of the music subcultures.⁵⁵⁾

Where scholars have explained how such concerns led the Czechoslovak Communist Party to crack down on these formations, we must also recognize that it employed less op-

52) Anon., ‘Jahodová proklamace’, *Filmový přehled*, 14 May 1976; L. Oliva, ‘Proklamace a protesty ve filmu USA’, *Kino*, 1 June 1976, p. 3.

53) Vaněk, *Byl to jenom*, p. 342.

54) *Ibid.*, pp. 338–342.

55) ‘Některé poznatky o současném působení buržoazní propagandy a ideologické diverze na mladou generaci hodnocení období 1980–84’, Komise ÚV KSČ pro práci s mládeží, 4. schůze, 22. 2. 1984, NA, A AÚV KSČ, f. 10/10.

pressive strategies.⁵⁶⁾ It is clear that the Party directed charges of low quality and social failure at the musical genres around which these subcultures were built. For one, it accused them of failing to fulfill socialist culture’s function of enriching citizens through “the beauty of music, words, and human movement”, and of preventing the social engagement and collectivism art was meant to foster.⁵⁷⁾ These styles were accused of sounding “ugly” due to their “repetitiveness, primitiveness, and monotony”, of being escapist because their “anti-socialist lyrics spread nihilism and hopelessness”, and of promoting individualism.⁵⁸⁾ However, the Party also sought to offset the influence of such formations by promoting musical genres it felt posed no threat to State-socialism.

On the one hand, the CSF pushed films centered on state-approved genres of music based on discourses of maturity, heritage, and quality. This practice can be traced back to 1973, when the CFD had used its rerelease of *WEST SIDE STORY* (1961) to stress that the film’s soundtrack fulfilled the Socialist view of culture needing to enrich and enlighten citizens.⁵⁹⁾ The organization considered Leonard Bernstein’s show tunes so important that it promoted them above the film’s themes of racial conflict (much like its US distributor had done), which it could have easily invoked to spotlight American social injustice. The state-owned record label Supraphon issued *WEST SIDE STORY*’s soundtrack and *Kino* printed the sheet-music and Czech-language lyrics to the song “Tonight” in a manner reminiscent of classical music.

The CFD pursued this strategy consistently in the early 1980s, when it released several films built around rock ‘n’ roll music. As with jazz, the authorities publically accepted rock ‘n’ roll, on the grounds that its heritage imbued it with greater cultural value than modern trends, whose own relationships to earlier styles were conveniently sidestepped due to their dissenting fan bases.⁶⁰⁾ The CFD posited the superiority of rock ‘n’ roll, with copy advertising for *AMERICAN HOT WAX* (1978/1982) claiming that the genre’s true worth had become “more apparent with the passing of time”.⁶¹⁾ Similarly, the biopic *ELVIS* (1979/1982) was advertised on the esteem in which this performer was held by other musicians. Presley was placed on a pedestal alongside another favorite of the authorities, Louis Armstrong, whom they had invited to play in Prague. Moreover, because state-controlled theaters were easier to supervise than the clubs and private premises which hosted gigs, it would appear that the Central Distribution Company sought to draw youth to the former. It did so by promoting rock ‘n’ roll movies such as *AMERICAN HOT WAX* and *LET’S SPENT THE NIGHT TOGETHER* (1982) in a manner which likened them to live concerts.

Conversely, the CFD drew on the Party’s view that some forms of popular culture were useful “if not for their artistic merit, then their capacity to connect with people, especial-

56) Vaněk, *Byl to jenom*.

57) ‘Zpráva o současném stavu zábavné hudby a opatření ke zvýšení její ideové úrovně’, NA, A ÚV KSČ, Praha — komise; NA, Fond Ministerstva kultury (hereafter f. MK ČSR), folder 129.

58) Vaněk, *Byl to jen*, p. 245.

59) L. Oliva, ‘Romeo, Julie a West Side Story’, *Kino*, 12 September 1973, p. 6.

60) The Party’s tolerance of jazz led to the wide release of films featuring this style of music, including *All that Jazz* (1979).

61) mim., ‘V zajetí hudby’, *Filmový přehled*, no. 7 (1982), p. 23.



Fig. 5 The Czechoslovak Poster for SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER

ly the young”, when it purposed American disco films to counter the unsanctioned subcultures.⁶²⁾ At this time, the Party felt that some low genres and performers could be “interpolated into ideological policy”.⁶³⁾ The Communist Parties of Eastern Europe largely accepted disco music and the venues playing it.⁶⁴⁾ By the late 1970s, even Moscow had embraced acts like Boney M and their numerous homegrown imitators.⁶⁵⁾ Disco music was also a mainstay of Czechoslovakia’s state-controlled night clubs, with Party-affiliated composers and songwriters such as Jaroslav Machek, Karel Svoboda, and František Ringo Čech penning anodyne lyrics, which the authorities endorsed. Čech’s “Diskotéka” (1978) even advanced the official party line on disco with lyrics such as “guess where we’re going to dance tonight, enjoy ourselves, and sing? Guess where we’re going to have a good time, and celebrate your sixteenth birthday? At the discotheque”.⁶⁶⁾ The CFD there-

fore took great interest in the blockbuster SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER, promoting the film on its soundtrack, star, and portrayal of disco culture.⁶⁷⁾ Promotional taglines read “John Travolta in the American Music Film — Music, the Bee Gees, and the Brooklyn King of the Discotheque” (see Figure 5). The Czechoslovak campaign therefore came close to that which Paramount Pictures used for SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER’s 1979 US rerelease, when it was framed as an anodyne musical akin to GREASE (1978), rather than the hard-edged

62) ‘Zpráva o plnění Realizační směrnice a další úkoly ideologické činnosti strany, projednané na 2. Schůzi ideologické komise ÚV KSČ konané dne 17. června 1970’, NA, A ÚV KSČ, f. 1261/1/15, folder 1, AU 2, note, 0, l. 6.

63) Ibid.

64) On disco music in other Soviet satellites see for example Karin Taylor, *Let’s Twist Again: Youth and Leisure in Socialist Bulgaria* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2006).

65) Vasily Shumov, ‘The golden era of Soviet discos’, *Russia & India Report*, 16 September 2013. <http://in.rbth.com/arts/2013/09/16/the_golden_era_of_soviet_discos_29399.html> [accessed 17 November 2014]; Sergei I. Zhuk, ‘The “closed” Soviet society and the west: the consumption of the western cultural products, youth and identity in the Soviet Ukraine during the 1970s’, in Marie-Janine Calic, Dietmar Neutatz and Julia Obertreis (eds), *The Crisis of Socialist Modernity: The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the 1970s* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), pp. 96–99.

66) Original lyrics: “Kampak půjdem dneska večer tančit, radovat se, zpívat, no tak hádej / kam se půjdem dneska bavit a tvých šestnáct slavit, no tak hádej — diskotéka”. Discobolos — Diskotéka, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ExDQIUUDggI>> [accessed 28 November 2014].

67) ‘Distribuční list 163/79, 30.08.1979’, NFA, Sbírka reklamních materiálů; ‘Horečka sobotní noci’, C/1886/98218, NFA, Sbírka reklamních materiálů.

subculture film it was initially sold as being.⁶⁸⁾ The CFD also used *XANADU* (1980/1985), an incoherent tale of a young couple renovating a roller disco, which *Filmový přehled* dubbed a “fairytale which pulses to a disco beat”,⁶⁹⁾ as a cinematic equivalent to state-sanctioned musical venues. This approach stood in direct contrast to the film’s US marketing campaign, which had underplayed its disco content to avoid association with what had become an unpopular trend stateside.⁷⁰⁾ Lobby cards also invited moviegoers to draw parallels to well-liked television variety shows such as *TELEVARIETÉ* (1971–1998); the face of apolitical entertainment under the Czechoslovak Communist Party. While central to the CFD’s youth-oriented American releases at this time, the escapist qualities of musical movies would become ever more salient as the 1980s drew to a close.

Depolitization, the female citizen-consumer, and musical movies

Toward the end of Communist rule, the CFD used several new American musical movies to temper consumer frustration, positing the notion that, in spite of what they might think, people were enjoying a period of liberalization. In reality, the 1980s was an especially challenging time for many Czechoslovaks. Perestroika, which had started to address some of the social, cultural, and economic problems of the USSR, had yet to spread to this Soviet satellite. Czechoslovakia’s planned economy was struggling, thus limiting the availability of goods and services, and restricting professional and leisure opportunities.⁷¹⁾ These concerns were in part a sign of disenchantment at the Party’s strict control of official culture and the restrictions it placed on international travel.⁷²⁾ As domestic managers, women experienced the former firsthand. They were left especially disheartened, by, among other things, a shortage of personal hygiene products and household supplies.⁷³⁾ Young people felt particularly pessimistic however, with many hardliners predictably fearing these “bored youths” might fall into the clutches of underground subcultures.⁷⁴⁾

The Czechoslovak Communist Party attempted to quell its citizens’ frustrations with the promise of an improved form of State-socialism that would match the quality and variety of consumer goods available in the west. Yet, in spite of such rhetoric, the Party

68) See Richard Nowell, ‘Hollywood don’t skate: US production trends, industry analysis, and the roller-disco movie’, *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2013), p. 83.

69) *mim.*, ‘Xanadu’, *Filmový přehled*, no. 6 (1985), p. 29.

70) Nowell, *Hollywood don’t skate*, p. 86.

71) Milan Sekanina, ‘Nedokončená: Československá ekonomika v druhé polovině 80. let minulého století’, *Acta Oeconomica Pragensia*, vol. 15, no. 7 (2007), p. 338; Alexej Bálek, ‘Československá ekonomika v osmdesátých letech 20. století’, *Acta oeconomica pragensia*, vol. 15, no. 7 (2007), pp. 45–54.

72) Lubomír Kopeček, ‘Cesta k listopadu: komunistický režim, společnost a opozice v éře normalizace’, in *Éra nevinnosti: Česká politika 1989–1997* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2010), p. 15.

73) *Ibid.*

74) J. Bílková, ‘Nejen o mládeži, nejen pro mládež’, *Kino*, 22 November 1988, p. 4; See also ‘Zpráva o populačním vývoji ČSSR a návrh v postup v populační politice v dnešním období, 07.09.1982’, NA, f. ÚV KSČ 1945–1989 — Předsednictvo ÚV KSČ 1981–1986. On youth violence at the end of State-socialism see Ondřej Daniel, ‘Násilí československé mládeže na konci státního socialismu: Bezpečnostní riziko a téma společenské kritiky’, in Ondřej Daniel, Tomáš Kavka, and Jakub Machek (eds), *Populární kultura v českém prostoru* (Praha: Karolinum, 2013), pp. 274–290.

showed little commitment to meaningful change, hoping it might placate the people by depoliticizing the cultural sphere.⁷⁵⁾ Consequently, the CFD deemphasized ideological education and instead suggested it was treating citizens less as subjects than as media consumers.⁷⁶⁾ The organization hoped that by diversifying output it could present cinema as proof positive of the liberalizing processes which supposedly set apart 1980s Czechoslovakia from the normalization of the previous decade. In this respect, it made important symbolical gestures by releasing films that dealt with hitherto unacceptable subjects or that had been made by blacklisted talent or which it had banned following the protests of the 1960s.⁷⁷⁾ For instance, the CSF issued *HAIR* (1979), a picture directed by Miloš Forman — persona non grata following his defection to the United States — which portrayed the once demonized hippie as an agent of positive social change.

Bypassing official notions of art as obligated to provoke intellectual, social, and political stimulation, the CFD suggested that some musical movies offered Czechoslovaks a temporary escape into fantasy. For example, this notion was thematized in the CSF-produced *DISCOPŘÍBĚH* (1987), a self-reflexive musical about one of the disillusioned Czechoslovak youths described above retreating into upbeat pop songs. It was also central to the CFD's handling of newly imported American musical movies whose marketing campaigns in large part echoed those used to sell them in the United States. Consequently, a measure of otherworldliness was suggested by print advertizing for *DIRTY DANCING*, which retained the English-language term “Dirty Dance” in an otherwise Czech-language tagline translated as “The Story of Love in the Style of ‘Dirty Dance’”. The notion of a temporary withdrawal from the frustrations and banality of everyday life was conveyed iconographically as well, with promotional posters setting dirty dancers against a palm tree. In conjunction with the *MIAMI VICE* (1984–1990) style of the poster, this imagery summoned not the film's rural upstate New York setting but Florida beach resorts which travel restrictions had rendered unreachable to almost all Czechoslovaks (see Figure 6).

Much like American distributors, the CFD also suggested that such films offered Czechoslovaks romance and titillation. It therefore underplayed *DIRTY DANCING*'s leftist subtext of generational and class conflict,⁷⁸⁾ and its themes of coming-of-age, in favor of spotlighting a love affair between a teenager and her dance instructor. Similarly, it pitched *FLASHDANCE* as “a story of love, jealousy, and misunderstanding between paramours.”⁷⁹⁾ What is more, where *Filmový přehled* announced *DIRTY DANCING* featured “the most erotic dance” ever seen and that the film elicited an erotic charge “second only to lovemaking,”⁸⁰⁾ marketing materials emphasized *FLASHDANCE*'s “erotic and dynamic dance num-

75) Kopeček, ‘Cesta k listopadu’, pp. 10–22;

76) Aleš Danielis and Radko Hájek, ‘Film a divák (I)’, *Film a doba*, no. 1 (1989), p. 24; Aleš Danielis and Radko Hájek, ‘Film a divák VII, Francouzské a italské filmy’, *Film a doba*, no. 7 (1989), p. 394; Danielis and Hájek, ‘Film a divák X. Nové světy’, p. 557; Jiří Tvrzník, ‘Znovu do kin’, *Kino*, 25 April 1989, pp. 4–5.

77) On the impact of liberalization on film distribution see Tvrzník, ‘Znovu do kin’, pp. 4–5; Helena Hejčová, ‘Rozhovor s ústředním dramaturgem ÚPF dr. Aloisem Humplíkem’, *Kino*, 8 December 1989, pp. 3–4.

78) For discussions of the political dimensions of *Dirty Dancing* see various contributions to Yannis Tzioumakis (ed.), *The Time of Our Lives: Dirty Dancing and Popular Culture* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013).

79) mim., ‘Flashdance’, *Filmový přehled*, no. 7 (1987), p. 9.

80) mf., ‘Hříšný tanec’, *Filmový přehled*, no. 8 (1989), p. 5.



Figure 6 The Czechoslovak poster for DIRTY DANCING (1987)

tribution branch the Central Film Distributor appropriated other youth-oriented US imports to advance various aspects of its late Cold War agenda. This institution initially used *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* to make the case that young people's calls for social and economic reform were less legitimate protests against a flawed political system than a failure of parenting, and that parents rather than the state should prevent further outbursts of what the Party cast as juvenile delinquency. Thereafter, it released a series of American counterculture films in order to suggest that young people felt alienated from capitalist democracy, and that youthful grievances stateside were directed at problems that did not exist under State-socialism. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the CFD appropriated several American musical movies as a means of promoting what it deemed to be benign genres like disco and rock 'n' roll as alternatives to indigenous musical subcultures that were thought to incubate antiauthoritarianism and dissent. By 1989, the film monopoly disseminated other musical movies to suggest that their status as sexy, escapist fantasies exemplified a newly liberalized cultural sphere, one geared to quelling growing frustration among the general population, especially women. These four strategies reveal that the CSF did not just release the occasional American youth film begrudgingly to placate audience

bers”.⁸¹⁾ In both cases, the emotional and corporeal pleasures these films purportedly excited were framed as expressions of young women's growing sense of self-confidence.⁸²⁾ For example, both promotional materials and *Kino* magazine positioned *FLASHDANCE*'s leading lady Jennifer Beals and her character as strong, independent role models.⁸³⁾ As the benefactor of such depoliticized entertainment, the CSF in turn positioned itself, and, by extension, the Party it represented, as newly open-minded, permissive even; as a benevolent regime befitting a new age of reform.⁸⁴⁾

Conclusion

Where historians have shed considerable light on why some European elites harbored concerns about the themes and influence of certain American teen films, this essay has shown that the CSF via its distri-

81) mim., 'Flashdance', p. 9.

82) Jff., 'V tanečním rytmu do hlubin hříchu', *Kino*, 8 December 1989, pp. 8–9.

83) kra., 'Jennifer Beals', *Kino*, 20 June 1989, p. 16.

84) mf., 'Hříšný tanec', p. 5; On titillation in Czechoslovak film marketing see Havel, 'Hollywood a normalizace', p. 60.

demands for entertainment, but that this Communist institution systematically embraced such fare as a means of promoting its own political interests.

The roles youth-oriented American imports played in the audiovisual culture of Cold War Czechoslovakia obviously exceeded those related to Communist cultural policy. Films like *THE STRAWBERRY STATEMENT*, *SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER*, and *DIRTY DANCING* were also prominent in the cultural experiences of many Czechoslovak moviegoers. Examinations of the contemporaneous popular reception of these films and others like them, along with their construction and functions in popular memory, therefore promise to enrich the findings of existing studies of leisure under State socialism, which have concentrated on television, music, and on the practice of retreating to weekend cottages.⁸⁵ If this essay has identified how and why the CDF pitched youth-oriented American films to Czechoslovak audiences, new research might consider how those audiences actually consumed and used them, and their recollections of such conduct. In so doing, such studies are likely to complement this essay's contribution to our understandings of American imports' places in cultural, social, and political life behind the iron curtain.

Films Cited:

All that Jazz (Bob Fosse, 1979); *American Hot Wax* (Floyd Mutrux, 1978); *The Cremator* (Juraj Herz, 1968); *Discopříběh* (Jaroslav Soukup, 1987); *Dirty Dancing* (Emile Ardolino, 1987); *Elvis* (John Carpenter, 1979); *Erste Liebe* (Maximilian Schnell, 1970); *The Firemen's Ball* (Miloš Forman, 1967); *Five Easy Pieces* (Bob Rafelson, 1970); *Flashdance* (Adrien Lyne, 1983); *The Green Berets* (Ray Kellogg and John Wayne, 1968); *Hair* (Miloš Forman, 1979); *Holky z porcelánu* (English-language Translation: "Girls from a Porcelain Factory"; Juraj Herz, 1975); *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (Stanley Kramer, 1963); *Jak svět přichází o básníky* (English-language Translation: "How the World Looses Poets"; Dušan Klein, 1982); *Let's Spent the Night Together* (Hal Ashby, 1982); *Metráček* (Josef Pinkava, 1971); *Miami Vice* (Anthony Yerkovich, 1984–1990); *Můj brácha má prima bráchu* (English-language Translation: "My Brother has a Great Brother; Stanislav Strnad 1973); *O lžubvi* (English-language Translation: "About Love"; Michail Bogin, 1970); *Rebel without a Cause* (Nicholas Ray, 1955); *Saturday Night Fever* (John Badham, 1977); *Sněženky a machři* (English-language Translation: "Snowdrops and Dabs"; Karel Smyczek, 1982); *The Strawberry Statement* (Stuart Hagmann, 1970); *Summertree* (Anthony Newley, 1971); *Televarieté* (1971–1998); *Tenderness* (Vlyublyonnye; Elyer Ishmukhamedov, 1970); *Trzeba zabić tę miłość* (English-language Translation: "To Kill Love"; Janusz Morgenstern, 1972); *Třicet panen a Pythagoras* (English-language Translation: "Thirty Maidens and Pythagoras"; Pavel Hobl, 1975); *West Side Story* (Gerome Robbins/Robert Wise, 1961); *Xanadu* (Robert Greenwald, 1980).

85) See Jiří Hoppe, 'Starosti pana Nováka. Každodenní život "obyčejného" člověka v šedesátých letech', *Dějiny a současnost*, vol. 1, no. 3 (2005), pp. 35–38; Blanka Činátlová, 'Invaze barbarů do české kultury: Antropologický rozměr domácího umění', in Petr A. Bílek and Blanka Činátlová (eds), *Tesilová kavalérie. Popkulturní obrazy normalizace* (Příbram: Pistorius & Olšanská, 2010), pp. 154–165; Jiří Knapík et al. (eds), *Průvodce kulturním děním a životním stylem v českých zemích 1948–1967* (Praha: Academia, 2011).

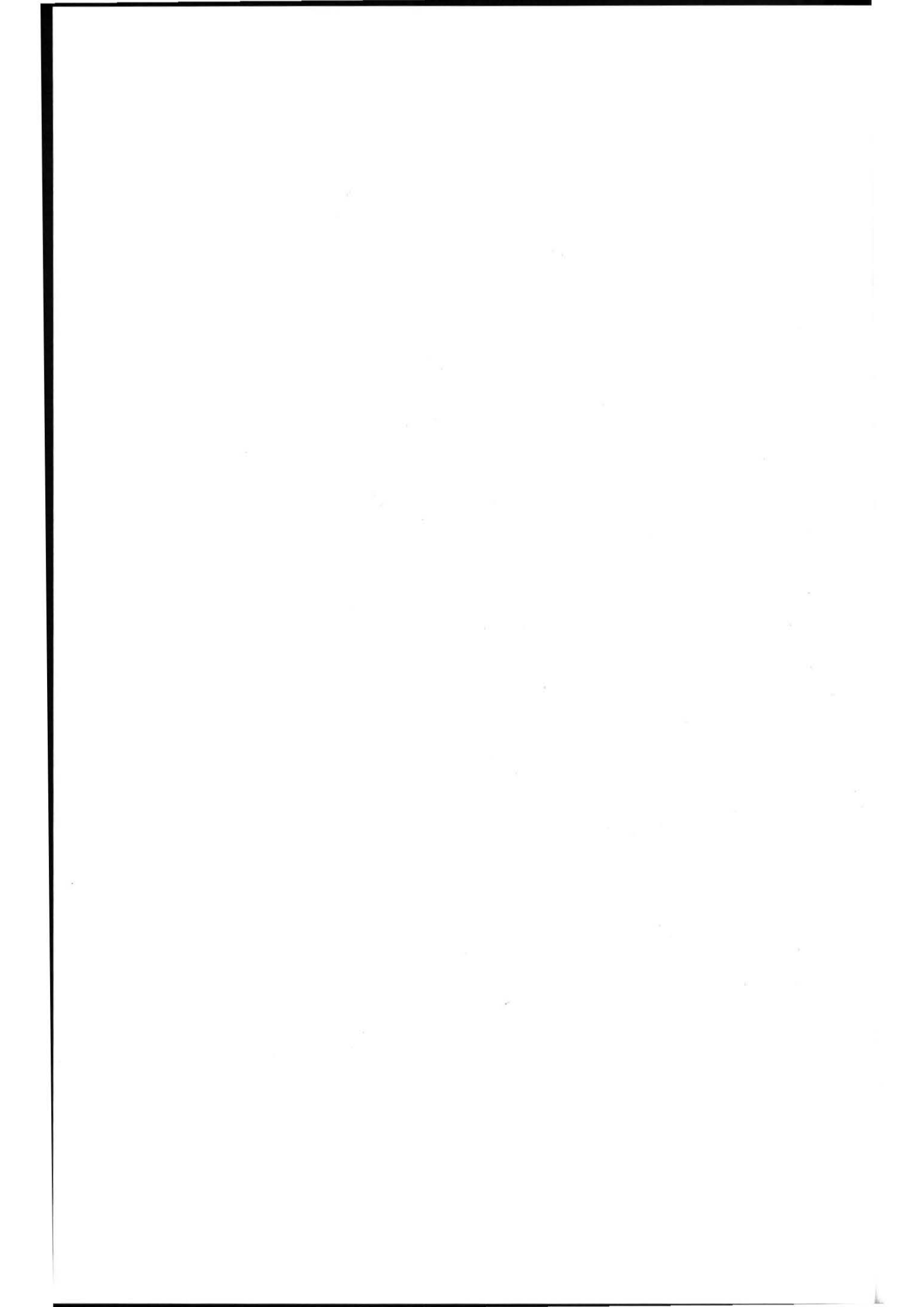
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SUMMARY

“If not for their Artistic Merit then their Capacity to Connect with People”:*Czechoslovak Communists, Late Cold War Cultural Policy, and Youth-oriented American Films***Jindřiška Bláhová and Richard Nowell**

This essay examines the Czechoslovak State Film Company's (CSF) handling of youth-oriented American imports including *REBEL WITHOUT A CAUSE* (1955), *SATURDAY NIGHT FEVER* (1977), and *DIRTY DANCING* (1987) in the late Cold War period. From an analysis of cultural policy statements, press coverage, and promotional materials, the essay argues that this organization's Central Film Distributor (CFD) framed such films in four historically situated ways reflecting changes in Czechoslovak Communist Party cultural policy: blaming parents for student unrest, demonizing American capitalist democracy, undermining subversive indigenous subcultures, and suggesting the liberalization of the cultural sphere. The authors posit that these approaches were rooted in important social and political developments of the late 1960 and were informed by conditions characterizing the period in which they were widely adopted. To date, historians have emphasized the concerns European claims-makers expressed about youth-oriented American fare in the second half of the twentieth century. By contrast, the case of the CSF and the CFD not only develops understandings of this organization, but also reveals that some European elites drew fairly positive conclusions about this type of film.



Valerie Wee

“Who is the Biggest Gleek?”

Traditional Media Targets the Digital Youth Generation

Following the series premiere in 2009, GLEE (2009–2015) rapidly developed into a fully fledged multimedia franchise encompassing soundtrack albums, a reality series, clothing and accessories, and a series of live concerts subsequently repackaged in 2011 as GLEE: THE 3D CONCERT MOVIE (hereafter GLEE 3D). This franchise is typical of a conglomerate’s exploitation of content and synergies in today’s multimedia entertainment environment.¹⁾ However, we must also recognize that the development of the property involved negotiating changing technologies and audience expectations which characterized the new millennium. Most significant in this respect was the proliferation of digital technologies that had begun in the 1990s.

This shift increased audience expectations of agency, interactivity, and direct involvement with the media they consume. It is especially true of a new generation of digitally proficient young people born between 1995 and 2012, labeled variously as Gen Z, millennials, and the digital generation. Many of their ranks have been drawn to digital technologies’ promise of heightened opportunities for users to actively adapt and fashion their own entertainment experiences. This generation also boasts high numbers of amateur media producers active in the (re-)production of content, often through the appropriation of copyrighted material. The changed behavior of a youth demographic long valued as media consumers has had significant repercussions for the media conglomerates.²⁾ It has signaled

- 1) For examinations of multimedia conglomeration and its impact on the strategic development of synergistic content see Derek Johnson, *Media Franchising: Creative License and Collaboration in the Culture Industries* (New York: New York University Press, 2013); William M. Kunz, *Culture Conglomerates: Consolidation in the Motion Picture and Television Industries* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007). For an exploration of multimedia conglomeration and youth-oriented media in the late 1990s and early 2000s see Valerie Wee, *Teen Media: Hollywood and the Youth Market in the Digital Age* (Raleigh, NC: McFarland, 2010).
- 2) See for example Elissa Moses, *The \$100 Billion Allowance: Accessing the Global Teen Market* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000); Peter Zollo, *Wise up to Teens: Insights into Marketing & Advertising to Teenagers* (New York: New Strategist, 1999); Lawrie Mifflin, ‘Where young viewers go (and ads Follow’, *New York Times*, 8 September 1998, unpaginated. <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/09/08/arts/where-young-viewers-go-ads-follow-wb-network-with-narrow-focus-grows-20-percent.html> [accessed Jan 5, 2015]; Thomas Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

a need for producers, particularly those targeting youth, to rethink the ways they court this tech-savvy cohort. This is especially true of those handling traditional media such as films and broadcast television. The multimedia franchise that is *GLEE* furnishes us with a touchstone example of traditional media companies' attempts to confront the opportunities and challenges of this new technological media environment and of the new generation of consumers prominent therein. Although many of their strategies have developed from existing practices, the specific adaptations applied to *GLEE* offer us important insights into the media industry's responses to the changing commercial entertainment landscape of the twenty first century.

Accordingly, this article explores how the different components of the *GLEE* franchise reveal one media company's attempts to negotiate this shifting terrain and the new behaviors and demands of young consumers. I consider how these conditions shaped a high-profile *GLEE* promotional campaign and the aforementioned *GLEE* 3D film, specifically how this campaign and the conventions of the concert picture were reworked so as to appeal to an audience demanding acknowledgement, engagement, and involvement. I show that 20th Century-Fox Television (hereafter FOX) cultivated such behaviors when, in 2009, its Marketing and Communications division, along with its Online Content and Strategy division, and *GLEE*'s production company, Ryan Murphy Productions, devised a campaign centered on the search for "the biggest GLEEK" or fan of the property. This campaign encouraged the participation of interested youth, and harnessed their labor to promote the television series. It used digital communications technologies to construct a fan identity characterized by discourses of competition; to prove oneself the most dedicated GLEEK, and ultimately to convert others. I also highlight how such efforts were paired with the humanist ideals of *GLEE*'s diegetic universe. To that end, this essay is divided into three sections. The first section overviews the contemporary media landscape, spotlighting key differences between traditional and new media, and explaining how digital technologies have transformed the media experience. In the second section, I turn my attention to the strategies with which the aforementioned decision-makers targeted millennials during the launch of the *GLEE* TV series. The third section considers how stakeholders in *GLEE* 3D modified the conventions of the concert film to reach out to, and to capitalize on the labor of, millennials through fan-centered segments positing the franchise's humanist themes.

From traditional media's passive consumer to new media's (inter)active producer

Early scholarly comparisons of traditional and new media emphasized differences, usually in binary terms.³⁾ On the one hand, traditional media was typically perceived as a "closed" system marked by high barriers of entry derived from their complex infrastructures, which required significant capital to maintain.⁴⁾ It was also suggested that tradition-

3) See for example Kevin Kawamoto, *Media and Society in the Digital Age* (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2003), pp. 32–35. This early view has since given way to discussions of traditional and new media that acknowledge a steady blurring of boundaries and distinctions between the two.

4) The film and television industries require huge financial commitments to sustain production, distribution, and exhibition. The cost of producing a Hollywood film or television series typically runs into tens of

al media was difficult and expensive to produce,⁵⁾ consumed on regulated schedules in specific venues via distinct devices, and offered identifiably disparate experiences.⁶⁾ By contrast, new media was touted as open, democratic, and promising crossmedia “convergence” and easier access to and for content producers, distributors, and consumers.⁷⁾ Unlike traditional media, which is predicated on a model of mass communication whereby information flows from a single source to many passive recipients,⁸⁾ new media’s largely unregulated structure and low barriers of entry allow for information to flow from countless sources to recipients. This shift has in turn given rise to the figure of the active digital media user-consumer-producer, intent on exploiting the increased flexibility afforded by these new technologies.

