

# ILUMINACE

Časopis pro teorii, historii  
a estetiku filmu

The Journal of Film Theory, History,  
and Aesthetics

3 / 2012



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**Front cover / Na obálce:**

Promtional Artwork distills the *A Nightmare on Elm Street* Brand to its most recognizable elements (*Freddy's Dead: The Final Nightmare*, New Line Cinema, 1991).



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MAIN TOPIC:  
**INDUSTRIAL TRENDS: GENRE AND THE MOVIE BUSINESS**

Guest Editor:  
**Richard Nowell**



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## CONTENTS

### *Editorial*

- Richard Nowell:** Getting Down to Genre Business..... 5

### *Articles*

- Peter Krämer:** "Black is In". Race and Genre in Early 1990s American Cinema ..... 13  
**Stuart Henderson:** Family Resemblances. The Genericity of the Hollywood Sequel ..... 31  
**Andrea Comiskey:** Genre, Domestic Distribution, and Audiences, 1935–1945.  
The Case of the Western ..... 51  
**Richard Nowell:** "Between Dreams and Reality". Genre Personae, Brand *Elm Street*,  
and Repackaging the American Teen Slasher Film..... 69  
**Sheldon Hall:** Carry On, Cowboy. Roast Beef Westerns ..... 103

### *Interview*

- Richard Nowell:** Film Genre and the Industrial Mindset: More Work Needed.  
A Brief Exchange with Peter Hutchings ..... 127

### *Ad Fontes*

- Jarmila Petrová:** P. D. C. s. r. o. (1920–1955)..... 131

### *Horizon*

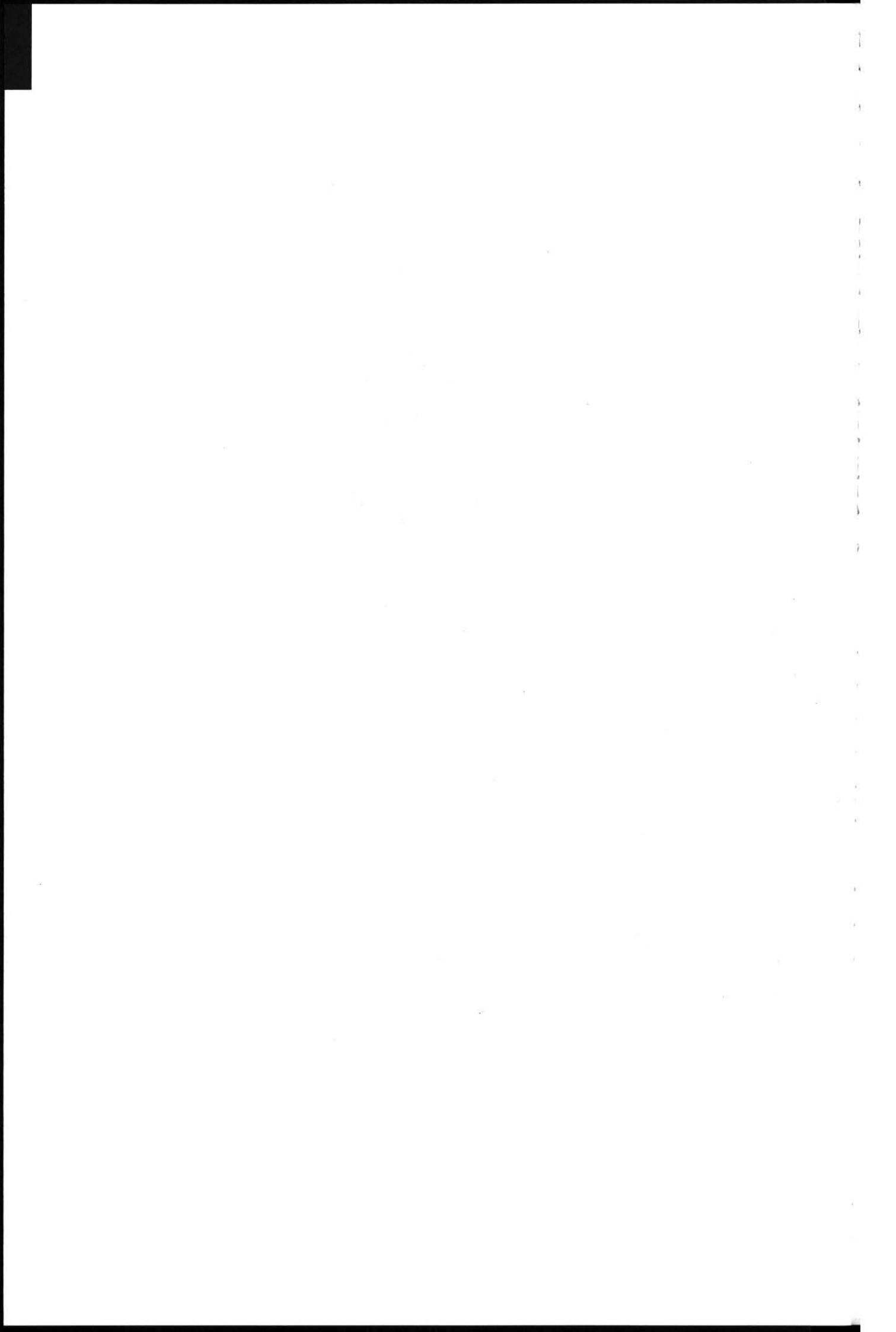
- Jaromír Blažejovský:** Vzhůru k sebekolonizaci, obsaďte námesta  
(Jana Dudková, *Slovenský film v ére transkulturality*) ..... 135  
**Jindřiška Bláhová:** "They've Seen the Impossible ... they've Lived the Incredible ...".  
Repackaging Czechoslovak Films for the US Market during the Cold War ..... 138  
**Gareth James:** Cycles and Continuities. Understanding Media Convergence through  
Media History (Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake /eds/, *Convergence Media History*) ..... 144

### *Projects*

- Eric Schaefer:** The Problem with Sexploitation Movies ..... 148  
**Peter Stanfield:** Notes Towards a Theory of Cyclical Production  
and Topicality in American Film ..... 153

### *Appendix*

- Recent Acquisitions of the NFA Library ..... 160



## Getting Down to Genre Business

The influence exerted by genre on the movie business has been profound, far-reaching, and multifaceted. Industry conceptions of film categories — what Steve Neale described as a film industry's “equivalent to lines and ranges” — have, to name but a few of their roles: rationalized production decisions, preconditioned the mobilization of content, under-written marketing campaigns, informed release strategies, and shaped exhibition.<sup>1)</sup> The association of the term “genre film” with low-prestige pictures may suggest that these forms of influence are peculiar to certain output and certain sectors of industry; however, if romanticized and artificial oppositions between elevated personal expression and derided commercial enterprise are set aside, the widespread nature of genre's impact is evident in the textual and extra-textual properties of almost all motion pictures worldwide, from the most devalued exploitation films to the most valorized of art cinema — and myriad films falling between and traversing these categories. Nevertheless, despite being among the preeminent forces affecting film culture, surprisingly little is known about the precise and complex ways in which genre has actually shaped, and continues to shape, the constituent parts of the movie business. Sustained scholarly interrogation of the relationships between genre and the movie business is therefore salient and overdue: it is to such a project that this issue of *Iluminace* seeks to contribute.

The timeliness of industrially-oriented genre scholarship is brought home by considering those approaches that have come to dominate the field of genre studies. Crucially, a considerable amount of genre scholars' attention has in recent years shifted away from analyzing cultural products towards analyzing discourses that journalists, fans, and other claims-makers have produced in response to cultural products. This sea change is rooted in Andrew Tudor's ahead-of-its-time conceptualization of film genres as the products of multiple perspectives; of a given genre amounting ostensibly to “what we collectively believe it to be.”<sup>2)</sup> Proliferation of what might be called the “Reception-Discourse Approach”

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1) Steve Neale, *Genre and Hollywood* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 231.

2) Andrew Tudor, ‘Genre theory and mispractice in film criticism’, *Screen*, vol. 7, no. 6 (1970), pp. 33–43.

to genre studies was; however, driven by efforts to nuance and to build upon the findings of important studies published in the 1990s by Neale, Barbara Klinger, Rick Altman, James Naremore, and others.<sup>3)</sup> The twenty-first-century crystallization of the approach is encapsulated by the publication in 2001 of arguably the most complete and compelling theoretical treatment of genre as a discursive phenomenon and later by a volume of essays showcasing perhaps the most developed and far-reaching application of the approach to various media.<sup>4)</sup>

The sizable body of scholarship employing the Reception-Discourse Approach to genre has revealed the extent to which the labels, corpora, and discourses that constitute genres are characterized culturally by contestation, flux, and fluidity. In so doing, it has revised significantly the way genre is conceptualized by showing that genres are anything but the stable, agreed-upon, trans-historical, trans-cultural entities that tended to undergird most scholarly and popular discourse on the subject. Thus, acceptance in the notion that genre terminology — such as the labels “Film Noir”, “horror”, and “science-fiction” — can project, at any one moment, different connotations to individuals, and that the meanings of terms like these often change over time, ushered in sustained interest in uncovering the precise ways in which genre labels and their connotations were understood and employed within specific cultural formations at specific historical junctures. While I would suggest that genre scholars disregard the findings of these works at their own peril, it is nevertheless important to recognize that, like any scholarly approach, the Reception-Discourse Approach to genre studies is characterized not only by opportunities but also by limitations. Therefore, where this approach can illuminate relationships between genre and “responsive” reception texts such as newspaper editorials and blogs, it is, at the risk of appearing gnostic, significantly less suited to showing how categories influence the green-lighting, tailoring, and circulation of commodity texts like feature films and of promotional materials (or “paratexts”) like movie trailers.

Brief consideration of the prevailing scholarly approaches used to understand genre's influence on film production, assembly, and dissemination also spotlights the saliency of industrially-oriented genre scholarship. Whether framing their work as investigations of genres or cycles, scholars examining production trends and content patterns (and, to a lesser degree, distribution practices or a combination thereof) have, very much in line with broader tendencies characterizing Film Studies, tended to employ what one of its principal advocates dubs “diagnostic analysis”.<sup>5)</sup> In this approach, apparent shifts in output and content are identified as symptoms of major psycho-social and socio-political cur-

3) See for example Steve Neale, ‘Melo talk: on the meaning of use of the term “melodrama” in the American trade press’, *The Velvet Light Trap* 32 (1993), pp. 66–89; Rick Altman, ‘Reusable packaging: generic products and the recycling process’, in Nick Browne (ed.), *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) pp. 1–41; Barbara Klinger, *Melodrama & Meaning: History, Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); James Naremore, *More than Night: Film Noir in its Contexts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1–8.

4) See Jason Mittell, ‘A cultural approach to television genre theory’, *Cinema Journal*, vol. 40, no. 3 (Spring 2001), pp. 3–24; Lincoln Geraghty and Mark Jancovich (eds), *The Shifting Definitions of Genre: Essays on Labelling Films, Television Shows and Media* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008).

5) For a recent example see Douglas Kellner, *Cinema Wars: Hollywood Films and Politics in the Bush-Cheney Era* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).



rents said to distinguish the periods and locations in which a given trend unfolded. When it is implemented in ways that acknowledge the centrality of human agency and institutional practices, as it is for the most part in Stephen Prince's industrially-sensitive (as opposed to industrially-oriented) analyses of topical film cycles,<sup>6)</sup> this approach can reveal how the conduct of some creative and corporate personnel is at times influenced by public-sphere discourses and how in turn such discourse is on occasion drawn upon when deciding whether or not to produce topical media texts and when mobilizing certain elements of content to furnish end products. Serious questions, however, need to be asked, and ultimately to be answered, about diagnostic analysis' capacity to account for levels in the production and distribution of given types of film; to illuminate precisely how this approach actually explains overall patterns of escalation and reduction of production and release and not, as often seems to be the case, calls for good faith to be placed in the temporal and/or spatial coincidence of tenuously connected occurrences. In its more uncompromising manifestations then, diagnostic analysis annexes cultural production and dissemination from industrial, commercial, and market realities. Emblematic of the near-erasure of both human agency and profit-seeking that typifies such extremes is the nebulous notion of "cultural problem-solving" which has been, in name or in sentiment, offered as the generative mechanism behind recent torture-based horror films and countless other attention-grabbing aspects of output.<sup>7)</sup> In such cases, genre is ultimately transformed into a vehicle or a cipher through which flows the irresistible force of zeitgeist (regularly termed "the cultural moment"), with notions of collective unconscious superseding claims of individual unconscious as the factor which ultimately determines what films get made and how they look.<sup>8)</sup> Accordingly, Prince is not being pedantic when he suggests that it is one thing to claim that filmmakers could not dramatize aspects of late Cold War discourse in the absence of late Cold War discourse but quite another thing to claim late Cold War discourse singlehandedly initiated, sustained, and precipitated in the mid-to-late 1980s hitherto unprecedentedly, albeit fleetingly, high levels of late Cold War film production.<sup>9)</sup> Quite the contrary: Prince makes an important distinction, which confronts, and reminds of the need to avoid, a commonplace slippage undermining genre studies, film studies, and related fields: the conflation of inspiration for localized content with the diverse forms of logic underwriting the individual green-lighting decisions that contribute to a trend.

Against the backdrop both of the rise to prominence of the Reception-Discourse Approach to genre studies and of the persistence of zeitgeist-oriented accounts, scholarship centralizing analyses of industry logic, strategy, and practice have occupied a com-

6) See Stephen Prince, *Visions of Empire: Political Imagery in Contemporary American Film* (New York: Praeger, 1992).

7) See for example Jason Middleton, 'The subject of torture: regarding the pain of Americans in *Hostel*', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4 (Summer 2010), pp. 1–24.

8) For an extended critique see David Bordwell, 'Contemporary film studies and the vicissitudes of Grand Theory', in David Bordwell and Noel Carroll (eds), *Post-Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 3–36. See also Richard Maltby, 'New cinema histories', in Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst, and Philippe Meers (eds), *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell: 2011), pp. 4–8.

9) Prince, *Visions*, pp. 49–80.

paratively marginal position in genre studies. With vociferous calls for genre scholars to centralize industry analysis — made over two decades ago by both Alan Williams and Steve Neale — having, to a great extent, fallen on deaf ears,<sup>10)</sup> the industrial dimensions of genre remain sketchily theorized and have been examined by way of a relatively small number of case-studies.<sup>11)</sup> The approach has been criticized in some quarters for reducing nuances of output, content, and circulation to a profit-seeking motive; however, suggestions of reductivism of the economic variety could themselves ultimately be accused of having fallen victim to reductivism of the critical variety. Serious and sustained engagement in industrial analysis, whether in relation to genre or to other issues, is invariably dominated by efforts to illuminate how and why certain actions were or were not taken in the direct or indirect pursuit of capital gain; it is not characterized exclusively by reassertion of the profit-seeking motive driving all commercial enterprise: with industrial analysis, the journey is the destination. Furthermore, it is misleading to suggest that industrial analysis inherently cordons off industry practice from the broader material and discursive milieux of which industry is a part. Such accusations rely on the very stratagem they decry: by suggesting industrial cultures are distinct from, rather than among myriad components of, the social. While reversing the degree of emphasis that writers such as Prince place on industrial and extra-industrial forces, industrially-oriented genre scholarship does not preclude consideration of the specific ways in which industrial agents commodify and, to some extent, have their actions shaped by, social discourse and events. A real contribution industrially-oriented analysis promises to make to genre studies and to media studies as a whole is the promotion and proliferation of increasingly discriminating, nuanced, and precise understandings of how industrial agents engage with the social in the production and delivery of commodity culture.

Centralizing industry analysis in genre studies therefore offers an ideal method of investigating those forces that shape meaningfully: the green-lighting of films; the models used to marshal content; localized aspect of content furnishing those models; the framing of films in the public sphere; and the dissemination of films. An industrially-oriented approach to genre remains, I maintain, ideally suited to scholarship<sup>12)</sup> that considers how the production, content, and delivery of commodity texts and promotional paratexts is determined by those generative mechanisms undergirding the Production of Culture Perspective: “technology, law and regulation, industry structure, organization structure,

10) Alan Williams, ‘Is a radical genre criticism possible?’, *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1984), pp. 121–125; Steve Neale, ‘Questions of genre’, *Screen*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1990), pp. 45–66.

11) See for example Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: BFI, 1999); Neale, *Genre and Hollywood*; Eric Schaefer, *“Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!”: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Peter Stanfield, *Hollywood, Westerns and the 1930s: The Lost Trail* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2001); Jason Mittell, *Television Genre: From Cop Shows to Cartoons in American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Kevin Heffernan, *Ghouls, Gimmicks and Gold: Horror Films and the American Movie Business, 1953–1968* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Sheldon Hall and Steve Neale, *Epics, Spectacles and Blockbusters: A Hollywood History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010); Richard Nowell, *Blood Money: A History of the First Teen Slasher Film Cycle* (New York: Continuum, 2011).

12) Alan Williams, ‘Is a radical genre criticism possible?’, *Quarterly Review of Film Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1984), pp. 121–125; Neale, ‘Questions’.

occupational careers, and market [forces]”.<sup>13)</sup> It is therefore ideally supported by empirical research, because exhaustive corpora are able to convey — with a degree of certainty not matched by relying on canons and samples — patterns of uniqueness, diversity, and similarity across content,<sup>14)</sup> and to bring to light patterns of stasis and change across output.<sup>15)</sup> Moreover, I would suggest that the theoretical soundness of an industrially-oriented approach to genre hinges on scholars respecting the historical, geographic, and cultural specificities and contingencies of cultural production and dissemination.<sup>16)</sup> I would also suggest that industry-oriented genre scholarship is optimized by considering the relationships between industrial sectors. For example, where links between production and distribution reveal interconnectedness between the assembly and characteristics of commodity texts and promotional paratexts,<sup>17)</sup> application of the approaches to film circulation gaining momentum under the banner of “New Cinema History” promise to shed new light on how genre operates between,<sup>18)</sup> on the one hand, the spheres production and distribution and, on the other hand, theatrical exhibition and other systems of delivery. Studies employing various combinations of these principles have begun to show the extent to which calculation, speculation, opportunism, necessity, and compromise shape production, content, dissemination, and output.<sup>19)</sup>

Accordingly, this issue of *Illuminace* presents a range of writings considering how conceptions of film categories shape industrial logic, strategy, and conduct. The diverse relationships between genre and the movie business are considered in five original articles, each of which focuses primarily on Anglophone popular cinema. The case-studies examined therein nevertheless provide ideas that are transferable to other historical junctures, other national markets, and to other types of film; they will hopefully inspire the generation of like-minded scholarship that will begin to fill sizable voids in film studies and related disciplines.

The first of the articles, written by Peter Krämer, examines the industry category of the “black film”; a category, which, he suggests, was perceived somewhat differently in American film industry circles of the 1990s than it often was in scholarly and popular writing. Central to industrial conceptions of this category during a high watermark of output reached at this time were films helmed by black directors and centered on black char-

13) See Richard A. Peterson and N. Anand, ‘The production of culture perspective’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 30 (2004), pp. 311–334. See also: Robert E. Kapsis, ‘Hollywood genres and the production of culture perspective’, in Bruce A. Austin (ed.), *Current Research in Film: Audiences, Economics and Law Vol. 5* (Norwood: Ablex, 1991), pp. 68–85.

14) Neale, ‘Questions’; Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, and Tress: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), pp. 3–33.

15) Moretti, *Maps*.

16) Neale, ‘Questions’.

17) See for example Nowell, *Blood Money*, pp. 24–41; Roman Labato and Mark David Ryan, ‘Rethinking genre studies through distribution analysis: issues in international horror movie circuits’, *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2011), pp. 188–203.

18) See Maltby, Biltereyst, and Meers, *Explorations*.

19) See for example Heffernan, *Ghoul, Gimmicks and Gold*; Nowell, *Blood Money*; Tico Romao ‘Engines of transformation: an analytical history of the 1970s car chase cycle’, *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 1, no 1, (2003), pp. 31–54; Schaefer, ‘*Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!*’; Stanfield, *Hollywood, Westerns and the 1930s*.

acters. Charting the conditions which fuelled the rise to prominence, the proliferation, and ultimately the marginalization of the two principal sub-categories of black film during the period — “urban crime films” and comedies — Krämer argues that efforts publicly to offset perceived white biases in Hollywood recruitment practice, coupled with a desire to maximize movie-going among black audiences, succumbed quite swiftly to the harsh realities of the market, fuelled by social developments. Krämer’s article highlights the degree to which subsequent genre scholarship might pay greater attention to the ways demographics serve as an organizing principle rationalizing output: in short, as industry genres *par excellence*. Film content, approached in Krämer’s contribution as a general structure underwriting the green-lighting of projects, is brought sharply into focus in the next essay.

In the second of the five articles, Stuart Henderson presents a poetics of sequels. Existing genre theory and cycle theory, argues Henderson, is not equipped fully to account for the specific balance of repetition and difference that characterizes sequels, due to the relationships a sequel boasts to its predecessor(s) being significantly closer and more predetermining than those connecting the merely similar films upon which theorists of genre and cycles have primarily concentrated. To understand the ways in which sequels have tended to develop textually, Henderson suggests, is to understand a confluence of internal and external influences pertaining to the content of the previous film(s), of a given series or franchise, to broader developments in the genre(s) to which a given sequel also belongs, and to industrial agency. Breaking new ground in terms of understanding sequels’ historical and theoretical relationships to genre, Henderson’s article provides a conceptual framework which promises to facilitate new scholarly investigation of serialized cinema. If Henderson is principally concerned with the logic and strategies underwriting film assembly, the next article shifts attention to the dissemination of completed motion pictures.

The focus of the third article, written by Andrea Comiskey, is the roles genre plays with respect to the conjoined spheres of distribution, theatrical exhibition, and consumption (in terms of imagined and actual theatergoers). Contributing to the aforementioned field of New Cinema History, the article provides a detailed case-study of the distribution and theatrical exhibition of Westerns in mid-to-late 1930s and early-1940s America. By focusing on the circulation of the films in both Metropolitan circuits and small-towns, Comiskey shows that the Westerns cannot, as is commonly thought, be characterized by a strict A Picture/B Picture distinction, relating to budgets, production values, assumed exhibition sites, and imagined audiences. The passage of Westerns through American theatrical circuits, argues Comiskey, was in fact significantly less clear cut, characterized, as it was, by high levels of fluidity and flux, with individual films handled in ways that undermine strict distinctions. Comiskey’s article invites further investigation of how forms of delivery and sites of exhibition complicate intra- and inter-generic hierarchies. Where Comiskey’s study is concerned with the ways in which the public dissemination of films contributes to the manner in which they are perceived, the next article considers how the ways in which certain films are perceived contributes to the manner in which other films are disseminated publicly.



The fourth article — my own contribution to this issue of *Iluminace* — aims to bridge the Reception-Discourse Approach to genre studies and an industrially-oriented approach, by considering how industrial agents advance their interests through their appropriation of misrepresentative discourses orbiting groups of films or “genre personae”. I offer a case study of New Line Cinema’s mid-to-late 1980s development of its *A Nightmare on Elm Street* teen horror series to illustrate the extent to which this practice shapes production and distribution (including marketing campaigns). Central to this producer-distributor’s handling of its property, I argue, was a systematic effort to exaggerate product differentiation from a group of earlier films; a process preconditioned by the invocation of highly misleading claims that had made these earlier films so disreputable in the first place. It is my hope that my article prompts increased dialogue between scholars of reception and industry by showcasing the mutual advantages of appreciating how acts of misrepresentation shape film culture. The focus on the internal dynamics of a national film culture, present, albeit in different iterations, across each of the previous essays, is expanded in the explicitly transnational perspective governing the fifth and final article.

In the final article, Sheldon Hall examines how a particular type of film associated primarily with one film industry has been utilized by another industry by way of an examination of the British film industry’s production of what he calls “Roast Beef Westerns”. Hall’s article offers a path-breaking historical survey of the various incarnations of a hitherto overlooked instance of international genre exchange/recalibration. The genre history presented therein spotlights a range of textual and production models: Western comedies and Western parodies; colonial and imperial narratives, which bore some similarities to, but also key differences from, US Westerns; as well as international and multinational co-productions involving the creative, corporate, and/or financial input of British nationals. Binding together the constituent films of these disparate iterations of Roast Beef Westerns, concludes Hall, is an “anti-epic impulse”; a quality which, he suggests, not only sets the films apart from Westerns associated with other national film industries, but which could be seen to imbue them with a measure of what might be thought of as “British-ness”. Constituting, to use his own turn of phrase, “a scouting of the territory”, Hall’s article sets the stage for new research into an aspect of filmic output of which, comparatively speaking, little is known.

The five original articles are followed by five shorter pieces of writing, each penned by scholars who have engaged with issues pertaining to industry and genre in the course of their own research. The first is an interview that I conducted with media historian Peter Hutchings about fairly recent developments in, and possible new avenues for, genre studies. The second is a comparative poster analysis wherein Jindřiška Bláhová highlights the ways in which Czechoslovak Science Fiction films of the 1960s were re-categorized for release on the US market during the Cold War period. Gareth James’ review of a potentially influential volume on cross-media relationships constitutes the third piece. Thereafter, follow two overviews of ongoing research that is being conducted by leading scholars in the field. In the first of those two pieces, Peter Stanfield showcases his research into American film production cycles, and, in the second, Eric Schaefer spotlights some major challenges he has been encountering while researching exploitation pictures of the 1960s and 1970s.

As this issue of *Illuminace* shows, industrial conceptions of genre determine what films are or are not made, how green-lighted films look, how films are framed for consumption, how films are disseminated, and, therefore, contribute significantly to the manner in which films are anticipated, consumed, engaged, discussed, remembered, and so on. Because genre is a cornerstone of industry practice — one which cuts across industrial sectors, across media, across national borders, and across reception cultures — developing current knowledge of its industrial character has the potential deeply to enrich scholarly understandings not only of cinema generally but of audiovisual culture as a whole.

Richard Nowell



Peter Krämer

## “Black is In”

### *Race and Genre in Early 1990s American Cinema*

In January 1990, three films by black directors won top prizes at the US Film Festival (which the following year was renamed the Sundance Film Festival): Wendell Harris' true-life drama *CHAMELEON STREET* (1989), Charles Burnett's family drama *TO SLEEP WITH ANGER*, and the Hudlin brothers' hip hop comedy *HOUSE PARTY*. In the wake of this surprise success, considerable press attention was given to the American film industry's recent willingness to employ black filmmakers. In March that year, the *New York Daily News* reported that “black film directors are making serious inroads in Hollywood's long-established lily-white order,” because the film industry realized “that there's money to be made and critical praise to be earned with the richly varied visions of black film makers.”<sup>1)</sup> The article noted that “while the black population makes up only 13 % of the moviegoing public, 30 % are frequent moviegoers”, a much higher percentage than for the white population. It also noted that the American film industry had made several previous attempts specifically to service the black cinema audience (notably in the 1970s with “blaxploitation” films such as *SHAFT* and *SUPER FLY* /both 1971/).

Also in March 1990, a *New York Times* headline announced: “In Hollywood, black is in.”<sup>2)</sup> The writer of this article was in no doubt that the main reason for African American directors “being welcomed as never before by studios” was “their moneymaking potential.”<sup>3)</sup> While their primary audience could be found among the black minority, “industry marketing mavens long resistant to the idea are beginning to recognize that a white audience will spend money to see black movies.”<sup>4)</sup> An indication of this development was pro-

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- 1) Martha Southgate, ‘Doing the Spike thing: a new generation of black filmmakers is bringing a new attitude to Hollywood’, *New York Daily News*, 11 March 1990, City Lights Section, pp. 3, 5.
- 2) James Greenberg, ‘In Hollywood, black is in’, *New York Times*, 4 March 1990, Section 2, pp. 1, 22–3.
- 3) *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 4) *Ibid.*

vided by "the unprecedented success of Eddie Murphy", who had long since crossed over into the Hollywood mainstream, and by "more recently the trend-setting popularity of Arsenio Hall" on television: "But more directly responsible was Spike Lee's left field hit *SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT* in 1986, which opened the eyes of the industry to the potential of black films".<sup>5)</sup> Also referenced in this article is the box office success of Steven Spielberg's 1985 adaptation of Alice Walker's Pulitzer prize-winning novel *THE COLOR PURPLE*. Finally, the writer points out that, in addition to the commercial potential of black-helmed films ("helmer" being an industry term for director),<sup>6)</sup> the employment of African American filmmakers made the film industry look good — that is these filmmakers made it appear less biased and more diverse racially. It was excellent publicity for an industry that had been criticized heavily for its exclusion of blacks. However, the article also raised the possibility that investments in black-helmed films might only be a temporary fad. Spike Lee was quoted as saying: "Black filmmakers may be hot today, but tomorrow it will be Hispanic films. What happens then?"

These articles suggest that in the early 1990s, the mainstream press in the US employed the term "black films" (or "black movies") in reference to films directed by, and starring, African Americans, which, it was assumed, would appeal primarily to African American audiences.<sup>7)</sup> Such black films were said to be significant for the American film industry for two reasons: they had commercial potential (especially when they managed to attract both white and black movie-goers), and they could be seen as a positive response to persistent criticism of the film industry's racially biased representational, and "lily-white" employment, practices.

As a genre category, black film has a substantial history. For example, at the height of the blaxploitation cycle of 1971–1975, a *New York Times* headline from July 1972 read: "Black films are in, so are profits",<sup>8)</sup> and a few months later the paper published a debate between prominent African American commentators entitled "Black movie boom — good or bad?"<sup>9)</sup> At this point in time, black films were defined by their African American casts, subject matter, and primary audience; only a small number had African American directors. Nevertheless, although much of the early 1970s debate about black films focused on the representation of the lives of African American characters on screen and whether or not these films benefitted African Americans, the press also highlighted the new employment opportunities for African American filmmakers opened up by the "black movie boom", as in the following *New York Times* headline from June 1972: "Now, a boom in

5) Ibid., p. 23.

6) I am using the term "black-helmed" rather than "black-directed", because the latter could be misunderstood (as in "directed at blacks" instead of "directed by blacks").

7) Confusingly, films not directed by African Americans might, under certain circumstances, also be described as "black films", if they featured a black star (like Eddie Murphy) or dealt with the life of African Americans (as *THE COLOR PURPLE* did), and hence were assumed, once again, to have a particular appeal to African American audiences. For a later *Variety* survey of developments across the 1990s which employs both narrow and broad definitions of the term "black film" see Dade Hayes, 'Black talent charts gains over decade', *Variety*, 3 March 2002, p. 6.

8) George Gent, 'Black films are in, so are profits', *New York Times*, 18 July 1972, p. 22.

9) Gordon Parks and Junius Griffin, 'Black movie boom — good or bad?', *New York Times*, 17 December 1972, p. D3.

black directors".<sup>10)</sup> What is more, partly inspired by black-helmed films such as Melvin Van Peebles' *SWEET SWEETBACK'S BAADASSSSS SONG* (1971),<sup>11)</sup> film scholars also became heavily invested in black film as a genre category, leading to several book-length studies ranging from Thomas Cripps' *Black Film as Genre* (1978) to Gladstone L. Yearwood's *Black Film as a Signifying Practice* (2000).<sup>12)</sup> Although initially focused on films made by black directors, scholarship on black film has opened up this category so as to include selected films made by whites as well.<sup>13)</sup>

This rich tradition in academic Film Studies is at odds with the intermittent usage of "black film" in the American movie industry's own discourse and in writing about American cinema in the general press. Of course, there is nothing unusual about scholarly categories diverging from the ways in which the film industry itself labels its products.<sup>14)</sup> Yet, it is noteworthy that the moniker "black film" appears to come into widespread use in the trade and general press only at particular historical moments, most notably in the early 1970s and in the early 1990s. During both periods, the press emphasized the commercial potential of black films. This commercial potential was seen to derive from their presumed appeal to African American cinemagoers (who, in the 1970s — as in the 1990s — had been responsible for a larger share of ticket sales than their small share of the American population would have suggested)<sup>15)</sup> and from the films' potential to cross over and attract members of the white majority. However, writing about black films tended to acknowledge that crossover appeal was difficult to achieve and even more difficult to maintain. Indeed, as with the early 1990s, the black film boom of the early 1970s did not last for long.<sup>16)</sup>

In this essay, then, I examine the early 1990s boom by drawing on production information, box office data, and audience breakdowns for films made by black directors.<sup>17)</sup> My aim is to provide a better understanding of decisions made in the American film industry about the production of such films and of decisions made by theatergoers about whether

10) James P. Murray, 'Now, a boom in black directors', *New York Times*, 4 June 1972, p. D11.

11) See Thomas Cripps, 'Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song and the changing politics of genre film', in Peter Lehman (ed.), *Close Viewings: An Anthology of New Film Criticism* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1990), pp. 238–61.

12) Thomas Cripps, *Black Film as Genre* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978); Gladstone L. Yearwood *Black Film as a Signifying Practice: Cinema, Narration and the African-American Aesthetic Tradition* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2000).

13) See Tommy L. Lott, 'A no-theory theory of contemporary black cinema', in Valerie Smith (ed.), *Representing Blackness: Issues in Film and Video* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp. 83–96.

14) See Steve Neale, *Genre and Hollywood* (London: Routledge, 2000), especially chapter 7.

15) Cp. Lee Beaupre, 'One third film public: negro', *Variety*, 29 November 1967, p. 3.

16) See Peter Krämer and Eithne Quinn, 'Blaxploitation', in Michael Hammond and Linda Ruth Williams (eds), *Contemporary American Cinema* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2006), pp. 184–5, 188–98.

17) The research for this essay covered numerous folders of clippings files at the Performing Arts Research Centre (PARC) of the New York Public Library and at the Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences (AMPAS), Beverly Hills. The hundreds of clippings, for the decades from the 1960s onwards, in the folders entitled "Audiences", "Audience — Cinema — US" and "Cinema — Statistics — US" at PARC as well as "Audiences" and "Surveys" at AMPAS included almost no references to African Americans. Fortunately, a significant number of clippings for this period can be found in the folders entitled "Black Films", "Blacks in Films", and "Blacks and Films" at AMPAS and in various folders entitled "Negro in Cinema — US" at PARC. However, very few of these contain hard data.

or not to pay to see them. I am dealing with films made by black directors and their commercial performance because I am concerned with employment practices in the American film industry; these are of considerable interest, given the fact that the industry has long been known for its exclusionary practices with regard to black behind-the-camera personnel.<sup>18)</sup> What is more, there is a glaring disparity between the overall socio-cultural liberalism (among other things with regards to race relations) of leading industry personnel,<sup>19)</sup> and the disturbing fact that a 1982 survey of the film industry elite found that, more than almost any other elite group in American society, it was made up of whites (who accounted for almost ninety-nine percent of this elite).<sup>20)</sup> This statistic raises the question of why the liberal establishment of the American film industry was so reluctant to employ black directors. In addition to deep-seated racial biases which characterize the attitudes and behavior even of American liberals,<sup>21)</sup> the answer to this question is also likely to have had something to do with the commercial performance of the kinds of film that tended to be made by black directors.

As it turns out, in the early 1990s (and also, with very few exceptions such as Michael Schultz's *SGT. PEPPER'S LONELY HEARTS CLUB BAND* /1978/, in preceding decades), black directors worked on black-themed films. This correlation may have been a result of their particular choice of projects or of industry typecasting. Either way, when assessing the box office performance of films made by black directors, I am not assuming that the films' marketing campaigns emphasized the director's race or that a director's race influenced directly the decisions of potential theatergoers (although this may well have been the case in some instances). I am, however, working on the basis that the commercial success or failure of these films influenced subsequent industry decisions about whether or not to invest in black directors, as long as they continued to be associated with black-themed projects. It is also important to note in this context that, during the early 1990s, certain types of black-themed films (notably low-budget comedies and urban crime dramas)<sup>22)</sup> were the almost exclusive domain of black directors.

18) See Jesse Algeon Rhines, *Black Film/White Money* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996), chapter 6; Eithne Quinn, 'Sincere fictions: the production cultures of whiteness in late 1960s Hollywood', *The Velvet Light Trap*, vol. 67 (Spring 2011), pp. 3–13; Eithne Quinn, 'Closing doors: Hollywood, jobs and the revitalization of conservative racial politics', *Journal of American History*, vol. 99, no. 2 (September 2012), forthcoming.

19) Stephen Powers, David J. Rothman and Stanley Rothman, *Hollywood's America: Social and Political Themes in Motion Pictures* (Boulder: Westview, 1996), chapter 3, especially p. 67. Also see chapter 9 about minority representations in hit movies across the last few decades.

20) *Ibid.*, p. 53.

21) Robert M. Entman and Andrew Rojecki, *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), chapters 2–3.

22) I have derived the label "urban crime dramas" from an item in *Variety* which identifies the films I am discussing as "urban crime stories". See Anon., 'B.O. from the "hood"', *Variety*, 9 November 1998, p. 18. Elsewhere this type of film has been discussed as "hood films" or "ghetto action films" and, with regards to the early 1970s, as blaxploitation. See, for example, Norman K. Denzin, *Reading Race: Hollywood and the Cinema of Racial Violence* (London: Sage, 2002); Paula J. Massood, *Black City Cinema: African American Urban Experiences in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003); Keith M. Harris, *Boys, Boyz, Bois: An Ethics of Black Masculinity in Film and Popular Media* (New York: Routledge, 2006).



In the first section of this essay I discuss the increased output of black-helmed films from 1990 to 1993, dealing both with the considerable box office success these films achieved and with the limitations to their commercial potential.<sup>23)</sup> A detailed analysis of these limitations is offered in the second section with respect to the most prominent group of black-helmed films of the early 1990s: urban crime dramas. These films were caught up in public debates about race and violence, which enhanced their profile while also, possibly, restricting their audience base. In the third section, I compare the output of urban crime dramas with that of comedies made by black directors, which appear to have had a greater commercial potential.

### The Revival of Black Films

That films made by black directors were indeed making a major comeback, for the first time since the heyday of blaxploitation in the first half of the 1970s, was widely noted in the early 1990s both by industry observers and by industry insiders. For example, Warrington Hudlin, producer of *HOUSE PARTY* and president of the Black Filmmakers Foundation, stated in March 1991: "In 1990 and 1991, more films with blacks behind the camera will be released than during the entire previous decade."<sup>24)</sup> While this claim was somewhat exaggerated, it did highlight a dramatic increase; later estimates suggest that on average six black-helmed films were released every year in the second half of the 1980s, while from 1990 to 1993 the average rose to thirteen.<sup>25)</sup>

The increased production and release of these films was monitored closely by the press. Reports were initially hopeful about this revival, with the *Christian Science Monitor* asking in July 1990 whether soon "African-American movies will have as strong a presence on the culture scene as African-American music?"<sup>26)</sup> In March 1991, Twentieth Century Fox executive Tom Sherak declared in *Variety* that the release of *HOUSE PARTY* in 1990 had been "a benchmark", because, despite the fact that the film's marketing was addressed primarily to African Americans, "a lot of white people saw it, too."<sup>27)</sup> Similarly, according to director Mario Van Peebles, the action-oriented crime drama *NEW JACK CITY* "tested best with black audiences and went well with whites too."<sup>28)</sup>

23) In this essay, I measure a film's commercial performance purely by its box office performance in the North American market. By the early 1990s, American films tended to generate the majority of their income from foreign markets and video. However, reliable figures are not easily available for foreign markets or video. What is more, it was generally assumed that the relative success of a film at the North American box office would be mirrored in foreign markets and on video, so that the North American box office is a good indicator of a film's overall commercial performance.

24) Lawrence Cohn, 'Blacks taking the helm', *Variety*, 18 March 1991, p. 108. A similar claim can be found in Nina J. Easton, 'Black films' new crossover campaign', *Newsday*, 18 June 1991, Part II, p. 45.

25) Rhines, *Black Film/White Money*, p. 146; Ed Guerrero, *Framing Blackness: The African American Image in Film* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), p. 120; Lawrence Cohn, 'Poetic justice', *Premiere*, July 1994, p. 41.

26) David Sterritt, 'Blacks in the mainstream', *Christian Science Monitor*, 2 July 1990, p. 13.

27) Anne Thompson, 'Charting the grey area of "crossover" pictures', *Variety*, 18 March 1991, unpaginated clipping in the 'Negro in Cinema — US — 1990–1999' folder, PARC.

28) *Ibid.*

As it turned out, 1991 was indeed a "break through year", with nineteen releases, up from nine in 1990.<sup>29)</sup> These releases came from the major studios as well as from independent distributors,<sup>30)</sup> and included several box office hits as well as a number of flops (which is to be expected of any group of releases). While none of these hits matched the blockbuster success of films such as *TERMINATOR 2: JUDGMENT DAY*, the biggest US hit of 1991 with a domestic theatrical gross of \$205m, some of the black-helmed films grossed several times their production costs, most notably the urban crime dramas *BOYZ N THE HOOD* (cost \$6m, domestic theatrical gross \$56m),<sup>31)</sup> *NEW JACK CITY* (cost \$8.5m, gross \$47m) and the extremely low-budget effort *STRAIGHT OUT OF BROOKLYN* (cost \$0.3m, gross \$2.7m), as well as the comedy *HOUSE PARTY 2* (cost \$4m, gross \$19.2m) and, to a lesser extent, Spike Lee's drama about interracial romance *JUNGLE FEVER* (cost \$14m, gross \$32m).<sup>32)</sup> In addition to reporting on these successes, the press noted that budgets for black-helmed films were rising. All of the 1991 films (as well as those from 1990) cost much less to produce than the industry average for releases by major companies of \$26m;<sup>33)</sup> yet, two of the 1992 releases — the Hudlin brothers' Eddie Murphy comedy *BOOMERANG* and Spike Lee's epic biopic *MALCOLM X* — were allocated budgets matching or exceeding this average.<sup>34)</sup> With bigger budgets came the expectation of a greater marketing effort and hence perhaps the chance to emulate the anticipated grosses of Hollywood's calculated blockbusters.

Articles about the revival of black-helmed films almost invariably contained a note of caution however. To begin with, the initial expectations of a substantial crossover audience were quickly disappointed. The audience for Bill Duke's \$8m Chester Himes adaptation *A RAGE IN HARLEM* (1991), for example, was reported to be between eighty and eighty-five percent black, and, with its \$10m gross, the film barely recouped its production budget at the US box office; similarly, the first week audience for *BOYZ N THE HOOD* was estimated to be seventy-five percent black.<sup>35)</sup> With budgets for black-helmed films rising

29) David J. Fox, 'A year of few black films', *Newsday*, 18 August 1992, p. 45; Cohn, 'Blacks Taking the Helm', p. 41. While Fox gives the number of 1991 releases as "about 20", Cohn gives it as 19.

30) With a few important exceptions — notably *SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT* (Island Pictures), *HOUSE PARTY* (New Line Cinema), and 1991's *STRAIGHT OUT OF BROOKLYN* (The Samuel Goldwyn Company) — most of the high-profile black-helmed films of the late 1980s and very early 1990s were distributed by the major studios.

31) Unless otherwise stated, the term gross is to be understood throughout this essay as referring to the domestic (i.e. US and Canada) theatrical ticket sale revenue generated by a given film.

32) Michael Fleming, 'Black helmers look beyond the "hood"', *Variety*, 20 January 1992, p. 23. Only one of the 1990 releases had performed similarly (*HOUSE PARTY*; cost \$6m, gross \$25m), while the other two high profile releases of the year did less well: Spike Lee's jazz drama *MO' BETTER BLUES* cost \$10m and grossed \$16m, and Sidney Poitier's \$20m comedy *GHOST DAD* grossed \$22m. These figures are taken from the German magazine *steadycam*, which has derived them from the American trade press; it should be noted that budget figures tend to vary slightly from source to source. See Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 18 (Spring 1991), p. 14.

33) Tracy Stevens (ed.), *International Motion Picture Almanac* (Larchmont: Quigley Publishing, 2001), p. 13.

34) Fleming, 'Black Helmers', p. 23. At this point *MALCOLM X* was budgeted at \$25m, yet eventually it cost \$34m. *BOOMERANG* became the most expensive black-helmed film ever with a final budget of \$50m. See Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 24 (Spring 1993), p. 12.

35) Easton, 'Black films' new crossover campaign', p. 45; Richard Bernstein, 'Hollywood seeks a white audience for new black films', *New York Times*, 17 July 1991, p. C13. Bernstein noted, however, that Spike Lee's films "reportedly attract blacks and whites in roughly equal numbers". According to another article, audiences for



in 1992, it became ever more important to attract white Americans.<sup>36)</sup> At the same time, it was important for these films to do well in foreign markets; however, industry insiders agreed with New Line Cinema executive Janet Grillo, who declared: "So far, there is no foreign value for most of these movies."<sup>37)</sup> Furthermore, a 1991 study by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) found that the overall employment situation for blacks in the American film industry was not improving; while black directors often hired largely African American crews, in general blacks made up less — in many cases far less — than five percent of film crews.<sup>38)</sup>

In the context of rising budgets and apparently limited market chances for black-helmed films, as well as a paucity of black personnel being hired, it is not surprising that the output of such films declined again after 1991, going down from nineteen to thirteen in 1992 and to eleven in 1993 (which is almost as low as the figure for 1990).<sup>39)</sup> However, this reduced output included an increasing number of relatively high grossing films. These films fell broadly into two categories — low-budget crime dramas with domestic theatrical grosses of \$20m–\$30m,<sup>40)</sup> and medium-to-big-budget star vehicles with domestic theatrical grosses of \$40m–\$70m. The latter included 1992's *BOOMERANG* (cost \$50m, gross \$66m), Kevin Hooks' 1992 action film *PASSENGER 57* (starring Wesley Snipes, cost \$19m, gross \$43m), and Bill Duke's 1993 comedy *SISTER ACT 2: BACK IN THE HABIT* (starring Whoopi Goldberg, cost \$26m, gross \$50m).<sup>41)</sup> Due to these moderate hits, overall ticket sales for black-helmed films were holding up quite well after 1991; they went up from 40 million to 42 million in 1992 and then down to 29 million in 1993 (still almost twice the figure for 1990, which was 15 million).<sup>42)</sup>

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NEW JACK CITY were ninety percent non-white, for *JUICE* (1992) eighty-five percent non-white, and for *BOYZ N THE HOOD* fifty-five percent non-white; Charles Fleming, 'Testing. Testing. Why the testing?', *Variety*, 17 February 1992, p. 94. The lower figure for *BOYZ N THE HOOD* quoted here would seem to suggest that the film initially attracted mostly African Americans (hence the seventy-five percent figure given in Bernstein's article from July 1991), yet later crossed over to white audiences.

36) Easton, 'Black films' new crossover campaign, p. 45.

37) Fleming, 'Black helmers', p. 23.

38) Michael Fleming, 'Blacks see red over lily-white film crews', *Variety*, 14 October 1991, pp. 3, 261; See also Anon., 'Report says blacks are underhired in Hollywood', *New York Times*, 24 September 1991, p. C13. Fleming reported that on black-helmed films up to 80% of crew members were African American.

39) Cohn, 'Blacks taking the helm', p. 41. It should be noted that in the early 1990s, over 380 new films were released every year in the US (about 150 by the major studios and the rest by independent distributors), which means that black directors accounted for less, in most years much less, than 5% of the overall output.

See MPAA, '2001 US Economic Review', Motion Picture Association of America, <<http://www.mpa.org/useconomicreview/2001Economic/index.htm>>, slide 11 [accessed 20 May 2012]

40) For example, Ernest Dickerson's 1992 film *JUICE* (cost \$6m, gross \$20m), Allen and Albert Hughes' 1993 film *MENACE II SOCIETY* (cost \$3.5m, gross \$27m), and John Singleton's 1993 film *POETIC JUSTICE* (cost \$13m, gross \$27m). See Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 24 (Spring 1993), p. 12; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 26 (Spring 1994), p. 10. As with most of the 1991 urban crime dramas, these films did not feature established film stars; instead they used major music stars, including a host of rappers as well as soul singer Janet Jackson.

41) We can also include in this group 1992's *MALCOLM X* (cost \$34m, gross \$47m), although the film is associated at least as much with its director as it is with its star (Denzel Washington). See Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 24 (Spring 1993), p. 12.

42) Cohn, 'Poetic justice', p. 41. Cohn does not provide any figures for the late 1980s, but his all-time chart of the thirty biggest selling films by African American directors suggests that the success of *HARLEM NIGHTS*

Thus, there appeared to be a return to the traditionally small output of black-helmed films while overall audience figures — as well as average budgets — for these films remained at a higher level than they had been before the break-through year of 1991. Black directors seemed to have found two important niches in the overall output of the American film industry: working cheaply on largely black-cast films dealing with urban crime, or working with bigger budgets on black star vehicles. In addition, the success of *HOUSE PARTY 2* in 1991 was indicative of a third potential niche for black filmmakers: low-budget black-cast comedies. I will now investigate black-themed urban crime dramas and comedies in more detail, highlighting the problematic features of these niches and hence the problems black filmmakers faced in sustaining their careers within them.

### The Limited Appeal of Urban Crime Dramas by Black Directors

Towards the end of 1991, a *Variety* headline asked: "Are Retailers Selling Black Movies Short?"<sup>43)</sup> The article noted that recent Spike Lee movies and black-helmed urban crime dramas were much in demand on home video, generating more rentals per copy than comparable films made by white directors. However, video stores stocked fewer copies of these films than they did copies of non-black films that had generated similar box office grosses. Hence, *Variety* argued, "consumer demand for movies by African-American filmmakers is exceeding the supply in the rental marketplace".<sup>44)</sup> Industry observers also noted that this reluctance to make available a sufficient number of video copies of black-helmed films was particularly damaging in the light of problems these films had encountered during their respective theatrical releases. On the one hand, they simply were not distributed everywhere; thus, in many areas they were not widely available until their video release.<sup>45)</sup> On the other hand, in some cases, such as *BOYZ N THE HOOD*, the theatrical release had been surrounded by controversy:

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(which both starred and was directed by Eddie Murphy) and Spike Lee's *DO THE RIGHT THING* brought the figure for 1989 to over 20 million ticket sales — but probably not much more than 20 million, because there do not seem to be any other black-helmed films selling significant numbers of tickets that year. Similarly, only Robert Townsend's *EDDIE MURPHY RAW*, showing Eddie Murphy in concert, was a major success in 1987 (with 12.8 million tickets sold). According to a 1991 list of the black-helmed films with the highest rentals (usually about half the gross), there were three minor successes in 1986 (Spike Lee's *SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT*, Prince's *UNDER THE CHERRY MOON*, and Richard Pryor's *JO JO DANCER*) with an estimated combined gross of \$34m, which translates to about 9 million tickets sold (at an average ticket price of \$3.70). The two minor successes of 1988 (*I'M GONNA GIT YOU SUCKA* and *SCHOOL DAZE*) sold around 6 million tickets each. Thus, annual tickets sales for black-helmed films from 1986 to 1989 were variable, with the peak years matching or exceeding sales in 1990, but staying well below the figures for 1991–93. See Anon., 'Top films by black directors', *Variety*, 18 March 1991, p. 108.