These developments have changed the expectations, behaviors, and desires of consumers. Digital technologies have afforded such individuals greater freedoms in terms of how, where, and when they consume entertainment; a situation which itself has incentivized the development of new ways to engage with media products. The impact new digital technologies had on traditional media, especially television, has also received notable scholarly attention. For example, Amanda Lotz, Theresa Rizzo, and Graeme Turner all considered the extent to which digitization transformed this particular medium, arguing that television’s traditional associations with domesticity, family viewing, and regimented consumption have diminished in recent years, and must therefore be rethought.⁹⁾ The digital era is thus populated by viewers driven by personal schedules, heightened control, and self-determination, and who utilize the technology’s capacity to overcome spatial and temporal differences to enable viewers to imagine communities built around shared interests and commitments to particular material; “tribes of affinity”, as Lotz called them.¹⁰⁾ In examining the effects of digital technology on television, Rizzo shows that consumers now enjoy unprecedented levels of “personalization, customization and individualization”.¹¹⁾ She also argues that they have adopted a “playlist” model so as to interact with content that need “not result in social isolation, but rather the opposite: [it] encourages sharing and

millions of dollars, as does the price of maintaining both national and international distribution networks. The operating budgets of exhibitors — whether multiplexes or television stations — are also high.

- 5) Film, television, and music production typically involves numerous individuals, the use of expensive, high-tech equipment, and specialized talents and expertise.
- 6) For instance, films are traditionally experienced in a movie theatre, while television is characterized as a domestic medium at one time accessed only via the television set.
- 7) This is not to suggest new media is entirely responsible for the collapse of media-specific distinctions. The rise of media intersections and hybrids preceded the rise of new media, motivated by the rise of media conglomerates and their synergistic practices. However, developments in new media have catalyzed media-content and aesthetic convergences.
- 8) In labeling traditional media’s audiences “passive”, I refer to their inability to control how, when, and where they consume these media, not their ability to critically engage with media texts.
- 9) See Amanda Lotz, *The Television will be Revolutionized* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Theresa Rizzo, ‘Programming your own channel: an archeology of the playlist’, in Andrew T. Kenyon (ed.) *TV Futures: Digital Television Policy in Australia* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne Press, 2007); Graeme Turner, ‘Convergence and divergence: the international experience of digital television’, in James Bennett and Niki Strange (eds), *Television as Digital Media* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 31–51.
- 10) Lotz, *The Television will be Revolutionized*, p. 246.
- 11) Rizzo, ‘Programming your own channel’, p. 112.

tap[s] into the desire for communities".¹²⁾ Both scholars posit a new generation of viewers whose expectations of television have shifted away from one bounded by passivity, spatio-temporal constraints, and industry control, towards activeness, freedom, and self-determination.

In a related development, digitization has encouraged user-consumers to expect greater interactivity and input than heretofore.¹³⁾ The millennials who came of age in the digital era have developed behaviors and preferences that shape their understanding of what constitutes entertainment. New media's "democratic" access, in conjunction with affordable user-friendly software, has made it easier for them to participate in some forms of production. Going digital allows such viewers to "customize" and generate their own content, and to distribute the fruits of the labor across online platforms. Hence the coining of portmanteau terms such as "produser"¹⁴⁾ (conjoining "producer" and "user") and "prosumption" ("production" and "consumption").¹⁵⁾ Reworking and disseminating copyrighted content and information for their own and others' pleasure, contemporary produsers prompted Joshua Green to observe that television in the digital age is ideally suited to, and actively address, the needs of fans.¹⁶⁾ This situation consequently broadened the range of creative activity taking place outside the control of the major media corporations.

As they began to repurpose content and distribute their efforts, produsers ran afoul of the content owners from whom they were poaching. The media industry's early responses to this activity were often hostile. Before the 2000s, they typically reacted to such conduct by issuing cease and desist letters.¹⁷⁾ However, these companies came to accept that digital media, and more recently social media, might be mobilized to generate audience interest. This realization prompted them to position "their creative texts to plug into preformed fandoms and pre-established online cultures and communities".¹⁸⁾ Consequently, the industry's ever more pointed cultivation of fans communities, along with the creative and interactive opportunities of digital platforms and interfaces, has resulted in a surge of produser activity. These developments coincided with a rise in audience expectations to interact directly with personnel and performers,¹⁹⁾ and participate — however marginally — in the creative process. It is therefore increasingly common for creative practitioners to

12) Ibid., p. 114.

13) For discussion of the emergence of these (inter)active media consumers/fans and the need to reconceptualize this media-audience interaction through an "engagement-based model" see Henry Jenkins, Sam Ford, and Joshua Green, *Spreadable Media* (New York: New York University Press, 2013), p. 116. See also Kawamoto, *Media and Society in the Digital Age*.

14) Axel Bruns, *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second Life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

15) Don Tapscott and Anthony D. Williams, *Wikinomics: How Mass Collaboration Changes Everything* (New York: Portfolio, 2006).

16) Joshua Green, 'Why do they call it TV when it's not on the box? "new" television services and old television functions', *Media International Australia* no. 126 (2008), p. 103. While fans have historically "poached" professionally produced media content, using and transforming it to serve their own purposes and pleasures, these earlier activities have often been personal and restricted to small communities. See Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

17) Jennifer Gillan, *Television and New Media: Must Click TV* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 3.

18) Ibid.

19) Entertainment producers and stars commonly use social media such as Twitter to update fans on their latest projects and activities. Elizabeth Ellcessor examines how online media creator, writer, and actor Felicia

involve fans in this process, by tweeting updates, posting Instagram photos, or soliciting feedback on content.²⁰⁾ Companies offering targeted publics the chance to contribute to the production and assembly of their media products are thus oftentimes better positioned to capture the interest of millennials and exploit their willingness unwittingly to serve as unpaid creative labor.²¹⁾

These new media platforms challenge Hollywood because it remains uncertain about how to utilize them or whether it is commercially viable to do so. The challenges digital media poses to traditional platforms have predictably led to fears of a looming crisis. Several reports highlighted a marked decline in youth consumption of commercial media entertainment supplied by traditional platforms. For example, S. Craig Watkins reported that 52% of the young people he surveyed “agreed that there are Internet sites they must visit every day”, whereas 60% did not consider watching network television a daily necessity.²²⁾ The partial shift to digital platforms is also said to have had a detrimental effect on the film industry. Consequently, the trade paper *Variety* reported that in 2013 frequent moviegoers in the powerful 18–24 year-old age group had fallen by 21% and 12–17-year-olds by 15%.²³⁾ This decline prompted speculation that youth audiences had started to abandon traditional, industry controlled, forms of media for new ones, especially platforms offering levels of agency and interactivity which gave these young people a heightened sense of participation, control, and ownership of the text. Cognizant of the challenges facing television networks’ pursuit of millennial youth, FOX and *Glee*’s other stakeholders began formulating strategies to attract this hard-to-reach but potentially lucrative segment.

The GLEE phenomenon

The American media industries have long believed that young people prefer entertainment which acknowledges their experiences and lifestyles. As a consequence of such thinking, youth-oriented fare tends to be quite formulaic, often isolating a group of teen-

Day uses online activities to cultivate fans and generate media attention. While Day is a marginal media practitioner compared to Hollywood talent, her activities furnish us with one example of how a professional involved in this sphere benefits from exploiting the opportunities provided by the internet and social media. See Elizabeth Ellcessor, “Tweeting @feliciaday: online social media, convergence, and subcultural stardom” *Cinema Journal*, vol. 51 no. 1 (2012), pp. 46–75.

20) This is not to suggest that fans usually exert a meaningful influence over the creative or decision-making processes. Rather, it appears fans are being offered a heightened sense of involvement, one intended to feed their sense of importance and to encourage them to develop a form of ownership over the show. These attempts at fan cultivation and engagement are also apparent in the increasing importance of events such as Comic Con, where producers and stars present filmed content and answer fan queries as a means of generating interest in media products.

21) For an in-depth examination of Millennials’ interaction with and use of contemporary digital media see S. Craig Watkins. *The Young and the Digital* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2009).

22) Watkins, *The Young and the Digital*, p. 16. Youths’ disinterest in daily television viewing threatens the networks, as traditional television viewing is founded on habit.

23) Andrew Stewart, ‘Number of frequent young moviegoers plummets in 2013’, *Variety*, 25 March 2014, unpaginated. *Variety*, <<http://variety.com/2014/film/news/number-of-frequent-young-moviegoers-plummets-in-2013-1201146426/>> [accessed 27March 2014].

agers (many alienated or unpopular) from adult society through institutions like High School. Its key themes typically concern the perennial challenge of surviving High School, and related issues such as the formation of identity — often in the face of bullying or peer pressure, sexual exploration, and, in recent years, accepting non-heteronormative sexual identities. This package also invariably centralizes music to convey the tone of such experiences.²⁴⁾

GLEE is therefore hardly innovative as a youth-oriented product in its depiction of marginalized students joining an "uncool" Glee Club to spotlight humanistic concerns. Thus, during this series, the once popular football players Finn and Puck learn to ignore their mocking teammates and embrace the pleasure of Glee Club. Meanwhile, Rachel, a talented, ambitious, self-absorbed "diva-in-training" forms friendships with club members. Quinn, a pregnant and thus ostracized cheerleader, finds acceptance from the very club she once previously ridiculed. And the somewhat effete Kurt receives support from the club during a homosexual romance with another club member. These events are wrapped around dance performances to pop songs, hip hop tunes, power ballads, and Broadway standards, which show the club's members seeking validation by competing at various events.²⁵⁾

This combination of musical numbers and tales of ordinary people seeking acceptance and validation by harnessing their untapped talent and dedication positioned GLEE as a successor to a number of hit television shows. For one, it was seen as a successor to competition based reality shows like AMERICAN IDOL (2002–), because it too thematized crafting an authentic sense of self through music, performance, and the pursuit of stardom. At the same time, its mixture of music and humanism called to mind earlier youth-centered dramas such as DAWSON'S CREEK (1998–2003), BEVERLY HILLS, 90210 (1990–2000), and MY SO-CALLED LIFE (1994–1995). What is more, when combined with the notion of potential stardom, GLEE evoked the successful tween-oriented properties HANNAH MONTANA (2006–2011), HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL (2006, 2007, 2008),²⁶⁾ and CAMP ROCK (2008).

In contrast to these derivative features, FOX launched GLEE under quite unusual circumstances. The show premiered at the close of the 2008/2009 primetime television season following the grand finale of AMERICAN IDOL. This was an eye-opening strategy inasmuch as audience interest in GLEE needed to be sustained across the three month gap before it returned to screens that August. FOX took steps to ensure critics were wrong when they predicted that young people would have forgotten about the show come August. Over the summer, the company used its website and social media to build interest and loyalty to the property. Central to this practice was a contest named "Who is the Biggest GLEEK?" which Fox ran on its website and publicized on the social network services Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter. This practice was not entirely novel as DAWSON'S CREEK

24) For a detailed discussion of the fundamental features of teen television see Wee, *Teen Media*, pp. 142–165.

25) Music has provided an effective means of attracting young viewers. THE DICK CLARK SHOW (1958–60), MTV, and more recently, the online social network site MySpace, all embraced a music-focused format to effectively draw a youth audience/user/consumer.

26) While the first two parts of the trilogy were made-for-cable films premiering on The Disney Channel, their success prompted the third film to be released theatrically.

had been targeted to teens through a website that sought to retain fan interest by providing updates on characters' desktops and diaries.²⁷⁾ Similarly, Disney promoted *HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL* by offering tweens a free downloadable song and software needed to make their own *HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL* videos. It also held a competition on MySpace offering graduating classes the chance to win a trip to a Disney resorts by completing various tasks online.²⁸⁾ However, Fox's version of this practice involved fulfilling millennials' expectations for greater interaction and participation.

A detailed analysis of the "biggest GLEEK" contest reveals the strategies FOX's marketing and online content divisions adopted to connect with millennial youth. FOX directly "hailed" young people, thereby explicitly acknowledging and interpolating them as active participants in the show's success, by asking "[w]ho is the biggest GLEEK?" Millennials were urged to form a community based on their dedication to GLEE's humanistic values of self-respect, compassion, and acceptance of anything traditionally unpopular. This angle encouraged them to align themselves with the marginalized characters featured in the series premiere and to compete for the title of "biggest" GLEE fan as they went about unwittingly promoting the show.

This contest, like that of *HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL* before it, invited viewers to compete for a prize. The opportunity to meet GLEE's cast could be won by exploring websites, posting self-produced material, and interacting with the likeminded. The campaign overtly courted digitally savvy youth, by encouraging them to engage in creative online activities, "link your 'Biggest GLEEK' profile to your Facebook profile", "[post] links of the day to your online profile", "[invite] friends to join the competition", and so on. GLEE's promotional activities therefore extended beyond pushing branded products towards production-oriented activities. Not only were young people encouraged to disseminate their GLEE-related profiles online, they were urged to base these on their dedication to GLEE's humanist themes.²⁹⁾

Furthermore, millennials were invited to help GLEE become a hit; to become active, industry-recognized, valued advocates of the show. The GLEE campaign thus adapted the "audience-as-essential-participant" model which had contributed to *AMERICAN IDOL*'s sizable fan base. It even marshaled the rhetoric of this singing competition's repeated calls to viewers to participate and therefore determine a contestant's ranking by "calling in to vote". In this respect, copy advertising made similar appeals to youth, by fostering a sense of ownership and responsibility. As Jenkins, Ford and Green note, in the contemporary digital era, such "engagement-based models see the audience as a collective of active agents whose labor may generate alternative forms of market value".³⁰⁾ GLEE therefore represented another case of a network attempting to organize the online activities of a potential mass audience. This call to GLEEKdom remained industry controlled inasmuch as it

27) For a detailed study of Dawson's Creek.com, see Wee, *Teen Media*, pp. 192–218.

28) For a detailed study of Disney's promotion of these properties see Wee, *Teen Media*, pp. 166–191.

29) FOX's cultivation of young people, and the company's encouragement of their online activities and creative practices, marks a reversal of the network's earlier responses to *THE X-FILES* fansites, when the company threatened legal action against those who created sites discussing and promoting this property. See Gillan, *Television and New Media*, pp. 31–32.

30) See Jenkins, Ford, and Green, *Spreadable Media*, p. 116.

was a top-down enterprise. Yet, its endorsement of fan production and promotion indicated another step in the development of the fan-industry online relationship: FOX's campaign stands as a carefully orchestrated attempt to whet millennials' appetites before marshalling their labor.³¹⁾

The success of this campaign ensured that a sizable segment of the targeted youth audience embraced GLEE when it returned for the 2009/2010 season. By the end of that season, GLEE was the top rated show among 18–49-year-old females.³²⁾ It was also the third most lucrative show that season based on advertising purchases, behind AMERICAN IDOL and NBC SUNDAY NIGHT FOOTBALL (2006–).³³⁾ Despite relatively low overall ratings, ranking 38 for the season with a 4.0 rating in the general 18–49 demographic,³⁴⁾ GLEE's core youth audience was particularly attractive to advertisers, who paid between US\$272,694 and US\$373,014 for a thirty second spot.

In light of these achievements, FOX extended the GLEE experience to other media in order to promote the show and create new profit centers such as branded merchandise.³⁵⁾ Like predecessors such as DAWSON'S CREEK and HIGH SCHOOL MUSICAL, GLEE licensed products included DVDs and Blu-Rays, novelizations, and soundtracks, while Macy's and Claire's stores sold apparel across the United States.³⁶⁾ Moreover, in 2011, THE GLEE PROJECT — an AMERICAN IDOL-like show in which contestants competed for a role in

31) Fan labor is a complex issue, which has generated a fairly contentious relationship between fans and the industry that hopes to exploit them and their work. For insights into these conflicts see Alexis Lothian, 'Living in a den of thieves: fan video and digital challenges to ownership', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2009), pp. 130–136; Julie Levin Russo, 'User-penetrated content: fan video in the age of convergence', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 48, no. 4 (2009), pp. 125–130; Robert V. Kozinets, 'Why brands suddenly need "fans"', in Denise Mann (ed.), *Wired TV*, (New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2014), pp. 161–175.

32) See Ann Donahue, "'Glee' throws lifeline to music industry', *Reuters*, 13 December 2010, unpaginated. Reuters, <<http://in.reuters.com/article/2010/12/13/us-glee-idINTRE6BC0LL20101213>> [accessed 12 May 2014]. According to Josef Adalian, *Glee* "soared to just over 12 million viewers, its biggest audience sans an *American Idol* lead-in ever. It was the No. 1 show of the night in the crucial under-50 demo (5.5 rating) and was an instrument of destruction in women 18 to 34 (outdrawing ABC, NBC, and CBS combined among that group)". See Josef Adalian, 'Your TV ratings explained: let's hear it for *Glee!*', *Vulture*, 23 September 2010, unpaginated. Vulture, <http://www.vulture.com/2010/09/your_tv_ratings_explained_lets.html> [accessed 20 February 2014].

33) See Darren Franich, "'American Idol,' 'Glee,' and football top the list of most expensive broadcast TV shows for advertising,' 18 October, 2010. Popwatch, <<http://popwatch.ew.com/2010/10/18/american-idol-glee-and-football-top-the-list-of-most-expensive-broadcast-tv-shows-for-advertising/>> [accessed 6 November 2014].

34) Bill Gorman, 'Final 2009–10 broadcast prime-time show average viewership', 16 June 2010, unpaginated. TV by the Numbers, <<http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/2010/06/16/final-2009-10-broadcast-primetime-show-average-viewership/54336/>> [accessed 6 November 2014].

35) For a discussion of television networks' efforts to leverage youth-oriented shows beyond the boundaries of the medium see Wee, *Teen Media*, chapters six and seven.

36) In addition to multiple volumes of *Glee: The Music* soundtrack albums, there were also collections of GLEE cover versions of specific performers' music (including Madonna), a Christmas album, a Dance music album, and a compilation of ballads. All of these tracks were available for download on iTunes, a strategy clearly acknowledging the consumer behaviors and preferences of the digital youth demographic. See Donahue, "'Glee' throws lifeline to music industry'; T. L. Stanley, 'Dress yourself in "Glee": TV shows go licensing crazy', *Los Angeles Times*, 8 June 2010, unpaginated. Los Angeles Times, <<http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/showtracker/2010/06/glee-swap-hits-stores-in-fall-shows-tv-shows-licensing-crazy.html>> [accessed 10 June 2014].

GLEE — premiered on the Oxygen cable network.³⁷⁾ Like Disney's HANNAH MONTANA and CAMP ROCK,³⁸⁾ there was also a summer concert tour GLEE LIVE! IN CONCERT!, which featured cast members performing songs from the series, and a concert film. The latter represented an attempt to extend returns from the concert tours by catering to fans who had been unable to attend live events or those lucky few who simply wanted to relive them.

The notions of becoming oneself the “biggest GLEEK”, extolling the pleasures of GLEE, and converting others served to align each GLEE branded product. This strategy freed the franchise from needing to link media texts narratively, thereby distinguishing this property from many earlier instances of transmedia expansion.³⁹⁾ Rather, FOX intended for GLEE's constituent texts to attract youth via the shared exhortation to be “the biggest GLEEK,” a notion which emphasized the construction of GLEEKdom as a distinctive identity based on humanist ideals; a notion central to the handling of GLEE 3D.

GLEE: THE 3D CONCERT MOVIE — celebrating the biggest GLEEKs

Opening on 12 August 2011, GLEE 3D received a limited two week theatrical release before the premiere of the series' third season.⁴⁰⁾ As with the earlier version of the “biggest GLEEK” campaign, GLEE 3D was designed to retain young people's interest in the property during the show's summer hiatus. GLEE 3D confirmed FOX's commitment to incorporating millennial youth into the entertainment product and experience by allowing them to contribute to both. To appreciate why this approach was extended in a manner that addressed millennials' desire for acknowledgement, engagement, and participation we must consider how GLEE's creators sought to overcome the constraints of the concert film format that typically includes emphasis on stars, the blending of song and dance numbers with backstage events, and the inclusion of fan testimonials. It is therefore necessary to ask how stakeholders' marshalling of fan labor in the guise of audience interaction was integrated into the concert film format.

37) Oxygen's target demographic of young female viewers matches that of GLEE. See Robert Seidman, “Oxygen Media increases original programming by 50%”, 4 April 2011, unpaginated. TV by the numbers, <<http://tvbythenumbers.zap2it.com/2011/04/04/oxygen-media-increases-original-programming-by-26-in-2011-launches-new-night-of-originals-on-sunday-june-12/88149/>> [accessed 3 February 2014].

38) Disney's HANNAH MONTANA was promoted with a concert tour featuring the series' star, Miley Cyrus, which was then released as a 3D concert film with related CD releases. Disney replicated these practices with stars of CAMP ROCK, The Jonas Brothers, who also headlined a concert tour, a concert film based on that tour, and featured on CDs cross-promoting these various entertainment texts. See Wee, *Teen Media*, pp. 166–191.

39) Engagement-based transmedia links are not uncommon for Reality formats such as AMERICAN IDOL; however, GLEE offers an example of a fictional, narrative-based, series characterized by techniques more typical of the reality format. I would like to thank one of my peer-reviewers for making this point. Jenkins, Ford, and Green comment on the shift away from a narrative-based model of transmedia links to an engagement-based model, in which they cite GLEE as an example. See Jenkins, Ford, and Green, *Spreadable Media*, p. 146.

40) Steven Zeitchik, “With “Glee” 3-D concert movie, Lea Michelle will sing on the big screen”, *Los Angeles Times*, 4 May 2011, unpaginated. Los Angeles Times, <<http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/movies/2011/05/glee-3d-lea-michell-ryan-murphy-movie.html>> [accessed 11 June 2014].

The decision-makers behind *GLEE 3D* replicated the TV show's combination of musical performances and humanist themes, thereby reinforcing the typical *GLEE* experience, while advocating diversity and difference. However, *GLEE 3D* all but jettisoned the narrative structure of the series. Instead, the bulk of the film showcased onstage musical numbers in which the cast of the show recreated well known performances from the series. The film also featured brief backstage interludes of the cast in character, conducting vocal exercises, having makeup applied, and delivering sound-bites to camera. This material was paired with testimonials in which fans declared their allegiance to individual characters, or explained why they were "the biggest GLEEK", or stressed that thanks to *GLEE* they were more socially engaged and better understood difference.⁴¹⁾

Alongside this traditional concert film content were less typical segments directed by the documentary filmmaker Jennifer Arnold spotlighting three self-proclaimed "biggest GLEEKs" who personified *GLEE*'s message of celebrating difference, (self-)acceptance, and peer-support. Janae is a high school cheerleader with dwarfism, Josey struggles with the autism spectrum disorder Asperger syndrome, and Trenton is an African American student who suffered discrimination because of his homosexuality. A combination of personal statements, interviews with friends and teachers, footage of their daily lives, and dramatized segments revealed their anxieties, challenges, and triumphs. Crucially, the trio emphasized that *GLEE* helped them build their self-confidence and fight for acceptance. Each GLEEK also related his or her challenges to those experienced by characters in *GLEE*.⁴²⁾

Comprising almost one third of the film, these segments represent *GLEE 3D*'s most striking deviation from the conventions of the concert film. As demonstrated by contemporaries such as Michael Jackson's *THIS IS IT* (2009), *JUSTIN BIEBER: NEVER SAY NEVER* (2011), and *KATY PERRY: PART OF ME* (2012), such films typically bolster concert performances with documentary footage of the star performer. For example, both Perry's and Bieber's films traced their respective stars' rise to prominence, and offered biographical insights by way of interviews with family, home videos, and "day-in-the-life" material. By contrast, *GLEE 3D*'s focus on the aforementioned GLEEKs positioned them as deserving the spotlight more than the returning cast members, so much so in fact that the professionals' performances are interrupted to focus on the fans. The GLEEKs became a featured attraction, reinforcing the notion that they were as vital a component to the *GLEE* text as its traditional onscreen talent.

These segments served additional functions however. They extended the original TV show's humanistic themes, providing a voice for young people typically overlooked by mainstream media. *GLEE 3D* therefore offered an — admittedly mediated — form of rec-

41) I would like to thank one of my peer-reviewers for bringing this to my attention.

42) For instance, Janae comments on how she related to the show's "popular" characters, as she was part of her high school cheerleading squad, and the more 'marginalized' characters, due to her dwarfism. Josey praised the show for giving the marginalized and unpopular a voice, one she appreciated as someone with Aspergers, while also highlighting how *GLEE* served as the means for her to bond with other *GLEE* fans based on their shared love of the show. Trenton discusses how he survived the high school bullying and ostracism which he experienced when his homosexuality became known, by identifying with the struggles, hardships, and triumphs that Kurt, one of *GLEE*'s homosexual characters, experienced.

ognition such individuals are usually denied. By representing these GLEEKs believably, and by presenting their experiences in the style of a documentary, GLEE 3D acknowledged their marginal status while validating their struggles and achievements. Taken as a whole, these testimonies — and those of others used to support them — maintained and reinforced the notion of GLEEKs comprising a special community. Being a GLEEK was thus associated with empathy, compassion, and rooting for underdogs, which, although not alien to youth-oriented media, is rarely presented in a documentary style or articulated on the screen by actual teens.

Yet, these strategies also served distinctly corporate and thus commercial functions. By ensuring that the film and the franchise to which it belonged allowed young people directly to participate in the GLEE universe, they showcased the property's relevance to youth. Foregrounding fans' proud, insistent proclamations of the roles this franchise played in their lives enabled decision-makers behind the property to undermine charges that this series was a cynical exercise in exploiting the young, even though doing so cannot avoid supporting such claims. By interpolating GLEEKs into the texts, stakeholders could indeed capitalize on fans seemingly tireless efforts not only to promote the GLEE experience, but also to be a part of the product. As with the appropriation of fan labor in the promotion of the TV series, GLEE 3D supports Mark Andrejevic's assertion that such labor does little to challenge traditional media relations as it ultimately "[reinforces] social and material relations".⁴³⁾ While the feature film format prevented the degree of interactivity and creative productivity possible with digital media, GLEE 3D nevertheless offered its own form of fan engagement, participation, and labor exploitation. It provided an additional opportunity for fans to declare their dedication to the series, to build a sense of community, and even to share — and thus commodify — the sometimes painful often personal struggles faced by individuals such as Janae, Josey, and Trenton.⁴⁴⁾

Produced on a budget of \$9 million, GLEE 3D ended its brief theatrical run with a North American gross of \$11.8 million.⁴⁵⁾ Commentators considered this a disappointing figure.⁴⁶⁾ It suggested once more that, in spite of their best efforts to cultivate millennial youth— and even to interpolate it into the entertainment text — traditional media producers continue to struggle to find a reliable means of fully capturing this demographic. However, we should not forget that this concert film may well have fulfilled its principal function of retaining fan interest and whetting fans' appetites for the new series of GLEE. Immediately after GLEE 3D's theatrical run had concluded, a third season of the show premiered to similar ratings as its much anticipated debut season, once again scoring 4.0 in the coveted 18–49-year-olds demographic and successfully holding off audience attrition.

43) Mark Andrejevic, "Watching television without pity: the productivity of online fans," *Television and New Media*, vol. 9, no. 1 (2008), p. 43.

44) This is not to simplistically suggest that these individuals are strictly or solely victims of "big business" exploitation or that FOX and GLEE's other creators are primarily driven by unfeeling commercial motives. Rather, I simply wish to highlight the complex nature of this youth-oriented entertainment enterprise.

45) Anon., 'Glee: The 3D Concert Movie', unpaginated, Box Office Mojo, <<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/movies/?page=main&id=gleelive3d.htm>> [accessed 20 November 2014].

46) Eric Ditzian, "'Glee': Five reasons '3D Concert' sunk at the box-office," 15 August 2011, unpaginated. MTV, <<http://www.mtv.com/news/1669059/glee-3d-concert-movie-box-office/>> [accessed 20 November 2014].

Conclusion

GLEE offers an instructive case study of the challenges facing the media entertainment industry as it confronts the opportunities and difficulties of the digital age. Stakeholders in the property adopted many fairly standard strategies characteristic of an increasingly transmedia world, by spinning off a media text across multiple platforms. However, they also adapted a series of key strategies revolving around the specific interests, behaviors, and desires of digital youth. Many of their online strategies were adapted from existing practice. Their one innovation, however, lay in the cooption of fan stories in place of the stars' profiles as part of a sustained commitment to integrate them into the show and related texts as active participants.⁴⁷⁾

This commitment enabled the GLEE franchise to deviate from the more common practice of transmedia production dominated by the narrative expansion of a universe and its characters across various media texts. GLEE instead embraced the strategies of its advertising campaign by expanding the quest for "the biggest GLEEK" across multiple platforms. The fictional developments explored in the television series did not feature in any of its media spinoffs. For example, GLEE 3D divided its focus between the GLEE concert featuring the TV show's characters and documentary footage of the "biggest GLEEKs". Just as the promotional campaign placed the "Biggest GLEEK" at the center of its activities and attention, THE GLEE PROJECT exploited unknowns seeking media attention and stardom. In each case, it was the fan that was accorded a participatory role in a GLEE spinoff.

These interrelated media texts and activities served as an effective marketing tool. Seeking out the biggest GLEEK ensured the extension of the series' message of affirmation, self-confidence, and support of the GLEE community. The mantra that different is OK was repeated across multiple media products, alongside the exhortation to be yourself, face down peer pressure and rejection, and follow your dreams. Such practice also allowed for the exploitation of fans who appeared thrilled to be assimilated into the text/product, and allowed themselves, their stories, and their labor to be utilized into the production, content, and marketing of GLEE. These activities ultimately married an ostensibly humanist message with a commercial one.

There is no denying GLEEKdom existed as a media-created and organized identity, one which GLEEKs appeared gleefully to embrace, at least going by the numerous admissions found in GLEE 3D. However, it is difficult to determine precisely where the boundary lies between celebrating these fans and exploiting them for entertainment and capital gain. Thus, despite GLEE's ostensibly humanist messages of empowerment and agency, the media industry's relations to fans are characterized by ongoing struggle in which top-down manipulation is difficult to avoid.

47) I thank one of my peer-reviewers for pointing out that GLEE's emphasis on celebrating fan identity and humanist ideals while seemingly downplaying the show's narratives and talent reads as an efficient strategy to help counter the inherent challenges of a high school format characterized by the aging of on-screen talent and the necessity to continually changing its characters.