43) Marc Berman, 'Are retailers selling black movies short?', *Variety*, 18 November 1991, p. 16; See also Lewis Beale, 'Straight out of Hollywood: rental video sales lag for black films', *Newsday*, 12 March 1992, p. 41.

44) Berman, 'Are retailers selling black movies short?', p. 16.

45) Berman, 'Are retailers selling black movies short?', p. 16. Laura Baker argues that, in the early 1990s, there were "few first-run movie houses located immediately proximate to or in black inner-city communities; to see first-run product residents must travel to suburban or downtown mall multiplexes". Alternatively, they could wait for a belated run in an inner-city cinema, or for the video release. Baker also suggests that mall cinemas were reluctant to book films made by black directors, in particular urban crime dramas, because

because reports of violence at the film's opening deterred some moviegoers from seeing it at a theater, the video release seems to be the perfect opportunity for *BOYZ N THE HOOD* to reach a much wider audience.<sup>46)</sup>

The same applied to *NEW JACK CITY*, which in March 1991 had been the first high-profile black film released that year. Reports about theater riots and about shootings at screenings of *NEW JACK CITY* and later *BOYZ N THE HOOD* were circulated widely, often suggesting a link between the gang violence depicted on the screen and violence amongst black moviegoers.<sup>47)</sup> It is easy to see that such reports may have had a negative impact on the theatrical attendance of these films and also possibly on future theatrical bookings of similar films, which would therefore be less likely to receive wide distribution.<sup>48)</sup>

In fact, reports about theater violence only confirmed pre-existing fears. In 1989, the release of Spike Lee's *DO THE RIGHT THING*, an inner city drama culminating in a race riot, had been accompanied by concerns in mainstream media about the film's potential to incite violent action.<sup>49)</sup> Nothing untoward happened, and, with a \$26m gross on a \$6m production budget, the film went on to become one of the surprise successes that paved the way for the American film industry's dramatically increased investment in black-helmed films in the early 1990s.<sup>50)</sup> However, the anxieties remained, and at the time of *NEW JACK CITY*'s theatrical release in March 1991, *Variety* noted that the latest wave of black-themed urban crime dramas would have to work hard "to break through exhibitor resistance based on violent incidents connected with the release of some blaxploitation pics 20 years ago."<sup>51)</sup> Two months later, in June 1991, *Newsday* revealed the contemporary source of such concerns when it emphasized how great a challenge it was

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they "threatened to attract an audience neither white enough nor wealthy enough to be compatible with the public merchandised by the mall". See Laura Baker, 'Screening race: responses to theater violence at *NEW JACK CITY* and *BOYZ N THE HOOD*', *The Velvet Light Trap*, no. 44 (Fall 1999), pp. 12–3.

46) Beale, 'Straight Out Of Hollywood', p. 41.

47) See Baker, 'Screening Race', pp. 4–9. Baker notes that the release of several films made by white directors, such as *COLORS* (1988), had similarly been accompanied by violent incidents, yet "none of these films were subjected to the extensive and sensationalistic media scrutiny that *NEW JACK CITY* and *BOYZ N THE HOOD* received". Baker, 'Screening Race', p. 5. Concerns about the negative influence of black-helmed urban dramas on African American audiences were renewed in January 1994, when a group of black youth went on a crime spree apparently inspired by *MENACE II SOCIETY*. See Robin R. Means Coleman, 'The *Menace II Society* copycat murder case and thug life: a reception study of a convicted criminal', in Robin R. Means Coleman (ed.), *Say It Loud! African-American Audiences, Media, and Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 249–84. See also, Celeste A. Fisher, "'America's worst nightmare': reading the ghetto in a culturally diverse context', in *Say It Loud!*, pp. 229–48'; Celeste A. Fisher, *Black on Black: Urban Youth Films and the Multicultural Audience* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2006).

48) According to Baker, due to the controversy a few theaters pulled *NEW JACK CITY* and *BOYZ N THE HOOD* from their screens prematurely; however, this does not seem to have had a significant impact on their overall release. See Baker, 'Screening race', p. 9. See also S. Craig Watkins, *Representing: Hip Hop Culture and the Production of Black Cinema* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 189–91. The longer term impact on future bookings as well as production decisions was probably more important, although it is difficult to trace.

49) See Sharon Willis, *High Contrast: Race and Gender in Contemporary Hollywood Film* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), pp. 163–5.

50) Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 15 (Spring 1990), p. 10.

51) Cohn, 'Blacks taking the helm', p. 108.

to draw an interracial audience to films with African-American themes and casts, and often potent social messages, at a time when the United States is plagued by polarized race relations.<sup>52)</sup>

There are many ways to gauge the differences in the life experiences and attitudes of black Americans and non-blacks around 1990;<sup>53)</sup> however, the most important symptom of this racial polarization clearly was the videotaped beating of Rodney King by members of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) on 3 March 1991, as well as the aftermath of this event. Ronald N. Jacobs has traced the increasingly divergent responses of the black press and mainstream media to the beating itself, to the various official investigations of the incident and of the operations of the LAPD more generally, and to the delayed resignation of Police Chief Daryl Gates (which was announced in July 1991).<sup>54)</sup> Jacobs concludes that mainstream media neither addressed "African-American concerns about white insincerity or African-American empowerment, nor did they deal with the history of police brutality in a significant or engaged manner".<sup>55)</sup> When the trial against the four police officers involved in the beating resulted in the return of a not-guilty verdict on 29 April 1992, riots broke out in Los Angeles, and the racial polarization of public opinion became ever more pronounced. Jacobs notes that the verdict and the subsequent public disorder "created a period of public focus and attention on race equaled by few events in recent American history" with one opinion poll showing that "ninety-two percent of those surveyed were following the Los Angeles events either closely or very closely, a figure even greater than public attention to the Persian Gulf War".<sup>56)</sup> Other polls showed that over ninety percent of African Americans disagreed with the verdict as opposed to about seventy percent of whites.<sup>57)</sup> And, while the initial response to the riots by both whites and blacks was equally negative (with about seventy-five percent of respondents being critical of the violence), later focus-group discussions revealed that

African-American informants interpreted the television images of the uprisings as legitimate protest against racial and economic injustice; white and Latino informants, by contrast, interpreted the events primarily as criminal activities by anti-civil opportunists.<sup>58)</sup>

52) Easton, 'Black films' new crossover campaign', p. 45.

53) See, for example, Chery Russell, *The Master Trend: How the Baby Boom Generation Is Remaking America* (New York: Plenum, 1993), chapter 22; Sam Roberts, *Who We Are: A Portrait of America Based on the Latest U.S. Census* (New York: Times Books, 1995), chapter 5; Howard Schuman et al, *Racial Attitudes in America: Trends and Interpretations. Revised Edition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), chapters 3, 5.

54) Ronald N. Jacobs, *Race, Media and the Crisis of Civil Society: From Watts to Rodney King* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), chapter 4.

55) Ibid., p. 111.

56) Ibid., p. 114.

57) Ibid., p. 115.

58) Ibid., pp. 119, 132. See Darnell M. Hunt, *Screening the Los Angeles 'Riots': Race, Seeing, and Resistance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. pp. 128–9. An even more comprehensive and intense public debate about race took place in 1994/5 with the arrest and trial of former sports star and actor O. J. Simpson for the double murder of his ex-wife and one of her friends, which generated record breaking TV ratings and gave further evidence of racially divided perceptions: "An opinion poll taken immediately



The release in the early 1990s of black-helmed urban crime dramas, which centered on the violent lives of young black men (featuring both as victims and as perpetrators of violence) thus coincided with the intensification and increased divisiveness of longer standing public debates about race, violence, and crime. In some quarters, the films' box office performance may have been helped by their topical resonances.<sup>59)</sup> However, the highly charged debates also help to explain why industry observers were apprehensive about the release of these films, why violent incidents at their screenings received so much media attention, and why both moviegoers and theater owners may have become particularly sensitized to reports about audience violence. The racially polarized public debate also indicates that many non-blacks were reluctant to sympathize with the plight of black urban youth. This notion in turn helps to explain the limited crossover potential of black crime dramas, which, to a greater or lesser extent, depends on audience sympathy for their black and often criminal protagonists. There is also evidence that the racial polarization of public opinion was paralleled by a general polarization of entertainment choices. Analyses of TV audiences showed that in the 1990/91 season, "only three of the top 10-rated shows among black viewers were among the top 10 favorites of general viewing audiences", which was down from five in the previous season.<sup>60)</sup> For the next three seasons, there was no overlap at all.<sup>61)</sup>

However, this is not the whole story, because whatever racial barriers and racially differentiated preferences may have existed with regard to cinema and television, they did not exist to the same extent — at least for young people — in the field of music. Providing urban crime dramas both with their soundtracks and with many actors, gangsta rap — which also depicted the experiences of black urban youth as being centered on sex, drugs, and violence — crossed over into the mainstream in the early 1990s. This shift was signaled most forcefully by the fact that Dr. Dre's *The Chronic* was among the ten top selling albums of 1993 and Snoop Doggy Dogg's *Doggystyle* was in the top ten for 1994.<sup>62)</sup> At the same time, it was reported that in the 1993/94 television season, there was "[f]or the first

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after the verdict found that eighty-five percent of African-Americans agreed with the not-guilty verdict, while only thirty-two percent of whites agreed with it". Hunt, *Screening the Los Angeles 'Riots'*, p. 137. See also Paul Thaler, *The Spectacle: Media and the Making of the O. J. Simpson Story* (Westport: Praeger, 1997); Linda Williams, *Playing the Race Card: Melodramas of Black and White from Uncle Tom to O. J. Simpson* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), chapter 7.

59) See Amanda Ann Klein, *American Film Cycles: Reframing Genres, Screening Social Problems, and Defining Subcultures* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), chapter 4. Klein examines the marketing and critical reception of key films in the cycle of black-helmed urban crime dramas.

60) Anon., 'Study shows wider gap in TV tastes', *Newsday*, 6 November 1991, p. 55. An earlier survey found that in 1963 four out of the top ten shows among black viewers were also among the top ten for whites, which suggests that such overlap had a long history before it decreased, and then vanished, in the early 1990s; James W. Carey, 'Variations in negro/white television preferences', *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Summer 1965), p. 201.

61) Elizabeth Kolbert, 'TV viewing and selling, by race', *New York Times*, 5 April 1993, p. D7; Robert Silverman, 'Viewers split along racial lines', *New York Daily News*, 3 May 1994, p. 83.

62) People, *2001 People Entertainment Almanac* (New York: Cader, 2001), p. 226. For the development of gangsta rap, its crossover into the mainstream and its appeal to white youth, see Eithne Quinn, "*Nuthin' but a 'G' Thang*": *The Culture and Commerce of Gangsta Rap* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), chapter 4.

time ... significant crossover in TV preferences among black and non-black teenagers, 12–17", with six shows appearing in both top tens.<sup>63)</sup> The most successful show was *FRESH PRINCE OF BEL AIR* (1990–1996), starring Will Smith (number 3 in the black chart, number 1 overall), a fact which boded well for the crossover potential of the films in which Smith was appearing from 1993 onwards.<sup>64)</sup>

Yet, the box office performance of black-helmed urban crime dramas was not improved by these developments in other media. First of all, we have to note that, probably in response to controversies surrounding the release of particular films and the reluctance of theater managers and video store owners to handle them, the American film industry reduced its output of urban crime dramas after 1991. One might expect that, due to the reduced competition for the audiences of this type of film, each of the few urban crime dramas being released would have stood a better chance of generating high levels of revenue.<sup>65)</sup> This was not the case, however, and no film came anywhere near the box office grosses of *BOYZ N THE HOOD* and *NEW JACK CITY*.<sup>66)</sup> As we have seen, in 1992 and 1993, low-budget urban crime dramas continued to do well, yet afterwards the commercial track record of films belonging to this cycle was distinctly uneven; the cycle included F. Gary Gray's highly profitable low-budget 1996 film *SET IT OFF* (cost \$11m, gross \$34m), but also Spike Lee's 1995 medium-budget flop *CLOCKERS* (cost \$28m, gross \$13m).<sup>67)</sup> Thus, it would seem that the industry's reduced output of black-helmed urban crime dramas, which had initially yielded such high returns, was commercially justified. The situation was quite different, however, when it came to comedies.

### The Commercial Potential of Comedies by Black Directors

As we have seen, the success of *HOUSE PARTY* in 1990, first at the US Film Festival and then in US theaters, was perceived to be an important validation of the American film industry's willingness to employ more black directors than in previous years. Indeed, before the focus of public debate shifted toward urban crime dramas, beginning with the controversial release of *NEW JACK CITY* in March 1991, *Variety* identified comedy as the key genre in the new wave of black-helmed films.<sup>68)</sup> The trade paper noted the impressive track re-

63) Silverman, 'Viewers split', p. 83.

64) It would seem, however, that racial differences in TV viewing habits among the population as a whole continued to increase into the late 1990s; Entman and Rojecki, *The Black Image*, p. 144. It is also worth pointing out that several US surveys in the early 1990s identified *Gone with the Wind* (1939) as respondents' favorite movie of all time; it is hard to imagine that many African American respondents chose this film. Anon., 'Film fans' taste revealed in movie channel movie lover poll', *Boxoffice*, December 1991, p. 84; Anon., 'Educated moviegoer survey provides clues to viewing choices', *Boxoffice*, November 1993, p. 84.

65) At the same time, one might also expect the novelty value of films about the violent lives of black urban youth quickly to wear off after the initial wave of films in 1991, decreasing the box office chances of later productions.

66) See Anon., 'B.O.', p. 18.

67) Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 31 (Spring 1996), p. 11; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 33 (Spring 1997), p. 21.

68) Cohn, 'Blacks taking the helm', p. 108.



cord of comedies made in the late 1980s by black directors (including low-budget films such as the Wayans brothers' blaxploitation parody *I'M GONNA GIT YOU SUCKA* [1988] and medium-budget star vehicles such as Eddie Murphy's directorial debut *HARLEM NIGHTS* [1989]).<sup>69)</sup> *Variety* also emphasized the importance of comedy and musical comedy as well as more serious musical films in the release schedule for 1991 and with respect to the production plans of black directors. However, the outcomes were not always encouraging. Like the Sidney Poitier-directed Bill Cosby vehicle *GHOST DAD* (1990), films with bigger budgets performed below expectations. Charles Lane's Disney production *TRUE IDENTITY* (1991), for example, grossed a disastrous \$5m on a \$16m budget, while the Hudlin brothers' \$50m Eddie Murphy vehicle *BOOMERANG* (1992) grossed a disappointing \$66m.<sup>70)</sup> Furthermore, several planned projects, including a "sci-fi musical comedy" by Reginald Hudlin, were abandoned.<sup>71)</sup>

While it is understandable that the American film industry discontinued the production of bigger budget black-helmed comedies addressed to family and to adult audiences, the dearth in the first half of the 1990s of low-budget and youth-oriented black-helmed comedies is surprising. As we have seen, such films had consistently been turning a profit since the mid-1980s and the few low-budget comedies that were released after 1991 continued to do so. *MO' MONEY* (1992), which was scripted and executive produced (but not directed) by Damon Wayans cost \$9m and grossed \$40m, and *HOUSE PARTY 3* (1994) grossed \$19m on an \$8m budget. Later examples include F. Gary Gray's *FRIDAY* (1995) (cost \$11m, gross \$27m) and the Wayans brothers' 1996 production *DON'T BE A MENACE TO SOUTH CENTRAL WHILE DRINKING YOUR JUICE IN THE HOOD* (cost \$8m, gross \$20m).<sup>72)</sup> Unlike urban crime dramas (which *DON'T BE A MENACE* parodied), these comedies were not subjected to intense public scrutiny and did not spark controversy. One must therefore look elsewhere for reasons why the American film industry did not produce a much larger number of such black-helmed films after 1991, when demand was clearly there (much more so, it seems, than in the case of urban crime dramas). This re-

69) The relatively successful low-budget comedies of the late 1980s included, in addition to *I'M GONNA GIT YOU SUCKA* (gross c. \$11m), Robert Townsend's 1986 film *HOLLYWOOD SHUFFLE* (gross \$5.1m) and also Spike Lee's *SHE'S GOTTA HAVE IT* (cost \$0.2m, gross \$7m) and his musical comedy *SCHOOL DAZE* (cost \$6.5m, gross \$14.1m). The more expensive films were Eddie Murphy vehicles: 1989's *HARLEM NIGHTS* (cost \$26m, gross \$59m), in which Murphy directed himself, and Robert Townsend's 1987 film *EDDY MURPHY RAW* (gross \$50.4m). See Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 9 (Spring 1988), p. 6; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 11 (Spring 1989), p. 13; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 15 (Spring 1990), p. 10. The figure for *I'M GONNA GIT YOU SUCKA* is taken from Anon., 'Top films by black directors', *Variety*, 18 March 1991, p. 108. On Spike Lee see Watkins, *Representing*, p. 122. Watkins' gross figures are different from those given by *steadycam*, because he sometimes appears to include foreign revenues.

70) Fleming, 'Black helmers', p.23; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 24 (Spring 1993), p. 12. Other comedies in the 1991 schedule included Michael Schultz' *LIVIN' LARGE* (cost \$5.5m, gross \$5.4m), Kevin Hooks' *STRICTLY BUSINESS* (cost \$6m, gross \$7.7m), and Topper Carew's *TALKIN' DIRTY AFTER DARK* (cost \$0.5m, gross \$1m). See Fleming, 'Black helmers', p. 23.

71) Cohn, 'Blacks taking the helm', p. 108.

72) Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 24 (Spring 1993), p. 12; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 29 (Spring 1995), p. 9; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 31 (Spring 1996), p. 12; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 33 (Spring 1997), p. 21.

turns us, perhaps, to the American film industry's continuing reluctance to employ black personnel (unless they are performers).<sup>73)</sup>

## Conclusion

The early 1990s were a period of intense debate in trade papers, newspapers, magazines, and elsewhere about African American filmmakers, the films they made, and the audiences they reached. This debate was less concerned with the work of individual black directors, instead treating such directors as members of a racially defined group, which was severely underrepresented in the American film industry. Such underrepresentation also characterized the employment of African Americans on film crews, and was an issue that commentators, ranging from journalists working for the trade and general press to representatives of organizations such as the Black Filmmakers Foundation and the NAACP, wanted to see addressed. Addressing the problem appeared possible when several surprise hits were among the industry's dramatically increased 1990 and 1991 output of black-helmed films, which in turn were produced in response to the box office success of black star vehicles and of a few black-themed, black-helmed films in the second half of the 1980s. While they could not compete with Hollywood blockbusters, these films often had very large profit margins due to their low budgets.

Both outside commentators and industry insiders grouped films made by black directors together as "black films" (a genre category with a complicated history in both press and academic discourse). This categorization had a lot to do with the fact that the projects in which these directors were involved (projects they had developed themselves or for which they were hired by production companies) tended to have a black cast — as well as in many cases largely African American crews — and tended to deal with important aspects of African American life, most notably the experiences of urban youth. In an increasingly racially polarized society, two high grossing urban crime dramas of 1991 (NEW JACK CITY and BOYZ N THE HOOD) were surrounded by considerable controversy, which appears to have influenced the film industry's decisions about future investments in black-helmed films, insofar as the overall output of such films was drastically reduced after 1991 (although their average budgets increased, so that the overall sum of money invested in them was not reduced).

Judging by the box office performances of this smaller number of films, the reduction in the output of urban crime dramas was justified in commercial terms, due to their often low returns. However, in the light of the fact that the industry's steady output of low-budget black-themed comedies had been consistently profitable since the mid-1980s, the reduction in their number cannot be explained in financial terms, and instead suggests that the racial bias in the American film industry's employment practices was by no means

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73) A quantitative content analysis of hit movies found that during the period 1976–1990 African Americans made up about 10 % of major and minor film characters, which is close to the percentage of African Americans in the US population; this also applied to the early 1990s. See Powers, Rothman, and Rothman, *Hollywood's America*, pp. 175, 193.

overcome in the early 1990s. It should also be noted, however, that, at the same time, black directors were employed on an increasing number of medium to big-budget vehicles for African American film stars (notably those starring Eddie Murphy and Whoopi Goldberg). These black star vehicles, which — with important exceptions such as *BOOMERANG* — tended to have predominantly white casts, were among the highest-grossing black-helmed films during this period, although due to their big budgets they were not always profitable.

This analysis of a particular moment in the history of black directors working in the American film industry has operated at the group level: instead of examining the careers of individual African American filmmakers, I considered them as a group; and instead of looking at the operations of individual companies, I dealt with trends across the industry as a whole. This level of abstraction should make it easier to compare the early 1990s with other periods in American film history, notably the early 1970s. So far, academic work on black films during these two periods, and during other periods as well, has placed heavy emphasis on what I have called urban crime dramas. The research presented in this essay, however, foregrounds the important role of comedy in the output of black directors during the early 1990s, which raises the question of whether comedy has played a similarly important, yet overlooked role in other periods of black filmmaking as well.<sup>74)</sup>

I also want to suggest that my discussion of the early 1990s could fruitfully be complemented by work on individual filmmakers and companies. To begin with, one might investigate the respective roles of major studios and independent producers and distributors in the black film boom of the early 1990s. Initial research on this issue suggests that, up to and including 1991, the major studios were largely driving the boom, and that the reduction in the number of black-helmed film releases in subsequent years was due mainly to the reduced involvement of the majors, which left much of this field to the independents, especially New Line Cinema. Of particular interest is the Walt Disney Company, which straddled the major/independent divide in surprising ways. In the mid-1990s, Disney released several black-helmed films, notably *DON'T BE A MENACE TO SOUTH CENTRAL WHILE DRINKING YOUR JUICE IN THE HOOD* (1996), through Miramax (a previously independent company Disney had bought in 1993), while also, for example, releasing the Hughes brothers' historical war and crime drama *DEAD PRESIDENTS* (1995) under its Hollywood label. In addition, the Disney company was responsible for one of the most successful black-themed comedies, as well as for the highest grossing drama about black urban youth of the first half of the 1990s, both of which, however, featured white stars and were made without substantial involvement of black personnel behind the camera: 1993's *COOL RUNNINGS* co-starring John Candy (cost \$14m, gross \$65m) and 1995's *DANGEROUS MINDS* starring Michelle Pfeiffer (cost \$45m, gross \$84m).<sup>75)</sup> One wonders, given the com-

74) To answer this question, one might begin by looking at some of the recent work on film comedies featuring black performers (both male and female); see for example David J. Leonard, *Screens Fade to Black: Contemporary African American Cinema* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), especially chapter 4; Bambi Haggins, *Laughing Mad: The Black Comic Persona in Post-Soul America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2007); Audrey Thomas McCluskey, *Richard Pryor: The Life and Legacy of a "Crazy" Black Man* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); Mia Mask, *Divas on Screen: Black Women in American Film* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), chapter 3.

75) Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 26 (Spring 1994), p. 10; Anon., 'In Zahlen', *steadycam*, no. 31 (Spring 1996), p. 12.

pany's willingness to work with black filmmakers (in evidence as early as Charles Lane's *TRUE IDENTITY* in 1991), why both of these black-themed films were given to white directors.

There are also important questions to be asked about the career trajectories across the 1990s and into the new millennium of individual black filmmakers: What kinds of projects did they pursue, and on what kinds of film did they end up working? How did these projects change over time? Here one might want to pay particular attention to three possible career transitions. The first is from low-budget to medium, even big-budget filmmaking.<sup>76)</sup> Initially, almost all of the bigger-budget films made by black directors were films starring or co-starring black performers. Here, it would seem, comedy was once again a central genre, which is most forcefully exemplified by the enormous commercial success of the Wayans' brothers *SCARY MOVIE*, a horror parody with a racially mixed cast, which in 2000 became the highest grossing black-helmed film of all time (with a domestic theatrical gross of \$157m, against a budget of \$19m).<sup>77)</sup> However, films about urban youth and crime also continued to be important, as evidenced by John Singleton's 2003 action movie *2 FAST 2 FURIOUS* (cost \$76m, gross \$127m), another film with a mixed cast. The second possible transition is from black-themed films and black star vehicles to films without substantial roles for black performers, nor any particular engagement with black issues. In many ways, this shift constitutes a move out of a black-identified directorial niche, which can lead to bigger budgets and bigger grosses. Examples include the Hughes' brothers 2001 Jack the Ripper movie *FROM HELL* (cost \$35m, gross \$32m) and F. Gary Gray's 2003 remake of the classic heist movie *THE ITALIAN JOB* (cost \$60m, gross \$106m). Finally, there are the cases of black directors who could not sustain a career in the movies at all; many of these eventually made the transition to television (on a temporary or permanent basis).<sup>78)</sup>

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76) For accounts of Spike Lee's struggles to get bigger budgets in the late 1980s see for example William R. Grant IV, *Post-Soul Black Cinema: Discontinuities, Innovations, and Breakpoints, 1970–1995* (New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 50–8.

77) Box office and budget figures in this paragraph are taken from Boxofficemojo.com, <<http://www.boxofficemojo.com>> [accessed 21 May 2012].

78) Examples include Bill Duke and Mario Van Peebles, both of whom have worked mainly for television since the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, respectively. I should add, however, that before they participated in the black film boom of the early 1990s, they had worked for television as well.



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## SUMMARY

### **"Black is In".**

#### *Race and Genre in Early 1990s American Cinema*

**Peter Krämer**

In 1990 and 1991, the American press identified a boom in "black films". This term — which has a long and complicated history in scholarly and journalistic writing — was used to refer to films made by African American directors, which starred African Americans and were assumed primarily to appeal to black audiences. This essay examines various factors contributing to the emergence of this black film boom and to its rapid decline after 1991. It contrasts the two main genres in which black directors were working at this time — urban crime dramas and comedies. In an increasingly racially polarized society, urban crime dramas encountered numerous difficulties limiting their commercial viability, while — with only few exceptions — comedies by black directors were consistently profitable. The American film industry's reluctance to sustain the production of such comedies confirms long-standing concerns about its racially biased employment practices.

Stuart Henderson

## Family Resemblances

### *The Genericity of the Hollywood Sequel*

In a memo dated 7 May 1942, screenwriter Harry Kurnitz gave notes to producer Everett Riskinn on "The Thin Man's Rival", a script which eventually formed the basis for *THE THIN MAN GOES HOME* (1945).<sup>1)</sup> Kurnitz pointed to a scene in which private detective Nick Charles (William Powell) interviews a man suspected of murder and suggested to Riskinn that the freewheeling sleuth would "appear more detective-like if the suspect is tricked into admitting hatred of the victim".<sup>2)</sup> Kurnitz connected this observation to a broader set of compositional rules by adding that "[a] reluctant witness is a better suspect than a man seemingly bent on involving himself", a principle he credited jokingly to a fictitious writing manual named "The Art of the Mystery Story by Professor Wolfgang Kurnitz".<sup>3)</sup> Further into the memo, Kurnitz criticized the script's closing pages for implying that Nick Charles knew the identity of the murderer prior to the climactic interrogation scene. This revelation, he noted, ran counter to the equivalent scenes of past *Thin Man* installments, in which Nick brought "the characters together in the hope of igniting a spark which will illuminate the dark niches of the minds with which he is confronted [...]. If Nick knows who killed who, it is not considered cricket".<sup>4)</sup>

Kurnitz's observations tell us much about the relationship between the sequel and genre. He approached this installment of the *Thin Man* films not only in relation to the conventions and compositional techniques of a "genre-at-large" (the "mystery story"),<sup>5)</sup> but to another, comparatively finely-tuned, set of conventions associated specifically with,

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1) Harry Kurnitz, internal memo to Everett Riskinn headed 'Notes on the draft of the Thin Man's Rival', 7 May 1942, MGM/Turner Script Files, University of Southern California Cinematic Arts Library.

2) Ibid.

3) Ibid.

4) Ibid.

5) By "genre at large", I mean a widely recognised category or type; a cluster of conventions which inform the composition of new works which seek to participate in that genre in order to appeal to an audience. In this case, the "mystery story" is a genre which existed in the 1940s across entertainment media, being commonplace in "pulp" novels, story magazines, and on radio, as well as in film.

and internal to, the *Thin Man* series; conventions which had been established by their repetition across four earlier films. Nick Charles is a detective, and must therefore fulfill certain generic requirements relating to his profession (i.e. solving mysterious crimes), but he also possesses certain character traits which distinguish him from his peers. Unlike the titular detective from such films as *CHARLIE CHAN IN PARIS* (1935) and *CHARLIE CHAN'S MURDER CRUISE* (1940), Nick Charles' thought processes are not inscrutable and, unlike Sherlock Holmes, his methods are not scientific; instead, Charles' knowledge only exceeds that of the audience by the narrowest of margins, and then only in the final moments of the film. For Nick Charles to alter his approach to detective work would threaten to undermine the unspoken contract of obligation and expectation binding the producers of the *Thin Man* series to the films' imagined audience. As this exchange suggests, *THE THIN MAN GOES HOME* is a sequel in which are negotiated two sets of conventions and expectations. At the macro level, these conventions and expectations relate to the detective or mystery genre, with which the film and its predecessors are generally associated. At a micro level, those conventions and expectations belong to what might be called the "Thin Man genre". Illuminating the manner in which these conventions are established, as well as the manner in which they interact and inform one another, are among the principal concerns of this essay.

In broader terms, this essay aims to shed new light on the poetics of the Hollywood sequel. It intends to do so by considering points of intersection and divergence between, on the one hand, the characteristics of sequel production and the sequel form and, on the other hand, the workings of genre at the level of both production and content.<sup>6)</sup> In the academy and in popular criticism, the Hollywood sequel has tended to be described in terms similar to those used to describe films aligned closely to a given genre. Both types of production are deemed to be repetitive and formulaic, to be bound by a distinctive set of conventions and audience expectations, and to be driven by the economic imperatives of an inherently risky business in which security of investment is valued over originality of product.<sup>7)</sup>

6) One might describe my approach here as being broadly aligned with the tradition of "historical poetics", as propounded primarily by David Bordwell, by Kristin Thompson, and by Henry Jenkins. I have strived to ensure that the work I have undertaken in researching this piece is "problem-and-question-centered" in a manner commensurate with Bordwell's definition of historical poetics in so much as it approaches certain research questions from the bottom up, thus formulating responses to those questions in response to my findings, rather than a top-down attempt to mould those findings to fit a set of pre-existing historical and theoretical assumptions. See David Bordwell, 'Historical poetics of cinema', in Barton Palmer (ed.), *The Cinematic Text: Methods and Approaches* (Atlanta: Georgia State University Press, 1988), pp. 369–398; Henry Jenkins, 'Historical poetics', in Joanne Hollows and Mark Jancovich (eds), *Approaches to Popular Film* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 99–122.

7) See for example Vincent Canby, 'Sequels are a sign of fear', *New York Times*, 25 May 1975, p. 119; Vincent Canby, "Jaws II" — or "did you ever see a shark dancing?", *New York Times*, 8 May 1977, p. 57; Stephen M. Silverman, 'Hollywood cloning: sequels, prequels, remakes and spin-offs', *American Film* vol. 3 no. 9 (July–August 1978), pp. 24–30; Janet Maslin, 'Is it a happy ending if a movie breeds no sequel?', *New York Times*, 6 February 1983, p. H15; James Monaco, *American Film Now* (New American Library: New York 1979); Julie Salamon, 'The return of nearly everybody', *Wall Street Journal*, 15 July 1983, p. 27; Peter Rainer, 'Sequelmania: is it throttling Hollywood?', *L.A. Herald-Examiner*, 8th July, 1983, p. D7; J. Hoberman, 'Ten years that shook the world', *American Film* vol. 10, no. 8 (June 1985), pp. 34–59; Timothy Corrigan, *A Cinema Without*

It is not uncommon for genre theorists to assume that the generic nature of Hollywood output is the result of the need simultaneously to replicate previous successes while also differentiating product; to offer audiences (or at least to appear to be offering them) something both new and familiar.<sup>8)</sup> Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that the strategy of product differentiation takes on a different quality if the elements which originally distinguished a film from other films are then extended into a sequel or a film series. What initially differentiated *THE THIN MAN* from other detective films, is thus repeated in its sequels. While Hollywood sequels might often be described as generic, the similarities between sequels and their respective predecessors cannot be understood strictly on the same terms as those similarities characterizing films of a given genre. The balance of repetition and differentiation from sequel to sequel is, comparatively speaking, narrower and more particularized.

This essay is divided into three sections. The first section seeks to understand how film genre theory has tended to conceptualize the formulaic nature of Hollywood's output, particularly in relation to genre cycles. It considers how the sequel might sit in relation to the process of genre development — or genericization — by discussing the various ways in which the form can be understood as generic, and the role of broader genre affiliations therein. Moving on from here, the second section examines in more detail the repetitive nature of the sequel at a formal and narrative level. This section considers the inherent conflict between the need to ensure that a sequel delivers familiar pleasures and the requirement that both the narrative and characters are developed, and also identifies the tendency for sequels to amplify certain recurring elements, delivering more of the same with an emphasis on "more". Finally, the third section looks at the manner in which industrial forces come to bear on the nature of what a sequel carries over from its predecessor(s) and what is discarded. As the description of this last section makes clear, while much of this essay is dedicated to discussion of how the generic dynamic between a first film and its sequel might develop at a formal level, it remains mindful of the fact that this dynamic is principally determined not by a hermetically-sealed internal process, but also by extra-textual factors.

### Genre, Cycles, and the Sequel

The awkward fit between existing genre theory and the sequel form is immediately apparent when we note that a greater degree of similarity characterizes the relationship between

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*Walls: Movies and Culture After Vietnam* (New York: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Thomas Schatz, 'The New Hollywood', in Jim Collins, Hilary Radner and Ava Preacher Collins (eds) *Film Theory Goes to the Movies*, (New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 8–3. Richard Corliss 'Sequels aren't equals', *Time*, 20 December 1993. Time Archive, <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,979869,00.htm>> [accessed 1 June 2012].

8) See for example Henry Jenkins, "'Just men in tights': rewriting silver age comics in an era of multiplicity", in Mark Jancovich and Lincoln Geraghty (eds), *The Shifting Definitions of Genre: Essays on Labeling Films, Television Shows and Media* (London: McFarland, 2008), p. 231. See also Steve Neale, *Genre and Hollywood* (Routledge: London 2000); Barry Langford, *Film Genre: Hollywood and Beyond* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. 7.

the first film of a series and its sequel(s) than the relationships between constituent films of a given genre. Films in the same genre might originate from the same gene pool, so to speak, but sequels ostensibly inherit DNA from their predecessors. Nonetheless, some principles governing genre still apply to the antecedent-sequel relationship: sequels usually share at least some characteristics with their predecessors; and, at an industrial level, such films provide a variation on what Barry Langford terms "the generic 'contract' of familiarity leavened by novelty", offering variations on familiar situations featuring recurrent characters.<sup>9)</sup> Given these conceptual similarities, genre theory is in part extendable to a poetics of the sequel, with some models of generic change, transformation, and cyclicalism transferable to a study of shifts in content between antecedent and sequel(s).

During what might be called the first wave of genre theory revisionism, Thomas Schatz, Brian Taves, and John Cawelti offered evolutionary models, all of which attempted to chart the process of generic change and transformation.<sup>10)</sup> Schatz, for example, identified four developmental stages — experimental, classic, refinement and baroque — and proposed that each genre progressed "from straightforward storytelling to self-conscious formalism".<sup>11)</sup> However, as Rick Altman has pointed out, evolutionary models such as this "paradoxically stress generic predictability more than variation", suggesting that genres follow a standardized trajectory bearing little resemblance to the "unexpected mutations" which actually characterize the historical development of genres.<sup>12)</sup>

Although scholars now largely refute the idea that genres are stable, trans-historical categories, in favor of approaching genres as dynamic, historical processes,<sup>13)</sup> there have been surprisingly few attempts to theorize how genre as a process — in terms of both formulaic production practices and the conventions in content such practices generate — might actually function. It is now something of a given among genre scholars that central to this process is the notion of the cycle, whereby a relatively large number of films of a particular type are produced within a particular time period.<sup>14)</sup> And yet, despite this consensus, it is a curious tendency of writing on genre that there are very few studies which

9) Langford, *Film Genre*, p. 1.

10) As Altman has pointed out, evolutionary models such as Schatz's model "paradoxically stress generic predictability more than variation", suggesting that genres follow a standardized trajectory bearing little resemblance to the "unexpected mutations" which actually characterize the historical development of genres. See John Cawelti, *Six-Gun Mystique* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1971); Thomas Schatz, *Hollywood Genres: Formulas, Film-making and the Studio System* (New York: Random House, 1981); Brian Taves, *The Romance of Adventure: Genre of Historical Adventure in the Movies* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 1993); Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: BFI, 1999), pp. 21–22.

11) Schatz, *Hollywood Genres*, p. 38.

12) Altman, *Film/Genre*, pp. 21–22.

13) For an account of this historical turn see Christine Gledhill, 'Rethinking genre', in Linda Williams and Christine Gledhill (eds), *Reinventing Film Studies* (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 239.

14) Lawrence Alloway, Tino Balio, Barbara Klinger, Richard Maltby, and Steve Neale have all argued the case for paying close attention to cyclicism. See Lawrence Alloway, *Violent America: the movies 1946–1964*. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1971); Tino Balio, *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930–1939 (History of the American Cinema, Volume 5)* (London: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1993), pp. 73–109; Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) pp. 107–143; Barbara Klinger, "Local" genres: the Hollywood adult film in the 1950s, in Jacky Bratton, Jim Cook, and Christine Gledhill (eds), *Melodrama: Stage, Picture, Screen* (London: BFI, 1994), pp. 134–146; Neale, *Genre and Hollywood*, pp. 231–242.



engage actively with understanding the cycle as a process itself. Even those studies which stress the non-linear, stop-start nature of cycles, rather than a smooth evolutionary path, rarely engage directly with the full implications of such an acknowledgment. Barry Keith Grant, for example, concedes that genre history is shaped by cycles, defining them as “intense periods of production of a similar group of genre movies,”<sup>15)</sup> but does not consider how such periods stem from, and feed into, the prior and subsequent iterations of the genre. In this account, cycles are something that occasionally happens to a genre, rather than being part of the process of genre formation itself.

Altman offers the notion of “The Producer’s Game” — an attempt to describe more accurately the industry’s role in genre formation. In this account, producers identify box office successes, analyze those successes in order to determine which elements made them successful, and make another film utilizing those elements in conjunction with elements drawn from other hits.<sup>16)</sup> The Producer’s Game, Altman argues, “puts studio personnel in the place of the critic”, insofar as it requires industry-insiders to isolate those elements of a hit which will be replicated in subsequent films.<sup>17)</sup> Altman’s approach does forge a stronger connection between genre as an industrial process and genre as a cluster of formal, thematic, and aesthetic conventions, not least because it stresses the dynamic nature of the process: producers might not identify a hit’s successful elements correctly, for example, meaning that it may take some time before whatever appealed to the audience finds its way into a new film. Furthermore, given that different producers will be looking at the same hit, there is every possibility that certain key elements (be they common themes or character types) will find their way into very different types of film, as is reflected in Tino Balio’s survey of Hollywood production trends in the 1930s.<sup>18)</sup> Altman’s attempt to position producers as critics, however, somewhat flattens crucial distinctions between the activities of these two groups. Producers, after all, are looking to isolate whatever it was from a recent hit which attracted audiences, whereas critics are looking retrospectively at both the first film and what followed so as to isolate similarities in content. Producers are also, unlike critics, not simply looking for what can be (or has been) replicated but, rather, what they are able to replicate with the resources they have available; resources which may differ from those that had been available to the producers of the hit under scrutiny, both in scale (particularly in terms of production budgets) and in type (in terms of the creative talent at their disposal, for example).

Recently, Richard Nowell has made a more concerted and successful effort to describe the cycle as an industrial process. Nowell first distinguishes the cycle from shorter-term trends he terms “fads” (in which similar themes, settings or character types recur across different types of film over a particular period) and “clusters” (a very short-lived surge in production of a particular type) and longer-term “staples”, a term which describes the regular production of a type over many years.<sup>19)</sup> He then identifies the chronologically dis-

15) Barry Keith Grant, *Film Genre* (London: Wallflower Press, 2007), p. 36.

16) Altman, *Film/Genre*, p. 38.

17) Altman, *Film/Genre*, p. 43.

18) Balio, *Grand Design*, pp. 179–312.

19) Richard Nowell, *Blood Money: A History of the First Teen Slasher Film Cycle* (London: Continuum, 2011), pp. 44–46.

tinct stages which together constitute a cycle, beginning with what he terms a "Trailblazer Hit", defined as a commercially successful "film that differs from contemporaneous hits".<sup>20)</sup> Thereafter, follow two distinct phases: a first wave of imitative films, or "Prospector Cash-ins", from which emerges at least one further success, termed a "Reinforcing Hit"; and a second wave in which a larger quantity of imitators ("Carpetbagger Cash-ins") is produced, after which the cycle winds down, and the number of similar films being produced drops to what Nowell calls "base level".<sup>21)</sup> Delineating further, Nowell suggests that the Trailblazer Hit can come in the form of either a "Pioneer Production", which forges pre-existing elements with new material to produce a film deemed to be relatively innovative or unique, or a "Speculator Production", which utilizes a template which "has either never performed well commercially or has not generated a hit for a considerable time".<sup>22)</sup> The latter, Nowell argues, are the more prevalent and the more commonly successful of the two, and are thus more likely to initiate a new cycle.

Although Nowell does not discuss the sequel directly, his model does enable us to better ascertain the parallels and intersections between genre as a cycle and sequelization as a process. After all, the sequel is almost invariably perceived as a form of Cash-in, following in the wake of a hit and modeled closely on its predecessor. Of course, that hit may not always be classifiable as a "Trailblazer", but there are many instances in which a Trailblazer Hit inspires both sequels and non-sequel Cash-ins. Taking as an example the youth-targeted movies which are Nowell's principal subject; horror and youth-orientated comedy have tended to rely on sequelization with every new surge in production. Thus, the renewal of the slasher movie prompted in the late 1990s by *SCREAM* (1996), the revival of gross-out teen comedy with *AMERICAN PIE* (1999) and the more recent, harder-edged "torture porn" cycle inspired primarily by *SAW* (2004) have each followed much the same pattern as their 1980s predecessors, with both the initiatory success and at least one commercially successful follow-up (*I KNOW WHAT YOU DID LAST SUMMER* [1997] in the first instance, *ROAD TRIP* [2000] in relation to *AMERICAN PIE*, and *HOSTEL* [2005] in relation to *SAW*) spawning one or more sequels.<sup>23)</sup> Accounting for a significant proportion of all the sequels produced in the 1980s, horror and youth-orientated comedy have been particularly prone to sequelization because of a combination of intense competition for their audiences and because they can be produced quickly and cheaply (being reliant on neither stars nor complex special effects). In this respect, they echo three aspects of series film production in the 1930s and 1940s. First, while they operated in rather different generic territory, the detective movies, Westerns, and sentimental family comedies, which dominated series film production in those years, were also favored by industry because they required neither A-list stars nor large production budgets and therefore could be turned out efficiently and inexpensively. Second, these genres burgeoned as a result of opportunistic

20) *Ibid.*, p. 46.

21) *Ibid.*, pp. 45–51.

22) *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

23) Of course not every sequel of this type can be traced directly to a cycle in this way, but even if the sequel's conceit or execution seems relatively original — as with *THE BLAIR WITCH PROJECT* (1999) and *FINAL DESTINATION* (2000) — it does not mean that the commercial rationale for their existence was any less opportunistic.

imitation, with one success prompting a host of similar movies from other studios (for example Twentieth Century-Fox's *Charlie Chan* series /1929–1942/ inspired Warner Bros.' *Perry Mason* series /1934–1937/ and MGM's *Hardy Family* series /1937–1946/ prompted the production of Paramount's HENRY ALDRICH /1939/). Lastly, and crucially, such films lent themselves to repetition; with each new mystery or family dilemma enabling a replication of the first film's basic story structure.

Sequels, then, are a regular feature of cyclical production, representing a form of legitimized carpet-bagging. Such carpet-bagging takes place because, as Altman has observed, studios have always preferred to emphasize their films' "proprietary characteristics (star, director and other related films from the same studio) over *sharable* determinants like genre [*italics in original*]"<sup>24</sup>). Thus, while we might well understand sequel production as opportunistic, we should acknowledge that it is also a defensive act on the part of sequel producers, one intended to counter the opportunism of competitors. It is also worth noting that the process of sequelization often persists beyond the point at which a cycle has wound down, to the extent that the "base level" of production described by Nowell is often maintained by sequels to the Trailblazer and/or Reinforcing Hits. Despite these points of intersection, it is important to understand that the cyclical process of initiation and imitation Nowell describes cannot capture fully the nuances involved in the process of sequelization. From an industrial perspective, there are subtly different issues at stake when a producer seeks to cash-in on his or her own success. Accordingly, these issues impact upon the form of that cash-in; a distinction I will discuss in more detail in the following sections.

Before addressing these divergences, it is worth noting that many of the issues which have to date plagued genre theory are less contentious when considered in relation to sequels. Where it is difficult to establish how the content of one film may or may not have influenced subsequent films within the same genre, one can be reasonably confident that a significant influence on the makers of a sequel is exerted by the sequel's predecessor. Similarly, by using a title which invokes a direct relationship to an earlier film, sequel producers can anticipate audience expectations in ways that the makers of even the most imitative, non-sequel genre films cannot. Moreover, because of the transparency of the aforementioned "contract" between audience and producer, it is possible for critics and historians to surmise more of what audiences might know about and, expect from, a sequel. Thus, while it is problematic to assume that audiences for *SWING TIME* (1936) were well-schooled in the conventions of Astaire and Rogers musicals, for example, it is safer to conclude that the majority of the audience for *TWILIGHT: BREAKING DAWN — PART 1* (2011) had already viewed *THE TWILIGHT SAGA: ECLIPSE* (2010), and therefore held concrete expectations about its sequel. Convention and expectation, in other words, are more easily isolatable and identifiable in sequels than they are in a given genre film. As the *Thin Man* example that opened this essay suggests, the makers of sequels or series establish highly particularized sets of conventions and unique miniature ecosystems in which take place the interplay between audience expectation and the balance of differentiation/repli-

24) Altman, *Film/Genre*, p. 117.

cation. Like any ecosystem, these conventions are subject to external and internal influences and, in order better to understand both the nature of these influences and the changes they might affect, it is necessary not only to consider what kinds of conventions are established from one film to the next, but how over time those conventions persist or change. With the shortcomings of early film genre criticism stemming frequently from ahistorical assumptions about the rigidity of genres, it is important to stress that the term "convention" is not being used here to suggest that a circumscribed set of characteristics necessarily govern each and every sequel, series or franchise. Rather, by examining the ways in which certain characteristics of an initiatory success are reiterated or discarded by the makers of its sequels, this study describes the process through which formulae are created, thereby emphasizing loose rubrics rather than inflexible rules — a notion implicit in the concept of process.

Just as film genres are defined by distinct sets of criteria (the topographical specificities of the Western, for example, or tone, which characterizes what we understand as "comedy"), so the formal characteristics that a sequel inherits from its predecessor vary wildly in terms of both their scale and their type. Established genre conventions evidently play a role, at least in the sense that those conventions guide in part the nature of inheritance. Thus the sequels to *THE THIN MAN*, all of which operate within the same "genre at large" as the original film, carry over the narrative conventions of the detective genre, while being quite flexible in terms of their topographic and iconographic features. *THE THIN MAN GOES HOME* (1944), for example, was differentiated from its predecessors by relocating the action from the cityscapes of previous installments to a rural small-town. The conventions of the series dictate that Nick Charles must solve at least one murder per film, but individual contributions to the series demonstrate that there is no governing rule about where this murder and subsequent investigation might take place.

Historically, Hollywood sequels have tended not to stray drastically from the broad generic territory (narrative, iconographic or otherwise) inhabited by their respective predecessors, with clear-cut exceptions to this rule being few and far between.<sup>25)</sup> It could be argued that *GREMLINS 2: THE NEW BATCH* (1990) is more overtly comical than its predecessor and one could point to the darker tone of *THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK* (1980) compared to that of *STAR WARS* (1977); however, these are gradations rather than wholesale shifts. The differences in kind that distinguish *ALIEN* (1979) and *ALIENS* (1986) are often remarked upon, with the latter described routinely as belonging more to the action

25) *HALLOWEEN III: SEASON OF THE WITCH* (1983) is perhaps an exception to the principle by virtue of its being moved away completely from the slasher film template, wherein young people were menaced by a shadowy killer, in favor of a supernatural terror tale concerning a maniacal mask-maker. The film's makers abandoned the characters of Michael Myers and Laurie (Jamie Lee Curtis) that had dominated *HALLOWEEN* and *HALLOWEEN II* and so jettisoned narrative continuity to its predecessors. The only meaningful connection between *HALLOWEEN III: SEASON OF THE WITCH* and its predecessors was the 31 October backdrop, thus rendering *HALLOWEEN III: SEASON OF THE WITCH* in most respects a sequel in little more than name.