Films and Television Shows Cited:

American Idol (Various directors, 2002–); *Beverly Hills, 90210* (Various directors, 1990–2000); *Camp Rock* (Matthew Diamond, 2008); *Dawson's Creek* (Various directors, 1998–2003); *Glee* (Various directors, 2009–); *Glee: The 3D Concert Movie* (Kevin Tanharoen and Jennifer Arnold, 2011); *The Glee Project* (Various directors, 2011–); *Hannah Montana* (Various directors, 2006–2011); *High School Musical* (Kenny Ortega, 2006); *High School Musical 2* (Kenny Ortega, 2007); *High School Musical 3: Senior Year* (Kenny Ortega, 2008); *Justin Bieber: Never Say Never* (Jon M. Chu 2011); *Katy Perry: Part of Me* (Don Cutforth and Jane Lipsitz, 2012); *This Is It* (Kenny Ortega, 2009); *My So-Called Life* (Various directors, 1994–1995); *NBC Sunday Night Football* (Various directors, 2006–).

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SUMMARY**"Who is the Biggest GLEEK?"***Traditional Media Targets the Digital Youth Generation***Valerie Wee**

This article considers how the different components of the GLEE franchise reveal one media company's attempts to attract the valuable youth demographic amid shifting media and technological terrain, and the evolving entertainment demands and emerging new behaviors of young consumers in the digital age. Specifically, I illustrate how 20th Century-Fox and Ryan Murphy Productions' successful promotional strategy for the GLEE television series — an online contest to discover "the biggest GLEEK" (i.e. GLEE's most committed fan who was devoted to everything GLEE-related, and dedicated to promoting and converting others into fellow fans) — would eventually shape the form and content of a wider range of GLEE spin-offs, including GLEE: THE 3D CONCERT MOVIE. In examining these developments, the article explores how this campaign and the conventions of the concert picture were reworked so as to appeal to an audience demanding acknowledgement, engagement, and involvement. This investigation further reveals how these profit-oriented interests in cultivating and exploiting fan labor is blended with (and camouflaged by) a discourse emphasizing humanist values of inclusion, acceptance, and respect for self and others.

Richard Nowell

Developing a Research Program in Youth Cinema Studies and Revising *Generation Multiplex*

An Interview with Timothy Shary

Timothy Shary is the author of *Generation Multiplex: The Image of Youth in Contemporary American Cinema* (University of Texas Press, 2002; revised 2014) and *Teen Movies: American Youth on Screen* (Wallflower Press, 2005), as well as co-editor with Alexandra Seibel of *Youth Culture in Global Cinema* (Texas, 2007). His work on youth cinema has been published in numerous books and journals since the 1990s, including *The Journal of Film and Video*, *Film Quarterly*, *The Journal of Popular Culture*, and *The Journal of Popular Film and Television*. He has also edited *Millennial Masculinity: Men in Contemporary American Cinema* (Wayne State, 2013) and will be the co-editor of *Refocus: The Films of Amy Heckerling* with Frances Smith (Edinburgh, forthcoming). He is currently finishing a book on aging in American cinema with Nancy McVittie, to be published by Texas in 2016.

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My work in youth cinema studies began as a doctoral student in the Communication Department at the University of Massachusetts in the mid-1990s. I wrote my first paper on a teen movie back in high school in 1985. It was on *THE BREAKFAST CLUB*; a film that so captivated me I was compelled to see it twice in one week, even taking notes in the theater (which I am sure made me feel especially brainy). Yet, I did not take on dedicated thought about the genre until a decade later, when I was considering my dissertation topic.

My primary reservation about pursuing teen movies before this time was that I knew that many of my academic peers, and most of my potential employers, would not take the topic seriously. This would turn out to be true; movies about children had inspired some respected studies because little kids are endearing, but movies about adolescent issues were — and still are — treated with snobbish scorn by many academics. I explained this to one of my advisors at UMass, who told me that I needed to really like the topic, because it would surround me for a few years, if not longer.



THE BREAKFAST CLUB (1985)

After all, the reasons for taking on an earnest study of the genre were abundant. I knew that teen movies would be appealing to students I taught. I also knew that this genre was richly detailed with social commentary, and I knew that little substantial work had been done outside of that written in the 1980s by David Considine and by Thomas Doherty.¹⁾ By the 1990s, Jon Lewis and a few other authors were also showing how teen movies could be appreciated, but, for a dissertation, I felt the pretentious push to advance some kind of complete genre theory in order to make this fringe form seem more worthy.²⁾

What were some the challenges you encountered working in what at this point remained an under-examined aspect of cinema?

As many dissertations will so conspire, I wrestled with a lot of theory, in both the fields of film genre and youth studies, primarily advancing an ambition to see as many representative films as I could. Doherty had thoroughly covered films of the 1950s and 1960s, and Considine was comprehensive until the early 1980s ... and that was just when I saw the genre taking on its latest relevance. At this time, teen sex romps had begun to replace

1) David Considine, *The Cinema of Adolescence* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1985); Thomas Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988).

2) Jon Lewis, *The Road to Romance and Ruin: Teen Films and Youth Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992). See also Jonathan Bernstein, *Pretty in Pink: The Golden Age of Teenage Movies* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997); Lesley Speed, 'Tuesday's gone: the nostalgic teen film', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1998), pp. 24–32; Elayne Rapping, 'Youth cult films', in *Media-tions: Forays into the Culture and Gender War* (New York: South End Press, 1999), pp. 88–99.

the wave of slasher films of the late 1970s, and were soon to be followed by John Hughes's sensitive middle-American kids in *THE BREAKFAST CLUB* (1985) as well as other trends. I wanted to start my study in the early 1980s and go to the present, planning to see every teen film made in that time.

Little did I realize at first that such an agenda would be unfeasible if only because I could not possibly find all the examples that I identified. At that time, so-called search engines for movies were scant, so I compiled my filmography by combing through a wide range of catalogs. I aligned with Considine in defining adolescent years as primarily the teens; in wanting to incorporate junior high up to the start of college, I set my age range for protagonists as 12 to 20 years of age. I also wanted to include some movies that were not often labeled for teens but were nonetheless about them, which necessitated tracing young actors across numerous films that fell outside of the genre's popular trappings. After a few months devoted to this aspect of the project, my filmography ran to about 1,000 examples. Yet, even with a few years of dedicated viewing thereafter, I only managed to screen about 420 of them, despite my best efforts raiding the video stores of western Massachusetts. With equal levels of exhaustion and resignation, I reached a point where I felt that my sample pool was at least sufficiently large to provide general commentary, and relevant enough to conduct closer readings.

In addition to incorporating a wide scope on the genre, I knew that many films about teenagers used different conventions based on their subject matter and styles. This led me to identify subgenres, which were easiest to codify in their most extreme incarnations — the slasher (*FRIDAY THE 13TH* /1980/, *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* /1984/) and the sex romp (*GOIN' ALL THE WAY!* /1982/, *PRIVATE RESORT* /1985/) — yet at the same time it demanded more nuanced appraisal when looking at diffuse topics such as delinquency (*LESS THAN ZERO* /1987/, *BOYZ N THE HOOD* /1991/) and schooling (*LUCAS* /1986/, *CLUELESS* /1995/). And there had been a prominent wave of sci-fi thrillers featuring teens (*WARGAMES* /1983/, *SPACECAMP* /1986/); even if they were fading by the 1990s, this subgenre was at least worth exploring for its intellectual phobias.

Thus I settled on five subgenres: school, which was generically diffuse but elemental in identifying teen characters; delinquency, with its wide scale of moral consequences; horror, which went beyond the stock slasher victims to the supernatural; science, still pertinent to 1990s youth; and love/sex, an awkward moniker I used to signify the even more awkward complications of young romance. I sifted through the hundreds of titles I had uncovered in an effort to understand just how each film conveyed its particular subject matter and how it served generic interests, demonstrating through this process the very subjective and slippery nature of genre research that I had anticipated. The dissertation reached an excessive length, which my committee kindly tolerated, and saw fit to approve in early 1998.

*Could you explain the process of transforming this doctoral research into the first version of your book *Generation Multiplex*?*

Soon after graduating, I queried the major university presses in Film Studies to see if any of them would be interested in publishing the manuscript as a book. While a few expressed interest, I was most impressed with the University of Texas Press, because their ac-

quisitions editor, Jim Burr, responded with an enthusiastic phone call. The document I submitted for review, alas, was far too much like the original dissertation, despite my efforts to follow the publisher's recommendations. My first reviewer, who turned out to be David Considine, made clear that the manuscript was still far too long and needed a clearer structure.

I edited it over the next year, and by the end of the year 2000, after being reviewed by Kathy Merlock Jackson, one of the notable authors on children in cinema, the revised version was ready for publication. As is customary in academic publishing, the book still needed to be approved by the press's editorial board, another hurdle that I cleared in early 2001 to make *Generation Multiplex: The Image of Youth in Contemporary American Cinema* a reality. Soon thereafter, I asked Considine to write the foreword, because he had had such an influence on both the field and my own work. He generously agreed. The production process of the book still required many more months, as I acquired images and went through copyediting before sending the entire package to Texas at the end of summer 2001. The final phase before publication was the review of page proofs, which I did with industrious detail, knowing that every word choice and punctuation mark would soon be out of my control.

In many ways, letting the book pass from an ongoing project for six years into the fixed result of a permanent volume was quite intimidating. A much higher level of responsibility set in for me when I thought of those readers who might take me to task on my claims, like the many students I had taught in genre classes at UMass and Clark University; students who naturally had a vested interest in the representation of a population they felt they knew well. I knew that scholars who published work on, for instance, silent or European cinema, were not routinely challenged by recent teenagers.

Even after the book arrived in late 2002, I could not quite feel comfortable that it was complete, especially as I lamented that so many new movies about youth were appearing and, in some cases, changing my ideas about past trends. I had expressed this sense of frustration in my preface when I called out some of those titles in a disclaimer that voiced my frustration at the continually evolving teen movie genre. This is of course an issue that any critic of contemporary culture must face: you must agree to let the present study end, even as the field develops. Some of my tensions were at least relieved by the positive reviews that came out months later and more so when Jim Burr notified me in 2004 that the book had sold well enough to go into a second printing.

*What led you to revise *Generation Multiplex* some years after its initial publication?*

By 2004, I had begun work on a more concise yet chronologically expanded history of American movies about adolescence for Wallflower Press, which would appear in 2005.³⁾ I had also been in discussion with a colleague from NYU, Alexandra Seibel, about co-editing a collection on the youth film from an international perspective, which had yet to be done in English.⁴⁾ I was fortunate to again work with Jim as my editor at Texas, and we saw through on that anthology in 2007.

3) Timothy Shary, *Teen Movies: American Youth on Screen* (London: Wallflower, 2005).

4) Timothy Shary and Alexandra Seibel (eds), *Youth Culture in Global Cinema* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

In subsequent years, I moved away from the topic of youth in movies and took on other projects, yet the turn of another decade had brought many more compelling films about adolescence, as well as changes in the industry's style and output of the youth genre. Having seen the rise of many courses on teen films, I thought that a completely revised and expanded edition of *Generation Multiplex* was warranted for the 2010s.

The thesis from the first edition would remain essentially intact, and now it seemed even more certain: "American films about youth are dynamically and diversely representative of adolescents, to the point that these films constitute their own genre and have engendered individual subgenres with particular and often consistent codes for that representation."⁵ So I would still examine films set in or around school, which tend to employ one to five recognizable character types, as well as teen horror films, which tend to care less about characters and focus more on the types of abuse and murder portrayed in their stories. Teen films about juvenile delinquency continued to employ a similar method of concentrating on the crimes and misdemeanors of youth, and their etiology, while films about young people having sex and falling in love continued to be preoccupied with moral messages about their perils and pleasures; in this case, I was happy to jettison the cumbersome "love/sex" label and simply call this subgenre "romance". And I could reconsider past releases while incorporating new films up to 2013.

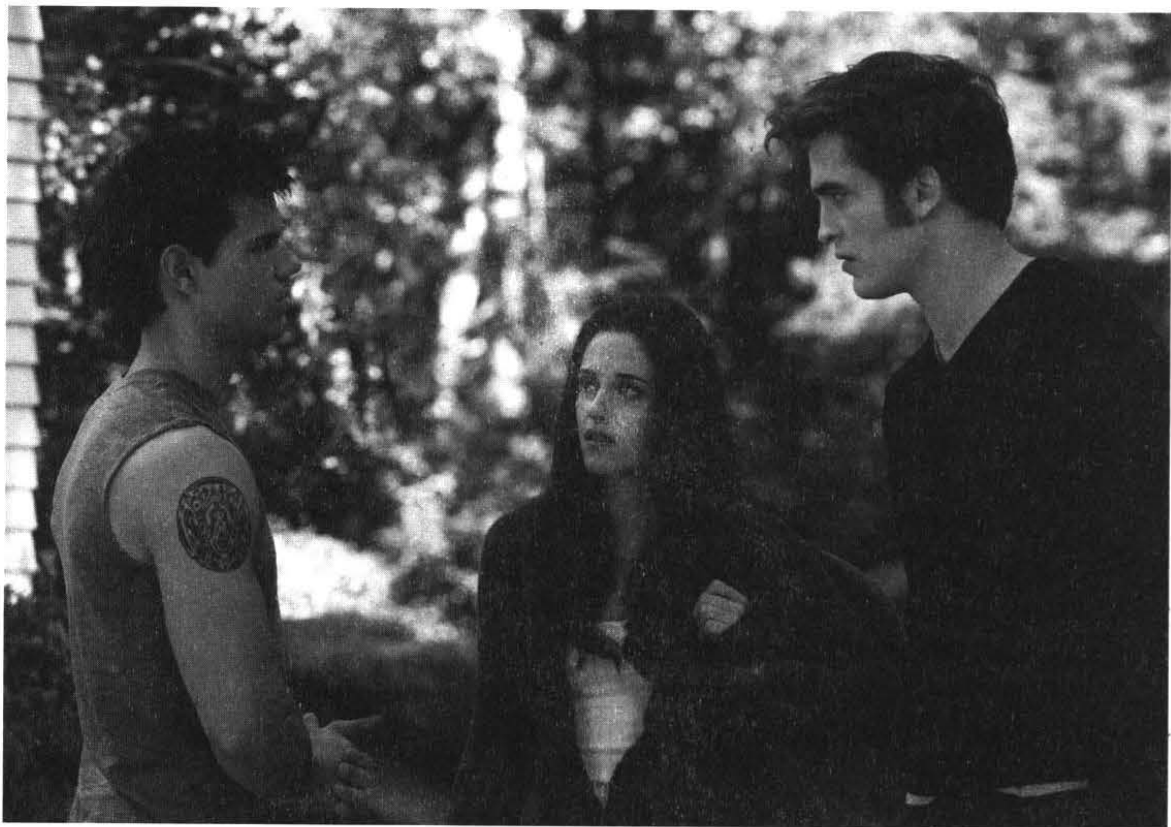
What do you feel are the principal differences between the two editions of Generation Multiplex?

The most significant chapter change I wanted to make from the first edition was the elimination of the chapter on science films. The subgenre had declined by the end of the 1980s and was obsolete by the 2000s. For all the ongoing use of technology by children in real life, the topic is now almost entirely elided by Hollywood, most likely because youth do not find it nearly as dramatic or as fearful as it was in the past. The novelty has certainly worn off, and today kids use computers and other machines (phones, pads, tablets) in a seamless, confident connection to their personal lives.

A few sections of chapters also needed to be reconfigured, or in the case of the "Patriotic Purpose" category, excised. These were films that I had listed as components of the delinquent subgenre in the 1980s. They explored Reagan-era militaristic revolts by youth, achieving warped infamy in examples such as *RED DAWN* (1984) and *IRON EAGLE* (1986). Yet, like the science subgenre, these films expressed topical concerns of the 1980s, and did not see a revival after the 9/11 attacks and the renewed jingoism of the George W. Bush presidency.

Conversely, I wanted to expand certain sections. When I wrote about queer youth at the start of the 2000s, there had been some burgeoning examples, but in the new decade the topic was more common, with many films featuring queer protagonists and many ensemble films incorporating gay roles for supporting characters. Within the school subgenre, there had also been an evident effort to increase the realistic roles that girls have in athletics; at least 20 films have depicted girl athletes since 2000 compared to less than five in

5) Timothy Shary, *Generation Multiplex: The Image of Youth in American Cinema Since 1980* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), p. xiii. I made the slight title change to avoid using the ambiguous term "contemporary" again.



The TWILIGHT Series (2008–2012)

all the years before. Movies about proms had always fallen into a liminal space between the other subgenres, while usually maintaining an emphasis on the dating ritual, so I felt that they needed their own section within the romance chapter. Clearly, the realm of fantasy had expanded enormously in recent years, especially with the success of the HARRY POTTER series from 2001–2011 (which were US–UK co-productions), and then the TWILIGHT series (2008–2012); films that ostensibly fell within the horror subgenre, and were now achieving wider popularity and cultural commentary than ever before.

I returned to my previous method of building the filmography, which was now substantially aided by the Internet Movie Database (IMDb), although its “keywords” and plot searches remained less than comprehensive. The IMDb system requires users to compile these terms, which results in a great deal of subjective slippage and loss between categories, which meant that I needed to be even more diligent about including and excluding titles. The terms that I found most relevant were: adolescence, adolescent, coming-of-age, high-school, junior-high-school, juvenile, middle-school, school, teen, teenage, teenager, teen-angst, tween, 12-year-old, and youth. A number of films listed in the IMDb have never been released, or have had such limited releases that no descriptions are available. I therefore only included films that had at least one external review.

*How did the rise in academic interest in youth-oriented cinema after the publication of the first edition of *Generation Multiplex* affect the new edition?*

Along with the increased attention to the youth genre at the college course level came further helpful scholarship in the field, which I wanted to cover in the new edition. Murray

Pomerance and Frances Gateward edited two youth cinema anthologies, the first on girls (2002) and the second on boys (2005).⁶⁾ Other studies appeared on familiar topics such as school movies (Bulman, 2004), girls (Hentges, 2006), and horror (Nowell, 2011), while new approaches led to books on goth (Siegel, 2005) and queer boys (Dennis, 2006), as well as appreciations of teen movies in the 1970s (Brickman, 2012) and Generation X (Lee, 2010).⁷⁾ Meanwhile, starting in 2008 at Brigham Young University, Mark Callister was part of prodigious sociological research on youth movies, both as an author and a supervisor of graduate work.⁸⁾

Two books on teen films in general appeared since the first edition, one by Stephen Tropiano (2006) and the other by Catherine Driscoll (2011), both of which were quite impressive.⁹⁾ I enjoyed Stephen's infectious spirit for the genre, and I was struck by how Catherine had so thoroughly critiqued my ideas and those of others. So, in keeping with the spirit of the first edition, I thought it would only be fitting to invite them to comment on my manuscript, in a foreword and afterword, respectively. I asked Stephen to consider the genre and its future, and I asked Catherine to write about research trends and opportunities. I still feel that too many academics are in competition with each other when what we really need is greater collaboration. I was honored to have them be a part of this new volume.

What do you think has been the legacy of Generation Multiplex?

My greatest gratification in studying youth on screen has been in lending to the genre some semblance of legitimacy. While I argue for the quality of certain films over others, teen films in general have given us an opportunity to appreciate a large section of society that has been gaining authority yet in most cases still relies on adults to speak for it. In fact, the politics of age representation demand further study, because the young and old, while

6) Murray Pomerance and Frances Gateward (eds), *Sugar, Spice, and Everything Nice: Contemporary Cinemas of Girlhood* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2002); *Where the Boys Are: Cinemas of Masculinity and Youth* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005).

7) Robert C. Bulman, *Hollywood Goes to High School: Cinema, Schools, and American Culture* (New York: Worth, 2004); Sarah Hentges, *Pictures of Girlhood: Modern Female Adolescence on Screen* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2006); Richard Nowell, *Blood Money: A History of the First Teen Slasher Cycle* (New York: Continuum, 2011); Carol Siegel, *Goth's Dark Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Jeffery P. Dennis, *Queering Teen Culture: All-American Boys and Same-Sex Desire in Film and Television* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Barbara Jane Brickman, *New American Teenagers: The Lost Generation of Youth in 1970s Film* (New York: Continuum, 2012); Christina Lee, *Screening Generation X: The Politics and Popular Memory of Youth in Contemporary Cinema* (London: Ashgate, 2010).

8) Emily Bennion, 'Sexual content in teen films: 1980–2007' (M.M.C. thesis: Brigham Young University, 2008); Sarah Coyne, Mark Callister, and Tom Robinson, 'Yes, another teen movie: three decades of physical violence in films aimed at adolescents', *The Journal of Children and Media*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2010), pp. 387–401; Mark Callister, Lesa Stern, Sarah Coyne, Tom Robinson, and Emily Bennion, 'Evaluation of sexual content in teen-centered films from 1980 to 2007', *Mass Communication and Society*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2011), pp. 454–474; Jason Beck, 'A comparison of male athletes with teenage peers in popular teen movies' (M.A. thesis: Brigham Young University, 2011); Mark Callister, Sarah Coyne, Tom Robinson, John J. Davies, Chris Near, Lynn Van Valkenburg, and Jason Gillespie, "'Three sheets to the wind": substance use in teen-centered film from 1980 to 2007', *Addiction Research and Theory*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2012), pp. 30–41.

9) Stephen Tropiano, *Rebels and Chicks: A History of the Hollywood Teen Movie* (New York: Back Stage Books, 2006); Catherine Driscoll, *Teen Film: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Berg, 2011).

very influential, creative, talented, and vocal, remain disenfranchised. This is why I have been moving into studies of aging at the other end of the scale in recent years, the so-called old and elderly, or in formal parlance, the senescent. Given all the studies devoted to certain populations in cinema and media, age is a universal quality to all characters, one that nonetheless remains in need of much more analysis.

Richard Nowell

American Teen Film: Something more Slippery than it used to be

An Interview with Catherine Driscoll

Catherine Driscoll is Professor of Gender and Cultural Studies at the University of Sydney, Australia. Her books include *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (Columbia UP 2002), *Modernist Cultural Studies* (UP Florida 2010), *Teen Film: A Critical Introduction* (Berg 2011), and *The Australian Country Girl: History, Image, Experience* (Ashgate 2014). She is co-editor, with Meaghan Morris, of *Gender, Media and Modernity in the Asia-Pacific* (Routledge 2014) and, with Megan Watkins and Greg Noble, of *Cultural Pedagogies and Human Conduct* (Routledge 2015). She has also published many essays on girls studies, popular media and popular genres, rural cultural studies, modernism, modernity, and cultural studies and cultural theory.

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Youth-centered and youth-oriented cinema and media has been a central focus of your research for many years. Could you say a little about what first drew you to this topic?

It's probably not the most obvious starting point but it started at the end of my undergraduate degree when I was writing my thesis on modernist literature, James Joyce in particular. I was particularly fascinated by the figure of the girl, yet no one seemed to talk about this essential aspect of Joyce's fiction. When I went on to do my Ph.D. that fascination remained, because everything I read at the time suggested that there was a lot more to be said about what was meant to be revolutionary about modernist literature; about the place of the new image of young women, and about a highly visible new image of adolescence in general. That's what my thesis turned into: a thesis on adolescence, for which the theoretical, philosophical, and aesthetic discourses of the time were key pieces of evidence for thinking about how central adolescence came to be in European, American, and Anglophone culture.

What were some of the main questions you felt needed answering at this time?

I started with an interest in where our current idea of adolescence came from, especially in terms of how that adolescence was gendered, and how we share ideas about it. So, as I moved into the field of cultural studies, I felt compelled to tackle contemporary instances of these topics. That's how I came to research popular media. In doing my Ph.D. on that new centrality of adolescence, and in coming to think about contemporary culture in this light, I developed certain questions that underpinned my first book *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory*, as well a number of articles and papers I wrote around this time. They were: where do contemporary ideas of girlhood, adolescence, youth identity, and youth culture come from? How have they changed since they first emerged in the late nineteenth century? And when did they begin to look the way they look to us now? As I was working through these questions I became fascinated by how, in the face of social change, we maintained so many of the same ideas about youth, adolescence, and the ways they are gendered, and I became increasingly interested in the ways we shared these ideas through popular media and through discourses on citizenship and identity that are reflected in popular media as much as in theoretical literature or history books. *Girls* is very much a history of the idea of girlhood, from the late nineteenth century to when I was writing at the beginning of the twenty-first century. My guiding interest was to track ideas about girls and girlhood through different kinds of cultural formation, including feminist theory, psychoanalysis, and sociology, as well as popular culture, guidance manuals, and educational literature about puberty. So really it was a big abstract question: how did we get to this point? With each of these different formations it was really that question that interested me.

To what extent do you feel you responded to these early questions you had about the topic?

How I feel about that now really depends on the type of question I am asking myself. When I think about popular media, especially media that represents girls and that is distributed to them, I still think considering the context of late modernity is crucial. The longevity of our ideas about girlhood is partly explained by the powerful figure of the girl representing late modernity. I feel that this point is still important, because such ideas are often de-historicized. But, at the same time, when I come to some of my new projects, I do feel like I was being too general back then; that such a frame is simply too big for some of the arguments I want to pursue now in relation to specific media forms, particular genres, and specific cultural locations.

How did your interest in this topic develop across the years? What were some of the new questions you found yourself asking following the publication of your first book on this topic?

I think *Girls* was too ambitious in some respects to be anything more than background, although I hope it is good background insofar as it raises several important foundational questions. After that book I consciously divided my broad interests into distinct fields about which I wanted to know more. Some of that work was directed to researching historical questions about how specific ideas related to youth, adolescence, and girlhood emerged. For example, my second book *Modernist Cultural Studies* includes chapters on the idea of adolescence, love and sexuality, the shop girl (a figure for the girl who is em-

ployed as an independent worker), and fashion. While the same ideas about adolescence, and how it is gendered, arise in that book, there I asked myself “why do we care about these particular things in the late modern period?”. And I take a different, more focused, approach in my work on contemporary media forms. My book *Teen Film: A Critical Introduction* is an example of this. It does reflect on questions of modernity, and why the film audience and adolescence are, from certain perspectives, so closely tied together. The book also has a historical dimension, but it is mainly concerned with contemporary forms and their development. It is more focused than my discussion of teen film was in *Girls*. In fact, I don’t think the same things about teen film as I did when I wrote *Girls*, a point in time at which I was really interested in the idea that certain kinds of films for young people had girls at their center and certain ones did not. By the time I had done close work on the genre itself, this idea seemed less important. I now think that amidst the diversity of narratives about adolescence in teen films gender is a more mutable factor than I had thought in the past.

To what extent have your own research methods and conceptual approaches changed in this time — and what motivated these changes?

I now have a more targeted sense of the methods that are appropriate for particular projects; this too began with *Girls*. I interviewed some high school students in two Australian states, encouraging them to talk about how they understood girlhood. None of that material ended up in the book, because it simply didn’t fit. When I was looking at the transcripts I couldn’t decide if it mattered what a particular girl thought about girlhood. I kept asking myself “why does it matter what she thought, as compared to what Freud or Adorno thought?”, and “how am I supposed to position these girls and their ideas?” in this history. One of the things that interested me after *Girls* came out of those interviews however. I write about this in the introduction to my new book, *Australian Country Girlhood: History, Image, Experience*, in which I discuss my shock at discovering, in the process of conducting those interviews, the sheer number of differences between the girls in rural schools and those in city schools; far more than simply between wealthy private schools and disadvantaged public schools, which was the difference I expected to find. The country girl project is primarily ethnographic, conducting field work in county towns, schools, parks; interviewing girls and women who were once girls; and spending time living in those towns. This kind of ethnographic work would have been incompatible with the *Girls* book, and I would never have attempted it with *Teen Film*.

What is more, certain theoretical frameworks that seemed crucial at a certain point in time stopped feeling all that enlightening to me. When I started my Ph.D. back in the early 1990s I was really quite fascinated by the Lacanian-feminist approach, which was very much a product of the time when I finished my undergraduate degree. I was particularly interested in the criticism of Lacanian ideas about gender and representation, in feminist politics, in the appropriation of Marxism, and in what critiques of psychoanalysis might say about adolescence — in contrast to what still seems to be a dominant assumption about the psychoanalytic story of adolescence in both an academic and broader public sense (educational policy and so forth). In the years following, and right up to *Girls*, it seemed crucial to me to combat psychoanalytic accounts with every reading I made of

girls' magazines or movies about girls or children's story books. I have noticed that such ideas are still quite pervasive, with scholars in many fields that might talk about youth and youth culture continuing to work with those tools. But arguing for or against psychoanalysis is definitely not a major focus for me any longer. After that I spent a long time using a Foucauldian framework to explore discourses of adolescence and institutional apparatuses around adolescence. Right now, my work is more pragmatic than it used to be. I am quite self-conscious about using pragmatist philosophy, and to a certain extent I've also been experimenting with phenomenological approaches. I think that, from a pragmatic point of view, it no longer matters to me quite as much whether the psychoanalytic model is correct. More important are the effects of the models we take for granted.

What do you think remain the most pervasive misunderstandings about youth and cinema?

The first way I would like to answer this question relates to the category of teen film. I think we should use this category and term to talk about cinematic representations of youth that are oriented primarily around ideas about youth and the youth audience. The first major misunderstanding is that teen film is a purely American phenomenon; that it is produced in America for Americans. When Timothy Shary was doing the second version of *Generation Multiplex*, he asked me if I would write an afterword to that book as a kind of reply. I was happy to, but not for the reason he expected. He had felt that I didn't like his book because I spent so much time in *Teen Film* saying "this phenomenon is not American" and Shary, of course, does talk about it being American and about the American-ness of teen film. I actually think Shary's book is incredibly useful, but I certainly do think that if we fail to acknowledge that teen film is not just American we neglect the full range of historical and contemporary forms of this genre. Youth-oriented media in general can never be defined by where it is produced, and that's not just a matter of its being consumed in many places. Rather, this is about the internalization of an idea of adolescence: about youth as a subject, an object, and as a field in which media is circulated. For example, it is not unusual to see a scholar discussing Turkish films that thematize adolescence, and to read that because they were made in Turkey it follows that they are about a Turkish version of adolescence, and that they exclusively relate to the "Turkish" experience. But there can be no purely Turkish version of adolescence, any more than there can be a purely American version of adolescence. I think this is so at least since high school, as a system based on a narrative of puberty and development, was institutionalized internationally and was increasingly attached to public discourses on the guidance and protection of adolescents.

I also think that scholars working in the field of the cinema of adolescence really want to anchor teen film to a specific historical and cultural formation. Whether it's the 1950s, as Thomas Doherty did in his book *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s*, or 1990s' post-feminism, there appears to be a drive to find a perfected form of the genre that is specific to a time as well as a place. I think this approach is unhelpful. The third issue I have is that teen film is not just about teens in the audience; rather, it's about popular narratives of adolescence which are not exclusively oriented to a youth audience. They also retain a durable and extensive range of possible attachments for adults and for people who are not yet teenagers. It is a dazzling field for children who

are not yet teenagers as much as it is a place of pleasures for adults, not all of which are nostalgic. Finally, I take issue with the position that teen film is low quality and repetitiously generic. Granted, it is repetitious and generic a lot of the time, because that's part of its pleasure, but there are many kinds of aesthetic experimentation. I don't think we have to take the either/or option on this (focusing on "great" examples and forgetting about the generic, or focusing on the generic but forgetting about exceptional films).

Your recent work challenged the received wisdom that American teenpics emerged as a fully formed product line in the 1950s. What opportunities and challenges do you think might characterize subsequent research on this earlier period?

Doherty's *Teenagers and Teenpics*, which is a great book in its own way, has a really interesting discussion about the marketing arms of film production companies inventing this new idea about the teen film and its audience. I completely agree with his specific argument on that period, but that marketing speak — let's give it this label and sell it in this particular way — was so successful at that moment that it cast a long shadow across everything that had gone before it, making it seem as though this was entirely about the present and the now, and that nothing similar had ever existed beforehand. So even though this was happening within a few years of an array of diverse and successful films about juvenile delinquency and bobbysoxers and so on in the 1940s, those earlier efforts were rendered invisible by the massive success of the marketing of the "new teen film". So when we encounter Doherty's argument that the teen film was invented in 1955 and died in 1959, we need to understand that he is really describing a specific narrative about the teen film as a blindingly new 1950s postwar phenomenon. It is interesting to think about how we historicize films using that story, because it seems so absurd to be told in 2014 that there have been no teen films made since 1959. I think such arguments are useful in terms of what they refuse to do as much as for what they do. Doherty's insistence that all the famous teen films of the 1980s and 1990s were merely repetitions of 1950s movies — that there was nothing new except for the fact that adults could now watch teen films — is a really interesting argument because it is clearly so wrong. It is useful to make those claims because anyone encountering them for the first time will invariably ask you about later films. However, I think stepping outside of tight periodization debates where there must be a point of origin for teen film proper allows us to think about how media and its relationships to youth culture are always changing. This in turn allows us to ask more interesting questions about the relationships between say film, television, and the internet, and what they have to say, collectively and to each other, about youth culture.

Studies of the address, the representation, and the consumption practices of young females have thankfully received increased scholarly attention in recent years. How do you think such studies reorient or broaden our understandings of this important media-audience relationship?

I think talking about girls is now no longer extraordinary in Anglophone studies of media and popular culture, but it's still far more uncommon in, for example, Francophone studies of the same field, or in disciplines where popular culture still seems a marginal concern. It is still surprising to me how many places and disciplines there are where work on girls involves having conversations that Anglophone cultural studies writers like

Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber were already doing in the late 1970s and 1980s. There are different histories for French, for example, or for Nordic girls studies. I think we need to recognize that thinking about girls, and asking how different the situation looks if we focus on them individually rather than on a generic youth or on girls rather than boys, has been going on for a long time. The situation has been different in the last ten years because Girls Studies has become a more visible and coherent field, and now boasts its own intellectual spaces and dialogues. I still think when Media Studies scholars talk about youth in general, and when ideas about youth and media are put forward, there is a default assumption that it's either about boys or, if it is about gender, it is about boys and girls as distinct categories. I think both of those situations remain rather problematic. Youth-oriented popular culture is certainly one of the sites in which gender differentiation, whether from a production or a consumption standpoint, is very striking, but we still have to think about the idea of youth that frames those things. We need those distinct perspectives and that broader frame as well.

Your work is notable for the fact that it veers away from a primarily or exclusively US-centric perspective on youth-oriented cinema towards a more international one. Given the central position that transnational approaches now occupy in the study of cinema, how do you think such a change of perspective might enrich or alter our understandings of American cinema and youth?

It is a change of perspective, which does not put the site of production as the beginning and the end of what you are going to say about a media form like cinema; taking an international perspective foregrounds a mobile, changing, international idea about adolescence that compels that genre and gives it certain shapes. This not to say that, for example, Indian and Turkish filmmakers are copying American films, but that these films share certain structures relating to how adolescence works and how it should be understood. These ideas are Turkish or Indian ideas even if they are also American. I think that starting from this conceptual frame allows us to think differently about the nation state's relationship to media. It also gets us away from some stories of globalization that were always problematic and often taken in unhelpful directions — in the direction, for example, of homogenization or American imperialism, because no form of media has ever been that simple. This international frame doesn't forget about the national. It lets you talk about the nation state as a place where industries are nourished, and harnessed to national economies, but also where they're monitored and where apparatuses of training and protection are built up around ideas of adolescence as much as media industries. It therefore lets you think about the nation state in what seems to me a better way, paying attention to certain cultural specificities without assuming that the form derives its cultural specificity from where it was produced. There are some very Australian things about teen film in Australia, for example, but the most interesting one is not that the films themselves were made in Australia.

I think the problem I have with many of the reception studies around is that, considering, say the consumption of American teen films in Germany, they simplify how American such films could be and how distinctly German those consumers could be. I want to stress the important ideas that are shared, by whatever means of translation, as

a rubric for understanding youth and adolescence. These ideas build a bridge between cultural contexts before any movie is even seen. I think some American scholars who work on teen film take my statement that the genre should not be seen as American as undermining the value of their talking about the American-ness of these films or of talking about American films per se. In fact, I think recognizing that teen film is not wholesale or automatically American is helpful for American scholars too, because it lets them focus on the peculiar American-ness of some manifestations of teen film, and to consider what allows some films to have some distinctive meanings for American audiences. It also allows them to think about how American-made teen films have always been engaged with the rest of the world. They have borrowed not only from films made in other places but also from the broader field of youth-oriented media. I think it's to the advantage of American scholars of American film to acknowledge that there is not just a default association between America and teen film.

What do you think are some of the more exciting and potentially illuminating avenues of research currently being explored by scholars in this field?

In terms of girls and popular media, there is a lot of work being done on sexualization in girls' media and on girls' responses to that. This includes girls' responses to teen film; how girls respond to the dominance of narratives about sexual identity, sexual awakening, and sexual experience. I find this work to be very useful when it considers films or discourse on films in relation to discourses on sexualization in say public policy, schools, and so on; when it doesn't isolate the films and see them as exclusively filmic events but rather as parts of a much broader cultural field. I recently read a wonderful PhD thesis by Heta Mulari, from Finland, on Swedish girl films in the 90s that was doing that kind of work. I don't, however, appreciate work that fails to disassociate itself from moral certainties, preordained cultural hierarchies, or panic formulas. It is great when film scholarship gives a new resonance to young people's continued consumption — year after year, generation after generation — of stories about adolescence. I also appreciate it when it manages to place film in relation to peoples' reflections on their own place in the world and their own experiences.

The other thing I think is really interesting in current work on youth and film are studies which put film into a broader media framework and think about how slippery the borders are between media forms: between film and digital or online media, film and television, mobile phones and movies, video games and movies, and so on. I also appreciate work that notices how slippery our notions of age and gender are, the minute we start talking about audiences that are only virtually identifiable, and only virtually anchored to a specific nation. Even though I have expressed some concern about the ways in which discussions of transmedia texts become discussions of "convergence culture", in general I do think it is crucial that we recognize media change. To talk about film now is to talk about a different thing than it was fifteen-to-twenty years ago. These issues come to bear on the question of what to do with American cinema now. I think we all, as scholars, should be more flexible about what we mean by cinema.

What are some of the (still marginalized or under-examined) aspects of the topic you think deserve greater scholarly attention? And how might such studies enrich current understandings of this topic?

I would love to see many more people working in teen film with an eye on the broad historical framework of where our ideas about adolescence come from and how we maintain them, and at the same time with an eye on the international terrain that this history covers, and that therefore any teen film addresses. I suppose that is the overwhelming interest of all my answers to your questions, but I feel like there's a lot more to be done along these lines.

Finally, what are some of the research questions shaping your current and upcoming work on youth and cinema?

I recently won a large research grant to study international media classification systems, and the histories of how they emerged in seven separate countries including Australia, Britain, Brazil, India, China, Japan, and the U.S.A., and how those histories relate to each other. The British Board of Film Classification is our British partner, and in Australia our partner is the National Classification Authority, whereas in Brazil our partner is a research center focused on censorship and classification. With the other case studies we have partner investigators who specialize on film censorship and/or classification in those countries, and sometimes particularly in youth and youth culture as well. One of the focal points of that project is the question of how these systems frame film in terms of the young movie audience or in terms of young people on the screen. This represents one of my own attempts to try and stop myself from thinking only about film in terms of the film text; to recognize that film has always been part of a cultural field in which many media forms are important, but also to think of film today as something more slippery than it used to be.

Filmový umělecký sbor 1946–1948

Státní filmová dramaturgie, následně přejmenovaná na Ústřední filmovou dramaturgii, vznikla v souvislosti s prezidentským dekretem,¹⁾ jímž byl znárodněn filmový průmysl, a měla zajistit kvalitativní vzestup filmové tvorby. Po ročním neúspěšném řízení tvůrčí práce byla však Ústřední filmová dramaturgie zrušena a místo ní měl vzniknout nový výkonný dramaturgický orgán, jenž by rozhodovací procesy zjednodušil.²⁾ V první polovině září 1946 se sešlo kolegium odpovědných filmových pracovníků, z jehož jednání vzešlo memorandum řešící otázku uměleckého, kulturního a technického vedení zestátněné kinematografie. Autoři memoranda doporučili zřídit Aprobační komisi pro schvalování českých hra-

ných filmů (dále jen Aprobační komise), Sbor umělecký a Sbor technický.³⁾

Sbor umělecký, posléze přejmenovaný na Filmový umělecký sbor (dále jen FIUS), byl oficiálně ustanoven dekretem Ministerstva informací č. j. 83952/46-V/1 dne 18. září 1946, ale teprve 12. března 1947 udělilo Ministerstvo informací FIUSu zvláštní statut.⁴⁾ Na zahajovací schůzi sboru, která se uskutečnila 10. října 1946, byl schválen jednací řád FIUSu⁵⁾ a z řad členů bylo zvoleno osm zástupců, kteří se stali členy Aprobační komise.⁶⁾ Sbor se skládal z předsedy a patnácti členů, kteří byli vybráni mezi básníky, spisovatele, filmovými hudebníky, režiséry, herci, filmovými novináři a kameramany. Do sboru své zástupce

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- 1) Dekret prezidenta republiky č. 50 ze dne 11. srpna 1945, o opatřeních v oblasti filmu („...a aby byly umožněny řádné přípravy a včasné provedení trvalé úpravy v oboru výroby...“).
 - 2) Věra Adina Š e f r a n á , *Česká filmová dramaturgie pod dohledem ideologie 1945–1955*. Disertační práce. Olomouc: FF UP 2012, s. 7.
 - 3) Tamtéž, s. 38.
 - 4) Národní filmový archiv (NFA), f. Filmový umělecký sbor (FIUS), ref. ozn. 1/1/2//1, Statut FIUSu. Statut byl vydán pod č. j. 80640/V. Statut definuje v paragrafu 1 sbor jako „nezávislý vrcholný dramaturgický orgán, jehož úkolem je vybrati vhodné filmové náměty, zkoumati jejich scénářistické zpracování, a scénáře, které schválí, doporučí pak instanční cestou k filmové realizaci. Pokud by se mezi jednotlivými uměleckými složkami toho kterého schváleného filmu vyskytly rozpory zásadního rázu, má právo FIUS rozhodnout“. V celém znění byl statut publikován ve filmovém hospodářství: Jiří H a v e l k a , *České filmové hospodářství 1945 a 1946*. Praha: Čs. filmové nakladatelství, 1947, s. 27–28. Ve zkrácené podobě byl statut publikován ve Filmových novinách: úř. Statut Filmového uměleckého sboru. *Filmové noviny* 1, 1947, č. 12 (22. 3.), s. 2.
 - 5) NFA, f. FIUS, ref. ozn. 1/2/1//1, Jednací řád FIUSu: V jednacím řádu FIUSu schváleném na zahajovací schůzi 10. října 1946 byla členům stanovena povinná účast na pravidelných týdenních poradách a zároveň upraven i postih členů za jejich neúčast.
 - 6) J. H a v e l k a , c. d., s. 28. Aprobační komise byla složena ze členů FIUSu a Filmového technického sboru (dále jen FITES) v poměru 8:4. Předsedou Aprobační komise byl jmenován J. Mařánek.

dále delegovalo Ministerstvo školství a osvěty a Syndikát českých filmových umělců a techniků.⁷⁾ Do předsednické funkce byl ministrem informací Václavem Kopeckým jmenován spisovatel a ministerský rada Jiří Mařánek, přednosta dramaturgického oddělení 5. odboru ministerstva informací, který ve funkci setrval až do zrušení sboru v roce 1948.⁸⁾ Hospodářsky byl sbor přičleněn k Československému filmovému ústavu.⁹⁾ Sídlo sboru bylo na adrese Klimentská 6, Praha 2.

Sbor byl poradním orgánem ministerstva a působil jako nezávislý vrcholný dramaturgický orgán, který vybíral vhodné filmové náměty pro scenáristické zpracování a zajišťoval odborné kulturní a umělecké vedení filmové tvorby. Tedy alespoň tomu tak být mělo. Na činnost FIUSu se nicméně během jeho dvouletého působení neustále snášela vlna kritiky, především za malou uměleckou kvalitu některých natočených filmů. Členové sboru se vůči těmto výtkám vymezovali převážně na stránkách odborného periodika *Filmové noviny*.¹⁰⁾ Na svou obranu argumentovali především nedostatkem dobrých námětů a s tím spojenou nezaměstnaností ateliérů nepřijatelnou v plánovaném hospodářství, dodatečným snížením rozpočtových limitů či změnami scénáře při samotné realizaci filmu bez vědomí FIUSu. Autoři odmítnutých scénářů současně dokonce několikrát zaútočili i na osobu předsedy sboru J. Ma-

řánka, kvůli čemuž vydal sbor prohlášení, že FIUS při své činnosti vždy rozhoduje sborově.¹¹⁾

Dne 4. října 1948 byla na schůzi Kulturní rady ÚV KSČ shledána dosavadní činnost FIUSu jako zastaralá a neefektivní, nedostávající nárokům politických požadavků v rámci připravované centralizace filmové dramaturgie. Sbor měl být původně jen reorganizován, ale na schůzi Kulturní rady ÚV KSČ konané 11. října 1948 padl návrh na zrušení sboru a jeho nahrazení jiným orgánem.¹²⁾ V listopadu 1948 byla zřízena Ústřední dramaturgie výroby dlouhých hraných filmů a po reorganizaci, provedené nedlouho poté, se nejvyšším poradním orgánem ministerstva stala Filmová rada.¹³⁾

Pro badatele asi nejpřínosnějším a zároveň nejvíce zastoupeným typem dokumentů ve fondu jsou posudky filmových scénářů, povídek a námětů, o nichž členové sboru jednali mezi březnem a zářím 1948. Archivní fond dále obsahuje opisy dekretu, zvláštního statutu a jednacího řádu s řadou rukopisných poznámek a návrhů, seznam členů sboru a dvanáct prezenčních listin. Ve fondu jsou v množství několika jednotlivin zachovány i dokumenty související s odbornou činností několika původců úzce spolupracujících s FIUSem.¹⁴⁾

Jiří Kutil

7) Tamtéž.

8) Místopředsedou FIUSu byl po celou dobu jeho existence Konstantin Biebl. Na místě tajemníka se vystřídali Roman Hlaváč a Jan Poš. Členy FIUSu postupně byli Antonín Martin Brousil, Martin Frič, Václav Hanuš, Jiří Hendrych, František Hrubín, Václav Kadlec, Julius Kalaš, Arnošt Klíma, Jan Stanislav Kolár, Karel Konrád, Vilém Kún, Jiří Lhovec, Marie Majerová, Antonín Matěj Píša, Jaroslav Průcha, Jindřich Plachta, Marie Pujmanová, Bohdan Rossa, Jiří Srnka, Vladimír Šmeral, Bohumil Štěpánek, Ladislav Štoll, Otakar Vávra a Jan Zázvorka ml. Údaje byly převzaty z přehledu filmového hospodářství: J. Havelka, c. d., s. 10, 28. J. Havelka, *České filmové hospodářství 1945–1950*. Praha: Český filmový ústav, 1970, s. 47.

9) NFA, f. FIUS, ref. ozn. 1/2/1/1, Jednací řád FIUSu

10) Milan Noháč, Mluvili jsme s předsedou FIUSu min. radou Jiřím Mařánkem. *Filmové noviny* 1, 1947, č. 27 (5. 7.), s. 3. Filmový umělecký sbor. FIUS na obranu své činnosti. *Filmové noviny* 1, 1947, č. 48 (29. 11.), s. 4. J. D. Pravomoc, náměty, kritika. *Filmové noviny* 2, 1948, č. 20 (14. 5.), s. 4.

11) Filmový umělecký sbor. Prohlášení FIUSu. *Filmové noviny* 1, 1947, č. 15 (12. 4.), s. 1.

12) Ivan Klimeš, Kulturní rada ÚV KSČ o filmové dramaturgii 1948–1949. *Iluminace* 12, 2000, č. 4, s. 140–149.

13) V. A. Šefraná, c. d., s. 65.

14) Jedná se o Aprobační komisi, Syndikát českých filmových umělců, Syndikát českých spisovatelů, Syndikát českých skladatelů, Správní sbor pro hospodářské a finanční věci filmového podnikání a Ministerstvo informací.

Archivní pomůcky oddělení písemných archiválií NFA on-line

V posledních letech se stalo standardem zpřístupňování archivních pomůcek (především inventářů a katalogů) fondů a sbírek na internetových stránkách archivů,¹⁾ popřípadě na internetové stránce společné pro několik partnerských institucí.²⁾ Zveřejnění archivních pomůcek on-line je prospěšné jak pro badatele, tak pro archiváře — o tom nemůže být sporu. Proto se i oddělení písemných archiválií Národního filmového archivu (dále jen OPA NFA) rozhodlo zveřejnit všechny schválené archivní pomůcky na internetových stránkách NFA.

Na adrese <http://nfa.cz/cz/sbirky/sbirky-a-fondy/> nalezne badatel v sekci Pozůstalosti (<http://nfa.cz/cz/sbirky/sbirky-a-fondy/pozustalosti/>) 53 inventářů k osobním fondům např. Vladimíra Čecha, Jindřicha Brichty, Martina Friče, Vladimíra Slavínského či Františka Vláčila. Obdobně v sekci Fondy institucí (<http://nfa.cz/cz/sbirky/sbirky-a-fondy/fondy-instituci/>) je k dispozici 64 inventářů k fondům filmových výrobních a distribučních společností, kin a profesních sdružení z oboru kinematografie z období do roku 1945. Jsou mezi nimi významné produkční a distribuční společnosti, jako např. Aktualita, Elektafilm, Host, Lucernafilm, Nationalfilm,

Prag-Film (A-B), Ufa-Film či Bratři Deglové. Poslední sekci, v níž badatel nalezne inventáře, jsou Varia (<http://nfa.cz/cz/sbirky/sbirky-a-fondy/varia/>) obsahující inventáře k devíti sbírkám. Zde je třeba především upozornit na sbírku Filmové instituce — varia, kterou by nezasvěcený badatel hledal spíše v sekci Fondy institucí.

Všechny archivní pomůcky jsou zveřejněny ve formátu PDF a podléhají autorsko právní ochraně. Není proto dovoleno kopírovat například úryvky či celé kapitoly z úvodů a vydávat je za vlastní texty. Počet zveřejněných pomůcek se bude neustále zvyšovat v souvislosti s kontinuálním pořádáním dosud nezpracovaných fondů či sbírek. V rubrice „Ad fontes“ časopisu *Iluminace* jsou čtenáři již několik let seznamováni s nově zpracovanými fondy či sbírkami. Pomůcky k nim vždy naleznou i na výše zmíněných stránkách.

Zpřístupnění zpracovaných fondů a sbírek, ve kterých se badatel i archivář může orientovat právě prostřednictvím pomůcek, je globálně omezeno na archiválie starší třiceti let³⁾ a u osobních fondů rovněž individuálními podmínkami jednotlivých akvizičních smluv a zákonem o ochraně osobních údajů.⁴⁾ Zpřístupnění archiválií v badatelně OPA NFA upravuje také badatelský řád

1) Např. Státního oblastního archivu Praha, viz <http://pomucky.soapraha.cz/> či Moravského zemského archivu v Brně, viz <http://www.mza.cz/pomucky>.

2) Např. pomůcky Národního archivu, Knihovny Národního muzea a Literárního archivu Památníku národního písemnictví badatel nalezne na <http://www.badatelna.eu/>.

3) Dle zákona č. 499/2004 Sb., o archivnictví a spisové službě a o změně některých zákonů, ve znění zákona č. 167/2012 Sb.

(<http://nfa.cz/cz/sbirky/zpristupneni/pro-badatele/>). Výše popsané v praxi znamená, že si badatel dle pomůcek vybere archiválie, ve kterých by chtěl bádát, a kontaktuje pracovníky OPA NFA. Není-li nahlížení do archiválií limitováno výše uvedenými zákony a akvizičními smlouvami, domluví se badatel s pracovníky na termínu návštěvy badatelny.⁵⁾

V jednotlivých sekcích internetových stránek se badatel zároveň dozví o existujících nezpracovaných fondech a sbírkách uložených v OPA NFA, které na zpracování a vyhotovení pomůcky teprve čekají. Jedná se především o fondy filmových institucí z období po roce 1945, jejichž rozsah někdy vyžaduje až několikaletou práci archivářů. V případě potřeby bádát v nezpracovaných fondech a sbírkách je nutné požádat o udělení výjimky s odůvodněním žádosti a přesným vymezením tématu studia. Návod k žádosti je k dispozici v každé ze sekcí.

Věříme, že zpřístupnění archivních pomůcek badatelům prostřednictvím internetových stránek NFA povede k vyšší informovanosti badatelské veřejnosti o fondech a sbírkách v péči OPA NFA a zároveň usnadní a urychlí práci badatelům i archivářům.

Marcela Týfová

4) Zákon č. 101/2000 Sb., o ochraně osobních údajů a o změně některých zákonů.

5) Badatelna OPA NFA sídlí na adrese Praha 1, Bartolomějská 11 (Konvikt). Badatelské dny jsou středa (11–20h) a čtvrtek (9–18h).

Addressing the Russian Other

Ewa Mazierska — Lars Kristensen — Eva Näripea (eds.),
Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema: Portraying Neighbours on Screen.
 London: I.B Tauris & Co Ltd. 2014.

It is just about the time for academics to turn their attention to examining Eastern European cinema from a postcolonial perspective and, by re-thinking and overcoming Eurocentrism, imperialism, ethnocentrism and the well-known West-and-the-Rest¹⁾ opposition, begin to evolve a colonial discourse that omits the old 'white/Occidental' versus non 'white/Oriental' dichotomy.²⁾ There has been a great need for new approaches in film studies that transcend the conventional rhetoric of the dominant-subjected/centred-peripheral representation and, after the well-known investigations on Francophone,³⁾ Asian,⁴⁾ or Latin American cinema,⁵⁾ comes out with the postcolonial study of a less analyzed territory, although, as the editors of *Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema* pinpoint, examining Eastern Europe as a geo-political territory that has been colonized by the Soviet Union is a controversial task. This is to say that

the Eastern European countries were already postcolonial when they got seized by Russo-Soviet power. Furthermore, the level of the USSR's control and oppressive measures had different faces in the Baltic States, Yugoslavia and the Central European countries, thus, the socio-political, cultural, national, economic and even religious differences among the satellite countries and the way they comprehended Marxist ideology makes it difficult to consider them as one. This diversity as well as the difference from the classical colonies and, — as the editors bravely note — the West's 'sympathy towards the Soviet political project'⁶⁾ caused the lack of postcolonial approaches towards Eastern Europe. Consequently, the primary aim of *Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema* is to fill up this gap and contribute to film studies with providing postcolonial readings of Eastern European national cinemas by linking 'colonialism/postcolonialism in

1) Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

2) Robert Stam, Louise Spence, 'Colonialism, Racism and Representation', *Screen*, vol. 24, no. 2 (1983), pp. 2–20.

3) Dina Scherzer, *Cinema, Colonialism, Postcolonialism: Perspectives from the French and Francophone Worlds* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Samba Diop, *African francophone cinema* (New Orleans: University Press of the South, 2004).

4) Wimal Dissanayake (ed.), *Colonialism and Nationalism in Asian Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

5) Charles Ramirez Berg, *Latino images in film: stereotypes, subversion, & resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Chon A. Noriega (ed.), *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992).

6) Ewa Mazierska, Lars Kristensen and Eva Näripea (eds), *Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema* (London: I.B Tauris & Co Ltd, London, 2014), p. 16.

Eastern Europe with the concept of neighbourhood.⁷⁾ Consequently, the eleven studies of the collection are connected by focusing on the relation of ethnic groups in the post-socialist countries and the self-determination and identity of Eastern European nations.

The collection's first study addresses the post-communist representation of Poles in German cinema by mainly focusing on Kaspar Heidelbach's *POLSKI CRASH* (1993). Kirstin Kopp⁸⁾ provides a multiple, detailed spatial analysis of the film, arguing that after Germany's unification, the border with Poland had become a 'threat that is either successfully staved off by [...] Germany [...] or that seeps into East German space, exploiting its economically and socially weakened position.'⁹⁾ Accordingly, Kopp explains the socio-historical background of the Poles' negative image as primitive, dangerous *Naturvolk* in German context and examines the neighbour's representation as criminal in the cinema of the 1990s. Consequently, she argues that in *POLSKI CRASH* the Polish 'urban space becomes marked by an almost Kafkaesque illegibility of power structures and of the identities of individuals within the system,¹⁰⁾ thus meaning a site of decay for the male protagonist. However, as Kopp concludes, there has been a shift in Poles' negative representation in the 2000s and the Eastern Other tends to be illustrated as more equal in Germany's contemporary cinema.

The next essay shows the other side of the coin and deals with the representation of Germans in Polish communist and post-communist cinema. Focusing on the latter, Ewa Mazierska¹¹⁾ brings examples that did not follow the conventional

post-war representation of Germans as aggressive, ruthless Nazi soldiers (Wanda Jakubowska's *OSTATNI ETAP /The Last Stage/*, 1948 or Filip Bajon's *MAGNAT /The Magnate/*, 1986 for instance), furthermore, when examining the post-communist Polish cinema, she draws attention to the positive images of Germans in Roman Polanski's *THE PIANIST* (2002) and Wojtek Smarzowski's *ROZA* (2001). In addition, she offers a stimulating analysis on Franz Maurer's hybrid, Polish-German, Western-Eastern identity in Władysław Pasikowski's well-known *PSY (Dogs)* (1992) who, despite his role as communist secret agent, acts as a sympathetic character that is easy to identify with. Mazierska also notes that, due to the good political relationship between Germany and Poland after 1989, the previously prevailing negative image of Germans has been taken over by Russians that now serve as main enemies and the indicators of the nation's suffering. Similarly to Mazierska, Petra Hanáková¹²⁾ investigates the role of Germans as well and concentrates on the representation of the Sudeten ethnic in Czech cinema by arguing that, albeit the last decade has somewhat changed the way films picture the German-Czech relation, it could not fully reveal the complexity of it yet. What is for sure, the ethnic Germans' negative image is continuously being challenged since the system change that Hanáková has depicted in three examples that all visualize this shift differently. Thus, whether questioning the necessarily guilt of Germans (Jan Hřebejk's *DIVIDED WE FALL / Musíme si pomáhat/*, 2000), trying to challenge Sudeten stereotypes (Marek Najbrt's *CHAMPIONS /Mistři/*, 2004) or bring new perspectives (Juraj

7) *Ibid.*, p. 20.

8) Kirstin Kopp, "If your car is stolen, it will soon be in Poland": criminal representations of Poland and the Poles in German fictional film of the 1990s, in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 41–67.

9) Kopp, p. 43.

10) Kopp, p. 51.

11) Ewa Mazierska, 'Neighbours (almost) like us: representation of Germans, Germanness and Germany in Polish communist and postcommunist cinema', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 67–91.

12) Petra Hanáková, "I'm at home here": Sudeten Germans in Czech postcommunist cinema, in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 91–115.

Herz's *HABERMANN'S MILL* /*Habermannův mlýn*/, 2010) into Czech cinema, the country's filmmaking has been so far unable to break the ties with the stereotypes according to the German minority and could not explore 'the vicissitudes of national proximity as a product of colonial encounter'.¹³⁾

In the next chapter, Peter Hames¹⁴⁾ examines the Slovak romantic hero, Juraj Jánošík's figure in Czech (*JÁNOŠÍK*, Martin Frič, 1935), Slovak (*JÁNOŠÍK*, Jaroslav Siakel', 1921), Polish (*JANOSIK*, Jerzy Passendorfer, 1973) and finally Polish-Slovak (*JANOSIK: PRAWDZIWA HISTORIA* /*Janosik: A True Story*/, Agnieszka Holland and Kasia Adamik, 2009) context. Accordingly, Hames follows the transformation of Jánošík who first stands for the legendary, nationalist hero but later becomes a more complex, albeit less powerful figure in Holland's adaptation. Thus, Jánošík slowly loses his connections to his Slovak identity and becomes a Hollywood-like, transnational hero.

After putting forward the post-Czechoslovak and German postcolonial sphere, the collection's attention turns to south. Accordingly, John Cunningham¹⁵⁾ discusses Romania's role in Hungarian cinema, with special focus on the post-2000 Hungarian filmmaking that produced four movies (Robert Pejo's *DALLAS PASHAMENDE*, 2004; Csaba Bollók's *ISZKA UTAZÁSA* /*Iska's Journey*/, 2007; Kornél Mundruczó's *DELTA*, 2008 and Peter Strickland's *KATALIN VARGA*, 2009) that are set in the neighbour country. Cunningham argues that these films shed a negative light on Romania with picturing it as an isolated, primeval territory of 'grinding poverty and hopelessness'¹⁶⁾ where people struggle for

daily living. Surprisingly, the author drops out Marian Crișan's *MORGEN* (2010) from the investigation, nevertheless it could have added new perspectives to his study on Hungarian/Transylvanian-Romanian relations. Apart from this, Cunningham's notes on Romania's representation are remarkable, albeit sometimes confrontational as none of the films deal with concrete space-time coordinates and it seems like these filmmakers concentrate on the deserted, dismal landscape, rather than treating it as a territory of the Romanian Other.