26) See for example David Thomson's suggestion that "*ALIEN* is far more atmospheric and less active than *ALIENS*" and *Empire Online's* assertion that *ALIENS* strength as a sequel lies in it "entirely changing genre, from haunted-house-in-space to balls-to-the-wall action". David Thomson, *The "Alien" Quartet* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), p. 96; *Empire Magazine Online*, <<http://www.empireonline.com/50greatestsequels>> (accessed 16 April 2012).



genre than to horror.<sup>26</sup> While grander in scale of threat and response (as its pluralized title indicates), *ALIENS* is nevertheless reliant upon the same set of genre conventions as *ALIEN* in order to provoke many of the same pleasures as its predecessor: horror is again derived from the alien form and its invasion and destruction of the human body; thrills are once more generated by the alien's hunting of a small group of characters in a series of dark, dank locations; and, for a second time, a climactic confrontation takes place between Ripley (Sigourney Weaver) and the monster. The unlikelihood that *ALIENS* might instead have been a romantic comedy or that *THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK* be made as a musical, indicates the extent to which generic patrimony tends to be a given of the sequel form. But this measure of similarity only partially explains the extent to which a sequel can be understood as generic. For example, before considering narrative continuity and character continuity, the 1975 Western *ROOSTER COGBURN* has significantly more in common with its predecessor *TRUE GRIT* (1969) than with other Westerns. This sequel also carries over the tone of its predecessor, being both comic and elegiac in its continued acknowledgment that Rooster is too old to be carrying on as he is: drinking heavily and taking on younger, fitter adversaries. This tonal consistency is in turn the product of the film's narrative, in which Rooster (John Wayne) is again called upon to uphold the rights of an innocent third party against a band of outlaws and, resultantly, forms another emotional bond with his protégé (in this case, a character played by Katherine Hepburn). The basic narrative trajectory and situation shared by these films is common among Westerns, but the sheer measure of likeness — as opposed to, say, a film in which Rooster is called upon to protect or to avenge himself, or in which he moves to another frontier town — cannot be explained solely by recognition of their belonging to the same genre. *TRUE GRIT* and *ROOSTER COGBURN* are both Westerns, but to categorize them as such merely hints at their similarities. At the same time, one cannot assume *ROOSTER COGBURN*'s relationship to *TRUE GRIT* is automatically of greater importance than its relationship to the Western genre. *ROOSTER COGBURN* is a Western because *TRUE GRIT* was a Western, but it is a sequel to *TRUE GRIT* not because of that shared generic affiliation but because it again follows the character of Rooster, depicting events in his life which follow chronologically those shown in its predecessor; and yet, in turn, it is that character and those events which contribute to the film's status as a Western. The circularity of this relationship and the indeterminate play of influence therein both suggest the difficulties inherent in attempting to remove any sequel from the genre of films to which it belongs. Hypothetically, of course, the makers of *ROOSTER COGBURN* could have abandoned the genre trappings of its predecessor; relocating Rooster to an urban setting and initiating an entirely different series of events. The practical reality, however, is that *ROOSTER COGBURN*'s participation in the Western genre was necessary because its makers sought not only to continue True Grit's story, but also to replicate the manner in which that first film secured and entertained audiences. Here the relevance of the concept of genre comes into full view: alongside the continuities of narrative and character which are integral to the sequel form, the makers of Hollywood sequels also strive (with wildly varying levels of success) to offer a continuity of pleasure.



### Character Continuity, Intensified Repetition, and Conventionality

Oh man, I can't fucking believe this! Another elevator, another basement — how can the same shit happen to the same guy twice?

John McClane (Bruce Willis), *DIE HARD 2* (1990)

For a sequel to offer a continuity of pleasure to returning audiences is rather less straightforward than it may first appear, especially when set against the concurrent requirement for a sequel to offer continuities of narrative and character. This section considers the challenge these dual requirements pose to the makers of a sequel, and the tendencies towards repetition which result.

One of the most common strategies used to generate continuity between a sequel and its predecessors is a thinly veiled re-enactment of the original narrative, as the ROOSTER COGBURN example cited in the previous section suggests. The extent to which this device has been employed has tended to be inversely proportional to the number of returning characters. This tactic characterizes studio-era series such as *The Gold Diggers* (1933–1938) and *Broadway Melody* (1929–1940). Avoiding any pretence of narrative continuity, these musical series feature many of the same performers in new roles, and therefore tend to replay many scenarios — and as such they cannot be categorized as sequels proper. *AIRPORT* (1970) and its three sequels (1974–1979) feature only one recurring character, aviation engineer/specialist/pilot Joe Patroni (George Kennedy), and are therefore able to centralize similar dramatic situations (i.e. airborne disasters) involving similar types of character, rather than recurring protagonists. Crucial here is the fact that Patroni's profession justifies his continuing presence in the series. It would be incredibly poor fortune to be within the space of a decade a passenger or a stewardess on four doomed airliners; but if one is paid to avert such disaster, it is ostensibly all in a day's work. Historically, Hollywood has tended to rely on recurring characters in mission- or case-based employment (including spies, detectives, superheroes, and doctors), thereby ensuring a steady supply of situations capable largely of being contained within discrete narrative episodes, and thus enabling repetition of a basic story arc from film to film. With the exception of the detective genre, such narrative repetition is rarely an end in itself; it is rather a means by which other pleasures (laughter, thrills, and the like) may be generated. Thus, the fact that the first of the *Airport* sequels, *AIRPORT 1975* (1974) deals with another airborne crisis involving a mostly new "all-star" cast (as opposed to say the aftermath of the original) underscores the extent to which the staging of the disaster itself, rather than the specific characters involved, is central to the appeal of the series.

The recycling of familiar plots and character-types is central to the emergence, maintenance, and development of genres: without such forms of repetition the very notion of film genre, along with the cultural circulation and discursive functions of such categories, would be largely redundant. For the makers of sequels, however, the act of repetition is complicated by the existence of past diegetic events and the effect those events have had on recurrent characters. As exemplified by the quotation from *DIE HARD 2* that prefaced this section, it is not unusual to find a sequel in which this issue is addressed via a self-referential acknowledgement that the character and audience share not only the memory of

these past events, but also the knowledge that said events are improbably similar to those in the previous film. Again, John McClane is involved in a case to which he has not been assigned. Again, although he is not yet aware of it, McClane is on a collision course with a group of terrorists, the actions of whom will shortly endanger a group of civilians, including his wife. And, once again, McClane must navigate his way through an elevator shaft and a basement in order to defeat these adversaries. Such acknowledgments underscore firmly the distinction between the genericity of the sequel and the broader textual workings of genre. A film made to capitalize on a recent hit, but with no official connection to that prior success, can be openly imitative; *FRIDAY THE 13TH* (1980) could be created in the image of *HALLOWEEN* (1978), with its makers able, without fear of legal recriminations, to reproduce *HALLOWEEN*'s story-structure and character-types, and, in the process, contribute to the formation of what came to be known as the slasher film. The makers of a sequel, on the other hand, cannot operate with such a degree of flexibility. The titular affiliation of sequel and predecessor promises audiences similar pleasures. If, however, the sequel features recurring characters, its makers cannot replicate fully the predecessor in the sense that those characters cannot repeat themselves literally: even if their actions are very similar, they cannot re-experience those same events, moment by moment. That Laurie Strode is once again stalked by Michael Myers in *HALLOWEEN II* (1981) does not erase the events of the previous film: Laurie's friends are still dead and she and Michael cannot meet for the first time on two separate occasions. He may be as dangerous as ever, but Michael is no longer an unknown threat to Laurie. Ultimately, this phenomenon distinguishes the generic nature of the sequel from other films which might be described as generic. As if to respond to John McClane's rhetorical question, the same shit cannot literally happen to the same guy twice; but the same kind of shit can.

The issue of accounting for prior experience is lessened when the recurrent character is already an expert in his or her chosen field. In *AIRPORT*, for example, Joe Patroni is already an experienced technician. The same is true for many of the detective characters featured in the 1930s and 1940s series films: Sherlock Holmes (as portrayed by Basil Rathbone) is always already a master detective, meaning that he learns nothing new from any given case that is utilized explicitly in future installments. Often in a sequel, however, a recurring protagonist's memory of prior events and/or the character's acquisition of knowledge and expertise — in other words, their development as characters — must be acknowledged. This issue is arguably one of the central challenges facing the makers of a sequel: how best to develop characters without losing or compromising the generic appeal of the previous installments. Umberto Eco has noted how *Superman* comic books sidestep this issue by downplaying any sense of chronology, and presenting stories which "develop in a kind of oneiric climate [...] where what has happened before and what has happened after appear extremely hazy".<sup>27)</sup> He suggests that these comics avoid chronological or temporal progression because "each general modification would draw the world, and Superman with it, toward final consumption", thus bringing about an end to the com-

27) Umberto Eco, 'The myth of Superman', in *The Role of the Reader* (London: Indiana University Press, 1979), pp. 114–124.

mercial returns which can be generated.<sup>28)</sup> Although this observation may be applicable to the installment-heavy world of comics, and, to some extent, to the series films of the 1930s and 1940s, there are more pressing issues for most Hollywood sequels than their characters' eventual progression towards death. More problematic is the extent to which the protagonist's experiences in previous films might affect their actions in the sequel(s), the limited probability that such extraordinary experiences might occur more than once in a lifetime, and how this flouting of the laws of probability challenges the verisimilitude of such repetitions.

Acknowledging character development and the passage of time need not always be a barrier to the delivery of familiar pleasures; in fact, such acknowledgments might provide the impetus for pleasure itself. The *Back to the Future* trilogy (1985–1990), for example, uses the passage of time — or rather its protagonist Marty McFly's ability to travel through time — ingeniously to present familiar scenarios in new historical periods. In each of the three films, Marty (Michael J. Fox) is knocked out soon after he has arrived in a new time period and awakens in the dimly-lit bedroom of a female relative, played each time by Lea Thompson: in *BACK TO THE FUTURE* (1985), he is awakened by his own mother as a teenager in 1955; in *BACK TO THE FUTURE PART II* (1989), Marty is awakened by her again, this time in an alternative, nightmarish version of 1985; and finally, in *BACK TO THE FUTURE PART III* (1990), he is awakened in 1885 by his young great grandmother-to-be. Each time, the revelation is delayed for comic effect, and each time Marty is shocked when that revelation comes. Scenes such as these invite audiences to enjoy a familiar joke afresh.

Generally, however, the fact that a character possesses certain knowledge and has experienced certain events, coupled with an industrial drive to provide consumers a measure of entertainment, leads to two tendencies in Hollywood sequels featuring returning protagonists. First, the original main character is relegated to a more peripheral, advisory role — with his or her experience being used to assist new protagonists — as is the case with Ollie Reed (Kent Smith) in *CURSE OF THE CAT PEOPLE* (1944), Nancy Thompson (Heather Langenkamp) in *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 3: DREAM WARRIORS* (1987), and Kevin Flynn (Jeff Bridges) in *TRON: LEGACY* (2010). This strategy is often used in horror sequels because frequently they feature characters who are not engaged professionally in activities that motivate the generation of the film's central pleasures (suspense, fear, and other responses common to horror), and because the returning central character is often the monster/maniac. Second, and more frequently, a character encounters more challenging obstacles than s/he did in previous films. These challenges usually result from, or are complicated by, one of six types of disruption used to drive the narratives of sequels: the arrival of a new character, often a baby; the departure or death of an existing character; the relocation of existing characters to new settings/circumstances; the need to embark upon a brand new case/mission/quest; or the return of an old adversary/problem.

As this discussion of character continuity has begun to demonstrate, the formal logic of narrative continuation which defines the sequel is often at odds with the commercial

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28) Ibid., p. 124.

logic which requires that it delivers a set of pleasures similar to that of its predecessor. Having confronted the manner in which sequel makers have dealt with character development in the service of offering audiences familiar pleasures, it is therefore necessary to consider how and why conventions become established and to consider the extent to which such conventions develop over time.

The proprietary impulse, which encourages sequel production, has a clear affect both upon which elements are repeated and also the manner in which those elements are used. First, and as the case of *The Thin Man* cited above indicates, sequelization generates a paradoxical situation in which those elements that distinguished the first film from other films in a given genre are those elements that tend to be repeated in its sequels. Accordingly, *HOME ALONE* sequels (1992–2002) invariably pit a young boy against adult burglars, each *Andy Hardy* film features at least one father-son talk between Andy (Mickey Rooney) and the Judge (Lewis Stone), and Detective Axel Foley (Eddie Murphy) always ignores his superiors' strict instructions not to investigate the central mystery in *BEVERLY HILLS COP* (1984) and its two sequels (1987, 1994). In the sequel, what was initially novel often becomes formulaic, as variation becomes repetition. Second, to imbue such repetition with a sense of novelty, sequel makers often amplify or intensify recurring elements. Thus we have an imperious Sister Mary Benedict (Ingrid Bergman) in *THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S* (1946) rather than an ineffectual Father Fitzgibbon (Barry Fitzgerald) from *GOING MY WAY* (1944), and multiple adversaries for respectively Batman and Superman in *BATMAN RETURNS* (1992) and *SUPERMAN II* (1980). While the characters cited in these sequels influence narrative progression directly, the process of intensification may take more overtly modular forms. In *ANY WHICH WAY YOU CAN* (1980), a greater amount of screen-time is dedicated to mechanic-cum-bare-knuckle fighter Philo's (Clint Eastwood) pet orangutan Clyde, the presence of whom had distinguished its predecessor, *EVERY WHICH WAY BUT LOOSE* (1978), from other films of the period. The centralization of the character is exemplified by a montage in which, to the fittingly entitled song "The Orangutang [sic] Hall of Fame", Clyde shoots basketball, plays in a hammock, and generally enjoys himself. This sequence is neither motivated by prior events nor related to the ensuing action; it appears primarily to showcase what evidently was deemed to have been one of the key pleasures of viewing its predecessor. Similarly, in *INDIANA JONES AND THE TEMPLE OF DOOM* (1985), Indiana Jones (Harrison Ford) pulls his gun in response to a hoard of swordsmen, an intensified repetition of a scene from its predecessor *RAIDERS OF THE LOST ARK* (1981), in which Jones draws his gun on a single swordsman.<sup>29)</sup>

Although the process of repetition and intensification may seem sufficiently familiar so as to represent a defining quality of the sequel, the nature of precisely what is repeated is by no means a foregone conclusion. As with the formation and developments of a genre, the manner in, and the extent to, which a sequel resembles its predecessor is always subject to extra-textual factors.

29) That this latter example is a prequel rather than a sequel underlines the extent to which, in terms of repetition and intensification, diegetic chronology is a secondary concern relative to the extra-textual chronology of production and reception.



### Formation and Fluctuation: Extra-textual influences

Sequels are influenced by two sets of intersecting extra-textual forces: those commercial factors specific to a given production, which dictate the nature of a sequel's repetitions; and developments in the broader genre with which a sequel or series is associated, which result in a sequel evincing noticeable shifts in presentation, tone or structure from those of its predecessor. Although we may never be able to access the full picture, it is important to recognize that what the makers of a sequel repeat or discard from a previous film, and therefore how the conventions of a series develop, is always determined to some degree by financial and logistical concerns marshalling its production and content.<sup>30)</sup>

Box office results have the capacity to exert considerable influence over the content of sequels. *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* (1985) was a huge box office success, out-grossing *FIRST BLOOD* (1982) by more than three to one.<sup>31)</sup> It is unsurprising therefore that *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* effectively served as a blueprint for subsequent sequels: *RAMBO III* (1988) and *RAMBO* (2008). It was the sparkling commercial success of the second film, rather than the solid results of the first film, that the makers of subsequent sequels wished to emulate. Thus, while many sequels are modeled closely on the first film, sometimes a second film does usurp its predecessor to become the principal template for subsequent installments. Consequently, although the makers of *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* retained some similarities to the first film, they largely forwent the mournful tone of *FIRST BLOOD* in favor of an overtly patriotic triumphalism and an emphasis on mechanized combat and explosive action. Moreover, where the *FIRST BLOOD* pitted army vet and combat expert John Rambo against United States law enforcement and the military, the principal adversaries in the second film were Vietnamese soldiers and the Soviet military. *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* also established a more easily repeatable template; centering on a single mission, which is introduced and resolved within a relatively discrete narrative unit and which concludes with the hero free to repeat these actions in subsequent installments.

Alongside commercial results, it is also necessary to consider the impact certain human resources and filmmaking tools have upon sequels. The professional needs and desires of creative personnel behind a given film can be particularly influential. For example, Charlton Heston's much-reported disinclination to return as a protagonist in a sequel to *PLANET OF THE APES* (1968), along with his insistence that he would only take part if his role was kept to a minimum and if his character died in such a way as to preclude his re-

30) One might identify a teleological bent to this account, insofar as the influence on subsequent installments of the first sequel and/or the first film can only fully be gauged in retrospect. Yet, to identify that influence is not to suggest it persists either without specific acts of maintenance or free of varying levels of modification. For all of their structural similarities, *RAMBO III* and *RAMBO* are quite different in tone from each other, and it is precisely because the sequel must provide some form of novelty that the conventions of any given series, like those of any genre, will always be in a state of flux.

31) *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* grossed more than \$150m in North America and \$300m worldwide, figures which respectively triple and double the totals of the original and which, even allowing for a considerable increase in production budget, suggest that the sequel was at least as profitable as *FIRST BLOOD*. Box Office Mojo, < <http://www.boxofficemojo.com/franchises/chart/?id=rambo.htm> > [accessed 31 May 2012].



turn in subsequent sequels, is one noteworthy example of creative personnel determining heavily the content of a sequel.<sup>32)</sup> Similarly, technological developments also influence the development of conventions across sequels. Special effects are an obvious example; they underpin the changing look of Jedi master Yoda across the *Star Wars* films (1980–2005). Whereas Yoda is a puppet in *THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK* (1980) and *RETURN OF THE JEDI* (1983), he appears as both a puppet and as computer-generated imagery (CGI) in *STAR WARS EPISODE I: THE PHANTOM MENACE* (1999), before appearing exclusively in CGI form in both *STAR WARS EPISODE II: ATTACK OF THE CLONES* (2002) and *STAR WARS EPISODE III: REVENGE OF THE SITH* (2005).

The industrial imperative of tapping into an existing following or fan-base while looking to attract new audiences is also a key extra-textual force shaping sequels. This drive to expand consumption underwrites the concept of the “reboot”, a strategy presaged on capitalizing on the prospect of audiences wishing to witness a revision of, or at least contemporary approach to, familiar material. The practice of rebooting is not new; it dates back at least to the 1930s and 1940s, when casting changes from one series film to the next were commonplace.<sup>33)</sup> The James Bond series (1962–) has, also been rebooted regularly, albeit primarily in terms of different actors being cast in the role of Bond. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that the Bond series provides one of the most significant examples of the influence of extra-textual forces on structure, tone, and presentation. At the presentational level, the respective makers of *CASINO ROYALE* (2006) and *QUANTUM OF SOLACE* (2008) draw heavily on similar contemporaneous films, in particular the *Bourne* trilogy (2002–2007), which featured kinetic action sequences shot with handheld cameras. The action itself includes the use of “parkour”<sup>34)</sup> in *CASINO ROYALE* and, in *QUANTUM OF SOLACE*, a rooftop chase sequence much like that featured in *THE BOURNE ULTIMATUM* (2007). Tonally, too, *CASINO ROYALE* and *QUANTUM OF SOLACE* are darker than most of their predecessors, with a greater focus on violence and its consequences and with Bond conducting himself in less gentlemanly and more brutish fashion — exemplified by *CASINO ROYALE*’s opening flashbacks, in which Bond is shown killing an adversary in cold-blood.

Broader trends in narrative-based media also influence sequel content, a phenomenon once again illustrated by the most recent Bond films, this time in terms of their narrative structure. Previously, Bond films had adhered largely to an established series format, wherein each installment functioned as a discrete episode, with few attempts ever made to acknowledge a chronological relationship between events over the course of the series.

32) Heston subsequently described his initial response thus: “A sequel would just be further adventures among the monkeys”. Writer Paul Dehn and producer Arthur P. Jacobs solved this problem by creating a climax to *BENEATH THE PLANET OF THE APES* (1970) in which the planet and its inhabitants were wiped out in a nuclear apocalypse. Charlton Heston, *In the Arena: The Autobiography* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 397.

33) The character of Charlie Chan, for example, began his big screen life being played by Warren William in *THE CASE OF THE HOWLING DOG* (1934) and in three subsequent installments, before Ricardo Cortez and then Donald Woods played the ace litigator in *THE CASE OF THE BLACK CAT* (1936) and *THE CASE OF THE STUTTERING BISHOP* (1937) respectively.

34) Parkour is an athletic discipline which enables participants to run, jump and move freely across all manner of obstacles.

Recalling Umberto Eco's description of Superman comics, the Bond films generally marked a "withdrawal from the tension of past-present-future",<sup>35)</sup> with each episode-specific mission completed by the end of the film. In contrast, *CASINO ROYALE* concludes in open-ended fashion. With his romantic interest, Vesper Lynd (Eva Green) dead, Bond is shown in the film's final scene approaching a mysterious figure that he holds responsible for Lynd's death. *QUANTUM OF SOLACE* begins immediately after these events have taken place. As Kristin Thompson has indicated, there has been a burgeoning movement towards the introduction of a "dangling cause" in the final moments of contemporary blockbusters,<sup>36)</sup> a story event which points the way to future narrative possibilities that might be played out in a sequel. In part this situation relates to the source material for much blockbuster cinema since the 1990s, material which boasts built-in sequel potential in that it is part of an existing series (such as the *Bourne*, *Harry Potter*, *Da Vinci Code* and *Twilight* novels) or inasmuch as it derives from a traditionally serialized format such as the comic book, video game or television series. Furthermore, recent scholarship on television and on comic books indicates that ongoing narratives rather than discrete episodes have, since the 1970s, become increasingly prevalent in both media,<sup>37)</sup> while the video game industry has employed such strategies almost since its inception.<sup>38)</sup> This shift towards film-to-film continuity within the Bond series is also reflective of contemporary Hollywood's industrial drive to create not single films but franchises; ventures which build on a pre-existing audience and which lay the ground not only for future films, but also for adaptations of those films in other media and related consumer product. This industrial mindset is not new, but it is clear that the Hollywood sequels' current compositional conventions are linked to this particular historical juncture in much the same way as the conventions of B movie series were linked to the studio system in the 1930s. The change in storytelling approach seen in *CASINO ROYALE* and *QUANTUM OF SOLACE* is rare among sequels, but the Bond series itself is exceptional: its longevity meaning it is among the most enduring bellwethers of trends which might very well be external to the logic of its fictional world, but which resonate there, nonetheless.

35) Eco, 'The myth of Superman', p. 120.

36) See Kristin Thompson, *Storytelling in Film and Television* (London: Harvard University Press, 2003), p. 97.

37) In relation to television, we might note also that the boom in the reality genre since 2000 has created a situation in which aspects of the traditional game show format have taken on a serialized form more common to soap opera, as demonstrated by, among others, *THE APPRENTICE* (UK version: 2005–), *BIG BROTHER* (2000–), and *THE X-FACTOR* (2004–).

38) On television see Jason Mittell, 'Narrative complexity in contemporary American television', *The Velvet Light Trap* 58 (Fall 2006), pp. 29–40; Graeme Turner, 'Genre hybridity and mutations', in Glen Creeber (ed.), *The Television Genre Book* (London: BFI, 2001), p. 6; Glen Creeber, *Serial Television* (London: BFI, 2004), pp. 8–10. On comics see Jenkins, "'Just Men in Tights'", p. 234. On video games see Geoff King and Tanya Krzywinska, *Tomb Raiders and Space Invaders: Videogame Forms and Contexts* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006) pp. 39–54; Dan Ackerman, 'What videogame sequels get wrong', CNET, 21 January 2010. CNET, <[http://news.cnet.com/8301-17938\\_105-10438325-1.html](http://news.cnet.com/8301-17938_105-10438325-1.html)> [accessed 31 May 2012].

### Conclusion: History Repeating

The poetics of the Hollywood sequel presented above has detailed a series of historical tendencies, all showing the extent to which the sequel can be understood as generic; only some of these tendencies can be explained by referring to existing genre theory. The sequel's status as a form exhibiting narrative continuation from an earlier film or from earlier films problematizes straightforward comparisons to the broader workings of genre. Its close textual proximity to its predecessors represents the sequel's greatest commercial asset, but also poses a significant challenge to the creative personnel involved in its production. The need for sequels to balance narrative continuation and on-going character development with a familiar set of pleasures is a distinguishing feature; a feature which at once enables and complicates the balancing act of replication and differentiation from which conceptualizations of genre stem. These connections distinguish the sequel from films within a genre, the makers of which can imitate a previous success without concerning themselves with matters of continuity.

The analysis above has sought to contribute both to current academic interest in the sequel, and also to broader questions of how genre functions as a process; questions that are beginning to be addressed in recent work on film cycles. Barring long-running exceptions such as the Bond films, the number of films within a series, saga, trilogy or franchise tends to be lower than the number of films within a genre. As a result, each film in that series makes a more easily isolatable and identifiable contribution to our understanding of that series' conventions. Furthermore, producers are in a better position to predict an audience's expectations of a sequel than they are to predict the expectations an audience may have of a new film in a particular genre. As a result of these phenomena, the Hollywood sequel affords a glimpse into the formation of generic conventions which is both enlightening and misleading. It is enlightening because it facilitates identification of the process of genrification across a growing family of films, and allows us to speak with some confidence about the patterns of influence, creative personnel, and audience expectations which have informed that process. It is misleading, however, because we must remember that this process is skewed by the sequel's need to evince some level of continuity with a predecessor or predecessors. Rooted, as it is, in the temporality of narrative fiction, the sequel must be like its predecessor, but, with both fictional-world and real-world time marching on, it can never be quite the same.

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\* Where a film series has only been cited by name, such as the Charlie Chan Series, all films belonging to that series have been included in the list.



## SUMMARY

### **Family Resemblances.**

#### *The Genericity of the Hollywood Sequel*

**Stuart Henderson**

Both in the academy and in popular criticism, the Hollywood sequel has tended to be described in terms similar to those which describe films closely aligned with any one genre: they are repetitive and formulaic, bound by a distinctive set of conventions and audience expectations, and driven by the economic imperatives of an inherently risky business which values security of investment over originality. But to what extent does traditional film genre theory help us to understand the workings of the sequel? With this question as a jumping off point, this essay will interrogate the relationship between genre and the sequel, looking at points of intersection and divergence between these two forms of imitative film production.