In the following chapter, Elżbieta Ostrowska¹⁷⁾ analyses the Balkan's representation in Władysław Pasikowski's *Psy 2: OSTATNIA KREW* (*Dogs 2*, 1994) and *DEMONY WOJNY WEDŁUG GOI* (*Demons of War According to Goya*, 1998). Ostrowska argues that the films' Polish and Balkan characters define each other, the former accommodating itself to West while positioning the post-Yugoslav Other as belonging to East. The author underlines this dichotomy by bringing several examples for the narrative patterns of Western war films that correspond to Pasikowski's cinematic representation. After the fascinating comparison of Western and Polish filmic iconography, Ostrowska analyses the role of mediated images in *DOGS 2*, highlighting Pasikowski's distrust towards treating war footages as commodity, thus refuting the Polish side's absolute identification with West. What is born this way is an in-between position, which is further scrutinized by the sexual representation of both films. Ostrowska offers a remarkable textual analysis on the Western, masculinist supremacy that the Polish protagonists take on but again refuses the idea of the male characters' total identification with West

13) Hanáková, p. 110.

14) Peter Hames, 'Jánošík: the cross-border hero', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 115–147.

15) John Cunningham, 'From nationalism to rapprochement? Hungary and Romania on-screen', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 147–175.

16) Cunningham, p. 165.

17) Elżbieta Ostrowska, 'Postcolonial fantasies: imagining the Balkans: the Polish popular cinema of Władysław Pasikowski', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Năripea (eds), pp. 175–201.

and states that 'the traditional model of Polish masculinity (...) continues to confine the Polish subject as he moves uncertainly between the Western and Eastern poles of the postcommunist ideological order in Europe.'¹⁸⁾

The next two chapters concentrate on the Balkans. Špela Zajec¹⁹⁾ examines post-Yugoslav, Serbian cinema and Serbs' self-representation as heroic figures that defended Europe from Muslim influence (*BOJ NA KOSOVU /The Battle of Kosovo/, Zdravko Šotra, 1989*) and whose crimes are depicted as less serious compared to other ethnicities (*LEPA SELA LEPO GORE /Pretty Village, Pretty Flame/, Srđan Dragojević, 1995*). As Zajec notes, in the films of the 1990s, the neighbour figure mostly attracts negative images while the post-2000 Serbian cinema has brought changes in introducing the neighbour as victim (*ČETVRTI ČOVEK /The Fourth Man/, Dejan Zečević, 2007*). Thus, as the author concludes, 'nationhood and neighbourhood narratives [...] in Serbia co-exist, compete with and even contradict discourses about the conception of the neighbour in Serbian cinema.'²⁰⁾ Vlastimir Sudar²¹⁾ dwells on the Neighbour's role in the Croatian film *NIČIJI SIN* (*No One's Son, Arsen Anton Ostojić, 2008*) and provides a fascinating analysis on the post-Yugoslav ethnicities' neighbourly and personal relations in the film. Accordingly, he argues that Croatia's inter-neighbour relations 'collapsed viciously in Croatia,'²²⁾ in addition, the films point out the neighbouring countries' threat that 'had

inscribed itself on the country's interior psyche.'²³⁾ Consequently, Croatia's neighbourly relations have utterly fallen through.

The book's Balkan section finishes with Bruce William's²⁴⁾ investigation on the Albanian post-colonial cinema through the textual reading of *KOLONEL BUNKER* (Kujtim Çashku, 1998). William reads Albania's totalitarian past as a colonial one that enforced fear and paranoia on the nation during the Hoxha regime. He argues that the film, drawing on the Polish woman's story in *RAZVOD PO ALBANSKI* (*Divorce Albanian Style, Adela Peeva, 2007*) and bunkerization, connects these 'two discourses of strangeness'²⁵⁾ that open 'ethno-nationalist sentiments and build dynamic cross-cultural lines.'²⁶⁾

The collection's final two essays concentrate on the Russian Other. Lars Kristensen²⁷⁾ examines the role of the Russian intruder into the Mongolian neighbourhood in Nikita Mihalkov's *URGA* (1991) and the way it creates a new, post-Soviet identity that recalls Russia's imperial past while addressing its colonizer position. Accordingly, through the outstanding textual analysis of the film, Kristensen places Gombo's and Sergei's friendship in a larger perspective, thus pointing out their shared marginality that places them between two forms of post-communism, the capitalist West and the socialist China. Consequently, the film depicts two kinds of colonialism, one 'that the Russian Empire instigated and the (neo-)colonial influence of Western

18) Ostrowska, p. 195.

19) Špela Zajec, "Narcissism of minor differences"? Problems of "mapping" the neighbour in post-Yugoslav Serbian cinema, in Mazierska, Kristensen and Näreipea (eds), pp. 201–227.

20) Zajec, p. 217.

21) Vlastimir Sudar, 'New neighbours, old habits and nobody's children: Croatia in the face of old Yugoslavia', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Näreipea (eds), pp. 227–253.

22) *Ibid.*, p. 246.

23) *Ibid.*, p. 246.

24) Bruce William, 'The distant among us: Kolonel Bunker (1998) in a postcolonial context', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Näreipea (eds), pp. 253–277.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 268.

26) *Ibid.*, p. 271.

27) Lars Kristensen, 'The "far east" neighbour in Nikita Mikhalkov's *Urga*', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Näreipea (eds), pp. 277–303.

hegemonies that holds sway over post-Soviet Russia,²⁸⁾ arguing that, in order to find their roots, the friends have to reject these power centres and get connected to their ancestors.

Following the representation of the Russian ethnic, Eva Näripea²⁹⁾ portrays the role of Russian females in three Estonian films. She argues that the Soviet political thaw in the 1980s gave the Baltic country a new impetus in filmmaking, such as the topic of the relationship between native Estonians and non-native Russians living in the same state. Accordingly, Näripea examines the Slavic heroines in Leida Laius's *VARASTATUD KOHTUMINE* (Stolen Meeting, 1988), Arvo Iho's *VAATLEJA* (The Birdwatchers, 1987) and *HALASTAJAÕDE — AINULT HULLUDELE* (The Sister of Mercy — Only for the Crazy, 1990). Similarly to Kristensen, Näripea highlights the marginalized, disempowered position of the Russian protagonists and the rootedness of the Estonian characters, thus rejecting the nationalist stereotypes and the colonialist dominant-subjected opposition. As the author correctly notes, the films testify that 'any post-colonial situation is deeply affected by other form of domination besides those induced by colonialism.'³⁰⁾

Näripea's concluding remarks address the whole Eastern European corpus of moving images as none of the neighbourly conflicts can be fully reduced to and explained with colonial motivations. However, the area's postcolonial reading can successfully contribute to a better understanding of the post-socialist cinema and the *Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema* is an excellent, multifaceted first step toward this. The editors proved the effectiveness of postcolonial approaches in post-soviet film that can be broadened with the study of other national cinemas such as Bulgaria, Slovenia, Lithuania, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Latvia that are all

omitted from the book. Also, although the *Postcolonial Approaches to Eastern European Cinema* concentrates on the concept of neighbourhood, the approach itself might call for several further points of investigation. With the growing number of Eastern European migrants and diaspora, a new post-socialist/neo-colonized generation is being born, with hybrid and double identities, that sets the power relationship between Russia and the satellite countries in a new context, which encourages us to re-position the Other. Correspondingly, thanks to the political merge of East and West Europe and the economic integration of post-socialist territories, the issue of languages (Russian vs. English and German), human trafficking, the exploitation of Eastern European territories and the national cinema's (lack of) reaction to these have become accurate topics. This is to say that, besides working on our conception with colonial Russia and Eastern European satellite-countries, we also have to look at the area's current position within the European Union, thus analyzing the post-socialist region in a broader, post-neo-colonist framework that might help us with further investigations.

Anna Batori

28) Ibid., p. 281.

29) Eva Näripea, 'The women who weren't there: Russians in late Soviet Estonian cinema', in Mazierska, Kristensen and Näripea (eds), pp. 303–327.

30) Ibid., p. 320.

Krátky český film 30. až 50. rokov v piatich hlbokých nádychoch

Lucie Česálková, *Atomy věčnosti. Český krátký film 30. až 50. let.*
Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2014.

V súčasnej ére multimédií, digitalizácie a všemožného sprístupňovania neaudiovizuálnych i audiovizuálnych prameňov by sa mohlo zdať, že písať dejiny špecifických filmových žánrov, foriem alebo filmárskych praktík nikdy nebolo vďačnejšou úlohou. Dostupnosť a mnohosť materiálov je obrovskou výhodou, ale môže byť aj pascou. Otázka metódy, ale aj samej štruktúry historiografickej práce potom predstavuje o to väčšiu výzvu a dobrodružstvo. Aký uhol pohľadu zvoliť? Čo skúmať? A v neposlednom rade: ako usporiadať masu údajov, faktov, postrehov a zistení tak, aby nasmerovala čitateľskú pozornosť na skúmané aspekty v ich komplexnosti, a nezahltla ju pri tom množstvom informácií takmer znemožňujúcich vnímanie?

Lucie Česálková pri písaní svojej monografie *Atomy věčnosti* stála presne pred takouto náročnou, a zároveň vyložene dobrodružnou úlohou. Nie náhodou vstup do jej knihy zdobí dvojité motto. Warburgov citát, „Co se ostatním zdá být okrajovou zvláštností, je pro mne tím, co určuje můj směr“, v Česálkovej príprave poukazuje na výskum dosiaľ pomerne často opomínaného fenoménu českej kinematografie — krátkych filmov, tzv. „dodatkov“ a ich formálnych, štylistických a rétorických aspektov, ale aj dobovej recepcie.

Od výskumu „dodatkov“ sa odvíja aj výskum kinematografických inštitúcií, ktoré sa produkcii krátkych filmov venovali. S výskumom účelu týchto „atómov věčnosti“ totiž nevyhnutne súvisí

aj štúdium ich poslania, presnejšie ich funkcie, a tým pádom aj posolstva, ktoré do nich chceli vložiť objednávateľia — štát, jednotlivé ministerstvá, organizácie alebo ustanovizne, ktoré v niektorých prípadoch filmy aj samy produkovali. S tým sa ďalej spája skúmanie výchovných a vzdelávacích stratégií štátu, zastúpeného jednotlivými inštitúciami, i skúmanie jeho sociálnych praktík.

Lucie Česálková definuje krátky film v prvom rade ako film „spoločensky zodpovedný“ (s. 19). Je to film s poslaním šíriť všeobecne uznávané hodnoty či apelovať na občianske povinnosti vedúce k prospechu všetkých. Od „okrajovej zvláštnosti“ sa tým dostávame k pomerne zásadným veciam.

Druhý citát z Česálkovej motta, slávny výrok filozofa a matematika Alfreda Korzybskeho „Mapa nie je územie“, sa dotýka samej problematiky vedeckého výskumu a spoznávania predmetu bádateľovho záujmu. Formuluje aj jeho limity — nevyhnutnú filtráciu skutočnosti našimi kognitívnymi schopnosťami a jej redukciu na reprezentáciu, schému, či na zjednodušený (historický) naratív, postavený na vysledovaní všeobecných trendov potvrdených konkrétnymi príkladmi.

Tento sebareflexívny rozmer Česálkovej práce, vedomie redukcie a zovšeobecnenia, ostatne badať aj v neustálom komentovaní a zdôvodňovaní zvolenej metódy a v neustálom znovuzameriavaní (svojej i čitateľskej) pozornosti na sledované aspekty. Napriek relatívne úzkemu časovému intervalu, rámcovanému prvou polovicou 30. a pr-

vou polovicou 50. rokov 20. storočia, a zacieleniu výlučne na krátkometrážnu formu, sa totiž Lucie Česálková v knihe venuje viacerým veľkým témam a nebráni sa odskokom do dejín ideí, reprezentácií a praktík, k pojmom národa a štátnosti či k interpretácii dejín. Zároveň väčšinu svojich zistení neustále kontextualizuje a dopĺňa pramennými zdrojmi, prepája s ďalšími javmi a tieto prepojenia precízne zdôvodňuje.

Nie je preto náhoda, že okrem „Prológu“ je kniha vybavená aj starostlivým, takmer 40stranovým „Úvodom“, v ktorom Česálková predstavuje svoju metodológiu, kľúč k výberu filmov — nameraných i tých zamýšľaných —, a popisuje prácu so zdrojmi, s termínmi i s konceptmi. Zdá sa, že takáto dôkladná príprava čitateľa na samo čítanie je typická pre brnenskú filmovohistorickú školu (metodologických a sebareflexívnych komentárov, a tiež vôle k dôslednej kontextualizácii, je plná aj kniha Petra Szczepanika *Konzervy se slovy* o počiatkoch zvukového filmu v českom prostredí 30. rokov 20. storočia), respektíve pre každú historiografiu poňatú — povedané s Francescom Casettim — ako teória poľa.

Jadrom knihy *Atomy věčnosti* je päť rozsiahlych kapitol, či skôr tematických častí vymedzených podľa základných funkcií, ktoré boli krátkemu filmu postupne pripisované a ktoré Lucie Česálková zhrňa takto: „výchova k vedění či poznání, výchova k občanství, výchova k práci, výchova ke vkusu a výchova filmových pracovníků“ (s. 28). Päť častí tak predstavuje päť transverzálnych reзов viac ako troma desaťročiami českého krátkeho filmu, a s ním nepriamo aj päť sond do československej spoločnosti, jej inštitúcií a ich hodnôt.

Štruktúra knihy nie je primárne podriadená chronológii. Lepšie povedané, nie je to chronologicky usporiadané rozprávanie o vývoji českého krátkeho filmu od dvadsiatych rokov po polovicu rokov päťdesiatych. Ide totiž o päť hĺbkových ponorov do jednej hlavnej témy — o päť sond, ktoré navyše nie sú nevyhnutne vedené paralelne, takže sa v niektorých momentoch môžu stretnúť, preťať, naraziť na údaje relevantné aj pre tematic-

ky trochu inak zameranú sondu. Výsledkom tohto preťatia však nie je zdvojovanie informácií, ale dvojitá kontrola a potvrdenie či upresnenie predchádzajúcich zistení.

V prvej časti, nazvanej Škola oportunistu, poukazuje autorka na voviazanosť tvorcov krátkych filmov — najmä v časoch obnovennej povojnovej Československej republiky — do rôznych inštitucionálnych vzťahov, takže prípravu a produkciu krátkych filmov definuje v prvom rade ako tvarovanie látky smerom k výslednému tvaru podľa potrieb alebo požiadaviek zadávateľa objednávky. Zároveň filmový materiál definuje ako potenciálne recyklovateľný, ako príspevok k rozširujúcemu sa archívu tematických či motivických záberov. Druhá časť knihy, „Víc vidět — víc vědět“, je venovaná filmu „kultúrnemu“, teda vzdelávaciemu, ale aj vedeckému a populárno-vedeckému filmu, a je z celej knihy najrozsiahlejšia. Na ploche viac ako 80 strán v nej Lucie Česálková prvýkrát zostupuje až k začiatku 20. rokov a sleduje napríklad genézu školského filmu, využitelného ako učebná pomôcka pri výklade. Zároveň sa venuje aj prvým pokusom o spoluprácu súkromných produkčných spoločností so štátnymi alebo verejnými inštitúciami (projekt Národnej galérie filmovej, filmy pre Výstavu súdobej kultúry v Brne v roku 1928), ale aj produkcii filmov samotnými štátnymi inštitúciami, akými bol napríklad Vojenský technický ústav alebo jednotlivé ministerstvá československej vlády od polovice 30. rokov až do obdobia Protektorátu, ale aj neskôr, už v rámci poštátnenej kinematografie.

V tejto časti do popredia významne vystupuje fakt, že sa Lucie Česálková viac sústreďuje na kontinuitu a na pozvoľné, vôbec nie prudké premeny filmu, než na periodizáciu vymedzenú míľnikmi politických dejín, ktorou sa dejiny filmu ešte donedávna často nechávali (z)viesť. Zároveň sa pristavuje pri konkrétnych autoroch, ktorí z dnešného, ale i súvekého hľadiska predstavovali to najvýznamnejšie a zároveň do istej miery to typické, čo charakterizovalo dané obdobie. Takými filmármi, ktorým Česálková v rámci kapito-

ly venuje pomerne rozsiahle pasáže, sú napríklad Karel Plicka či V. J. Staněk.

Tretia časť knihy, nazvaná „Jednej správne, občané“, v tomto sledovaní kontinuít pokračuje. Osvetový, výchovný film sa navyše veľmi logicky napája na „kultúrny film“ pertraktovaný v predchádzajúcej kapitole, čo v istom zmysle slúži na krížové overovanie hypotéz z predchádzajúcej časti textu. Zdravotná výchova, výchova k materstvu, k šetrnosti, ale i k vlastenectvu a národnému povedomiu, realizovaná prostredníctvom krátkych filmov, je účelom a často aj formou úzko prepojená s didaktickými zdravotníckymi či historickými filmami, aké by mohli byť zmienené aj v súvislosti so vzdelávaním alebo popularizáciou vedy. Napriek týmto podobnostiam sa v tejto kapitole Lucii Česáľkovej podarilo veľmi presne zachytiť premenu rétoriky zameranej na budovanie národného povedomia od čias prvej Československej republiky, cez obdobie Protektorátu, kde sa český nacionalizmus v rukách nacistov stával nástrojom na germanizáciu (s. 239), ďalej cez obdobie krátko po obnovení Československej republiky, ktorá sa voči Nemcom nevyhnutne vymedzila, až po poľnohospodársku éru, ktorá už bola poznamenaná účelovou reinterpretáciou či skôr dezinterpretáciou niektorých období českej histórie.

Aj štvrtá časť, „Písne práce“, veľmi logicky nadväzuje na tú predchádzajúcu. Od organizácie voľného času mládeže, od tém športu, telovýchovy a s nimi spojenej výchovy k občianstvu v nej Lucie Česáľkovej prechádza k organizácii pracovného času, k pracovnej morálke a k propagácii výsledkov práce od prvej republiky, cez vojnové časy, obdobie po oslobodení, až po budovanie lepších začiatkov. V nich si už sledovaním formálnych a naratívnych riešení niektorých filmov, esteticky sa vymykajúcich dobovým štandardom, pripravuje pôdu pre poslednú časť, venovanú experimentálnym trendom v krátkometrážnom filme, „Pokusy s vnímavosťou“.

V nej jednak prepája krátky film s dedičstvom avantgárd, ktoré v českom prostredí viedli k vzni-

ku viacerých zaujímavých snímok, a zároveň ho vsádza do kontextu viacerých umeleckých médií — najmä poézie, hudby a divadla. Vrcholné obdobie takýto film zažil v časoch prvej československej republiky, v 30. rokoch navyše s podporou Masarykovho ľudovovýchovného ústavu. V období zákazkového modelu výroby iniciovanej ministerstvami sa experimenty presunuli do sféry amatérskeho filmu, no s experimentálnym filmom sa prekvapivo opäť počítalo v roku 1948 (s. 355), hoci experimentovanie s médiom nakon dostalo priestor viac-menej len vo filme animovanom a zostávalo devízou filmu amatérskeho. Zaujímavosťou týchto dvoch častí knihy je, že ich tempo sa zrýchľuje a dĺžka sa v porovnaní s predchádzajúcimi kapitolami skraca. To ma vedie k tomu, aby som sa v závere pozrela aj na spôsob písania Lucie Česáľkovej, na jej štýl, na narábanie s príkladmi, skrátka nielen na makroštruktúru textu, ale aj na jeho mikroštruktúru.

Jednotlivé časti totiž pozostávajú z tematických podkapitol, v ktorých sa odhaľuje aj chronologický a vývojový aspekt krátkeho filmu. Každá z piatich veľkých častí obsahuje zhrnutie, ktoré skondenzuje najdôležitejšie zistenia a vnáša tak poriadok do inak trochu digresívneho spôsobu písania Lucie Česáľkovej. Toto digresívne myslenie štruktúruje aj zaraďovanie tzv. „fokusov“, kde je „odbehnutie“ k inej alebo k čiastkovej téme ujarmené grafickým rámcom. Fokusy Česáľkovej umožňujú poukázať na špecifické prípady, ktoré ilustrujú, prípadne sa dokonca vymykajú bežnej praxi, no ktoré svojou názornosťou dotvárajú celkový obraz nielen krátkometrážneho filmu, ale aj Česáľkovej myslenia. Jej štýl totiž stojí za zmienku. Analytické pasáže sa v ňom striedajú so syntetickými, a zovšeobecnenia podložené výskumami zase so zaujatím jednotlivosťami. Je doslova fascinujúce sledovať, ako sa z informačne hutného popisu produkčného kontextu didaktických filmov 30. a 40. rokov presunie k detailnému skúmaniu „výnimky“ — estetických atribútov filmov Karla Plicku (s. 126–138), prípadne ako sa od všeobecných charakteristík protektorátnych fil-

mov nabádajúcich k recyklácii surovín dostaneme ku krásnej mikroanalýze metaforiky filmu Huga Huška *ZÁŘÍCÍ TVÁŘ* (1943).

Lucie Česálková má dar použiť konkrétny príklad ako metonymiu, ako názornú ilustráciu všeobecného trendu či zabehnutej praxe. Tieto metonymické príklady jej pomáhajú otvoriť tému, skočiť do nej doslova „po hlave“ a prudko potom pokračovať do väčších hĺbok či v ústrety rozľahlejším priestorom. Kapitulu „Škola oportunistu“ takto otvára rozhorčenie režiséra Jana Kavana nad zásahmi do jeho filmu *JÍZDA KRÁLŮ* (s. 59), kapitolu „Víc vidět — víc vědět“ zase otvorí lovecká metafora charakterizujúca okrem iného prácu vedca, ornitológa a filmára V. J. Staňka (s. 103), kapitolu „Jednej správně, občane“ zase slová Františka Ledvinku z roku 1948 o podiele osvetového filmu na politickej výchove k občianstvu (s. 196). Konkrétnosť si žiada kontext, a tak zaostrenie na detail zväčša vystrieda sled veľkých celkov.

Česálkovej písanie má teda vnútorné členenie podobné záberovaniu alebo montáži viacerých, niekedy rôznorodých celkov. Vo veľkej väčšine prípadov je takáto „dramaturgia“ šťastná. Jediným nie celkom vydareným „strihom“ je zaradenie „Školy oportunistu“ hneď za „Úvod“. Keďže ide o kapitolu výrazne postavenú na povojnovej organizácii výroby krátkych filmov, čitateľom môže chýbať prvorepublikový kontext, ktorý sa detailne rozoberá až v nasledujúcich častiach. Tie však na seba tak výrazne nadväzujú, že akékoľvek vsunutie „Školy oportunistu“ inde do textu monografie by bolo násilné. Na samostatný fokus je táto kapitola zase priveľmi zásadná, vzhľadom na to, že poukazuje na časté kompromisy pri príprave a realizácii krátkych filmov, na ich recyklovateľnosť a zároveň na jednu z funkcií krátkého filmu (výchovu budúcich filmárov). A tak zostáva jediným menej efektným skokom do vôd českého krátkého filmu.

Celkový výsledok Česálkovej hĺbkových ponorov do českej krátkometrážnej tvorby je však viac než potešujúci. Napriek tomu, že mu z môjho po-

hľadu chýba aspoň jeden fokus na fungovanie slovenského krátkého filmu, v ktorom napokon v sledovanom období pôsobilo aj viacero českých filmárov — nielen Karel Plicka, ale aj Karel Skřípský či pomerne krátko, v rokoch 1946–1949, Walter Sent —, a trochu monumentálnejší záver, sa Lucii Česálkovej podarilo vytvoriť v podstate celkom nový obraz československej audiovizuálnej krajiny 30.–50. rokov 20. storočia. Tento obraz neprotirečí tomu, na ktorý sme boli dosiaľ zvyknutí — neruší, ani nezatieňuje obraz, v ktorého centre stojí „veľký“, dlhometrážny, produkčne i tvorivo celkom inak vznikajúci film. Mimoriadne dobre ho však dopĺňa, vytvára mu iný, nový kontext a v istom zmysle ho aj trochu inak nasvecuje. Kniha *Atomy věčnosti* je cenná nielen vďaka výskumu, ktorý sa sústreďí na množstvo širokej verejnosti takmer neznámeho filmového materiálu, ale aj vďaka tomu, že autorka zdôrazňuje kontinuitu a sleduje pretrvávajúce praktiky, ktoré jednoducho „podplávali“ medzníky politickej histórie. Česálkovej pohľad, zaostrený na zóny a rozhrania, tak hľadá a nachádza paralely a styčné body tam, kde sme mali tendenciu ich prehliadať. Obraz krátkého českého filmu je vďaka nemu svieži, nový i pôsobivý.

Mária Ferenčuhová

Amatérský film v zemích východního bloku

Konference Inédits v Praze (30. října až 1. listopadu 2014)

Vznik evropské asociace Inédits: Amateur Films / Memory of Europe v roce 1991 (tehdy pod názvem The European Association Inédits) byl výsledkem snahy o sjednocení dosud spíše soliterních aktivit jednotlivců z řad archivní, akademické a filmařské veřejnosti, soustředících svůj profesionální zájem na oblast amatérských a rodinných filmů. Inédits (v textu budu asociaci označovat právě tímto slovem, znamenajícím ve francouzštině audiovizuální záznam, který není primárně určený ke komerční distribuci a televiznímu vysílání) se měla stát platformou sdružující instituce i jednotlivce, filmové archivy, televizní stanice, režiséry, producenty a akademické badatele. Úsilí členů asociace směřovalo od počátku existence k podpoře výzkumu, prezervace a archivace specifického druhu materiálu úzkých formátů a k jeho následnému zhodnocování, druhotnému zpracování a distribuci. Oblast archivnictví v Inédits reprezentovaly spíše regionální, nikoli státní instituce, a i proto aktivity tohoto sdružení stále trochu zůstávají mimo přímý vliv mezinárodní archivní federace FIAF. Ostatně FIAF v minulosti deklarovala svůj zájem o neprofesionální kinematografii spíše formou obecných prohlášení a výzev, bez důrazu na realizaci praktických kroků.

Co se týká vztahu FIAF a amatérských filmů, dějiny archivnictví uvádějí jako významnou udá-

lost kongres konaný v roce 1997 v kolumbijském přístavním městě Cartagena, kde se část programu zaměřila na dosud opomíjenou oblast a na nutnost její záchrany.¹⁾ Není přesně doloženo, jaký konkrétní dopad měla zde vedená diskuze na další politiku zúčastněných státních archivů, nicméně česká cesta k soustředěné a trvalé pozornosti o amatéry vedla přes obor orální historie a projekt Galerie amatérských filmařů, zaznamenávající vzpomínky bývalých aktivních tvůrců. Během samotné realizace se někteří z nich rozhodli svoje díla věnovat či odprodat Národnímu filmovému archivu (dále NFA), včetně související písemné dokumentace (náměty, scénáře, diplomy a ceny, ohlasy v dobovém tisku atd.), což znamenalo bezprostřední impuls, aby se NFA, instituce specializovaná na ochranu národní profesionální produkce, začala cíleněji věnovat také neprofesionální kinematografii, jejíž sbírka byla oficiálně ustavena v roce 2000. O šest let později se NFA stává členem Inédits jako jeden z mála státních archivů a také jako ojedinělý reprezentant bývalých socialistických zemí. (V samém počátku existence Inédits měla východní Evropa zastoupení v nezávislém filmaři a umělci nových médií Péteru Forgácsovi a později v několikaletém členství Hungarian Ethnographic Society.)

Kromě příležitostné spolupráce na jednotlivých projektech je pravidelnou aktivitou Inédits kaž-

1) Jan-Christopher Horak, Out of the Attic: Archiving Amateur Film. *Journal of Film Preservation* 1998, č. 56, s. 50–53.

doroční setkání, které je vždy věnováno jednomu tématu. Mezi ta předešlá patřila například *Amatéri a televize* (2005); *Amatéri filmují historii* (2009); *Amatérský film: šíření a předávání audiovizuálního dědictví* (2012). V minulém roce se hostitelskou institucí stal NFA. Fakt, že se setkání Inédits poprvé konalo v některé z bývalých socialistických zemí, společně s 25. výročím pádu Berlínské zdi určily hlavní téma pražské konference — *Amatérský film v zemích východního bloku*, jež poskytlo příležitost pozvat do Prahy badatele a filmaře ze států s historickou zkušeností komunistické totality.

Přednáškový program

Hlavní přednášková část konference byla rozčleněna do 4 panelů. Z nich tři se zaměřily na historické aspekty amatérského filmování v dobových podmínkách socialistických států. Zahajovací panel *Filmové deníky a rodinné filmy* představil dva příklady formálně a obsahově vyhraněné oblasti amatérského filmování často zahrnující několika-hodinové kolekce natočeného materiálu. **Evženie Brabcová** (absolventka FAMU) přiblížila účastníkům filmařskou osobnost Ludvíka Švába na základě průzkumu rozsáhlého filmového fondu darovaného NFA paní Janou Rendlovou. Nejstarší část této kolekce byla natočena ještě Švábovým otcem ve třicátých letech minulého století, a to na formát 9,5 mm. Konferenční příspěvek se věnoval poválečným filmům (formát 8 mm a 16 mm) z období 50. až 70. let. Z autorova pozoruhodného a různorodého vizuálního deníku vyzdvihl některé charakteristické tematické okruhy od opakujících se momentů natočených s přáteli v okolí bydliště, přes části spojené se Švábovým působením v poválečné surrealistické skupině až po pokusy o vlastní experimentální tvorbu. **Martin Koerber** (Deutsche Kinemathek) zvolil analýzu amatérské kolekce zachycující okamžiky každodenního života obyvatel města Potsdam, do nichž se nenápadně prolínají stopy aktuální existence politicky rozdělené Evropy.

Druhý panel se tematicky zaměřil na amatér-

skou filmovou tvorbu vznikající v rámci struktur organizovaného hnutí podporovaného státem. Na výhody a současná nebezpečí manipulace filmařů totalitní mocí upozornily případové studie věnující se největšímu polskému klubu SAWA sídlícímu ve Varšavě (**Magdalena Staroszczyková**, Museum of Warsaw; **Paulina Haratyková**, Jagiellonian University, Cracow), resp. historii amatérského filmování na území jednoho státu — Estonska, v období jeho nedobrovolného přičlenění k Sovětskému svazu (**Eva Näripe**, Estonian Film Archives).