Divided into three parts, the essay's first section seeks to understand how film genre theory has tended to conceptualize the formulaic nature of Hollywood's output, particularly in relation to genre cycles. It considers how the sequel might sit in relation to the process of genre development - by discussing the various ways in which the form can be understood as generic, and the role of broader genre affiliations therein. Moving on from here, the second section examines in more detail the repetitive nature of the sequel at a formal and narrative level. This section considers the inherent conflict between the need to ensure that a sequel delivers familiar pleasures and the requirement that both the narrative and characters are developed, and also identifies the tendency for sequels to amplify certain recurring elements, delivering more of the same with an emphasis on "more". Finally, the third section looks at the manner in which industrial forces come to bear on the nature of what a sequel carries over from its predecessor(s) and what is discarded. With reference to a broad range of films, including *THE THIN MAN GOES HOME* (1944), *THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S* (1945), *ROOSTER COGBURN* (1975), *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* (1985) and *DIE HARD 2* (1990), this essay intends to both contribute to ongoing debates around genre, whilst also shedding new light on the poetics of the Hollywood sequel.

Andrea Comiskey

## Genre, Domestic Distribution, and Audiences (1935–1945)

### *The Case of the Western*

There will be more of them made in the high budget class this next six months than anytime [sic] in the last decade. Not the mill run stuff constantly turned out for the sticks and nabes on Saturday pm, but for the Broadways of the world.<sup>1)</sup>

Anonymous *Variety* writer

As the report from American trade paper *Variety* cited above suggests, the return in 1939 of the big-budget (or “A”) Hollywood Western — a development marked by the release of films including *JESSE JAMES*, *STAGECOACH*, *DESTROY RIDES AGAIN*, *UNION PACIFIC*, and *DODGE CITY* — threw into relief the extent to which the Western had by that point come to be associated with low-budget filmmaking. As during the 1920s, Westerns had for much of the 1930s constituted roughly a quarter of the US film industry’s output.<sup>2)</sup> Unlike in the 1920s, however, these Westerns were almost exclusively low-budget, or “B”, productions. In 1934, for example, no big-budget Westerns were released; in the years that followed there were only four, three, seven, and four Westerns respectively.<sup>3)</sup> The flight from the production of lavish Westerns was in part due to the costly failure of several expensive Westerns released in 1930, including *THE BIG TRAIL* and *BILLY THE KID*.<sup>4)</sup> The ghettoization of the Western was concurrent with the widespread implementation across the exhibition sector of double-bill programming, in which theaters offered two feature films for the price of admission. This practice increased demand for low-budget films that could be

1) Anon., ‘Hollywood Inside,’ *Daily Variety*, 25 February 1939, p. 2.

2) Western production dropped to around ten to twenty percent of total US output during and just after the transition to sound but returned to about twenty-eight percent by 1935.

3) These numbers represent, respectively, zero, three percent, two percent, five percent, and three percent of US Western productions. Edward Buscombe (ed.), *The BFI Companion to the Western* (New York: Atheneum, 1998), pp. 37–43; 426–428. MGM’s *VIVA VILLA!* might be considered a big-budget 1934 western, although I follow Buscombe in not counting it as such.

4) Buscombe, *The BFI Companion*, p. 43; Peter Stanfield, *Hollywood, Westerns, and the 1930s: The Lost Trail* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001).

rented to theaters at flat rates.<sup>5)</sup> Accordingly, disproportionate numbers of 1930s Westerns came from independent “Poverty Row” outfits such as Monogram Pictures, often as parts of film series. The ratio of big-budget to low-budget Westerns became slightly less lopsided toward the end of the decade when some of the major studios began to increase their own B-unit output. This move represented the majors’ reluctant acceptance of the commercial realities of the double-bill market, although many studios continued to attempt to end the practice of double-billing.<sup>6)</sup> The *Variety* report also illustrates in succinct fashion how Westerns were associated (discursively, and with respect to their domestic circulation) with particular audiences — as audiences were understood in terms of their attendance of theaters occupying different positions within the US film distribution system of the period. Their sheer volume, coupled with their shifting status within the industry, makes Westerns of the late 1930s and early 1940s a particularly instructive case with which to show how genre related to distinctions within the US theatrical market of the “classical” studio era. Furthermore, it shows how such distinctions were connected to industry conceptions of audiences.

Scholarship on American Westerns tends to begin with, or, at least, heavily privilege, the so-called “adult” Westerns of the 1940s and 1950s — of which the late-1930s A Westerns were a notable precursor. Beyond early foundational surveys such as George N. Fenin and William K. Everson’s *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama* and Jon Tuska’s *The Filming of the West*, two recent books by Peter Stanfield offer the most serious and sustained work on the 1930s Western.<sup>7)</sup> One of Stanfield’s books focuses on the “singing cowboy” (largely a figure of B Westerns), while the other traces more comprehensively developments in the genre’s production and reception.<sup>8)</sup> Stanfield argues that the major studios’ renewed commitment to big-budget Westerns was part of a broader shift toward action-oriented films, intended in part to appease those independent and small-town exhibitors who felt that their needs were being “ill-served” by the major studios. It was these exhibitors who most strongly supported anti-trust suits designed to combat the distribution practices through which the majors maintained control of the industry.<sup>9)</sup> Stanfield also argues that the Western offered an eminently usable (and conveniently historical) textual framework in which to present the kinds of patriotic, democratic stories that the industry felt were called for by the intensification of conflicts overseas.<sup>10)</sup> Making Westerns once again attractive to a general (and particularly a female) audience involved increasing their budgets and casting bankable actors like Gary Cooper, Errol Flynn, and Tyrone Power. It also involved the

5) Brian Taves, ‘The B-film: Hollywood’s other half’, in Tino Balio (ed.), *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930–1939* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1993); Don Miller, *B Movies* (New York: Ballantine, 1987).

6) Gary Rhodes, ‘“The double feature evil”: efforts to eliminate the American dual bill’, *Film History*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2001), pp. 57–74.

7) George N. Fenin and William K. Everson, *The Western: From Silents to Cinerama* (New York: Orion Press, 1962); Jon Tuska, *The Filming of the West* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976); Peter Stanfield, *Horse Opera: the Strange History of the 1930s Singing Cowboy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002); Stanfield, *Hollywood, Westerns, and the 1930s*.

8) See Stanfield, *The Lost Trail*.

9) *Ibid.*, p. 145.

10) *Ibid.*, pp. 152–160.

calculated deployment of story elements like alcohol consumption, brothels, and saloons — all perceived to appeal to adult audiences.<sup>11)</sup>

This essay broadens our understanding of late 1930s and early 1940s Westerns by looking at their US circulation. As Lea Jacobs and I have argued in a study of 1920s reception and distribution, films were not simply designed for, or delivered to, an undifferentiated “mass” audience.<sup>12)</sup> Rather, films were associated with different intended audiences and, accordingly, received different kinds of releases. We argued that, while audiences were discussed in the trade press in demographic terms (including men/women/juveniles and urban/hinterland dwellers) or in terms of their taste formations (notably sophisticated and naïve viewers), these distinctions were often inscribed within a hierarchy of theaters and release strategies.<sup>13)</sup> The same phenomenon is true of trade, and some popular, discourse of the late 1930s and early 1940s, with the principal difference being an increased emphasis on a film’s potential position on a double-bill.

This study draws primarily on two datasets: press coverage of Westerns, including reviews of individual films as well as commentary about genre more broadly, and distribution information drawn from the US trade and popular press. It first establishes the manner in which different kinds of Western were associated with different target audiences and distribution strategies. A key issue in this respect is the intricate range of options delineated in the press — a range of options that far surpasses a simple A picture/ B picture binary. The paper then complements this discourse analysis with an examination of distribution histories, approaching the question of Western distribution from two angles. First, it contrasts the release patterns of a range of Westerns, from top-budgeted As to the lowest-budgeted Bs, highlighting not just the ways in which a particular film’s status (as determined by criteria including production budget and presence of stars) underwrote the form of distribution it received, but how that status could be renegotiated or complicated over the course of its release. Second, it offers a snapshot of the distribution of Westerns in three small markets in the watershed year of 1939. Together these findings illustrate how Westerns functioned within local film ecosystems and particularly the connections between Westerns and certain classes of theaters and types of programming practice.

### **The Reception of Westerns: Theaters, Audiences, and Circulation Strategies**

By the mid-to-late 1930s, low budgets had, for critics and audiences alike, come to define the Western’s cultural profile.<sup>14)</sup> The revival of the A Western in 1939 and subsequent seasons was, at best, greeted as the rebirth of a great cinematic tradition — a response evi-

11) Ibid., pp. 173–174, 191–192.

12) Lea Jacobs and Andrea Comiskey, ‘Hollywood’s conception of its audience in the 1920s’, in Steve Neale (ed.), *The Classical Hollywood Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 94–109. See also Lea Jacobs, *The Decline of Sentiment: American Film in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Richard Maltby, ‘Sticks, hicks and flaps: classical Hollywood’s generic conception of its audiences’, in Melvyn Stokes and Richard Maltby (eds), *Identifying Hollywood’s Audiences: Cultural Identity and the Movies* (London: BFI Publishing, 1999), pp. 23–41.

13) Jacobs and Comiskey, ‘Hollywood’s conception’.

14) Stanfield, *The Lost Trail*, p. 116.



dent, for example, in the rapturous *New York Times* review of *STAGECOACH* penned by critic and future John Ford collaborator Frank S. Nugent.<sup>15)</sup> Nugent praised *STAGECOACH* as “a movie of the grand old school” that “swept aside ten years of artifice and talkie compromise”.<sup>16)</sup> At worst, big-budget Westerns were deemed pretentious, even tedious dressings-up of standard B-grade material.<sup>17)</sup> The previous year, Nugent had called Paramount’s *THE TEXANS* “just another romance with unjustified pretensions to importance”.<sup>18)</sup> Similarly, Bosley Crowther of the *New York Times* dubbed MGM’s *BILLY THE KID* (1941) a “western with trimmings” and a “routine horse opera”.<sup>19)</sup>

Perhaps the worst offender was the Western that was presumed to have abandoned the genre’s strengths by forsaking action for psychodrama. Both the *New York Times* and *Variety* lambasted Paramount’s *THE ROUNDUP* (1941), a film directed by Harry Sherman, a veteran of the popular Hopalong Cassidy series that the studio had for several years distributed. Their very similar reviews indicated that Sherman should have known better than to dwell on a love triangle at the expense of, to use the *New York Times*’ critic’s terms, “a good bang-up riding and shooting fracas”.<sup>20)</sup> While there was certainly a degree of condescension in some reviews of B Westerns, and particularly in reviews of ultra-low-budget fare, critics expressed with some regularity their appreciation of the films’ terseness and skillful adherence to action formulas. For example, critics praised RKO’s Westerns starring George O’Brien as being among “the best in the field”.<sup>21)</sup> *Variety* called *THE RENEGADE RANGER* (1938) “a very good western, filled with brawling, gunning, and outlawry”<sup>22)</sup> and described *GUN LAW* (1938) as being “long on tensity [sic], nose-flattening fights and hard riding” and deserving of “grade A western playing time”.<sup>23)</sup> Criticisms such as these were imbricated within assumptions of Westerns’ intended audiences. Of *THE ROUNDUP*, a *Variety* critic noted that “[w]hat makes it doubly a liability is that it has too much psychological drama to be a western and too little story to be a straight feature [...] it will neither please the cowboy ‘n’ injuns fans nor the drama lovers”.<sup>24)</sup> Reviews, especially those in *Variety* and other trade publications, reveal much about a film’s imagined audiences, for they existed in part to help exhibitors make informed choices about what films to book. These audiences are typically discussed in conjunction with extremely precise assessments of a film’s box office potential and recommendations for appropriate distribution strategies. For instance, a *Variety* review of Paramount’s *CHEROKEE STRIP* (1940) read:

15) Ibid., p. 150.

16) Frank S. Nugent, ‘A Ford-powered “Stagecoach” opens at Music Hall’, *New York Times*, 3 March 1939, p. 27.

17) Stanfield, *The Lost Trail*, p. 160.

18) Frank S. Nugent, “The Texans”, with Randolph Scott and Joan Bennett, opens at the Paramount’, *New York Times*, 28 July 1938, p. 23. Paramount was among the only studios to continue occasional forays into A Westerns in the mid-1930s, with films like *THE PLAINSMAN* (1936) and *WELLS FARGO* (1937).

19) Bosley Crowther, “Billy the Kid,” a Western with trimmings, opens at the Capitol’, *New York Times*, 20 June 1941, p. 28.

20) Herb., ‘The roundup’, *Variety Film Reviews*, 10 September 1941, unpaginated; T.S., ‘At Loew’s Criterion’, *New York Times*, 13 March 1941, p. 25. The *New York Times* critic cited here lamented “[g]enerally, the more money a producer spends on a Western, the less happens”.

21) Barn., ‘Gun Law’, *Variety Film Reviews*, 29 June 1938, unpaginated.

22) Barn., ‘Renegade Ranger’, *Variety Film Reviews*, 5 October 1938, unpaginated.

23) Barn., ‘Gun Law’.

24) Herb., ‘The Roundup’.



[w]ith [Richard] Dix starring and rating marquee draw in the family and action houses that go for better-than-usual program westerns, CHEROKEE STRIP will satisfy in those spots. [The] [p]icture's story is both too trite and filled with obviously overwritten dialog on the [melodramatic] side, to give it much chance for dual supporter in the first runs.<sup>25)</sup>

In what follows, a sample of these reviews is presented to sketch out a US distribution hierarchy — comprising cities, towns, theaters, and programming slots — within which Westerns and other films circulated. This study catalogued approximately 300 Westerns (A pictures and B pictures) distributed by the “Big Five” and “Little Three” studios, as well as a further fifty Westerns handled by smaller independent companies, between 1937 and 1943. A survey was made of *Variety* and/or *New York Times* reviews of most of these films. Because B films did not receive the amount of popular press coverage that A films received, in many cases only a *Variety* review could be examined.<sup>26)</sup> Major studio releases received particular attention because they best captured the range of distribution strategies associated with different classes of Western (major studio releases included nearly all of the period's A Westerns and a rich variety of its B Westerns).

Films' budgets varied significantly within the A and B categories and across studios. The major studios' “normal” A films were budgeted at around \$300,000 to \$1m, with some “A+” features costing \$1.5m to \$3m. In his survey of B films of the 1930s, Brian Taves identified four categories of B film. The first category consisted of major studio “programmers”. In terms of their budgets and/or runtimes, these films existed somewhere between the A and B categories and could thus play in “any part of the program [...] depending on the prestige of the theater and the other material of the double bill”.<sup>27)</sup> The second category consisted of the majors' B-unit films, which were budgeted between \$30,000 and \$300,000.<sup>28)</sup> The third sub-category consisted of low-budget films from the best capitalized “secondary studios”, including Republic Pictures and Monogram Pictures.<sup>29)</sup> Ultra-low-budget quickies handled by the so-called “Poverty Row” outfits made up the fourth, and final, sub-category of B film.<sup>30)</sup> In many cases, reviews of Columbia's lowest-budget Westerns were quite similar to those of Poverty Row Westerns (and in fact these two groups of films often played at the same theaters and on similar programs).

To be one of the year's top grossing films (and thus to generate a level of return necessitated by extremely high budgets), a film needed to play in major metropolitan first-run houses, most of which were owned by or were affiliated to one of the “Big Five” studios.<sup>31)</sup>

25) Walt, ‘Cherokee Strip’, *Variety Film Reviews*, 2 October 1940, unpaginated.

26) Kyle Edwards examines how B/Poverty Row studios marketed themselves in the trade press. See Kyle Edwards, “Monogram means business”: B-film marketing and series filmmaking at Monogram Pictures, *Film History*, vol. 23, no. 4 (2011), pp. 386–400.

27) Taves, ‘The B-film’, pp. 317–318.

28) *Ibid.*, pp. 318–321.

29) *Ibid.*, pp. 321–323.

30) *Ibid.*, pp. 323–329. Lea Jacobs has further analyzed the flexibility of the A/B distinction over the course of a film's national release. See Lea Jacobs, ‘The B film and the problem of cultural distinction’, *Screen*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Spring 1992), pp. 1–13.

31) Mae D. Huettig offers a landmark analysis of theater ownership. See Mae D. Huettig, *Economic Control of the*

Moreover, the film needed to be held over (that is, overstay the standard one-week booking) at these houses for several weeks. *Variety* called Twentieth Century-Fox's *JESSE JAMES* "a cinch extended run attraction" and predicted correctly that the film would "wind up in the top list of biggest grossers for the first half of 1939".<sup>32)</sup> MGM's *NORTHWEST PASSAGE* (1940), produced on a budget of over \$2m, promised to be a "top attraction for both grosses and extended runs", in part because its purported educational value gave it the capacity to "hit audiences that seldom attend[ed] theaters".<sup>33)</sup> Fox's *WESTERN UNION* (1941), a "super-western of upper-budget proportions", was deemed "strong enough to catch a good share of holdovers" in key cities.<sup>34)</sup>

Beyond this top tier of upper A films deemed capable of achieving genuine hit status were a number of lower As and strong programmers. Although *Variety*'s review of Goldwyn/United Artists' *THE WESTERNER* (1940) does not mention holdovers, it nonetheless predicts strong, steady business: "[the film] should hit a profitable stride in the first runs and roll along through the [subsequent run theaters] to consistently heavy traffic".<sup>35)</sup> While MGM's top-budget Westerns, such as *NORTHWEST PASSAGE* and *HONKY TONK* (1941), tended to star matinee idols like Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy, most of the studio's Westerns starred the rough-hewn Wallace Beery. *Variety* predicted that one such film, *THE BAD MAN OF BRIMSTONE* (1938), would grab "nice money solo" (that is, as the only feature film on the bill, presumably accompanied by short subjects or live acts). However, the film was characterized as ideally suited for top billing in first-run theaters that offered double-bills.<sup>36)</sup> Fox's *FRONTIER MARSHAL* (1939), a more modest Western than the studio's *JESSE JAMES*, was said to fall narrowly short of the "requirements for general top billing in the major keys" (possibly due to its 72-minute length or the moderate marquee draw of stars Randolph Scott and Nancy Kelly). The reviewer nevertheless noted that the film's general audience appeal would allow it to "catch many upper dual bookings in the major houses, and stand on its own in the subsequents".<sup>37)</sup> Fox's other Western offering of the season was the *THE RETURN OF THE CISCO KID*, the first entry in a series that revived the title character following an extended hiatus from Hollywood films. *THE RETURN OF THE CISCO KID* was predicted to "hit moderate biz in the keys, but catch the kids and adventure-lovers in the subsequents for better than average take".<sup>38)</sup> Columbia's *Texas* (1941), one of the studio's most lavish Westerns of the period, was greeted as "an upper B programmer that will catch a good share of solo and billtopping bookings in the secondary houses".<sup>39)</sup> In a similar vein, Paramount's *THE PARSON OF PANAMINT* (1941), which boasted mild religious themes, was called "a topnotch program action melodrama that

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*Motion Picture Industry: A Study in Industrial Organization* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), pp. 74–86.

32) Anon., 'Jesse James', *Variety Film Reviews*, 11 January 1939, unpaginated.

33) Anon., 'Northwest Passage', *Variety Film Reviews*, 14 February 1940, unpaginated.

34) Anon., 'Western Union', *Variety Film Reviews*, 5 February 1941, unpaginated.

35) Walt., 'The Westerner', *Variety Film Reviews*, 25 September 1940, unpaginated.

36) Wear., 'Bad Man of Brimstone', *Variety Film Reviews*, 19 January 1938, unpaginated.

37) Anon., 'Frontier Marshal', *Variety Film Reviews*, 27 July 1939, unpaginated.

38) Anon., 'The Return of the Cisco Kid', *Variety Film Reviews*, 26 April 1939, unpaginated.

39) Walt., 'Texas', *Variety Film Reviews*, 8 October 1941, unpaginated.

will provide strong support for the key duals", the best reaction to which would come from "family and small town bookings".<sup>40)</sup>

Further down the budget/distribution hierarchy were B Westerns assumed to be designed and destined for the bottom of double-bills and/or relatively unimportant theaters — that is, smaller houses outside the key first-run markets. Unsurprisingly, films that were not released by the Big Five or Little Three were usually relegated to this lower category. Typical in this respect is a *Variety* reviewer's remark that the "brevity" of Monogram's *PALS OF THE SILVER SAGE* (1940) "will allow it to fill many double bills, especially independent houses".<sup>41)</sup> The aforementioned George O'Brien/RKO Westerns represent the best regarded and most promising of this category. *Variety* placed one such film, *TRIPLE JUSTICE* (1940), in the "A-bracket" of low-budget Westerns, adding that it "ranks among the cream for the action places, just as the star-studded colossals go with deluxers" (that is, *TRIPLE JUSTICE* was to neighborhood and grindhouse theaters what prestigious A films were to downtown movie palaces).<sup>42)</sup> Less charitably, *Variety* described the same studio's *VALLEY OF THE SUN* (1942) as "an action supporter [...] geared to catch attention of western addicts and kids", predicting that the film would flop if placed on the top of double-bills in key engagements.<sup>43)</sup> Similarly, *Variety* characterized Universal's *LADY FROM CHEYENNE* (1941) as "a minor league programmer destined for the supporting dual grooves".<sup>44)</sup> While the "programmer" label implies that a film like *LADY FROM CHEYENNE* could play in a variety of theaters that offered double-bills, other films were deemed appropriate only for bottom-rung houses. For example, *CHEROKEE STRIP* (1937), a 55-minute B from Warner Bros., starring singing cowboy Dick Foran (a different film than the one of the same titled mentioned earlier), was labeled "strictly suitable for nabe double-headers".<sup>45)</sup> Near the bottom of the Western hierarchy was a film like Columbia's *THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE* (1941), which was associated exclusively with naïve audiences and cheap theaters. For instance, one reviewer called the film "wild hokum [...] strictly a filler for the action houses and juve matinees".<sup>46)</sup> A *Variety* report from a trade screening of the film called it "the kind of picture that exhibitors hope will not be made any more after the consent decree goes fully into effect" — that is, once theaters had more access to advance screenings and were not compelled to block-book a year's program of films.<sup>47)</sup>

The various distinctions drawn between Westerns of the late 1930s and early 1940s are illustrated neatly by the case of Universal's *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* (1940). Running at about 75 minutes and directed by Allan Dwan (fresh from helming the A Western *FRONTIER MARSHAL* for Fox), *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* was a cut above Universal's

40) Walt., 'The Parson of Panamint', *Variety Film Reviews*, 15 September 1941, unpaginated.

41) Wear., 'Pals of the Silver Sage', *Variety Film Reviews*, 23 May 1940, unpaginated.

42) Art., 'Triple Justice', *Variety Film Reviews*, 9 October 1940, unpaginated.

43) Walt., 'Valley of the Sun', *Variety Film Reviews*, 14 January 1942, unpaginated.

44) Walt., 'Lady from Cheyenne', *Variety Film Reviews* 2 April 1941, unpaginated.

45) Rowl., 'Cherokee Strip', *Variety Film Reviews*, 2 June 1937, unpaginated.

46) Walt., 'Thunder over the Prairie', *Variety Film Reviews*, 30 July 1941, unpaginated.

47) Anon., 'Thunder over the Prairie', *Daily Variety*, 25 July 1941, p. 3. For details on exhibitors' grievances see Huettig, *Economic Control*, pp. 117–142; Michael Conant, *Antitrust in the Motion Picture Industry: Economic and Legal Analysis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 58–83.

standard Western output, which had in the years immediately prior been dominated by 60-minute B films starring singing cowboy Bob Baker and/or former football player Johnny Mack Brown. *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* boasted the modest marquee draw of Franchot Tone (then best known for his role in *MUTINY ON THE BOUNTY* [1935]), with support provided by Broderick Crawford and Andy Devine. *Variety* praised the film, calling it a “strong programmer” and suggesting that it mixed “straight western” elements shrewdly with “sideline satire directed at westerns in general” — with the latter potentially affording the film some appeal to sophisticated audiences. The trade paper noted that *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* was a:

[...] neatly concocted feature with a double-edged purpose for bookings. In the secondary spots for the keys, the upper strata audiences will catch the thinly-disguised burlesquing of the story with the numerous interjected cracks aimed in that direction. For the action patrons, there are all the ingredients necessary for lusty entertainment.<sup>48)</sup>

The reviewer went on to highlight “two handicaps” which he believed had the capacity to prevent the film from achieving the commercial success it warranted: first, the film’s title marked it as a “regulation western”, and second, the film’s comic undercurrents were not emphasized at an appropriately early stage. As a consequence, the reviewer suggested that “the semi-sophisticates will not catch the satirical intent until along in the third reel.”<sup>49)</sup> Indeed, *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* did not receive as prestigious a rollout as comparable intermediate/programmer Westerns. Instead, it made its New York debut at the Rialto, a 750-seat Broadway grind-house known primarily for showing B-grade action and horror fare.<sup>50)</sup> In this sense, the release of *TRAIL OF THE VIGILANTES* was similar to that of standard B Westerns. A number of George O’Brien/RKO B Westerns had, for example, opened at the Rialto (albeit on double-bills).<sup>51)</sup> Universal was capable of gaining access to larger and more prestigious New York theaters for some of its Westerns; it had done so for *DESTROY RIDES AGAIN* (shown at the Rivoli theater), 1940’s *WHEN THE DALTONS RODE* (shown at Loew’s State), and *LADY FROM CHEYENNE* (which unspooled at the Roxy). A film’s New York release strategy is usually a good indicator of its “class”; however, its opening tells only part of the story of how a film circulated nationally.

48) Walt., ‘Trail of the Vigilantes,’ *Variety Film Reviews*, 11 December 1940, unpaginated.

49) Ibid.

50) Bosley Crowther, ‘The screen: at the Rialto,’ *New York Times*, 7 December 1940, p. 17. See also Tim Snelson and Mark Jancovich, “‘No hits, no runs, just terrors’: exhibition, cultural distinctions, and cult audiences at the Rialto in the 1930s and 1940s,” in Daniel Biltereyst, Richard Maltby, and Phillippe Meers (eds), *Explorations in New Cinema History: Approaches and Case Studies* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 199–211; David Church, ‘From exhibition to genre: the case of grind-house films,’ *Cinema Journal*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Summer 2011), pp. 1–25.

51) Examples of O’Brien Westerns debuting at the Rialto included *Gun Law*, *Painted Desert*, and *Racketeers of the Range*.



## The Distribution of Westerns

Whether or not the trade press's recommended release strategies and predictions of box office performance were always correct, the highly differentiated range of distribution options sketched out in the reviews above did hold true.<sup>52)</sup> What follows is an attempt to trace out some of these options through the distribution histories of selected Westerns in 1) first-run theaters in key cities and 2) a sample of small towns — the markets with which the genre was associated most closely.<sup>53)</sup>

Near the top of the Western budget hierarchy were A Westerns like *JESSE JAMES*, which cost approximately \$1.6m to produce and became one of the top grossing films of 1939.<sup>54)</sup> First released in mid-January 1939, *JESSE JAMES* was backed by an advertising blitz, including a stunt in which a band of masked horsemen rode through Manhattan and stopped traffic to stage a holdup of an armored vehicle.<sup>55)</sup> The film performed so well that it was held over in a number of major cities and theaters, playing, for example, at New York's Roxy for four weeks.<sup>56)</sup> *JESSE JAMES* replicated this success in many additional key cities, including Chicago, Detroit, and Pittsburgh. In each location, it enjoyed multiple downtown runs by moving immediately from one downtown theater to another.<sup>57)</sup> For its first several weeks in release, the film played mostly solo engagements, and, when it played on a double-bill, it appeared on the top half. Somewhat surprising was the number of smaller locations in which the film played concurrent to its big-city debuts. By late January or early February of 1939, it had reached such towns and cities as: Reno, Nevada; Bakersfield, California; Joplin, Missouri; Miami, Oklahoma; Brownsville, Texas; and all three of the case study towns examined below.

One can compare the muscular rollout of *JESSE JAMES* to that of *TRIPLE JUSTICE*, one of the George O'Brien/RKO B Westerns. Released in the fall of 1940, *TRIPLE JUSTICE* appears only a few times in *Variety*'s Picture Grosses pages, indicating that it played in relatively few important first-run theaters in key cities. The first *Variety* record of its exhibition is a notification of its run at the Memphis Strand, where it played on a single-bill for two days in late September that year and reportedly generated poor grosses.<sup>58)</sup> The film was not reviewed in the *New York Times*, although it did receive a downtown New York opening in mid-October at the Central, one of the smaller Broadway houses. *TRIPLE*

52) Jacobs and Comiskey, 'Hollywood's Conception.'

53) To do so, this section draws on several sources, including: *Variety*'s "Picture Grosses" pages, which reveal where, and on what programs, films played in important first-run theaters in a number of key cities; mass circulation newspapers including the *New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times*; and the large collection of small-town newspapers that has been digitized and made accessible through Newspaperarchive.com. For another recent study, also highlighting the degree of differentiation in release patterns across cities and theaters, and based on the *Variety* Picture Grosses pages, see John Sedgwick and Mark Glancy, 'Cinemagoing in the United States in the mid-1930s: a study based on the *Variety* dataset', in, *Going to the Movies*, pp. 155–195.

54) The AFI Catalog of Feature Films, <<http://afi.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 15 March 2012]

55) Anon., "Jesse James" Broadway holdup best exploitation of week, *Variety*, 18 January 1939, p. 19.

56) Anon., *Variety*, 8 February 1939, p. 9.

57) Anon., *Variety*, 8 February 1939, pp. 9–10; Anon., *Variety*, 22 February 1939, p. 9.

58) Anon., "Westerner", \$7,000, neat in Memphis, *Variety*, 2 October 1940, p. 10.

JUSTICE played as the top half of a double-bill with GAMBLING SHIP (1938), a two-year-old series feature distributed by Universal.<sup>59)</sup> TRIPLE JUSTICE appeared sporadically in a few key cities until the end of 1939, usually for split weeks (that is, as part of a theater's twice- or thrice-weekly program changeover) on double- or triple-bills with films from the Little Three or the Poverty Row studios. For example, in late October, it played for half a week in Cincinnati (a city in which the first-run market was dominated by RKO), topping a bill that also included Monogram's WHO IS GUILTY (1939).<sup>60)</sup> In mid-November, it played in Omaha on one of the Town theater's three weekly programs, alongside two older British imports: 1936's THE DEMON BARBER OF FLEET STREET (aka SWEENEY TODD, THE DEMON BARBER OF FLEET STREET) and 1938's RETURN OF THE FROG (aka NOBODY'S HOME).<sup>61)</sup> TRIPLE JUSTICE was in mid-December playing on the bottom of a double-bill with Universal's SEVEN SINNERS (1940) in an RKO-owned theater in Boston.<sup>62)</sup> Despite playing relatively few engagements in the nation's most important metropolitan markets, TRIPLE JUSTICE — a reasonably well reviewed B Western from one of the Big Five, with a moderately bankable star — was able to maintain some presence there.

Some B Westerns bypassed the major downtown markets almost entirely. One such film was Columbia's THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE, mentioned above for its reception as "wild hokum" and "strictly a filler for the action houses and juve matinees".<sup>63)</sup> The film's New York release was not unlike that of TRIPLE JUSTICE; it was not reviewed in the *New York Times* and opened at one of the lesser Broadway theaters, the New York — a 600-seat house offering a mixture of first-run films and reissues.<sup>64)</sup> Whereas TRIPLE JUSTICE played on the top half of a double-bill, THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE played on the bottom, supporting I'LL SELL MY LIFE (1941), a mystery starring Rose Hobart that was produced by Merrick-Alexander Productions and distributed by Select Attractions.<sup>65)</sup> THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE does not appear in the *Variety* "Picture Grosses" pages. When it opened in New York City in early September 1941, the film had already been playing for over a month in smaller cities and towns across the country, mostly on the bottom half of double-bills. For example, during the second week of August, it played in this position during a Thursday-to-Saturday run in Iola, Kansas (population approximately 7,000). On the top half of the bill was DOUBLE CROSS (1941), produced and distributed by Producers Releasing Corporation.<sup>66)</sup> THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE also played on the top half of double-bills or as a solo presentation, with repeat appearances in many locations. For example, it had at least four bookings in Bakersfield, California between September of 1941 and March of 1942. The film received a top-billed first run, alongside a cowboy singing act, in the much larger location of Salt Lake City only in April of 1942.<sup>67)</sup> If Chicago is a reasona-

59) Anon., 'New Films on Broadway', *New York Times*, 13 October 1940, p. 128.

60) Anon., 'Crosby, \$11,000, clicks in Cincy', *Variety*, 23 October 1940, p. 10.

61) Anon., "'Mounties' get \$14,500, Omaha", *Variety*, 27 November 1940, p. 9.

62) Anon., "'Alley" \$17,000 hub fairly steady', *Variety* 18 December 1940, p. 11.

63) Walt., 'Thunder over the Prairie', unpaginated.

64) Cinema Treasures, <<http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/6604>> [accessed 15 March 2012]

65) Anon., 'Of local origin', *New York Times*, 9 September 1941, p. 27.

66) Unnumbered Display Ad, *Iola Register*, 7 August 1941, p. 8. *Thunde rover the Prairie* is specifically identified as "second feature" in an advertisement.

67) Unnumbered Display Ad, *Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 April 1942, p. 16. The ad specifies that the film is "First Run".

ble indicator of the presence of *THUNDER OVER THE PRAIRIE* in the neighborhood markets of major metropolitan areas, this presence seems to have been minimal.<sup>68)</sup> The film continued to crop up throughout the summer and fall of 1942 — a year after its first bookings — and resurfaced, sometimes on top of double-bills, periodically for another three years. For instance, in June of 1945, it played as the top half of a double-bill (with the 1943 Republic Western *THUNDERING TRAILS*) in Middleport, Ohio, a town with 3,000 inhabitants and a single 250-seat movie theater.<sup>69)</sup> In sum, its bookings were quite sporadic and unpredictable and were largely limited to small-town theaters and some urban neighborhood houses.

In order to understand better the place of Westerns in the exhibition markets of the small towns with which the genre was associated discursively, I selected three case study sites and catalogued all film programs advertised in local newspapers for alternating months of 1939 (starting with January), recording about 770 programs that comprised about 1,300 feature film bookings. The sites were: Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Billings, Montana; and Yuma, Arizona.<sup>70)</sup> Before exploring the exhibition of Westerns in these markets, it is useful to establish the basic parameters of small-town film exhibition. First, in none of the theaters in any of the three locations did films typically play for more than three or four days. Of the eleven theaters in the sample, ten changed programs three times a week and one theater changed its program twice a week. Films did occasionally play for longer stretches of time; however, releases of this sort were the exception and not the rule. While only one theater screened exclusively single-bills, seven theaters consistently screened double-bills (along with the occasional solo program for special films). Three houses, all located in Billings, utilized a mixed programming policy, offering both solo and double-bills. In terms of ownership, these theaters included ones owned by, or affiliated to, the major studios, ones belonging to small chains, and ones owned independently. Table 1 shows Western programming data arranged by city and theater. For each city, the first theater listed is that market's main first-run theater (i.e. the theater in which the major studios' A films debuted). Beyond that, classifying these theaters by run in the same way one could a group of urban houses is not a straightforward process. While some A films went through a relatively clear series of runs in these markets, the exhibition of B films was significantly less hierarchical. Some B films were slotted into supporting positions in first-run theaters and appeared later at secondary houses (either on the top or on

68) The film makes only a handful of appearances in listings for Chicago theaters. See Unnumbered Display Ad, *Chicago Tribune*, 9 January 1942, p. 17; Unnumbered Display Ad, *Chicago Tribune*, 22 January 1943, p. 17.

69) Unnumbered Display Ad, *Athens Messenger*, 8 June 1945, p. 8.

70) Portsmouth, with three movie theaters totaling about 2,100 seats, had a population of approximately 15,000; Billings, with five movie theaters totaling about 3,500 seats, had a population of approximately 16,000; and Yuma, with three theaters totaling an unknown number of seats (possibly 900 to 1,700), had a population of approximately 5,000. Portsmouth data were drawn from the *Portsmouth, N.H., Herald*; Billings data from the *Billings Gazette*; and Yuma data from the *Yuma Daily Sun and Arizona Sentinel*. All newspapers were accessed through newspaperarchive.com. My study shares something with that conducted recently on the Chief Theater in Kenosha, Wisconsin, in which Mike Chopra-Grant reminds us that film scholars' tendencies to privilege A productions obscure the range of films encountered by everyday audiences in their local theaters. Mike Chopra-Grant, 'Dirty movies or: why film scholars should stop worrying about *CITIZEN KANE* and learn to love bad films', *Participations*, vol. 7, no. 2 (November 2010), pp. 292–315.

**Table 1. Westerns in advertised programs of three towns, 1939 (Jan and alternating months)**

		Single bills w/westerns	Double bills w/ westerns	% single bills w/ westerns	% double bills w/ westerns	% all bills featuring westerns	Westerns as % of all films
Yuma	Yuma	2/6	13/77	33 %	17 %	18 %	9 %
	Lyric	n/a	30/56	n/a	54 %	54 %	28 %
	Orpheum	n/a	11/13	n/a	85 %	85 %	46 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>2/6</b>	<b>54/146</b>	<b>33 %</b>	<b>36 %</b>	<b>36 %</b>	<b>19 %</b>
Portsmouth	Colonial	8/82	n/a	10 %	n/a	10 %	10 %
	Olympia	n/a	14/83	n/a	17 %	17 %	8 %
	Arcadia	n/a	39/82	n/a	48 %	48 %	24 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>8/82</b>	<b>53/165</b>	<b>10 %</b>	<b>32 %</b>	<b>25 %</b>	<b>15 %</b>
Billings	Fox	2/2	6/60	100 %	10 %	13 %	7 %
	Babcock	n/a	27/78	n/a	35 %	35 %	17 %
	Lyric	8/57	10/17	14 %	59 %	24 %	20 %
	Empire	5/44	8/33	11 %	24 %	17 %	12 %
	Rio	22/50	8/30	44 %	27 %	38 %	27 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>37/153</b>	<b>59/218</b>	<b>24 %</b>	<b>27 %</b>	<b>26 %</b>	<b>17 %</b>

the bottom halves of double-bills). More often than not; however, B films went straight to secondary houses, where they were touted as “first-run” attractions by virtue of their being the first local showings of the film.<sup>71)</sup>

In some cases, the sample is too small, or the data not sufficiently comparable, to draw meaningful conclusions.<sup>72)</sup> Also, it was not possible to analyze patterns in billing order because of the difficulty of determining from a newspaper advertisement which of the two films advertised featured on the top half of a double-bill and which featured on the bottom. Indeed, the status sometimes appears quite clear only for the billing order to be reversed in subsequent advertisements.<sup>73)</sup> This research, and these numbers, should therefore be taken as a “first stab” at a comparative study of local film distribution, useful in part because it points toward potential strategies and questions that may shape subsequent research. The data nonetheless suggest striking similarities as well as differences across case

71) For example, the Lyric theater in Billings specified that its screenings of Monogram's *The Man from Texas* (1939), a Tex Ritter Western starring a “Billings girl”, were the first local showings of the film. This practice was by no means limited to films of special interest. In Portsmouth, the Arcadia billed its double features regularly as “all first-run programs”. For example, — a program of Republic's *ORPHANS OF THE STREETS* (1938) and Bennett/DuWorld Pictures' *KLIOU, THE KILLER* (1936) See Unnumbered Display Ad, *Portsmouth, N.H., Herald*, 21 September 1939, p. 11; Unnumbered Display Ad, *Portsmouth, N.H., Herald*, 3 January 1939, p. 6.

72) See, for instance, the very small sample size of the number of single-billed Westerns in the main first-run theaters.

73) For example, see two listings for the Fox theater in Billings, in which the billing order of Fox's *THE ARIZONA WILDCAT* (1939) and Paramount's *ZAZA* (1938) is reversed. See Unnumbered Display Ad, *Billings Gazette*, 10 January 1939, p. 7; Unnumbered Display Ad, *Billings Gazette*, 12 January 1939, p. 6.



study sites. First, it appears that at the smallest site, the town of Yuma, Westerns featured on a relatively larger portion of local film programs, with about thirty six percent of advertised programs featuring a Western. The actual percentage of Yuma programs with Westerns was likely even higher. This is because listings for the Orpheum theater (where bills were, more than any other theater in the study, dominated by Westerns) only started appearing in the local newspaper in November even though the theater had been operating continuously for some time.<sup>74)</sup>

Perhaps the most striking finding of this research is how heavily certain secondary theaters in each market relied on Westerns. For instance, Westerns played on more than half of the bills at two theaters in Yuma: the Lyric and the Orpheum. In Portsmouth, one house, the Arcadia, played Westerns on about half of its bills. One Billings theater, the Lyric, programmed a combination of single and double-bills and seems to have had reliable access to major studio releases (of all of the theaters in Billings, it functioned most like a second-run house). The Lyric played Westerns on only about fourteen percent of its single bills but on nearly sixty percent of its double-bills. The Rio, the Billings theater that relied most heavily on product not from the major studios, often let Westerns carry single bills (it did so forty-four percent of the time, compared to twenty-five percent of double-bills). This pattern is not too surprising: Western productions were predominantly low-budget films, and these low-budget Westerns came disproportionately from independent/Poverty Row companies. (Indeed, Westerns constituted more than half of these companies' total production rosters during the period under discussion).<sup>75)</sup> It stands to reason that the houses that relied most heavily on such low-budget fare would show a proportionally larger number of Westerns than first-run theaters. But the release strategies for Westerns in first-run and secondary theaters do not simply reflect the general proportions of high- and low-budget Westerns; they are more tightly patterned and calculated because, in certain types of theaters, these films played overwhelmingly on certain days of the week — and particularly on the split-week runs that included Saturdays (most often Thursday/Friday/Saturday runs).

Steve Broidy, longtime head of Monogram, once suggested that, because B films were typically rented for flat booking fees rather than a percentage of the films' gross, small-town exhibitors screened them on Saturdays. This practice allowed them to keep the busiest days' profits to themselves rather than having to share them with distributors. Broidy suggested that films themselves were not particularly important in drawing audiences, because many people (among them, those who traveled from more remote areas) converged upon theaters on Saturdays regardless of the film being shown.<sup>76)</sup> In the sites examined in this study, however, Westerns appeared disproportionately among films screened on weekends. Relevant data on playdates are presented in Table 2. In Yuma, for example, about seventy-four percent of the Lyric theater's Saturday programs boasted a Western

74) Unnumbered Display Ad, *Yuma Daily Sun and Arizona Sentinel*, 4 October 1939, p. 5.

75) For data for 1941 see Buscombe, *The BFI Companion*, p. 421.

76) Linda May Strawn, 'Steve Broidy', in Todd McCarthy and Charles Flynn (eds), *Kings of the Bs: working within the Hollywood system* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1975), pp. 270–271. Broidy refers to theaters that offer two programs between Sundays and Fridays and "keep Saturdays for themselves", a practice that does not seem to have obtained in any of the sites I examined.

feature film. At Portsmouth's Arcadia, every Saturday program included a Western feature film. Advertisements for these screenings were often targeted at children, promising perks like free toys or ice cream at matinees (on most other days the theater gave away plates to female patrons).<sup>77)</sup> The Rio in Billings also played Westerns on all of its Saturday programs. The Babcock, also in Billings, did so ninety-three percent of the time. The Lyric — a second-run Billings house offering a significant number of the majors' pictures on single-bills — did not show the same pattern. Although Westerns sometimes played on Saturdays, they did not make up a majority of these programs, nor were they significantly less likely to appear on other days of the week.<sup>78)</sup> In general, the more often a theater booked Westerns, the more likely were two related phenomena: 1) Westerns would be present on all or almost all of its Saturday programs; 2) the theater would place a large majority of its Westerns on its split-week run that included Saturday rather than booking them on other split-week runs (e.g. a Sunday/Monday/Tuesday run).

**Table 2. Western playdates in advertised programs of three towns, 1939 (Jan and alternating months)**

		% total Western bills on Saturdays	Saturday Western bills as % of total Saturday bills
Yuma	Yuma	(5/15) 33 %	(5/25) 20 %
	Lyric	(20/30) 66 %	(20/27) 74 %
	Orpheum	(4/13) 31 %	(4/4) 100 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>(29/58) 50 %</b>	<b>(29/56) 52 %</b>
Portsmouth	Colonial	(3/8) 38 %	(3/26) 12 %
	Olympia	(11/14) 79 %	(11/26) 42 %
	Arcadia	(27/39) 69 %	(27/27) 100 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>(41/61) 67 %</b>	<b>(41/79) 52 %</b>
Billings	Fox	(5/8) 63 %	(5/26) 19 %
	Babcock	(26/28) 93 %	(26/28) 93 %
	Lyric	(7/18) 39 %	(7/28) 25 %
	Empire	(9/12) 75 %	(9/27) 33 %
	Rio	(28/31) 90 %	(28/28) 100 %
	<b>Total</b>	<b>(75/97) 77 %</b>	<b>(75/137) 55 %</b>

77) See for example Unnumbered Display Ad, *Portsmouth, N.H. Herald*, 25 May 1939, p. 6; Unnumbered Display Ad, *Portsmouth, N.H., Herald*, 23 May 1939, p. 6.

78) It is possible that theaters like the Lyric did not get to select their playdates; according to Huettig the issue of assigned playdates as part of block-booking agreements was one of independent exhibitors' main grievances. See Huettig, *Economic Control*, pp. 124–125.

## Conclusions

This study has examined genre as a structuring factor in the American film industry's conception of its audiences and the closely related histories of film distribution and exhibition during its classical studio era. In doing so, it has clarified some of the connections between genre and a highly differentiated set of theatrical release strategies that are no longer used. Westerns of the late 1930s and early 1940s offer a particularly useful test case not just because of their central (and changing) position within the film industry at this time, but because they are so clearly tied to perceived or actual hierarchies of films, audiences, localities, and theaters that shaped industry production strategies as well as the movie-going experiences of US audiences. More complex than an A picture/B picture binary, these hierarchies reflect films' imagined audiences as well as their imagined places within different movie-going experiences.

Looking beyond the ways films were released in major first-run theaters in key cities, this study has sought to establish key parameters for understanding and evaluating the system of film distribution in small markets, including how oftentimes different types of film surfaced, the day(s) on which they played, their placement on various programs, and how local theaters differentiated themselves from one another through such variables. It is through these forms of distinction, that we can recreate the "ecosystems" of local exhibition markets and identify the different kinds of theater to which critics and industry-insiders refer when they associate films with concepts like "family bookings" or "action houses". The fact that Westerns appear to have figured so centrally in this system — at least in small-town America — further confirms their crucial, albeit oft-neglected, position in US film culture of the 1930s.

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*of the Silver Sage* (Albert Herman, 1940); *The Parson of Panamint* (William C. McGann, 1941); *The Plainsman* (Cecil B. DeMille, 1936); *The Renegade Ranger* (David Howard, 1938); *The Return of the Cisco Kid* (Herbert I. Leeds, 1939); *Return of the Frog* (Maurice Elvey, 1938); *The Roundup* (Lesley Selander, 1941); *Seven Sinners* (Tay Garnett, 1940); *Stagecoach* (John Ford, 1939); *The Texans* (James P. Hogan, 1938); *Texas* (George Marshall, 1941); *Thundering Trails* (John English, 1943); *Thunder over the Prairie* (Lambert Hillyer, 1941); *Trail of the Vigilantes* (Allan Dwan, 1940); *Triple Justice* (David Howard, 1940); *Union Pacific* (Cecil B. DeMille, 1939); *Valley of the Sun* (George Marshall, 1942); *Wells Fargo* (Frank Lloyd, 1937); *The Westerner* (William Wyler, 1940); *Western Union* (Fritz Lang, 1941); *When the Daltons Rode* (George Marshall, 1940); *Who Is Guilty* (Frederic Zelnik, 1939); *Zaza* (George Cukor, 1938).



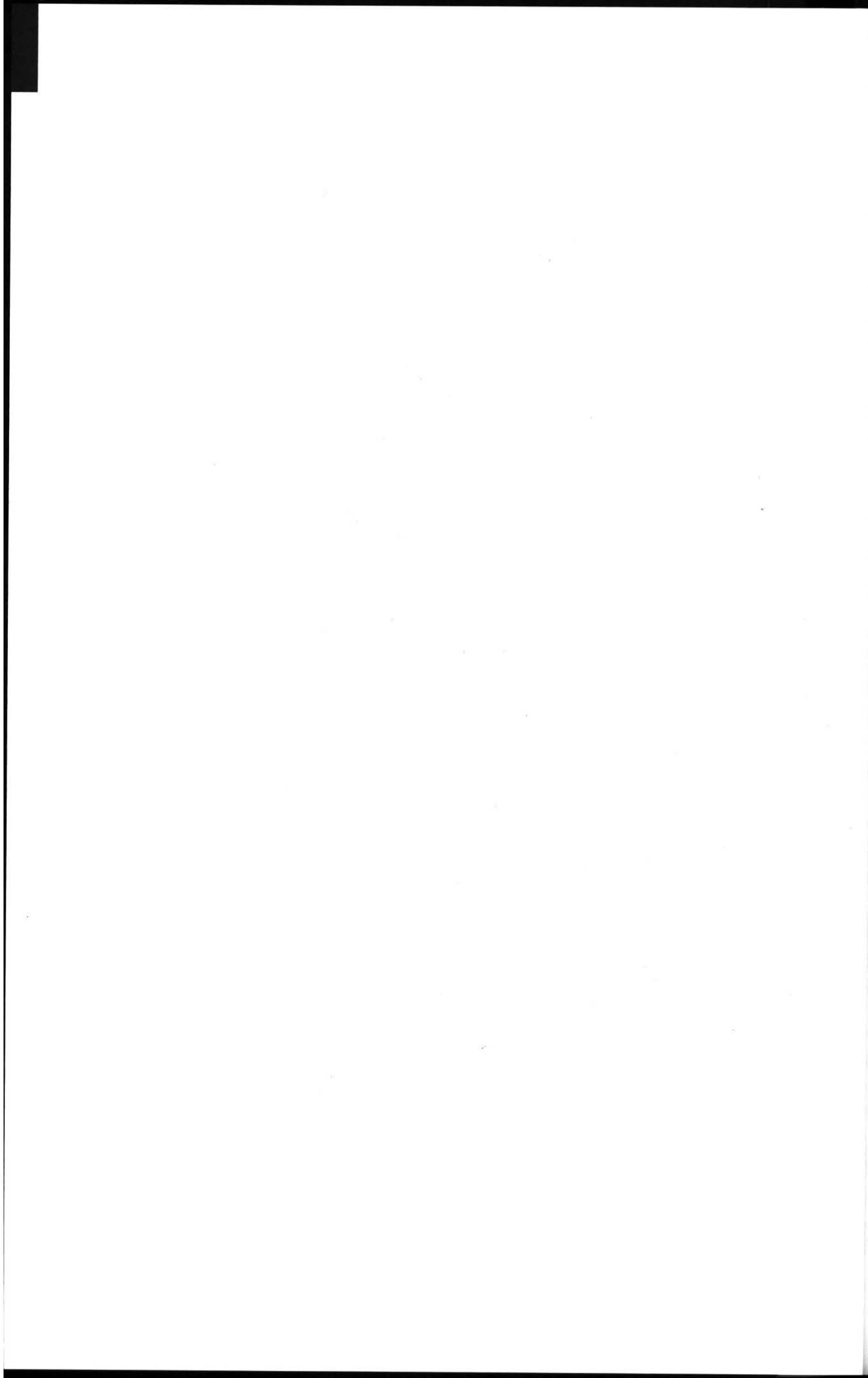
## SUMMARY

**Genre, Domestic Distribution, and Audiences (1935–1945).**  
*The Case of the Western*

Andrea Comiskey

This article examines the domestic circulation of Hollywood westerns from the late 1930s through the early 1940s — a period in which the genre's status within the U.S. film industry shifted due to studios' investment in big-budget, or "A," westerns, which had for years been rare. This shift affected not just the production of westerns, but their distribution and exhibition as well. Films of the classical era received highly differentiated releases that aimed to deploy them most effectively across the nation's hierarchy of movie theaters. These varied release strategies were closely connected to films' imagined audiences as well as distinguishing factors like budgets, genres, and stars. The shifting status of the western makes it a valuable case study for understanding different strategies of distribution in the studio era.