Třetí panel se věnoval amatérské kinematografii ze sociologického úhlu pohledu. **Melinda Bloss-Jániová** (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania) na příkladu rozvětvené filmařské rodiny, členů jednotlivých generací, popsala formální a tematické proměny filmování z hlediska společenského postavení tvůrců, používané techniky a organizačního zázemí. Její kolegyně **Orsolya Tóthová** (Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania) se zaměřila na obraz rodné Kluže, urbanistických částí města, jak je na filmový materiál zachytili profesionální a především amatérští filmaři.

Poslední z přednáškových panelů dokumentoval na konkrétních příkladech aktuální situaci v archivování vysoce specifického obrazového materiálu (nejen) v bývalém socialistickém teritoriu, přičemž nabídl zajímavou konfrontaci přístupu zavedených archivních institucí — **Monika Supruniuková** (Filmoteka narodowa), **Nicolai Gütermann** (Austrian Film Museum). Tyto příspěvky obohatily prezentace dvou filmařů — **Jana Šikla** a **Marka Šulíka**, popisujících osobní zkušenost se sběrem a uchováváním rodinných a amatérských filmů, které oba využívají k vlastní tvorbě, viz televizní projekty *SOUKROMÉ STOLETÍ* resp. *KONZERVY ČASU*.

Filmový program

Důležitou součástí konference byly tři filmové projekce, z nichž každá představila odlišný způsob prezentace starších amatérských filmů sou-

časnému divákovi. První večer měl podobu polyekranového představení realizovaného za doprovodu živé hudby (Handa Gote). Návštěvníci kina Ponrepo se stali účastníky autentického promítání rodinných filmů formátu 8 mm ze dvou dobových přístrojů umístěných v sále kombinovaného s diaprojekcí. Představení nazvané PAN ROMAN sugestivně přiblížilo atmosféru života Československa 60.–80. let prostřednictvím obrazového záznamu tehdejších veřejných a rodinných rituálů, který stříhem a projekcí ozvláštnil filmový experimentátor **Martin Ježek**.

Italsko-britský snímek VLAK DO MOSKVVY posloužil jako příklad klasického dokumentárního filmu, jenž se soustředí na vyprávění individuálního životního příběhu. Z kontextu běžné dokumentární produkce se vymyká mírou využití archivních amatérských záběrů, které tvořily 90 % promítacího času. Materiál natočený kamerou formátu Standard 8 mm byl uchován a restaurován v jednom z členských archivů Inédits: Home Movies — Archivio Nazionale del Film di Famiglia, sídlícím v Boloni. Po projekci proběhla beseda s režiséry, **F. Ferronem** a **M. Manzolinim**, a se zástupci archivu, který se podílel na digitalizaci použitého obrazového materiálu.

Poslední večer byl věnován tradiční součásti setkání asociace Inédits — pásmu filmů sestaveného z příspěvků členských archivů, tentokrát na téma: Napříč železnou oponou. Jak naznačuje název, „pražská“ kolekce se časově soustředila na období studené války a tvořily ji obrazové materiály z různých zemí tehdejšího socialistického bloku natočené amatérskými filmaři ze západní Evropy při turistických a pracovních cestách za železnou oponu. Filmový materiál byl prezentován v původní podobě, jen ve výjimečných případech upravený (krácený) dodatečným stříhem. Každému z příspěvků předcházel krátký úvod zástupce dotyčného archivu s informacemi o okolnostech vzniku filmu, jeho získání do archivních sbírek atd. Sbírkou neprofesionální kinematografie NFA reprezentovaly dva tituly. Dokument ČAS SHROMAŽDOVÁNÍ KAMENÍ (1968), který režisér

Rudolf Mihle natočil při návštěvě západní části Berlína, zachytil tíživou atmosféru města rozděleného železnými zátarasy a betonovou zdí. Druhý snímek MĚSTO MÉHO SYNA (Vladimír Kunc, 1988) zaujal diváky nepředstíraným entuziasmem dětského protagonisty konfrontovaného s obrazy každodennosti chátrajícího socialismu.

Cílem pražské konference Inédits, jejíž přednáškový program proběhl v anglickém a francouzském jazyce, bylo vytvořit prostor k setkání a navázání často prvních profesionálních kontaktů mezi archiváři, filmaři a filmovými historiky ze západní a východní Evropy, které spojuje zájem o amatérský a rodinný film. Z přednesených příspěvků a následných diskuzí vyplynulo, že ve většině východoevropských zemí je ze strany státu archivace amatérských filmů dosud opomíjena a že Česká republika je v tomto ohledu vzácnou výjimkou. Loňská prezentace Inédits v Praze tak přinesla přítomným východoevropským badatelům cenný impuls k rozvinutí jejich dosavadních aktivit a reálnou možnost budoucí intenzivnější spolupráce s již zavedenými institucemi zemí západní Evropy, včetně samotné Inédits. Naopak rozšíření asociace o nové členy z bývalého východního bloku by do budoucna znamenalo vítané oživení její činnosti.

Pražské konference se celkem zúčastnilo padesát akreditovaných zahraničních hostů, mj. z Francie, Německa, Itálie, Polska, Rumunska či Estonska. Škoda, že se nepodařilo vzbudit větší zájem o návštěvu této akce u české akademické obce a mezi studenty specializovaných kateder a ústavů, existujících v rámci tří tuzemských univerzit.

Jiří Horníček

Rezonance filmové stáze

Použití filmové metody vede k neustálému obnovování, během kterého mysl, neschopná se nikdy uspokojit, přesvědčuje sebe sama, že napodobuje se svou nestabilitou skutečný pohyb reálného. I když se namáhá až k hranici závratě, může skončit svým odevzdáním se iluzi pohyblivosti; operace myslí však nepokročily ani o krok, neboť setrvávají tak daleko jako nikdy od svého cíle. Abychom postoupili s pohyblivostí se realitou, musíme se v ní zaměnit, musíme se umístit uvnitř změny a pak uchopíme naráz obojí, změnu samotnou a postupující stavy, v kterých bychom mohli být v každém okamžiku znehybnění.¹⁾

Pohroužení se do zdánlivé nehybnosti filmového záběru, jenž stázi vyvolává, je pro mne spojeno s pocitem nevšedního významu — s pocitem přiblížení se realitě blíže, než dovoluje jakákoliv jiná zkušenost. Původní účinek nehybné stáze ovšem, jak nám ho prezentuje Paul Schrader,²⁾ směřoval spíše k opaku — k přesahu skutečnosti, transcenci. Předmětem mé disertační práce je obhájit tezi, že filmová stáze je unikátní vizuální útvar, který je schopen vyvolat jedinečnou intuici, jež sjednocuje obě tendence. Podstata mého projektu je obsahem tohoto textu. Prvním

krokem je vymezení a definice filmové stáze s ohledem na její aktuální funkci v současném filmu. (Stáze je zde chápána nejen jako projev, ale také /ve Schraderově smyslu/ jako důsledek ustrnutí filmového obrazu). Další postup směřuje k hlavnímu záměru mé disertační práce — poukázat na jedinečnou funkci filmové stáze, která spočívá ve vyvolání fenoménu specifického času. Ten je iniciován zlomem, vpádem „nehybnosti“ pohyblivého obrazu do prostoru trvání filmového příběhu. Metodou analýzy konkrétních scén filmových děl, spojenou s komentářem jejich tvůrců, chci podpořit svou argumentaci, že tento čas je radikální formou „obrazu-času“, jehož účinek odkazuje přímo k ontologickému potenciálu filmového obrazu. Na základě referencí k současným diskursům, sledujícím linii Bergson-Bazin-Deleuze, chci poukázat na tři oblasti, které jsou bezprostředně spjaty s trváním filmové stáze. Tyto oblasti, na které poukazují v závěru textu, se týkají elementární proměny „hloubky prostoru“ filmu do diferenční roviny filmového obrazu, dále vytvoření kvalitativního posunu v kvantitativním opakování „stejného“ obrazu a na závěr iniciace vstupu virtuální skutečnosti, kterou umožňuje energie mimoobrazového pole.

1) Henri B e r g s o n , *Creative Evolution*. New York: Random House 1944, s. 334.

2) Termín „stáze“, který budu používat v celém rozsahu své disertační práce, byl poprvé použit budoucím americkým scenáristou a režisérem Paulem Schraderem v jeho disertační práci, která byla publikována knižně v roce 1972 pod názvem: Paul S c h r a d e r , *Transcendental Style in Film: Ozu, Bresson, Dreyer*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1972, s. 49. Zde je stáze definována jako „zamrzlý pohled na život, který neřeší rozdíl, ale přesahuje ji“ (Stasis: a frozen view of life which does not resolve the disparity but transcends it).

V širokém tendenčním proudu diskursů, které se v posledním desetiletí zabývají přímo problematikou nehybného, ustrnulého obrazu v kontextu filmu,³⁾ se termín *filmová stáze* téměř nevyskytuje. Napříč intermediální krajinou, kde nehybnost filmového záznamu je stále výzvou, bývá pozornost upřena na vztahy stavebního elementu filmu, kterým je *freeze-frame*, a pohybu jako dynamickému propojení trvání a intenzity času, které působí na diváka v rámci technických možností nových médií. Stáze je zde pak chápána v přeneseném slova smyslu a má obecný význam totožný s pozastavením, nehybností. V oblasti nedávné historie filmu se ovšem termín *stáze* váže ke zmíněné teoretické práci Paula Schradera. Jeho text, zabývající se duchovním aspektem filmu, hledá společné znaky v projevech tří režisérů, kterými jsou Jasudžiro Ozu, Robert Bresson a Carl Theodor Dreyer, a snaží se společné spirituální aspekty jejich tvorby sjednotit do jednoho útvaru — *transcendentního stylu*, jehož kulminací je právě stáze. Tento přístup, který byl těsně pro-

vázán s reprezentací vycházející z náboženské problematiky, se může z dnešního pohledu zdát poněkud dobový, neaktuální. Není tedy překvapením, že také v nadcházejícím období (druhé poloviny 70. let) expanze teorií post-strukturalismu⁴⁾ se poněkud osamělý Schraderův text neseťkal s adekvátní reflexí a postupně, až na malé výjimky,⁵⁾ začíná mizet i ze slovníku pozdějších diskursů intermediální terminologie. Obecně se tedy klasifikace filmové stáze týká i nejasností v rámci pojmenování. (Pokud je tento vizuální útvar připomínán, pak je to v souvislosti s délkou statického záběru, kde Schraderova verze není brána v úvahu).

Poukázat opět na Schraderovo pojetí stáze jsem se rozhodl ze dvou důvodů. Především proto, že v jeho pojetí je stáze nejen aktem znehybnění filmového obrazu, ale také důsledkem — dopadá okamžitě na subjekt, nerozšiřuje dále prostor re-prezentace, prostor pro racionální uchopení. Druhým důvodem je skutečnost, že stáze je u Schradera součástí určitého procesu,⁶⁾ řetězce

3) Eivind Røssaak v předmluvě své knihy (*Between Stillness and Motion: Film, Photography, Algorithms*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2011, s. 14) uvádí výčet titulů z posledních let, které zkoumají vztah nehybného-pohyblivého obrazu v kontextu současného diskursu. Zde doplňuji ještě tituly: Laurent Guido – Olivier Lugoñ (eds.), *Between Still and Moving Images*. Bloomington Indiana University Press: John Libbey Publishing 2012. Raymond Bellour, *Between-the-Images*, Zurich: JRP Ringier 2012. Laura Mulvey, *Death 24x a Second: Stillness and the Moving Image*. London: Reaktion Books 2006. David Green – Joanna Lowry (eds.), *Stillness and Time: Photography and the Moving Image*. Brighton: Photoworks/Photoforum 2006. Karen Beckman – Jean Ma (eds.), *Still Moving: Between Cinema and Photography* Durham: Duke University Press 2008. Ludovic Cortade, *Le cinéma de l'immobilité: style, politique, réception*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne 2008. Dominique Païni, *Le temps exposé: Le Cinéma de la salle au musée*. Paris: Cahiers du Cinéma 2002. Stefanie Diekmann – Winfried Gerling (eds.), *Freeze Frames: Zum Verhältnis von Fotografie und Film* Bielefeld: Transcript 2010. Gusztáv Hámos – Katja Pratschke – Thomas Tode (eds.), *Viva Fotofilm: Bewegt/unbewegt*. Marburg: Schüren Verlag 2009. François Albera – Maria Tortajada (eds.), *Cinema Beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2010. David Campány (ed.), *The Cinematic (Whitechapel: Documents of Contemporary Art)*. London: MIT Press 2007.

4) Druhá polovina 70. let ve filmové teorii je charakterizována nástupem Althusserova Marxismu, Lacanovy psychoanalýzy a post-Saussureovy lingvistiky. Z této pozice je Schraderův text mimo přijatelný kontext.

5) Zřejmě nejrozsáhlejší prací týkající se samotné filmové stáze (ve smyslu použití tohoto termínu) je disertační práce: Justin Remešnik, *Motion(less) Pictures: The Cinema of Stasis*. Detroit: Michigan University 2012. Autor se zde zabývá především díly americké filmové avantgardy, americkým, případně britským experimentálním filmem od počátku 60. let minulého století až po současnost. Autor naznačuje, že téma filmové stáze jako modality, tedy variantní formy pohybů obrazů, je stále nevytěženým tématem.

6) Stáze, *stasis*, je třetí, konečná fáze transcendentního stylu, která následuje po *každodennosti* (the everyday) a *rozporu* (disparity). Stáze ve Schraderově pojetí má zprostředkovaný, svrchovaně duchovní význam. Má práce je soustředěna na strukturální pojetí elementárních formací, které mohou stázi iniciovat.

událostí; na závěr pak kulminací tohoto procesu. Stáze někdy neočekávaně ukončí rozpor, mnohdy „uhodí“ do bezvýznamnosti děje, vše odesílá — transcenduje — a opět navrácí v podobě, kterou ještě neznáme a která se vymyká klasifikaci. Filmová stáze je komplexní a v kontextu současné kinematografie také vzácný vizuální útvar. V ojedinelých okamžicích stáze se nám může zdát, že se přibližujeme *skutečnu*, jak nám ho prezentuje (v Bazinových textech) fotografický obraz.⁷⁾ Tento pocit se rovněž na základě fotografie snažil analyzovat Roland Barthes. Jeho *punctum* je „slepé pole“, kterému přikládá „třetí význam“, jež je charakterizován svou neostrotí, nezřejmostí. Ovšem, jak tvrdí Barthes: „četba onoho punctum (pointovaného snímku, chcete-li) je krátká i aktivní, je soustředěná jako šelma.“⁸⁾ Účinek filmové stáze je ukryt ve stále neurčitěm poli *mezi* filmem a fotografií. Zde se mohou také odehrávat okamžiky *modulace obrazu* vyvolávající stázi, které mají neosobní, těžce uchopitelný, mimo-jazykový charakter.

Z technického hlediska může být „zastavení“ nebo setrvání filmového záběru, které má schopnost vyvolat stázi, docíleno několika prostředky. Pokud nebudeme brát v úvahu zásahy „zvenčí“ při samotné projekci, které dovoluje moderní technologie, jako je — stop, zpomalení, fázování — tedy prostředky, které jsou spíše atributem fil-

mu, pak filmová stáze může být *vyvolána* dvěma způsoby. A to kopírováním a editací stejných fotogramů, „filmogramů“⁹⁾, nebo v druhém a častějším případě delším nebo dlouhým statickým záběrem, který samozřejmě v mnoha případech dovoluje omezený pohyb v záběru, případně *modulaci* obrazu za pomoci objektivů (anamorfickou distorzi, rozostření-ostření obrazu).¹⁰⁾

Stáze, která je předmětem mého zájmu, je především projevem *časových a rytmizačních posunů*, je také důsledkem náhlé změny v plynutí filmu, změny senzomotorického vnímání, nikoli jen projevem nehybného setrvávání záběru. Pokud nehybný záběr trvá, účinek vyvolávající stázi postupně zaniká, vyprazdňuje se. Transformuje se do jiného systému. V těchto případech se filmová stáze rozptyluje v konceptuálním přístupu dlouhých statických záběrů a jejich *přímočaré funkci*, jak ji prezentuje experimentální film 60. a 70. let, který systematicky vyčerpával svůj vlastní koncept právě v extrémní délce jednoho záběru.¹¹⁾

Pole filmové stáze. Reference.

Jediné zmínky týkající se stáze v české odborné literatuře poukazují na Schraderův koncept jako součást transcendentního stylu ve filmu.¹²⁾ Z mého pohledu posuzují vyvolání pocitu transcendence jako možný důsledek filmové stáze.

- 7) A. Bazin se v tomto kontextu vyjadřuje takto: „[...] estetické schopnosti fotografie spočívají v objevování skutečna. Odraz na mokřém chodníku, gesto dítěte, to všechno nezáviselo na mně, aby bylo rozpoznáno v tkáni vnějšího světa; [...] jenom necitlivost objektivu, který oprostil objekt od návyků a předsudků, od veškerého duševního nánosu, jež obaloval moje vnímání, mohl ten odraz či gesto přiblížit neposkvrněný mé pozornosti, a tudíž mému zalíbení [...]“. André B a z i n, *Co je to film?* Praha: Československý filmový ústav 1979, s. 18.
- 8) Roland B a r t h e s, *Světla komora: Poznámka k fotografii*. Praha: Agite/Fra 2005, s. 57.
- 9) Modelovým příkladem je nejznámější dílo vytvořené tímto postupem RAMP A (1962) Chrise Markera.
- 10) Anamorfickou distorzi obrazu (ve spojitosti se stázi) za pomoci specifických čoček a předsazených skel používá Alexandr Sokurov ve filmu *MATKA A SYN* (1997) nebo *ELEGIE CESTY* (2001), rozostření obrazu nám v dlouhých sekvencích představuje např. Carlos Reygadas ve filmu *POST TENEBRAS LUX* (2013).
- 11) Jedná se zejména o filmy s výjimečnou délkou statického záběru Andyho Warhola *SLEEP* (1963) v délce trvání 5 hodin a 21 min., dále *EMPIRE* (1964), který trvá 8 hodin 5 min., případně *WAVELENGTH* (1967) Michaela Snowa, 45 min.
- 12) Fenomén spirituality a transcendentního stylu (ve spojitosti se stázi) rozvádí Jaromír B l a ž e j o v s k ý, *Spiritualita ve filmu*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury Brno 2007. Autor odkazuje k dvěma možnostem chápání spirituality ve filmu. Jedna varianta je náboženská a druhá nenáboženská, kde spirituální efekt „je vytvářen jistými strukturálními kvalitami recipovaného díla, které lze schematicky popsat a racionálně vysvětlit“.

Transcendující účinek filmu je v těchto případech těsně propojen s reprezentací, symbolem, a nikoli bezprostředně se strukturou; je důsledkem literárního „čtení“ obrazů a nacházení jejich „duchovního“ obsahu, nikoli vizuálním útvarem vyvolávajícím před-jazyková vnuknutí.¹³⁾ Má disertační práce je založena na zásadním opuštění dichotomie „formy a obsahu“. Vychází ze základního předpokladu, který spočívá ve splynutí formy a obsahu v jediný strukturální útvar. Můj přístup k problematice filmové stáze směřuje k strukturální povaze filmu, který chápu jako proměnu povrchové struktury, podléhající časové a prostorové re-strukturalizaci v rámci prezentace reálného.¹⁴⁾

Tendence, které přibližují film situaci navození stáze, se začínají historicky objevovat poprvé v poválečných filmech italského neorealismu, kdy pohyb kamery v konkrétních scénách opouští klasický kánon filmové narace. Statické nebo pomalé záběry kamery pohyb narace „narušují“ svým váháním, blouděním, někdy i opomíjením toho, co by si divák možná přál vidět. Termín filmová stáze (v kontextu italského neorealismu) si osvojuje J. F. Lyotard ve své přednášce nazvané „Idea svrchovaného filmu“ konané v listopadu 1995 v Mnichově.¹⁵⁾ Zde nezmiňuje stázi v kontextu avantgardy jako experiment, který vyplňuje filmový prostor objemem času, ale chápe tuto formu jako *svrchovanou*, nezávislou na autoritě

příběhu, jako bezelstné setrvávání filmového záberu, které se může objevit i v komerčním filmu. Poukazuje, podobně jako před ním Gilles Deleuze, na filmy italského neorealismu v období let 1944–1952. Lyotard věnuje ve své přednášce pozornost zejména konkrétní scéně, která je ve skutečnosti až dojemně banální. Žena položí na plotnu rendlík s vodou, aby si uvařila kávu. Kamera však odmítá sledovat další děj a setrvává svým pohledem nehnutě na rendlíku, v kterém začíná vřít voda. Lyotard tuto scénu popisuje slovy:

Jako by ten prostý rendlík, v němž se ohřívá voda na kávu už celá léta, s vodním kamenem usazeným na dně, s ohmataným držadlem, s otlučenými okraji vyprávěl nějaký další příběh. [...] Z rendlíku se tak stává dvojznačná skutečnost, která na jedné straně žije svůj život podřízený autoritě formy vyprávění, ale na druhé straně se projevuje ve své svrchované, nehybné a unikavé materiálnosti, ze všech stran pospojované nečekanými svazky s dalšími předměty, slovy, situacemi, tvářemi a rukama, jež se na okamžik objevují a hned zase mizí. Nejsou to vzpomínky, spíše útržky minulých skutečností, nadějí, neočekávaných možností. V těchto chvílích „se zastavuje čas.“ André Bazin napsal o filmové biografii André Gida: „Čas se zastavil. Soustředil se do obrazu a obtěžkal jej úžasným potenciálem.“¹⁶⁾

13) Deleuze komentuje Schraderův koncept stáze následovně: „Takto se příroda či stáze podle Schradera vymezují jako forma, která sjednocuje každodennost v 'něco unifikovaného a trvalého'. Nemusíme se vůbec dovolávat nějaké transcendence. V každodenní banalitě mají obraz-akce a dokonce i obraz-pohyb sklon uvolňovat místo čistě optickým situacím, ty však odkrývají vztahy nového typu, které již nejsou senzomotorické a uvádějí smysly do přímého vztahu s časem, s myšlením. Jde o velmi specifickou extenzi opznaku: učinit čas a myšlení vnímatelnými, učinit je viditelnými a slyšitelnými.“ Gilles Deleuze, *Film 2: Obraz-čas*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2006, s. 27.

14) V analýze filmového obrazu jako struktury, odkazující k povrchu média, čerpám z odkazů na post-deleuzovskou literaturu. Soustřeďuji se na práce autorů (editorů): Ian Buchanan, Simon O'Sullivan, Stephen Zepke, Constantin V. Boundas a Gregory Flaxman. V rámci materiální struktury a restrukturalizace obrazu se příkláním k metodě schizoanalýzy, jak ji přibližuje ve dvou svazcích Ian Buchanan – Lorna Collins (eds.), *Deleuze and the Schizoanalysis of Visual Art*. London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic 2014. Ian Buchanan – Patricia Mac Cormack (eds.), *Deleuze and the Schizoanalysis of Cinema*. London/New York: Continuum 2008.

15) Jean Francois Lyotard, *Návrat a jiné eseje*. Praha: Herrmann a synové 2002, s. 222.

16) Tamtéž, s. 104–105n.

Plocha stáže rezonuje a má schopnost rezonovat. Nehledě na samotnou rezonující strukturu projekce je filmový obraz „rozdechován“ ozvěnou předchozího záběru a dozvukem stáže v tom následujícím. Vnímání účinku filmové stáže je v těchto případech především vyvoláno *vztahem* pohyblivých záběrů a setrváváním zdánlivě nepohyblivých obrazů a jejich rytmizaci. Rozhodující faktor v oblasti problematiky filmové stáže — zpomalení časové rytmizace filmového obrazu — posouvá celou úvahu do oblasti, jež má své základy v myšlenkách ontologie vnímání vycházející z fenoménu *trvání*, jež byl důsledně promyšlen již od začátku 20. století Henri Bergsonem. V rámci filmové teorie je to ale především specifický přístup Gilles Deleuze, který navazuje svou osobitou interpretací na Bergsonův odkaz¹⁷⁾ a vidí příležitost jak uplatnit svou teorii *stávání se* (*becoming*) právě ve filmovém obrazu-pohybu. Deleuze se snaží přizpůsobit si film svým požadavkům, tedy filozofii. Film chápe jako nástroj ontologie, jako součást *ontogeneze* (ontologie *stávání se*), jako jedinečný prostředek aktualizace virtuálního pole v rámci neustálé proměny obrazu. Ve svém dvousvazkovém díle¹⁸⁾ ovšem upřednostňuje aktivní *obraz-pohyb* před pasivním *obrazem-změnou*. Pouze v jedné referenci zmiňuje stav, který se bezprostředně váže k nehybnosti filmového obrazu, když popisuje scénu trvání záběru zátiší s vázou v díle Jasudžira Ozu BANŠUN:

Váza ve filmu BANŠUN, (1949) se vsouvá mezi dívčino pousmání a moment, kdy má slzy na krajíčku. Je to nastávání, změna, přechod. Avšak forma toho, co se mění, se sama nemění, nepřechází v něco jiného. Je to čas, zosobněný čas, „trocha času v čistém stavu“: přímý obraz-čas, který dává tomu, co se mění, neměnnou formu, v níž se tvoří změna.¹⁹⁾

Deleuze právě této změně (která by odpovídala Bergsonově *diferenci v povaze*²⁰⁾ — proměně *stávání se* obrazu bez zjevného pohybu) nevěnuje příliš prostoru, neboť jeho myšlení — stroj na výrobu konceptů — nesmí ustrnout na hranici pouhého setrvávání, nesmí se nikdy pozastavit. Raymond Bellour podotýká, že nehybnost záběrů příliš nezapadá do Deleuzovy dynamické taxonomie znaků, týkající se filmu jako obrazu-pohybu.²¹⁾

V červenci 1988, v textu, který je předmluvou k anglickému vydání *Cinema 2: Time-Image* a který vychází tři roky po jeho francouzském vydání, Deleuze uzavírá tuto předmluvu větou:

„Ano, pokud film nezahyne násilnou smrtí, udrží si silu začátku. Opačně, musíme se podívat na předválečný film, dokonce na němý film, pracující s velice čistým obrazem-časem, který vždy pronikal, zadržoval nebo zahrnoval obraz-pohyb: Ozuovo zátiší jako neměnná forma času?“²²⁾

17) Henri Bergson ovšem chápe film jako „falešného spojence“, zejména časová fragmentace posloupností filmových políček (jako řezů času /coupes/) není v souladu s jeho teorií *trvání* (*durée*), jež je charakterizována jako všepřonikající, rozpínající se *flux* neustálého pohybu. Henri Bergson zemřel v roce 1941, nedožil se tedy plného rozmachu umělecké kinematografie, která započala až s italským neorealismem. (Je dále možné se pouze hypoteticky domnívat, že by Bergson změnil svůj názor na kinematografii, pokud by se seznámil s možnostmi „molekulárních“ diferencí v proměnách digitální pixeláže, které umožňují vizualizovat i „diference v povaze“ snímaných objektů, a to v jiném režimu než tradiční filmový pás).

18) Gilles Deleuze, *Film 1: Obraz-pohyb*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2000. Gilles Deleuze, *Film 2: Obraz-čas*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2006.

19) Gilles Deleuze, *Film 2: Obraz-čas*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2006, s. 26.

20) „Diference v povaze se prezentuje v čistém trvání; je to vnitřní multiplacita posloupnosti, fúze, uspořádávání, heterogenity, kvalitativního rozlišování.“ Gilles Deleuze, *Bergsonismus*. Praha: Garamond 2006 s. 40.

21) Raymond Bellour, *The Film Stilled, Between-the-images*. Zurich: JRP/Ringier 2002, s. 129.

22) Gilles Deleuze, předmluva k anglickému vydání *Cinema 2: Time-Image*. London: The Athlone Press 1989, xiii.

Deleuze je pronásledován představou obrazu jako „čistého“ času. Jeho myšlení se pohybuje v bergsonovském modu, jenž chápe i umělecká díla jako projev *stávání se*, jako molekulární *flux*, který přesahuje rám a „protéká“ jeho vymezením. Film je pro Deleuze specifický proces aktualizace virtuálního pole, ve kterém intenzity, jež tento proces determinují, spočívají v diferenciacním procesu elementů a jejich vzájemných vztahů uvnitř struktury.²³⁾ (Na základě tohoto přístupu tedy není možné porovnávat Deleuzovo stanovisko k filmu s žádnou filmovou teorií, zejména ne s rigidním schematismem postupů, vycházejících z re-prezentace a směřujících k tvorbě „stylu“, vytvářeného individuálními formálními postupy v rámci narace).²⁴⁾ Nepředvídané setrvávání filmového obrazu je neoddelitelně spojeno s *vědomím-kamerou*,²⁵⁾ jež opět nerespektuje plynulost narace. Je zřejmé, že toto vědomí má schopnost vyvolávat intuici, spojenou s ontologickou funkcí obrazu, jak na ni poukázal André Bazin. (Na rozdíl od modelu Sergeje Ejzštejna, jenž využívá účinek stříhové skladby /montáže/ — Bazin preferuje dlouhé záběry fixované kamery právě ve filmech italského neorealismu). Linii vztahů Bergson-Deleuze-Bazin považují pro analýzu problematiky filmové stáže za nosnou do té míry, že je možné na jejich základech dále stavět.

Pozornost, kterou budu věnovat momentům nehybnosti pohyblivého média, přichází v době

ztráty víry v možnosti ontologického potenciálu filmu. Jeho „genetická mutace“ proměňuje samotnou podstatu filmového média do formy manipulované digitální *fikce*, která způsobuje hodnotovou nivelizaci obrazu, získávající status lhostejného „jakéhokoliv obrazu“. Přímý kontakt se skutečností před objektivem kamery udržuje důsledně (a paradoxně) pouze „nejrozšířenější kinematografie“ světa v podobě sítě bezpečnostních kamer a CCTV okruhů. (Právě zde, v oblasti nekompromisního účelu, spíše než v oblasti komerčního filmu, můžeme tušit tichý ontologický potenciál filmu). Stáže je ovšem vzácný útvar, který je vyvolán vědomím-kamerou, specifickou rytmizací trvání filmového záběru skutečnosti jako aktu ontologického významu.

Událost stáže. Jiný přístup.

To, co je v přítomnosti, je to, co obraz „reprezentuje“, ale nikoli obraz samotný, který, jak ve filmu, tak v malířství, by neměl být nikdy zaměněn s tím, co reprezentuje. Samotný obraz je systém vztahů mezi jeho prvky, to znamená formace vztahů, z které proměnlivá přítomnost pouze plyne. A v tomto ohledu, myslím, Tarkovskij vymezuje rozdíl mezi montáží a záběrem, když definuje film jako tlak času v záběru. To, co je specifické pro obraz, jakmile je tvořivý, je činit vnímatelným, činit viditelným, časové vztahy, které nemohou být viděny v re-

23) Deleuze poznamenává: „Virtuální není v protikladu k reálnému, ale k aktuálnímu. [...] virtuální musí být definováno vyloženě jako součást reálného objektu — tak jako by objekt měl část sebe ve virtuálním, do kterého je ponořen jako do objektivní dimenze. [...] realita virtuálního sestává z rozdílností elementů a vztahů současně s jednotlivými body, ke kterým se vztahují. Realita virtuálního je struktura.“ Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*. New York: Columbia University Press 1994, s. 208–9.

24) David Bordwell ve své snaze dobrat se formálních postupů, které činí umělecký film uměním a které se odchyľují od normativního kanonu Hollywoodu, zavádí termín *parametrická narace*, jež zahrnuje i pomalost, případně strnulost záběru. David B o r d w e l l, *Narration in the Fiction Film*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 1985, s. 274–310. Podle mého názoru je stáže „výpadkem“ v síti narace a nelze ji kvalifikovat jako jeden z formálních postupů ozvláštňení filmové řeči.

25) Deleuze situaci vědomí-kamery definuje následovně: „Již se nenacházíme před obrazy subjektivními nebo objektivními; jsme zachyceni v korelaci mezi obrazem-vjemem a vědomím-kamerou, které tento obraz transformuje. Je to velmi speciální kinematografie, jež přišla na chuť tomu dát ‚pocítit kameru.‘“ Gilles D e l e u z e, *Film 1: Obraz-pohyb*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2000, s. 95.

prezentovaném objektu a nedovolí být redukovány na přítomnost.²⁶⁾

Pokud se ve filmovém záběru „nic neděje“, začíná se „dít čas“ a samotná struktura obrazu. Toto dění je aktivnější než ve statickém obrazu fotografie nebo malby. Na dění samotné struktury filmu je zaměřen i můj přístup a potažmo má metoda analýzy daného tématu. Ta spočívá v určení fenoménu, který determinuje imanentní pohyb v „nehybném“ obrazu stáze. „Pokud obraz o ničem nevypráví, neříká žádný příběh, děje se něco stále stejného, něco, co definuje fungování samotného obrazu“, komentuje Deleuze ztrátu narativity v obrazech Francise Bacona.²⁷⁾

Stáze je vyvolána nejen výpadkem v síti narace, ale často také radikální formou tohoto výpadku — rozptýlením, mizením samotného obrazu. Pro tento stav nalézá Deleuze odpovídající prostředky a pojmenování. Rozsáhlá taxonomie znaků, kterou uvádí ve svém dvousvazkovém díle, dospěje k samotné „genetické“ stavbě obrazu, k znakům, které opouštějí *jistotu* figury a pozadí a postihují kapalný a plynňý stav filmu. Od „dici-znaku“, který staví rám a zpevňuje obra,z dochází k pojmům *reuma* a *gram(engram)*.

[...] reuma odkazovalo k obrazu, který se stal kapalným a který protékal rámem nebo pod

ním. Vědomí-kamera se stalo reumatem, protože se aktualizovalo v plynoucím vnímání a dospělo tak k materiální determinaci, k hmotě odtékání. *Gram* je znakem samotné geneze: [...] pohyb musí sám sebe překonat, avšak směrem ke svému energetickému prvku. Plynňý status vnímání je *gram, engram*, stav neklidné, plynňé substance, znak samotné geneze obrazu.²⁸⁾

Deleuze dále poznamenává: „Vědomí-kamera stoupá k určení, které již není formální a materiální, nýbrž genetické a diferenciální“. Jako příklad přechodu filmového záznamu od kapalného stavu k plynňému uvádí Deleuze film *BARDO FOLLIES*, který natočil (v několika variacích) v roce 1966 George Landow.²⁹⁾

Ve své disertační práci vycházím z předpokladu, že film tvoří soubory jedinečných molekulárních formací. Jako nosnou koncepci pro svou práci považuji Deleuzovo a Guattariho rozlišení a upřednostnění *intenzit* v rámci diferencí a diferenciací, *afekty* obrazu jako pohyby *molárního a molekulárního seskupení*.³⁰⁾ Zatímco molární jsou formace tvarů a jejich exprese, molekulární je samotné *stávání se*. Deleuze je schopen v rámci tohoto přístupu jít — za, respektive — před stav, kdy díla jsou posuzována z hlediska sémiotické funkce jako re-prezentace reality.

26) Gilles Deleuze, předmluva k anglickému vydání *Cinema 2, Time-Image*, London: The Athlone Press, 1989, xii.

27) Gilles Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: logic of sensation*. London/New York: Continuum 2003, s. 12.

28) Gilles Deleuze, *Film 1: Obraz-pohyb*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2000, s. 102–108.

29) Film George Landowa *BARDO FOLLIES* (1966) začíná smyčkou s komerčním záznamem plavající ženy; film začíná teplem měnit svou strukturu a posléze se propaluje. Obraz ve smyčkách fyzicky shoří a promění se v bublinu vzduchu ve vodě. Podobný fenomén zpracovává Hollis Frampton ve filmu *HAPAX LEGOMENA I: NOSTALGIA* (1971). Frampton nechává v průběhu dlouhého statického záběru postupně pomalu pálit a nakonec úplně zuhelnatět realistické fotografie na elektrickém vařiči. Mimo tuto experimentální oblast jsou ovšem často použity fenomény v podobě mraků, mlhy, páry, deště, vodního proudu, které jsou dynamickými elementy imanentního pohybu uvnitř filmového obrazu.

30) V příspěvku nazvaném „The Event of Painting“, který byl zařazen do souboru studií: Ian Buchanan – Lorna Collins (eds.), *Deleuze and the Schizoanalysis of Visual Art*, Bloomsbury 2014, představuje Andrea Eckersley svou studii abstraktní malby výhradně z pozice intenzit diferencí molekulárního napětí povrchu. Schizoanalytický přístup, který je *současně transcendentální a materiální*, klade právě důraz na intenzity molekulárního proudu, afektu, uvnitř virtuální/aktuální sítě rizomatu, který může mít v tomto případě povahu samotného média.

Na základě analýzy konkrétních scén z filmových děl (Michaela Hanekeho, Bély Tarra, Wenera Herzoga, Alexandra Sokurova, Carlose Reygadase, Michelangela Antonioniho) se zaměřím na podchycení tří fenoménů, které aktivují stázi a které, zpětně, filmová stáze vyvolává:

- 1) komprese prostorové iluze a jejich elementů do planární struktury;
- 2) rytmizace opakování samotné difference filmového obrazu;
- 3) působení energie mimo-obrazového pole.

1) Stáze. Komprese filmového „prostoru“.

Komprese filmového „prostoru“ do specifické planární struktury v záběrech, které vyvolávají účinek stáze, je vyvolána relativní nehybností obrazu, kdy prostor není „prohlubován“ pohybem kamery. Extenzivní prostor filmové akce je v těchto případech nahrazen intenzivní plochou „těkání“ samotné struktury obrazu. Dochází zde k obratu od Albertiho hloubky prostoru a perspektivy v iluzi obrazu ke vzniku „časových struktur“ založených na trvání, diferenciálních, proměnách zrna filmového obrazu. Pojetí tohoto prostoru již přiblížil Maurice Merleau Ponty. Je charakterizováno spíše než jako prostor jako *místo*, kde probíhají vibrace *figury a pozadí*.³¹⁾ (Určitou paralelou může být pojetí času u Henriho Bergsona. Jeho *durée* již není obsaženo v čase a prostoru jednoduše proto, že je samotné *vitální stávání se času a prostoru*). V oblasti estetiky vizuálního umění dochází k tomuto procesu při práci s „rozpuštěním“ obrazu do množiny „zrna“, do neurčitosti vztahu figury a pozadí, do barevných intenzit

v *nuanci*. Tento projev se začíná objevovat v dějinách novodobého malířství v krajinomalbách J. M. W. Turnera, pokračuje „molekularizací“ obrazů u G. Seurata, intenzitami barevného pole v repetici stejných námětů u C. Moneta a pokračuje až k sublimní monochromii M. Rothka, B. Newmana, R. Rymana. „Molekularizace“ obrazu, těkání elementů planární struktury ve filmu může být způsobena proměnami zrna, případně digitálním „šumem“. Velký podíl na tomto přístupu měl proces, který je nazván *re-fotografie*: záznam fotografie samotnou fotografií, případně filmování samotné filmové projekce. Nejznámějším dílem je TOM, TOM, THE PIPER'S SON (1969) Kena Jacobse. Michelangelo Antonioni ve svém filmu ZVĚTŠENINA (1966) přibližuje tuto techniku dříve než experimentální film (v závěrečném setrvávání kamery na fotografii moře ve WAVELENGTH [1967] Michaela Snowa).

Na příkladech konkrétních filmových děl bude poukázáno na fakt, že klasikové filmu, kterým byly prisuzovány principy transcendentního, „duchovního“ přístupu k filmu, jako je Jasudžiro Ozu, ale především Robert Bresson, se nemýlili, když poukazovali na plošnost nebo dokonce planární „povrchovost“ obrazů, které (zejména u ruských autorů) jako by směřovaly k návratu k malířské ikonografii (u Andreje Tarkovského a Alexandra Sokurova).³²⁾

2) Rozdílnost a opakování.

Film není pohyb, film je projekce filmového okénka (still) — to znamená obrazů, které se nehýbou — ve velmi rychlém rytmu. A vy získáte iluzi pohybu, samozřejmě, ale to je

31) Henry Somers-Hall tvrdí: „Pontyho koncepce hloubky se přibližuje Bergsonově koncepci času. Hloubka již není prostor v konvenčním smyslu série dimenzí, v kterých pohyby objektů mohou být měřeny, ale *místo*, kde jsou vztahy mezi objekty formovány jako diferenciační procesy. Henry Somers-Hall, Deleuze and Merleau-Ponty, Aesthetics of Difference. In: Constantin V. Boudas (ed.), Gilles Deleuze: The Intensive Reduction. London/New York: Continuum 2009, s. 123–131.

32) Tyto obrazy se často objevují ve filmech Alexandra Sokurova, např. ELEGIE CESTY (2001) a HUBERT ROBERT. ŠŤASTNÝ ŽIVOT (1999). U Wenera Herzoga mají charakter přízračných krajin ve filmu KAŽDÝ PRO SEBE A BŮH PROTI VŠEM (1974).

zvláštní případ a film byl vynalezen pro tento zvláštní případ. V čem tedy spočívá vyjadřovací schopnost filmu? Ejzenštejn například prohlásil, že film je kolize dvou záběrů. Ale je velice podivné, že nikdo nikdy neřekl, že film není mezi záběry, ale mezi rámečky — to je to, co bych nazval záběr, když jeden rámeček je velice podobný dalšímu rámečku.³³⁾

Peter Kubelka, představitel vídeňské filmové avantgardy 50. a 60. let minulého století, použil tuto lapidární definici filmového procesu jako příklad nepatrné diferenciaci. Pokud připustíme, že film je obrazový *diferenční stroj*, pak trvání nebo momenty filmové stáže jsou momenty s minimálními rozdíly, minimální diferenciací mezi jednotlivými políčky filmu v trvání, toku filmových obrazů. Cílem této kapitoly bude poukázat na rytmizaci minimální diference obrazů a nastolení, metaforicky řečeno, vizuální „mantry“, kdy kvantita obrazů s minimální diferencí se proměňuje v novou, odhalující kvalitu (podobně jako je tomu u hudebního minimalismu). Tato kapitola bude zahrnovat to, co se, z elementárního hlediska, děje v rámci filmové stopy během trvání filmové stáže. Tedy problematiku diference a repetice — rozdílnosti a opakování. Zdrojem procesu kvalitativních posunů vyvěrajících s kvantitativní repetice bude v mé disertační práci dílo Gilles Deleuze *Difference and Repetition* z roku 1968.³⁴⁾

Protiklady, kontrasty nejsou u Deleuze projevem maximální diference, ale minimem opakování, protiklad je opakování omezené na dvě, které je ozvěnou a návratem k sobě, opakování, které našlo prostředek, aby sebe samé definovalo jako diferencí. V konzumní společnosti je opakování často chápáno jako periodicita nebo statistická kvantita, opakování je nahodilé a přerušuje po-

zornost. Skutečná rytmizace opakování stejných políček ve filmové stázi má charakter vznikající nové intenzity. V rámci diferencí můžeme tvrdit, že film je již výše zmíněným diferenčním strojem. V současnosti je tento stroj nastaven tak, aby se struktura jednotlivých políček lišila od sebe co nejvíce. Film se má přibližovat explozi, která ohrožuje diváka. Minimální diference skoro stejných políček filmu u filmové stáže je *čistým trváním obrazů* bez zjevných změn. Je to trvání pohybujících se obrazů, které už nedávají důraz na „prostorové relace“ v diferencí odlišných obrazů, ale vztahují se v opakující se minimální diferencí *k sobě samým navzájem* v čase trvání. Peter Hallward popisuje Deleuzovu filosofii opakování takto: „Tvořivé opakování může být myšleno pouze jako opakování samotné diference. Skutečné opakování musí zahrnovat intuici naprosto jedinečných událostí, diferencí, které nemohou být zaměněny nebo nahrazeny.“³⁵⁾ Diferenční diference, trvání pouhého *rozlišování rozlišení* obrazu je podle mého názoru klíčem k chápání stáže i možného transcendentního účinku obrazu.

3) Energie mimo-obrazového pole.

Filmová stáž má schopnost aktivovat energii mimoobrazového pole. To je aktivováno rytmizací, časem toku stejných obrazů v kontextu filmu. Mimoobrazové pole je podmíněno existencí obrazu. Divák většinou existenci mimoobrazového pole nevnímá, neboť je plně zaneprázdněn děním uvnitř filmových obrazů. Uvědomění si problematiky mimoobrazového pole vychází ze situace, kterou už zaznamenává André Bazin. Popisuje rozdíl mezi malířským dílem a filmovým záběrem:

Proti prostoru přírody a naší aktivní zkušenosti, která vytýčuje vnější meze přírody, rám

33) Peter Kubelka v rozhovoru s Jonasem Mekasem. In: P. Adams S i t n e y, *Visionary Film: the American Avant-Garde, 1943–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press 2002, s. 286.

34) V disertační práci vycházím z prvního anglického překladu Paula Pattona: Gilles D e l e u z e, *Difference and Repetition*. New York: Columbia University Press 1994.

35) Peter H a l l w a r d, *Out of this World, Deleuze and the Philosophy of Creation*. London/New York: Verso, 2006, s. 71.

u obrazů staví prostor zaměřený dovnitř; prostor k pozorování je otevřen pouze dovnitř obrazu. [...] a naopak všechno, co nám ukazuje filmové plátno, se údajně rozšiřuje donekonečna, do světa. Rám je dostředivý, filmové plátno odstředivé. Z toho plyne, že obrátíme-li malířský postup naruby a vložíme filmové plátno do rámu, prostor obrazu ztratí svou orientaci hranice a zapůsobí na naši představivost jako cosi neomezeného.³⁶⁾

Deleuze připomíná, že mimoobrazové pole se vztahuje k velkému celku, který je ovlivněn děním uvnitř rámu obrazů. Toto dění má tendenci být jednak *nasyceno*, jednak *zředěno*. Pro „pozornost bloudící kamery“ nemá tedy význam výrazný pohyb na mizanscéně, ale nepatrný pohyb *nasycení* nebo *zředění* samotné struktury filmového obrazu. Termín „pozornost kamery“ je zde důležitý, neboť opět přisuzuje kameře *vědomí*.

Deleuze rozlišuje dva aspekty mimoobrazového pole ve filmu:

- 1) relativní aspekt, který „označuje mimoobrazové pole jako něco, co existuje jinde, stranou nebo okolo obrazu“, a druhý;
- 2) absolutní aspekt, „jímž se uzavřený systém otevírá trvání, které je imanentní celku vesmíru, který již není souborem a nepatří do řádu viditelného“.

[...] v druhém případě svědčí mimoobrazové pole o ještě více zneklidňující přítomnosti, o níž dokonce ani nedovedeme říci, zda existuje, ale spíš že „doléhá“ (insiste) nebo že „přetrvává“ (subsiste), určitě radikálnější jinde, mimo homogenní prostor i čas.³⁷⁾

Protože stáze je iniciována nehybností kamery a trváním záběru, druhý, tedy *absolutní aspekt* může připadat v úvahu. Pro zkoumání tohoto jevu je důležité určit souřadnice obrazu a mimoobrazového pole. Vycházím z předpokladu, že filmový obraz je jen nepatrnou výsečí, jen jakýmsi „bodovým nasvícením“ nekonečné sítě, jejíž energie má jak dostředivou, tak odstředivou funkci. Přikláním se k modelu, který zmiňuje Rosalind Krauss ve svém textu nazvaném *Grids (Mřížky)* z roku 1978 a který analyzuje centripetální (dostředivou) a centrifugální (odstředivou) funkci mřížky. Jako nejnázornější příklad uvádí Krauss malířské dílo *Pieta Mondriana*.³⁸⁾

Pro mou disertační práci bude nejdůležitější analyzovat stav, kdy trvání jednoho záběru vytváří v obrazech prostředí „podtlaku“, který je charakterizován chvěním, rezonancí elementů v „mělkém prostoru“. Aby tušení *absolutního* mimoobrazového pole mohlo vstupovat do záběru, pohyb kamery nesmí rychle „odnímat“ okolní realitu, ale záběr se musí pozastavit. Zředění a zahuštění elementů v „mělkém prostoru“ projekce umožňuje zvýšit tlak a později vstup absolutního mimoobrazového pole do záběru. Tlak *absolutního* mimoobrazového pole daný „časoprostorovou kompresí“ považuji za prvotní fenomén, který později nabývá charakter přesahu, transcendence.

Závěr

Má zkušenost s vnímáním povahy nepohyblivých obrazů ve výtvarném umění a „znění“ forem v současné hudbě přispěla k vytvoření názorové platformy, která chápe obraz v *odlišném modu myšlení*. Tento modus se dlouhodobě ustálil v ob-

36) André B a z i n, *Co je to film?* Praha: Československý filmový ústav 1979, s. 145. Problematika mimoobrazového pole je zahrnuta do analytických studií — Noël B u r c h, *Nana or the Two Kinds of Space*. In.: *Theory of Film Practice*. New York: Praeger 1973, s. 17–29. Pascal B o n i t z e r, *Décadrages: Cinéma et peinture*. Paris: Editions de Diffusion, Seuil 1985. David W i l s o n (ed.), *Cahiers Du Cinema, Volume 4: 1973–1978: History, Ideology, Cultural Struggle, Decadrage (Deframings)* New York: Routledge 2000, s. 197–203. (Částečný český překlad „Odrámování“, *Iluminace* 15, 2003, č. 4, s. 31–34.).

37) Gilles D e l e u z e, *Film 1: Obraz-pohyb*. Praha: Národní filmový archiv 2000, s. 29.

38) Rosalind E. K r a u s s, *Grids: The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. Cambridge: The MIT Press 1985, s. 18–21.

lasti krajní redukce významové funkce obrazů, a to až do té míry, že tato funkce začala splývat s charakterem samotného „nosiče“, samotného „podkladu“ sdělení, který touto konverzí vytváří nový útvar. V tomto ohledu je má disertační práce soustředěna na primární funkci filmového obrazu jako planární struktury, která je podrobena specifickým *molekulárním a molárním vztahům*.³⁹⁾ Stáze, jako jedinečný útvar, který je vyvolán částečnou nehybností filmového obrazu, uniká re-prezentaci; její účinek se projevuje *vpádem, prolomením* narace i filmové iluze, která po uplynutí stáze opět navrátí film pochodům re-prezentace pod diktátem narace v „prostoru“ filmu. Přesto, že chápání filmového obrazu jako pohybu struktur na molekulární bázi se zdá být příliš ochuzující, považuji za podstatné poukázat na genetickou podstatu filmu, jež může být zpřítomněna právě pádem do „nehybnosti“. Výjimečné scény v kontextu myslícího filmu, tedy ty, které jsou schopny vyvolat stázi, jsou vytvořeny výjimečnou formací molekulárních seskupení, které nesledují rychlost, „nepronásledují“ skutečnost, ale tato seskupení setrvávají v „přešlapování na místě“, kde se skutečnost navrácí v plné síle.

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39) Většina diskursů, týkající se filmového obrazu, nebere v úvahu povahu podkladu projekce. Pokud filmová projekce nezachytí *screen*, rozptýlí se v prostoru. Hubert Damisch charakterizuje obecně *iluzi* obrazu jako „anihilaci substrátu“ umrtvení podkladu, Hubert D a m i s c h, *Our Sheet's White Care*. In: Hubert D a m i s c h, *A Theory of /Cloud/ Toward a history of painting*. Stanford University Press 2002, s. 224. Podklad, substrát, považují vždy za nedílnou součást obrazu, i když se jedná o mentální obraz, který je vázán na síť vláken, neuronů atd.

Z přírůstků Knihovny NFA

ALQUATI, Roberto

Orbite : attorno al cinema di fantascienza cecoslovacco / Roberto Alquati. -- 1a ed. -- [Praha] : Urbone Publishing, 2014. -- 166 s. -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, filmografie, o autorovi - Bibliografie na s. 160-162 - Knižní studie zkoumající v historickém a mezižánrovém kontextu československé a české sci-fi a fantastické filmy všech metráží a druhů (hrané, animované a televizní) od němé éry až po současnost. Téměř polovinu knihy zabírá chronologicky řazený přehled konkrétních filmových titulů s obsahovými charakteristikami. -- ISBN 978-80-87797-62-4 (brož.)

ANIMATION

Animation from East Europe : creators in Poland, Czech, and Croatia : [The Museum of Modern Art, Hayama, 27 September 2014 - 12 January 2015]. -- [Tokyo : Kyuryudo, 2014]. -- 146 s. : il. (většinou barevné), portréty. -- Částečně text v angličtině - Bibliografie na s. 143 - Katalog ke stejnojmenné výstavě o animovaném filmu a jeho tvůrcích ze tří východoevropských zemí (Polsko, Česká republika a Chorvatsko), která se konala 27. září 2014-12. ledna 2015 v japonské Hayamě. -- ISBN 978-4-7630-1446-7 (brož.)

ANTONISZ

Antonisz : technology for me is a form of art / edited by Joanna Kordjak-Piotrowska. -- Warsaw : Zachęta - National Gallery of Art, 2013. -- 249 s. : il. (většinou barevné), portréty, faksim. + 1 DVD. -- Poznámky v textu, citáty, filmografie J. Antonisze - Bibliografie na s. 164-165 - Kniha ke stejnojmenné výstavě, která se konala 22. 1.-17. 3. 2013 ve varšavské umělecké galerii Zachęta, je první průřezovou publikací shrnující všechny činnosti, Juliana Antoniszczaka - spoluzakladatele legendárního Studia animovaných filmů v Krakově, režiséra experimentálních animovaných filmů, hudebníka a vynálezce. Autoři textů analyzují nejen fenomén Antoniszových filmů, ale i jeho jazyk, hudbu a konstruktérskou činnost, díky které rozvinul technika tvorby non-came-

rových filmů. V knize se nacházejí rovněž texty restaurátorů Antoniszových filmů a přístrojů a umělcových dcer, Malviny a Sabiny Antoniszczakovými. Publikace obsahuje velmi bohatý ilustrativní materiál (více než 500 obrázky), zobrazující umělcovu dílnu včetně současné dokumentace jeho pracovní a soukromých fotografií z rodinného archivu. Kniha je doplněna DVD s výběrem 16 Antoniszových filmů. -- ISBN 978-83-60713-74-7 (brož.)

ARONSON, Linda

Scénář pro 21. století / Linda Aronsonová ; [z anglického originálu ... přeložila Michaela Graeberová ; redakce překladu Zdeněk Holý ; konzultace terminologie Jiří Dufek, Vilém Hakl]. -- 1. vyd. -- Praha : Akademie muzických umění v Praze (Nakladatelství AMU), 2014. -- 337 s. -- Autor předmluvy Paul Thompson - Úvod, poznámky v textu, poznámka k překladu, diagramy - Rejstřík - Jedna z nejuznávanějších publikací věnovaných psaní filmových scénářů. Autorka na základě klasických scenáristických příruček a pečlivého studia filmů, které zavedená pravidla s úspěchem porušují, vytvořila komplexní praktickou rukověť pro scenáristy. Podrobně se věnuje scénáři klasického i uměleckého filmu a dospívá až ke snímkům jako 21 Gramů, Pulp Fiction, Memento či Věčný svit neposkvrněné mysli. Praktický rozměr příručky posilují rady věnované aspektům tvůrčího psaní, jako například časově efektivnímu psaní, kreativité pod tlakem či aspiracím na mezinárodní soutěže. - Název originálu: 21st century screenplay : a comprehensive guide to writing tomorrow's films / Aronson, Linda, 1950-. -- [Australia] : Allen & Unwin, 2010. -- ISBN 978-80-7331-314-2 (brož.)

BALABANOV

Balabanov / [sostaviteli Ljubov Arkus, Marija Kuvšino-va, Konstantin Šavlovskij]. -- Sankt-Petěrbug : Knižnyje mastěrskiye : Mastěrskaja „Seans“, 2013. -- 350 s. : il., portréty. -- Poznámky v textu, výňatky, filmografie A. Balabanova - Profilová kolektivní monografie zachycuje ve studiích, kritických ohlasech a rozhovorech život

a tvorbu předčasně zesnulého ruského filmového režiséra Andreje Balabanova (1959–2013). -- ISBN 978-5-605586-08-8 (Knižnyje mastěrskiye : váz.). -- ISBN 978-5-905669-13-2 (Mastěrskaja Seans : váz.)

BĚLOBRÁDEK, Jan

Jaroslav Celba : melodie, které zná každý / Jan Bělobrádek. -- Vyd. 1. -- [Velká Jesenice] : Lenicon, 2014. -- 193 s. : il., portréty, noty, faksim. -- Seznam partitur a písní - Životopisná kniha zachycuje pozoruhodné osudy hudebního skladatele a muzikanta Jaroslava Celby, který na své životní pouti prošel od mládí po boku spolužáka Josefa Škvoreckého přes útrapy komunistického lágru v Jáchymově až po studium Lidové konzervatoře a úspěšnou dráhu profesionálního skladatele, autora hudby k desítkám animovaných filmů a večerníčkových seriálů. Kniha je vybavena řadou fotografií a autentických vzpomínek, v níž jsou zmíněny i osudy zajímavých osobností z autorova blízkého okolí (Pavel Bayerle, Josef Škvorecký, Jaroslav Štajnc, Zdeněk Smetana, Jaroslav Cita, Gene Deitch a mnozí další). -- ISBN 978-80-905895-0-6 (váz.)

DYCHANIJJE

Dychanije kamňa : mir filmov Andreja Zvjaginceva / [Ljumila Kljujeva ... et al.]. -- Moskva : Novoje literaturnoje obozrenije, 2014. -- 453 s. : il. -- Úvod, citáty, poznámky v textu, filmografie A. Zvjaginceva - Kolektivní monografie je prvním pokusem zahájit seriózní diskuzi o osobité filmové estetice a poetice filmů Andreje Zvjaginceva. Předkládný jsou texty filmových kritiků a estetiků, věnovaných analýze režisérových filmů, a také rozhovory s členy tvůrčího štábu (speciálně připraveny pro tento sborník) a další materiály. -- ISBN 978-5-4448-0083-6 (váz.)

GENERACE

Generace Jihlava / [podle námětu Michala Procházky a Radima Procházky ; k vydání připravila Lucie Česálková]. -- V češtině vyd. 1. -- [Brno] : Větrné mlýny ; Praha : Akademie múzických umění v Praze, 2014. -- 334 s. : il., portréty. -- (Vysočina). -- Úvody, poznámky v textu, o autorech - Texty sborníku jsou esejistickým kritickým ohlédnutím za trendem, jež lze v české dokumentaristice sledovat od poloviny či přesněji konce 90. let a jež ovlivnil porevoluční rozvoj Katedry dokumentární tvorby FAMU a vznik jihlavského festivalu. Šest nejzajímavějších autorů písícih o filmu (Petr Fischer, Jan Kolář, Matěj Nytra, Antonín Tesař, Michal Procházka, Lucie Česálková, Magda Španihelová) vede dialog se šesti nejvýraznějšími zástupci nejsilnější porevoluční filmařské generace (Filip Remunda, Vít Klusák, Erika Hníková, Jan Gogola ml., Vít Janeček, Martin Mareček a Lucie Králová) o jejich klíčových dílech (Český sen, Nonstop, Hry prachu, Ztracená dovolená, Nesvat-

bov, Ivetka a hora) i obecnějších problémech. -- ISBN 978-80-7443-109-8 (Větrné mlýny : váz.). -- ISBN 978-80-7331-332-6 (Akademie múzických umění v Praze : váz.)

KOLGANOV, Vladimír Alexejevič

German, ili, Božij čelovek = Herrmann : Jurij German, Alexaj German, Alexej German-mladšij / Vladimír Kolganov. -- Moskva : Centrpoligraf, 2014. -- 316 s. -- Úvod, filmografie - Bibliografie - Kniha pojednává o dynastii spisovatelů a filmařů Germanových. Jurij Pavlovič German - populární dramatik a romanopisec 30.–60. let minulého století. Alexej Jurjevič German a Alexej German mladší psali scénáře a natáčeli filmy, které vzbuzovaly pozornost filmových kritiků, festivalových porotců i diváků. Úkol, který si autor zadal - pokusit se najít původ kreativity, pochopit psychologii tvůrců a vysvětlit alespoň pro sebe, proč tak mnoha různými způsoby došli k úspěchu Jurij German, jeho syn a vnuk. -- ISBN 978-5-227-05084-7 (váz.)

LOVEJOY, Alice

Army film and the avant garde : cinema and experiment in the Czechoslovak military / Alice Lovejoy. -- Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 2015. -- xiii, 305 s., [8] s. barev. obr. příl. : il. (některé barev.). -- Úvod, poznámky na s. 205–232, filmografie, o autorce - Bibliografie na s. 233–247, rejstřík - Knižní studie, která vychází z autorčiny stejnojmenné diplomové doktorské práce z Yalské univerzity (2009), se pokouší odpovědět na otázku, jak výrobní systém Československého armádního filmu reagoval na liberalizaci 60. let a následnou sovětskou invazi a jak se v něm realizovaly umělecké ambice mladých filmařů. Ačkoliv bylo studio považováno především za výrobce propagandistických a vzdělávacích filmů, někteří významní „novovlnní“ režiséři začali svou kariéru právě tam. Americká filmová historička zkoumá institucionální a státní kořeny poválečného československého filmu a poskytuje důkazy o vztazích studia armádního filmu s československým uměleckým filmem. Součástí knihy je DVD s 13 krátkými filmy z produkce Čs. ministerstva obrany z let 1938–1969. -- ISBN 978-0-253-01488-7 (brož.)

MALANÍKOVÁ, Hana

Autenticita ve světě médií : televizní příběh / Hana Malaníková. -- Vyd. 1. -- Praha : Brkola, 2014. -- 183 s. -- Prolog, citáty, poznámky v textu, anglické resumé - Bibliografie na s. 176–181, rejstřík - Kniha je autorčíným osobním svědectvím o hledání pravdivého a svébytného projevu televizního moderátora v náročné komunikační situaci: vystupování na veřejnosti bez veřejnosti. -- ISBN 978-80-905714-5-7 (brož.)

MALÍK, Vladimír

Vývoj animačních technologií od „Cesty do praveku“ po „Jurský park“ / Vladimír Malík. -- Vyd. 1. -- Bratislava : VŠMU Bratislava, 2008. -- 90 s. -- Úvod - Bibliografie na s. 87-88 - Učební text zaměřený na animační technologie pracující s trojrozměrnými objekty v kombinaci s reálnou akcí živých aktérů. V úvodní části se autor pokouší definovat pojmy animace, animační technika a technologie, ve druhé části pak prostřednictvím analýzy významných filmových děl načrtává rozvoj tohoto druhu animovaného filmu. -- ISBN 978-80-85182-96-6 (brož.)

MOTEJLOVÁ-MANOLOVÁ, Marija

Ukotvené stíny = [Vgradeni senki] / Marija Motejlová-Manolova. -- Praha : Komise Rady hl. m. Prahy pro oblast národnostních menšin na území hl. m. Prahy : Bulharská kulturně osvětová organizace v ČR, 2003. -- 171 s. : il., portréty. -- Souběžný bulharský text - Na tit. s. uvedeno též: Sofia - Dvoujazyčná kniha autobiografických vzpomínek absolventky FAMU a bulharské manželky prof. Josefa Motejla (1928-1997), pedagoga pražské FAMU a hlavního kameramana čs. televize na čtyři desítky let společného života. -- ISBN 80-239-0933-9 (brož.)

ÖSTERREICHISCHES FILMUSEUM (VÍDEŇ, RAKOUSKO)

Fünfzig Jahre Österreichisches Filmmuseum : 1964-2014 / herausgegeben von Eszter Kondor, Alexander Horwath, Paolo Caneppele. -- Wien : Synema — Gesellschaft für Film und Medien, 2014. -- 3 sv. : il. (některé barev.), portréty, faksim. -- (FilmmuseumSynemaPublikationen). -- Svazky ve společném kartonovém obalu - Poznámky v textu, anglické resumé, o autorech - Bibliografie - Obsahuje: Aufbrechen : die Gründung des Österreichischen Filmmuseums / Eszter Kondor. FilmmuseumSynemaPublikationen. Bd. 20. 223 s. - Das sichtbare Kino : fünfzig Jahre Filmmuseum - Texte, Bilder, Dokumente / herausgegeben von Alexander Horwath. FilmmuseumSynemaPublikationen. Bd. 21. 351 s. - Kollektion: fünfzig Objekte - Filmgeschichten aus der Sammlung des Österreichischen Filmmuseums / herausgegeben von Paolo Caneppele und Alexander Horwath. FilmmuseumSynemaPublikationen. Bd. 22. 191 s. - Trisvazková kronika a jubilejní antologie mapující ve faktografických přehledech, vzpomínkách a svědectví pamětníků, archivních dokumentačních a obrazových materiálech padesátiletou historii, sbírky a činnost Rakouského filmového muzea ve Vídni. První svazek je věnován okolnostem založení, druhá kniha zachycuje prostřednictvím stovky textů, bohaté korespondence, dokumentů a 200 fotografií všechny pořádané akce (výstavy, projekce), vydané publikace a svě-

tové i domácí filmaře, kteří tuto instituci navštívili. Třetí díl nabízí dobrodružné putování filmovou historií skrz padesát vybraných objektů z různých sbírek Filmového muzea. -- ISBN 978-3-901644-53-5 (soubor : brož.). -- ISBN 978-3-901644-54-2 (Aufbrechen : brož.). -- ISBN 978-3-901644-55-9 (Das sichtbare Kino : brož.). -- ISBN 978-3-901644-56-6 (Kollektion : brož.)

SPOLEČENSKÉ

Společenské vědy a audiovizí / Helena Bendová, Matěj Strnad (eds.); [autoři textů Ferdinand de Saussure ... et al.]. -- 1. vyd. -- Praha : NAMU, 2014. -- 763 s. -- Autor doslovu Miroslav Petříček - Úvod, poznámky v textu, anglické resumé - Rejstřík jmenný - Interdisciplinární antologie teoretických textů rozličných společenských a humanitních věd předkládá ukázky studií, které výrazně ovlivnily naše uvažování o audiovizí. Sborník se pokouší seznámit komplexním způsobem se všemi relevantními společenskými i humanitními vědami (estetika, filosofie, jazykověda, literární věda, psychologie, sociologie, antropologie, kulturní studia, politologie...) a s jednotlivými koncepty, které dodnes odborná veřejnost používá k uvažování o společnosti, médiích a umění (např. ideologie, znak, autor, gender, definice umění, interpretace, otázka vkusu a hodnocení umění). Výběr více než dvaceti studií zastupují významní autoři, jakými jsou Saussure, Freud, Bartlett, Popper, Mukařovský, Althusser, Bourdieu, Foucault, Radwayová, Butlerová a další. -- ISBN 978-80-7331-313-5 (brož.)

SYROVÝ, Václav

Hudební zvuk : příspěvek k teorii zvukové tvorby / Václav Syrový. -- 2. dopl. vyd. -- Praha : Akademie múzických umění v Praze, 2014. -- 317 s. -- (Akustická knihovna Zvukového studia Hudební fakulty AMU ; 9). -- Předmluva, úvod, anglické resumé - Bibliografie na s. 305-309, rejstřík věcný - Publikace představuje pokus o průnik do světa tvůrčí práce se zvukem coby nositelem hudební informace, nikoliv však v podobě souhrnu pragmatických pouček, jak tvořit zvuk, ale jako teoretická reflexe jevů, dějů a postupů, se kterými se tvůrčí zvuku i jejich posluchači denně setkávají. Autor v ní shrnul nejenom své životní „zvukařské“ zkušenosti, ale také důležité „vedlejší“ poznatky výzkumných projektů, kterých se jako řešitel či spoluřešitel zúčastnil. Čtenář je postupně seznamován se způsoby práce se zvukem, s existenčními podobami zvuku a jejich interpretací a se základními psychologickými aspekty, se kterými se může každodenně setkat jak při aktivní práci se zvukem, tak při jeho pouhém pasivním vnímání. -- ISBN 978-80-7331-161-2 (brož.)

TIRARD, Laurent

Lekce filmu / Laurent Tirard ; [z francouzského originálu ... přeložila Alena Smithee]. -- 1. vyd. v českém jazy-

ce. -- Praha : Dokořán, 2014. -- 351 s. : portréty. -- Úvod, předmluva, citáty, filmografie v textu, o autorovi - Kniha rozhovorů o filmové tvorbě, které vedl francouzský režisér a novinář Laurent Tirard s 39 proslulými a uznávanými světovými režiséry (Miloš Forman, Woody Allen, Jean-Luc Godard, Martin Scorsese, Jim Jarmusch, Pedro Almodóvar, Wong Kar-wai, Wim Wenders, bratři Coenové, Lars von Trier a mnozí další), se do tématu ponořuje o něco hlouběji, než tomu u běžných interview bývá, a odkrývá technické, tvůrčí či názorové aspekty práce filmového režiséra. Tirard položil všem zpovídaným autorům tytéž otázky, takže čtenář může jejich odpovědi sledovat a vzájemně porovnávat. - Název originálu: Leçons de cinéma / Tirard, Laurent, 1967-. -- Paris : Nouveau Monde éditions, 2009. -- ISBN 978-80-7363-615-9 (váz.)

Připravil Miloš Fikejz.

VÝZVA K AUTORSKÉ SPOLUPRÁCI

NA MONOTEMATICKÝCH BLOCÍCH DALŠÍCH ČÍSEL

Prostřednictvím monotematických bloků se *Iluminace* snaží podpořit koncentrovanější diskusi uvnitř oboru, vytvořit operativní prostředek dialogu s jinými obory a usnadnit zapojení zahraničních přispěvatelů. Témata jsou vybírána tak, aby korespondovala s aktuálním vývojem filmové historie a teorie ve světě a aby současně umožňovala otevírat specifické domácí otázky (revidovat problémy dějin českého filmu, zabývat se dosud nevyužitými prameny). Zájemcům může redakce poskytnout výběrové bibliografie k jednotlivým tématům. **Každé z uvedených čísel bude mít rezervován dostatek prostoru i pro texty s tématem nijak nesouvisející.**

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V nabídce stručně popište koncepci textu; u původních studií se předpokládá délka 15–35 normostran. Podrobné pokyny pro bibliografické citace lze nalézt na webových stránkách časopisu: www.iluminace.cz, v položce Redakce/kontakty.



3/2015

**Screen Industries in East-Central Europe IV
Special English-Language Edition**

(deadline 30 June 2015)

The collection of articles has its origin in a conference on film and TV industries in the region held in Olomouc in November 2014.

4/2015

Dějiny FAMU

(uzávěrka 31. července 2015)

Hostující editoři: Martin Franc – Andrea Slováková

Abstrakty příspěvků o rozsahu do 200 slov zasílejte do 30. 4. 2015 na adresu francmartin@seznam.cz a andrea.slovakova@amu.cz. Uzávěrka pro rukopisy je stanovena na 31. července 2015.

Filmová a televizní fakulta Akademie múzických umění v Praze oslaví v roce 2016 sedmdesát let svého fungování. Československo se v době jejího založení stalo pátou zemí na světě, kde vzniklo podobné zařízení pro vysokoškolské vzdělávání filmových (a v budoucnu i televizních) pracovníků.

Formující osobností prvních desetiletí existence FAMU se stal bezpochyby kontroverzní filmový kritik a teoretik A. M. Brousil. V průběhu let se FAMU vyvinula i přes všechny peripetie spojené s tragickým obdobím 50. let v celosvětově respektovanou instituci, kde své vzdělání získalo mnoho tuzemských, ale i zahraničních špičkových tvůrců (např. Emir Kusturica, Agnieszka Hollandová). Na FAMU se také formovala slavná česká filmová vlna šedesátých let 20. století. I tuto školu však, stejně jako jiná vysokoškolská a akademická pracoviště, tvrdě poznamenaly dopady tzv. normalizace na počátku sedmdesátých let, kdy FAMU muselo opustit mnoho klíčových osobností z řad pedagogů i studentů. V tomto období dominovali na škole vyučující blízcí dogmatickému křídlu komunistické strany a její kulturní politiky, což se samozřejmě nemohlo nepodepsat na celkové atmosféře fakulty. K určitým změnám k lepšímu došlo až s personálními změnami v druhé polovině sedmdesátých let. V této době se z FAMU stává do určité míry jeden z ostrůvků svobody, i když samozřejmě docházelo stále k zásahům ideologických dohlížitelů. Znovu se oživily kontakty i se západní kinematografií, pod hlavičkou Socialistického svazu mládeže došlo k obnovení studentských kritických aktivit v podobě vydávání různých časopisů apod. Formovala se zde další generace studentů, která své přesvědčení projevila především v listopadu 1989, kdy studenti FAMU i její nedávni absolventi patřili k nejřednějším aktivistům. Studenty přitom v mnohých krocích podpořilo i tehdejší vedení FAMU v čele s rektorem Iljou Bojanovským.

Od roku 1990 se škola otevřela řadě významných postav české kinematografie i televizní tvorby, které zde začaly přednášet. Ani FAMU se však nevyhnul určitý porevoluční chaos spojený s rozpadem tradičních hierarchických struktur, na něž plynule nenavazovalo budování struktur nových. Navíc se musela, podobně jako ostatní vysoké školy, vyrovnat s poklesem přílivu finančních prostředků do oblasti školství a kultury v období bezprostřední transformace československé ekonomiky. Situace se však postupně přes veškeré potíže stabilizovala, mimo jiné i díky rozsáhlému zapojení do mezinárodní spolupráce. FAMU v podmínkách České republiky přišla o svou prakticky monopolní pozici v oblasti filmové a audiovizuální výchovy, udržuje privilegované postavení. Na počátku 21. století prošla FAMU další vlnou transformace spojené s generační obměnou pedagogů i s novou organizací výuky. Inovace a snahy o vylepšování systému výuky ovšem probíhají až do současnosti jako kontinuální proces pomáhající udržovat kreativní atmosféru na pracovišti.

Přes nesporný význam, který AMU v systému českého vysokého školství patří, byl jejím dějinám věnován dosud nedostatečný badatelský zájem. Nakladatelství Akademie múzických

umění v Praze již druhým rokem pracuje na projektu Dějiny AMU, jehož hlavním výstupem bude historická monografie jako zásadní syntetické dílo, které ukáže školu jako jeden celek, zároveň ovšem reflektuje specifika jednotlivých fakult (divadelní DAMU, filmové a televizní FAMU a hudební a taneční HAMU). Výzkum se zaměřuje na pozici AMU v dobovém kontextu kulturní a vysokoškolské politiky, reflektována je i mezinárodní spolupráce v rámci smluvních vztahů se zahraničními partnerskými školami. Oddíly věnované jednotlivým fakultám v připravované publikaci se zaměřují na vývoj jejich institucionální a personální struktury, na problematiku vlivu jednotlivých vůdčích osobností na fakultách v různých obdobích, ale také na načrtnutí atmosféry pracoviště. Studie v časopise *Illuminace* by se měly stát jedním z důležitých podkladů pro práci.

Príspevky čísla se mají zabývat jednotlivými otázkami z dějin FAMU od jejich počátků až po relativně nedávnou minulost. Jako možné tématické okruhy se nabízejí:

- Diskuse o vzdělávání filmařů v první polovině 20. století v Československu.
- Vznik FAMU v dobovém společenském kontextu
- Proměny struktury FAMU a počátky různých vedlejších zařízení FAMU (Studio FAMU apod.)
- Vývoj přijímacího řízení, proměny průběhu studia a závěrečných prací na FAMU
- Politické a ideologické vlivy na FAMU v letech 1946–1989.
- Klíčové osobnosti FAMU
- Formování filmařských generací v rámci FAMU
- Cizinci na FAMU a mezinárodní spolupráce.
- Studentský život na FAMU, podíl FAMU na vystoupeních studentů v letech 1968–1969 a 1989.
- Průběh normalizačních čistek na FAMU
- Dějiny Mezinárodní přehlídky studentských filmů v Karlových Varech
- Studentská umělecká a odborná činnost na FAMU.
- FAMU v podmínkách transformace v letech 1990–1996.
- Proměny postoje veřejnosti k FAMU a její mediální reflexe.

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3/2016

Screen Industries in East-Central Europe V Special English-Language Edition

(deadline 30 April 2016)

The collection of articles has its origin in a conference on film and TV industries in the region held in Bratislava in November 2015.

4/2016

Současné české seriály

(uzávěrka 31. července 2016)

Původní seriálová produkce v posledních čtyřech letech hýbe domácí televizní scénou. Zvláště po nástupu generálního ředitele ČT Petra Dvořáka, který si její oživení vytyčil jako jeden z klíčových bodů svého programu, se stala ohniskem konkurenčního boje mezi soukromými stanicemi a televizí veřejné služby. V řadě případů sklízí nové vedení ČT nadšenou chválu komentátorů, dlouhodobě frustrovaných pověstnou zakonzervovaností Kavčích hor – dvojblok detektivky PŘÍPADY 1. ODDĚLENÍ a průkopnického sitcomu ČTVRTÁ HVĚZDA, vysílaných od počátku roku 2014, si dokonce vysloužil žurnalistické označení „velká pondělní televizní revoluce“.

První kanál České televize soutěží se soukromými konkurenty jejich vlastními zbraněmi: do čtyř, nebo dokonce pěti primetímů za týden, tedy stejně jako Nova a Prima, umísťuje původní seriály a série, přičemž většina z nich představuje veřejnoprávní verze tradičních seriálových žánrů (krimi, sitcom, soap opera). Na ČT 1 se stabilizují programová seriálová okna: pondělní kriminalistické (PŘÍPADY 1. ODDĚLENÍ, VRAŽDY V KRUHU), páteční rodinné (VYPRÁVĚJ, PRVNÍ REPUBLIKA, NEVIDITELNÍ) atd. Na vývoji nových veřejnoprávních seriálů se podílejí lidé, kteří za Dvořákem přišli z Novy (Jan Maxa, Radek Bajgar, Tomáš Feřtek, Jan Prušinovský ad.) a navázali na předchozí úspěšnou éru „nováckých“ seriálů (KRIMINÁLKA ANDĚL, COMEBACK, OKRESNÍ PŘEBOR).

Vztahy mezi soukromými a veřejnými zájmy dále komplikuje dynamicky rostoucí sektor nezávislých televizních producentů, kteří velkou část nových seriálů pro ČT vyrábějí, ať už formou zakázky, nebo koprodukce (k nejvýznamnějším hráčům patří firmy Dramedy, Logline, Bionaut, Offside Men a FilmBrigade). Někteří tito producenti experimentují se skupinovým psaním, charakteristickým pro dlouhohrající seriály typu Ulice, a ČT se nebrání ani adaptování osvědčených zahraničních vzorů (KANCL, DOKTOR MARTIN), metodě jinak typické pro soukromé televize.

Přibližně ve stejné době, kdy Dvořák ohlásil svůj program postavený na oživení původní dramatické tvorby, spustila svou seriálovou, respektive sériovou produkci místní pobočka nadnárodní korporace HBO Europe (TERAPIE, HOŘÍCÍ KEŘ, AŽ PO UŠI). Nejnovějším trendem jsou seriály internetové, z nichž největší pozornosti se těší KANCELÁŘ BLANÍK z produkce Stream.cz. Není divu, že růst prestiže seriálové tvorby do televize přivedl — po vzoru angloamerické *quality television* — renomované filmové tvůrce, a to nejen mainstreamového typu

(Jan Hřebejk, Petr Jarchovský), ale i vyložene artového zaměření (Marek Najbrt, Robert Sedláček, Bohdan Sláma, Petr Zelenka, Radim Špaček). Otázkou do budoucna zůstává, jak seriálová zkušenost ovlivní jejich tvorbu pro kina.

Tyto a další související trendy badatelům otevírají neobyčejně zajímavé pole pro výzkum proměn domácí seriálové produkce, její návaznosti na film, na českou seriálovou tradici a na mezinárodní vývoj. Jestliže se česká mediální studia dosud věnovala primárně recepci seriálů, připravované číslo *Illuminace* se zaměří na jejich produkci a programování. Naše redakce uvítá příspěvky pohlížející na seriály z níže uvedených perspektiv, ale bude otevřená i jiným tématům:

- Veřejnoprávně-institucionální: rozhodování o výběru námětu, tvůrců a koproducenta, schvalování, producentské a dramaturgické vedení, hodnotové rámce klíčových aktérů.
- Byznysově-producentké: strategie nezávislých producentů pracujících na zakázkách a koprodukcích s ČT, místo seriálové tvorby v jejich portfoliu, stabilní týmové skupiny a osobní vazby s tvůrci.
- Esteticko-tvůrčí: tvůrčí metody ve vývoji a realizaci, autorské a skupinové psaní, proměny technik natáčení, výsledný seriál jako index produkčního procesu.
- Programově-tržní: strategie programového okna, návaznosti na předchozí produkty, konkurenční vymezování vůči produktům soukromých televizí, vliv sledovanosti na vnitřní hodnocení a další osudy seriálu.

2/2017

Současný český audiovizuální průmysl

(uzávěrka 28. února 2017)

ILUMINACE

je recenzovaný časopis pro vědeckou reflexi kinematografie a příbuzných problémů. Byla založena v roce 1989 jako půlletník. Od svého pátého ročníku přešla na čtvrtletní periodicitu a při té příležitosti se rozšířil její rozsah i formát. Od roku 2004 je v každém čísle vyhrazen prostor pro monotematický blok textů. Od roku 2005 jsou některé monotematické bloky připravovány ve spolupráci s hostujícími editory. Iluminace přináší především původní teoretické a historické studie o filmu a dalších audiovizuálních médiích. Každé číslo obsahuje rovněž překlady zahraničních textů, jež přibližují současné badatelské trendy nebo splácejí překladatelské dluhy z minulosti. Velký prostor je v Iluminaci věnován kritickým edicím primárních písemným pramenů k dějinám kinematografie, stejně jako rozhovorům s významnými tvůrci a badateli. Zvláštní rubriky poskytují prostor k prezentaci probíhajících výzkumných projektů a nově zpracovaných archivních fondů. Jako každý akademický časopis i Iluminace obsahuje rubriku vyhrazenou recenzím domácí a zahraniční odborné literatury, zprávám z konferencí a dalším aktualitám z dění v oboru filmových a mediálních studií.

POKYNY PRO AUTORY:

Nabízení a formát rukopisů

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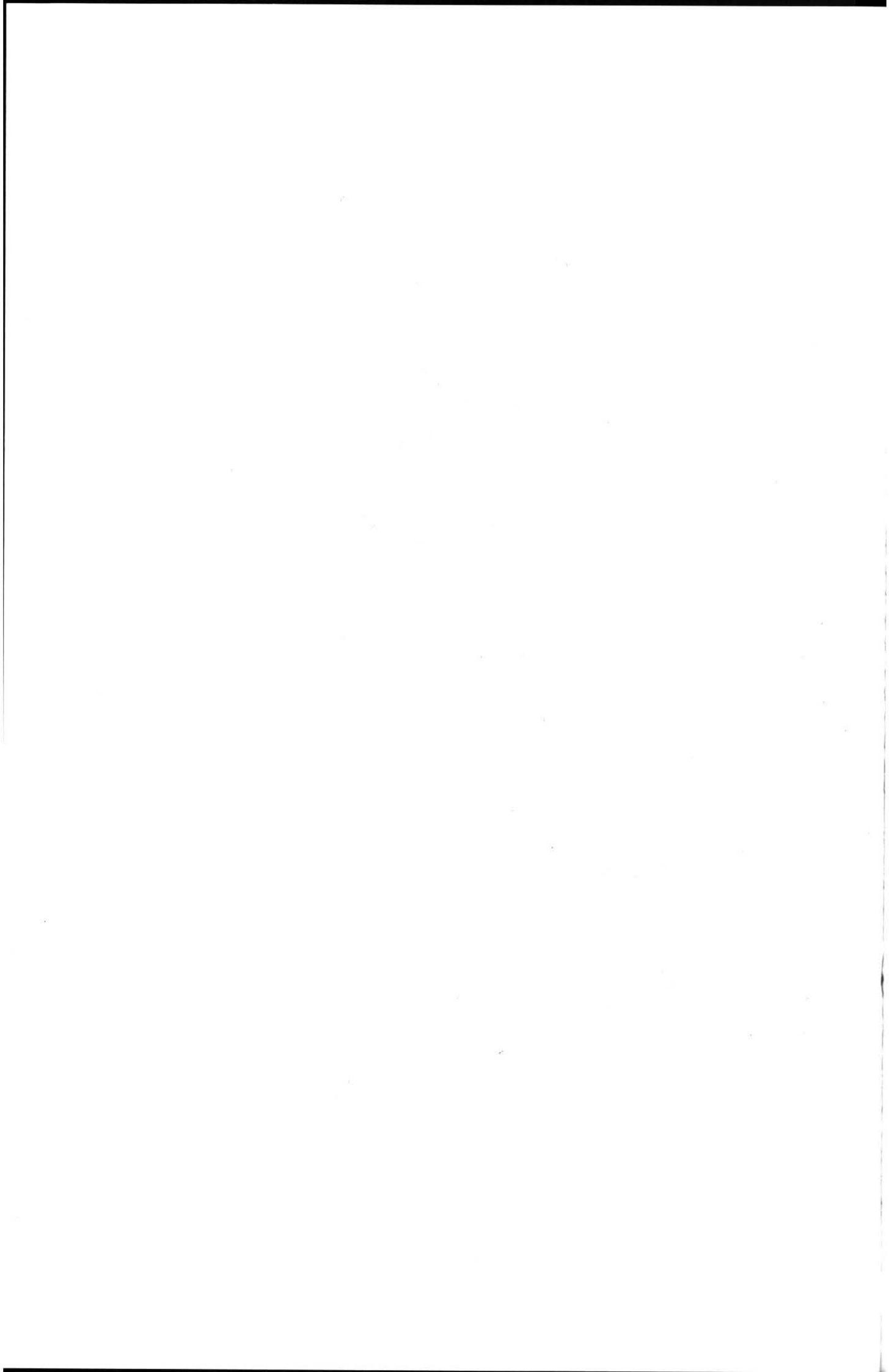
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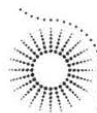
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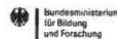


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The Journal of Film Theory, History,
and Aesthetics

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Vydává / Published by:

Národní filmový archiv, www.nfa.cz

Adresa redakce / Address:

Národní filmový archiv, Oddělení výzkumu
Bartolomějská 11, 110 01 Praha 1

Iluminace je recenzovaný vědecký časopis. Redakce přijímá rukopisy na e-mailové adrese lucie.cesalkova@nfa.cz. / Iluminace is a peer-reviewed research journal. Submissions should be sent to lucie.cesalkova@nfa.cz.

Iluminace je tiskovým orgánem Národního filmového archivu a České společnosti pro filmová studia. / Iluminace is a publishing venue of the National Film Archive and the Czech Society for Film Studies.

Korektury / Proofreading:

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Grafická úprava a sazba / Graphic design:

studio@vemola.cz

Manipulace s obálkou / Cover manipulation:

Petr Babák (Laboratoř)

Tisk / Print: Helma Beta, spol. s r. o.

Iluminace vychází 4× ročně. /

Iluminace is published quarterly.

Rukopis byl odevzdán do výroby v březnu 2015. /

The manuscript was submitted in March 2015.

Cena a předplatné:

Cena jednoho čísla je 120,- Kč.

Cena pro studenty je 84,- Kč.

Roční předplatné pro Českou republiku

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Prices and Subscription rates:

Each copy: € 11 (Europe) or US\$ 15.

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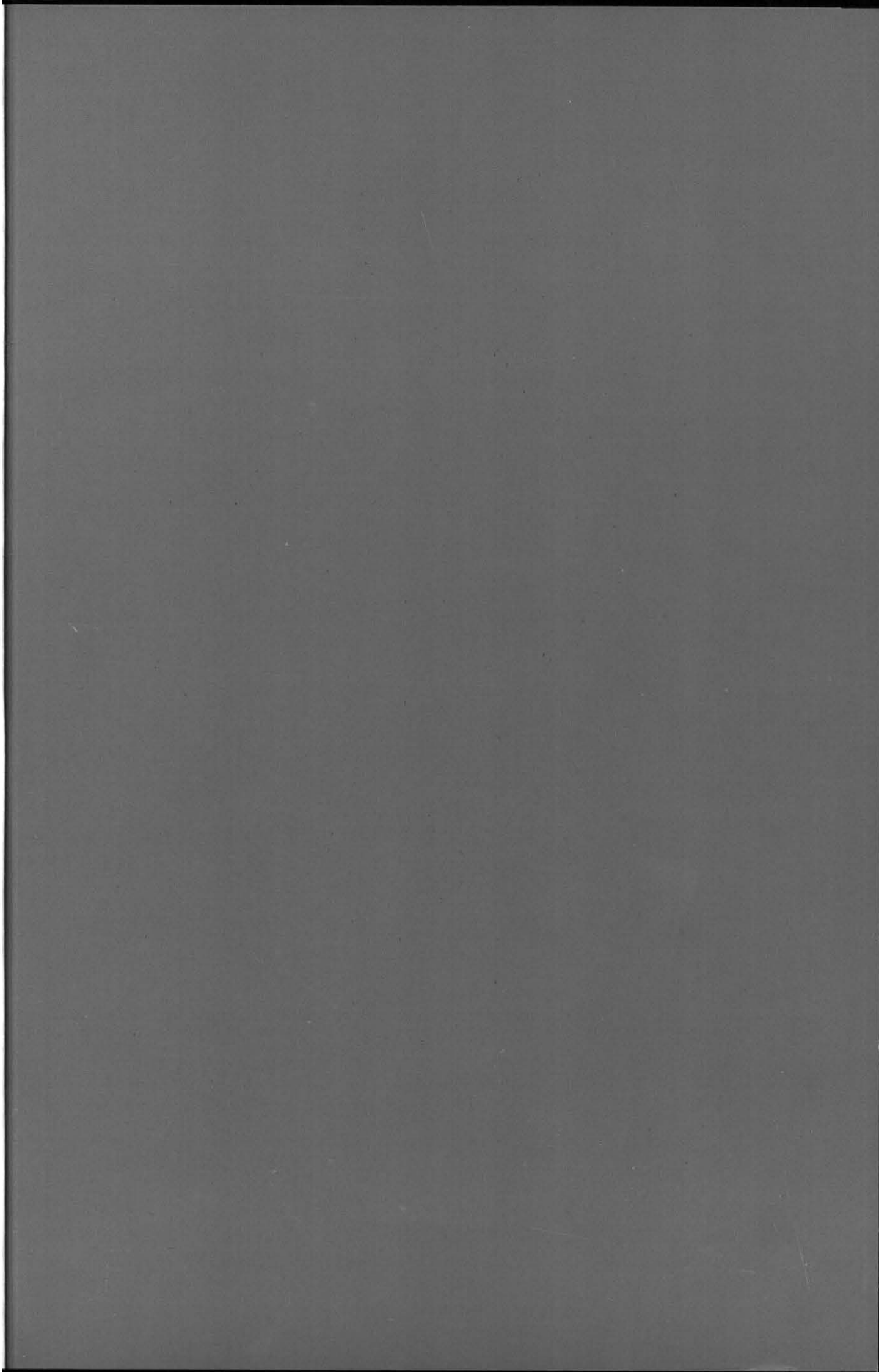
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MK ČR E 55255; MÍČ 47285, ISSN 0862-397X

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