This study draws primarily on two datasets: press coverage of Westerns, including reviews of individual films as well as commentary about genre more broadly, and distribution information drawn from the US trade and popular press. It first establishes the manner in which different kinds of Western were associated with different target audiences and distribution strategies. A key issue in this respect is the intricate range of options delineated in the press — a range of options that far surpasses a simple A picture/ B picture binary. The paper then complements this discourse analysis with an examination of distribution histories, approaching the question of Western distribution from two angles. First, it contrasts the release patterns of a range of Westerns, from top-budgeted As to the lowest-budgeted Bs, highlighting not just the ways in which a particular film's status (as determined by criteria including production budget and presence of stars) underwrote the form of distribution it received, but how that status could be renegotiated or complicated over the course of its release. Second, it offers a snapshot of the distribution of Westerns in three small markets (Billings, Montana; Yuma, Arizona; and Portsmouth, New Hampshire) in the watershed year of 1939. Together these findings illustrate how Westerns functioned within local film ecosystems and the connections between Westerns and certain classes of theaters and types of programming practice.



Richard Nowell

## “Between Dreams and Reality”

*Genre Personae, Brand Elm Street, and Repackaging the American Teen Slasher Film*

It is not uncommon for misinterpretation to lead to notable disparities between the content of cultural products and promotional paratexts, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, discourses that orbit them. Misinterpretations are a key part of genre histories. They underwrite deliberate efforts taking place during production, delivery, and reception to misrepresent cultural products so as to encourage their miscategorization in media, everyday, and academic discourse. Cases of such practices from film history include characters' dialogue in *SCREAM* (1996) misrepresenting American horror films in order to distinguish *SCREAM* itself from similar films, US distributors framing downbeat Italian Neo-realist pictures as sexploitation by erroneously suggesting titillating content,<sup>1)</sup> and the framing of the conglomerate-backed US blockbuster hit *MY BIG FAT GREEK WEDDING* (2002) as a grassroots success story.<sup>2)</sup> In spite of such cases, scholars usually eschew the concept of misinterpretation. Instead, they choose to rationalize even calculatedly outlandish readings of cultural products as the sincere byproducts of quite exceptional or idiosyncratic frames of reference. Strong theoretical and pragmatic grounds exist to accept the notion of the misinterpretation however. In theoretical terms, misinterpretations exceed the boundaries of structured polysemy — the notion that the range of potential meanings of a cultural product is broad due to the ambiguities inherent in the act of enunciation and due to nuances of consumption; but ultimately is bounded by the parameters of content being offered by a given cultural product.<sup>3)</sup> Pragmatically, just as scholars caution against dismissing, as naive misunderstanding, readings which differ radically from

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- 1) Mark Betz, 'Art, exploitation, underground', in Mark Jancovich et al (eds), *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 202–222.
- 2) Alisa Perren, 'A big fat indie success story? press discourses surrounding the making and marketing of a "Hollywood" movie', *Journal of Film and Video*, vol. 56, no. 2 (Summer 2004), pp. 18–31.
- 3) See Barbara Klinger, 'Digressions at the cinema: reception and mass culture', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 28, no. 4 (1989), pp. 3–19.

prevailing contemporaneous understandings of cultural products,<sup>4)</sup> so too is some skepticism required when considering discourse that has been produced under conditions in which cultural and/or economic capital was seen to have been at stake. By this situation is meant the phenomenon David Bordwell provocatively, but not unjustifiably, called "interpretation inc.,"<sup>5)</sup> wherein the perceived rewards on offer to producers of eye-catching readings of cultural products are available to cultural sectors including academia, print journalism, and blogging. Accepting that human beings mislead others routinely and oftentimes intentionally stands to enrich understandings of the social circulation of categories of cultural product.

A field of media studies from which genre studies might take note regarding misrepresentation is Star Studies. Star Studies not only accommodates relations between misinterpretation and cultural artifacts, it is underpinned by these very notions. In this respect, Richard Dyer characterizes star personae as multi-faceted discourses, arguing that in the late 1970s Jane Fonda's persona was shaped by her relationships to father figures, acting skill, American-ness, and Leftist politics.<sup>6)</sup> Similarly, reception scholars have shown that a genre can be seen as a product of the various discourses that have circulated films which have been deemed to share common characteristics.<sup>7)</sup> The discourses that comprise star personae, argues Dyer, owe their structured polysemy to their having been generated by large numbers of different texts, including audiovisual narratives, promotion materials, publicity materials, and critical commentary.<sup>8)</sup> This network of texts again finds its double in what genre scholars call the "inter-textual relay", whereby information about groups of films emanates both from films themselves and other para-textual sources.<sup>9)</sup> Dyer argues that, because they can influence rather than control reception texts, industry professionals cannot control a star persona completely — even though they may try very hard to do just that.<sup>10)</sup> This principle is once again also applicable to genres, as failed attempts to legitimate horror demonstrate. Such conditions, Dyer concludes, ensure that the individual components of a star persona can coexist harmoniously or in dynamic tension, or on the brink of incompatibility — again, states that are fully congruent with genres. Crucially, Dyer's model exposes an irreconcilable tension wherein the relationship between a star persona and the individual with whom it is associated cannot be comprehended fully or unequivocally.<sup>11)</sup> The relationships between a genre and the cultural products with which

4) Janet Staiger, *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

5) David Bordwell, *Making Meaning: Inference and Rhetoric in the Interpretation of Cinema* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 21–29.

6) Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London: BFI, 1998), pp. 63–83.

7) See Rick Altman, 'Reusable packaging: generic products and the recycling process', in Nick Browne (ed.), *Refiguring American Film Genres: History and Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) pp. 1–41; Jason Mittell, 'A cultural approach to television genre theory', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 40, no. 3 (Spring 2001), pp. 3–24; James Naremore, *More than Night: Film Noir in its Contexts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 1–8;

8) *Ibid.*, p. 60–62.

9) Gregory Lukow and Stephen Ricci, 'The "audience" goes "public": intertextuality, genre, and the responsibilities of film literacy', *On Film*, vol. 12 (1984), pp. 28–36;

10) Dyer, *Stars*, pp. 60–85.

11) *Ibid.*



it is associated might not mirror precisely this persona/human tension. They do however approximate it by being subject to what Raymond Williams famously called “selective traditions”, whereby canons of cultural products come to stand in for broader quantities of output.<sup>12)</sup> Because canon formation involves countless texts being expunged from consideration, many members of most film subcultures are oblivious to countless examples of what they consider to be a familiar category of cultural product. For example most web-sites devoted to American youth cinema feature a tiny fraction of the films they purport to celebrate.<sup>13)</sup> This process serves to position the totality of a cultural product category close to the human being associated with a specific star persona.

The similarities between genres and star personae suggest that it might be fruitful to distinguish between publicly circulating “genre personae”, as this essay will henceforth call them, and the obtuse yet retraceable “output configurations” with which genre personae are associated but to which they can be expected to exhibit significant disparities. As the remainder of this essay hopes to show, awareness of the aforementioned conditions encourages individuals and institutions to attempt to reorient public perceptions of genre personae in ways that serve their own interests. The assembly of films and their marketing campaigns may be heavily influenced by powerful executives aiming to maximize revenue through the execution of carefully tailored strategy. However, strategy is not always executed as-planned or understood as intended. In particular, the creative talent used to make and publicize a film may well go “off topic” or reconfigure strategy better to reflect their desires, needs or reputations.

The concept of genre personae is ideally suited to shed new light on commonplace instances of relatively formulaic cultural products being believed widely to constitute epochal breaks from convention — circumstances which characterize both academic and popular understandings of media histories. Contributing to this phenomenon have been genre histories themselves. Genre historiography lends itself structurally to overstatements of innovation, in which such claims overwhelm acknowledgment of similarities resulting from inter-textual evocation (a largely unavoidable and oft-cultivated aspect of cultural production).<sup>14)</sup> In such cases, the balance between similarity and difference that Steve Neale recognized as characterizing the constituent members of a recognized group of cultural products is shifted heavily in favor of highlighting perceived differences.<sup>15)</sup> In practical terms, genre historiography is also subject to a culture of novelty that pervades journalism, fandom, publishing, and academe. The commercial and/or epistemological value of heralding paradigm shifts (whether those shifts are genuine or otherwise) is often deemed to exceed the value of analyzing important instances of stasis, variation, and recalibration that traverse output.

The exaggeration of breaks from convention is particularly prominent in discussions and analyses of the four phases of output which together constitute histories of the North

12) Raymond Williams, ‘The analysis of culture’, in John Storey (ed.), *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader* (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), pp. 32–40.

13) Ibid.

14) See Murray Smith, ‘Theses on the philosophy of Hollywood history’, in Steve Neale and Murray Smith (eds), *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 3–20.

15) Steve Neale, ‘Questions of genre’, *Screen*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1990), pp. 45–66.

American teen slasher film — youth-in-jeopardy sagas about young people being menaced by maniacs. First cycle teen slashers (1978–1981), including *HALLOWEEN* (1978), *FRIDAY THE 13TH* (1980), and *THE BURNING* (1981) are invariably misrepresented as ultraviolent misogynistic sleaze.<sup>16)</sup> Second cycle teen slashers (1984–1989), particularly the *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* films (1984–1989), are often reduced to their supposed “juvenilization” for preadolescent audiences.<sup>17)</sup> Third cycle teen slashers (1996–2001), especially the *SCREAM* trilogy (1996–2000), tend misleadingly to be portrayed as “postmodern” deconstructions of their supposedly straight-faced predecessors.<sup>18)</sup> And a fourth wave of teen slashers (2003–), including *MY BLOODY VALENTINE* and *FRIDAY THE 13TH* (both 2009), is usually distinguished by virtue of its being comprised of many “remakes” (which tend to be differentiated rhetorically, if not conceptually, from sequels).<sup>19)</sup> Periodizing teen slasher history in these ways reproduces and reinforces those aspects of industry discourse that initially emphasized the supposed breaks from convention which purportedly characterized each phase of intensive production and distribution operations.<sup>20)</sup> Consequently, and as is the case with other types of film, apparent celebrations of individual creativity have come to stand as unwitting monuments to successful repackaging.

In contrast, this essay approaches American independent producer-distributor New Line Cinema’s handling between 1984 and 1989 of its *A Nightmare on Elm Street* property as the first commercially effective effort to repackage American teen slasher films for their principal US market.<sup>21)</sup> During this period, New Line Cinema President Robert Shaye and his staff developed the property, which centered on youths being menaced in their sleep by the maniacal Freddy Krueger (Robert Englund), from low-budget feature films to a multi-media enterprise (labeled hereafter Brand *Elm Street*), resulting in its rising to unprecedented heights of cultural visibility. The essay argues that New Line overstated prod-

16) See Carol J. Clover, ‘Her body, himself: gender in the slasher film’, *Representations* 20 (1987), pp. 187–228; Stephen Prince, *A New Pot of Gold: Hollywood under the Electric Rainbow, 1980–1989* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 298–306, 351–353.

17) See Ian Conrich, ‘Seducing the subject: Freddy Krueger, popular culture and the *Nightmare on Elm Street* films’, in Deborah Cartmell et al (eds.), *Trash Aesthetics: Popular Culture and its Audience* (London: Pluto, 1997), pp. 118–131.

18) See for example Valerie Wee, ‘The *Scream* trilogy, “hyper-postmodernism” and the late-nineties teen slasher film’, *Journal of Film and Video*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Fall 2005), pp. 44–61; Valerie Wee, ‘Resurrecting and updating the teen slasher: the case of *Scream*’, *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2006), pp. 50–61. My contention is with some of Wee’s conclusions, not with her methods, approaches, and objects of study, which I fully support.

19) See for example Andrew Patrick Nelson, ‘Traumatic childhood now included: Todorov’s fantastic and the uncanny slasher remake’, in Steffen Hantke (ed.), *American Horror Film: The Genre at the Turn of the Millennium* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2010), pp. 103–118; Ryan Lizardi, ‘Re-imagining horror and misogyny in the contemporary slasher remake’, *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, vol. 38, no. 3 (2010), pp. 113–121.

20) For an early contribution to the revision of this periodization of the teen slasher film see Richard Nowell, ‘“Where nothing is off limits”: genre, commercial revitalization, and the teen slasher film posters of 1982–1984’, *Post Script*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Spring 2011), pp. 53–68.

21) This essay uses the term “independent” in an institutional historiographic sense to refer to American-based companies, which, during the period under discussion, did not belong to the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). The MPAA-members, representing an institutional vision of Hollywood, were in the mid-to-late 1980s: Columbia, Disney, MGM, Paramount, Twentieth Century Fox, United Artists, Universal, and Warner Bros.

uct differentiation by positioning Brand *Elm Street* in binary opposition to its disreputable predecessors. This process involved tailoring film content, promotion, and influencing the course of publicity interviews (often given by returning cast member Robert Englund). The appropriation of misrepresentative discourses which orbited earlier teen slasher films enabled the company to maneuver its property into dynamic tension between notions of Hollywood cinema, quality entertainment, and cult object — three key “supra-generic” categories which struggled to accommodate contemporaneous perceptions of teen slasher films but which promised to maximize the revenue New Line generated from the property. Existing studies of *Elm Street* have drawn their conclusions mainly from examinations of de-contextualized fragments of film content and from uncritical citation of news stories (which themselves tended to paraphrase distributors press-kits).<sup>22)</sup> In contrast, this essay analyzes production and distribution strategies, film content, promotional and publicity campaigns (including the press-kits), and interrogates US press coverage — offering a combination of examples drawn therefrom. By shedding new light on the logic and on the dynamics that shaped this chapter of a particular genre history, it is hoped that the essay showcases the potential transferability of its methods to other historical circumstances and other markets. Ultimately, through questioning, problematizing, and revising dominant understandings of this genre history, the essay hopes to suggest in more general terms that genre historiography as a whole may benefit from confronting deceptive genre personae circulating culturally. This process is optimized when close consideration is paid to the production, content, and dissemination of cultural products and promotional paratexts, the texts their reception generates, and the interaction thereof.

### **“It Goes Without Saying”: The Reconstruction of the Early Teen Slasher Genre Persona**

Because New Line Cinema’s mid-to-late 1980s handling of its *Elm Street* property was underpinned by a misrepresentative teen slasher genre persona (sometimes invoked explicitly; sometimes summoned as a structuring absence), it is necessary to illuminate the teen slasher film’s prevailing contemporaneous critical standing within American public channels. The profound albeit largely unacknowledged influence that it exerted over subsequent industrial, popular, and scholarly approaches to teen slashers confers upon the early films’ US critical reception the status of arguably the single most significant development in their history. Causal relationships between the respective content of cultural products and news media are routinely asserted, and are usually advanced by associating allegorical readings of cultural products with mediated extra-industrial events. Economically rationalized case-studies in which critical reception is actually shown to have influenced industry conduct directly, such as those detailed in this essay, are, however, quite rare. Examples from horror film history include uncanny sensations reported among viewers of early talkies shaping pictures like *DRACULA* (1931), British distributors reclaiming the pejorative “video nasty”, and publicists distancing *THE SILENCE OF THE LAMBS* (1991) from

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22) Conrich, ‘Seducing’.

a disreputable vision of American horror.<sup>23)</sup> Not unlike these cases, New Line Cinema's framing of Brand *Elm Street* was enabled by its appropriation of popular critical discourse. In this case, discourse wherein the widely recognized textual model used both for early teen slashers and for the *Elm Street* films had been transformed in the early 1980s from an anodyne youth-oriented storytelling device into a thematic and aesthetic affront to middle-class values.

New Line Cinema sought to turn to its advantage the discursive transformation of tales of youths encountering maniacs — from harmless date-movies into the insidious cultural menace that was the "women-in-danger movie". By reconstructing the teen slasher genre persona into a misogynist, gory, yet largely imagined, cinematic Other, American journalist critics had provided industry professionals, like those at New Line Cinema, with a discursive foil against which to contrast their new films (a point elucidated below). The reconstruction of the teen slasher genre persona had been driven by professional ambition, persuasive rhetoric, analytical shortsightedness, and, above all else, barely concealed classism. Movie reviewers Gene Siskel and Roger Ebert initiated the teen slashers' absorption into the notorious women-in-danger category as part of a bid to become cable television celebrities by engineering a moral panic over purportedly misogynist violence polluting American multiplexes.<sup>24)</sup> Like countless scholars after them, Siskel & Ebert insisted that innocuous teen slashers like *PROM NIGHT* and *TERROR TRAIN* (both 1980) fuelled misogyny by employing subjective (or POV) shots to elicit support for maniacs who enjoyed terrorizing free-spirited women.<sup>25)</sup> These claims have remained credible on both sides of the Atlantic because they reflected prominent, albeit misleading, discourses in which, as social historian Phillip Jenkins has detailed, serial murder was recast publicly as an epidemic of sexually-motivated femicide.<sup>26)</sup> As prominent films that older theatergoers had likely heard about, but had probably never seen, teen slashers were rhetorically useful to Siskel & Ebert. Citing them permitted the duo's strategic circumvention of lavish adult-oriented women-in-danger movies, including *EYES OF LAURA MARS* (1978) and *DRESSED TO KILL* (1980), which had been enjoyed by Siskel, by Ebert, and probably by many of their viewers and readers. This tactic ensured that the duo's followers were not confronted with uncomfortable questions about their own viewing choices and their own sexual politics. Citing teen slashers also ensured that Siskel & Ebert were not reliant upon building a case exclusively around cut-price women-in-danger movies such as *SCHIZOID* and *MANIAC* (both 1980). Films such as these actually undermined the duo's alarmist positions because their exhibition was restricted mainly to rundown urban theatres or "grind-houses" that were associated with lower class itinerants rather than middle-classes

23) Robert Spadoni, 'The uncanny body of early sound film', *The Velvet Light Trap* 51, (Spring 2003), pp. 4–16; Mark Jancovich, 'Genre and the problem of reception: generic classifications and distinctions in the promotion of *Silence of the Lambs*', in *Horror: The Film Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 150–161; Kate Egan, *Trash or Treasure: Censorship and the Changing Meanings of the Video Nasties* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

24) Richard Nowell, *Blood Money: A History of the First Teen Slasher Film Cycle* (New York: Continuum, 2011), pp. 225–228.

25) *Ibid.*, p. 227.

26) Phillip Jenkins, *Using Murder: The Social Construction of Serial Homicide* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 1994), pp. 86–90.



patrons.<sup>27)</sup> Collapsing distinctions between teen slashers and low-budget women-in-danger movies enabled the teen slasher genre persona to be imbued with a hitherto absent sense of the unsavory. This was achieved by the importation of connotations of urban decay, female sexual exploitation, and hyper-masculine threat which orbited these venues, their imagined clientele, and the salacious films with which they were associated.<sup>28)</sup> By ghettoizing exhibition, demonizing content, and pathologizing spectatorship, Siskel & Ebert reframed teen slashers as hyper-masculine destabilizations of class distinctions.

Siskel & Ebert's correlation of teen slasher films, sadism, misogyny, and middle-class threat, although deceptive, gained hegemonic status rapidly in critical circles. Evidently convinced of the duo's new-found critical insight and moral authority, journalists began to recycle Siskel & Ebert's rhetoric forthwith.<sup>29)</sup> "There is a killer on the loose. [...] Murdering pretty young women excites him", wrote the *New York Times'* previously measured critic Janet Maslin, adding: "It goes without saying that these films exploit and brutalize women".<sup>30)</sup> Even outlying dissenters ultimately reinforced Siskel & Ebert's positions. The efforts of writers including Elizabeth Dibsie to engage with media-effects debates led them to query whether teen slashers damaged American minds and communities rather than to ask if the films actually featured misogynist content in the first place.<sup>31)</sup> The classism central to this backlash was mocked, but ultimately reinforced. For example, while deriding a glossy Meryl Streep thriller as the "first slasher melodrama for chichi consumption", *Los Angeles Times* critic Gary Arnold suggested: "[p]eople who would never dream of sampling 'Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>' or 'Halloween', may acquire a sufficiently graphic notion of what that stuff is all about if they drift into 'Still of the Night' unawares".<sup>32)</sup> As Arnold's turns of phrase indicated, the crystallization of the most prominent cinematic Other of the period was marked fittingly by wholesale uptake of a new generic label. Jettisoned was the women-in-danger moniker, which threatened to expose the paucity of actual male-on-female violence in early teen slashers,<sup>33)</sup> in favor of the suitably equivocal term "slasher". Discourse framing teen slashers as women-in-danger movies orbited the public sphere for the duration of New Line's 1980s development of its *Elm Street* property. It was exemplified by Siskel & Ebert's annual denunciations of the latest *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>* sequel as "violent pornography" and by a *Time* magazine article in which early teen slashers were dubbed "offensive purveyors of brutality to women [...] showcasing [...] graphic and erotic scenes of female mutilation, rape or murder".<sup>34)</sup>

27) David Church, 'From exhibition to genre: the case of grind-house films', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 50, no. 4 (Summer 2011), pp. 1–25.

28) See Joanne Hollows 'The masculinity of cult', in Jancovich et al, *Defining Cult Movies*, pp. 41–42.

29) Jim Moorhead, '1980 Oscar nominees sadly hobbled nags', *Evening Independent*, 18 February 1981, p. 21; Janet Maslin, 'Tired blood claims the horror film as a fresh victim', *New York Times*, 1 November 1981, p. 15; Vincent Canby, 'How should we react to violence', *New York Times*, 11 December 1983, pp. H23, 36.

30) Janet Maslin, 'Bloodbaths debase movies and audiences', *New York Times*, 21 November 1982, pp. H1, H13.

31) Patricia Dibsie, 'Do horror films promote violence towards women? — yes! — no!', *Reading Eagle*, 14 December 1980, pp. 66, 83.

32) Chichi is a rarely used pejorative meaning bourgeois poser.

33) Nowell, *Blood Money*.

34) Anastasia Toufexis et al, 'Behavior: our violent kids', *Time*, 12 June 1989.

Time Magazine, <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,957929,00.html#ixzz1qPdsfnqU>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

Concurrently, teen slashers became exemplars of another cinematic category that was widely despised by US critical elites: the "splatter movie".<sup>35)</sup> This catch-all term for films that were said to trade in the broken body as an object of visual pleasure was sufficiently powerful to ensure that titles tarred by its application usually occupied lowly positions in critical hierarchies. Those positions were proximate to hardcore pornography and women-in-danger movies, categories into which splatter movies often bled discursively.<sup>36)</sup> Decrying teen slashers as women-in-danger movies had rested on dubious accusations of abhorrent themes. Their castigation as splatter movies was, however, undergirded by questionable charges of aesthetic unacceptability. Again the notion was achieved by invoking the migration into middle-class locations of the lower-class male outsider supposedly seeking gratification from scrutinizing otherwise concealed aspects of human corporeality. Teen slashers actually featured limited onscreen violence and gore because they required the R-rating which conditioned their access to essential public advertizing spaces, lucrative multiplexes, and the sizable target audience of under-17s.<sup>37)</sup> Nevertheless, their credentials as splatter movies were stressed routinely by journalists who happened to be seeking resonant and familiar filmic referents. Some fans also had a vested interest in exaggerating publically early teen slasher film violence. Perhaps reflecting a general need among outraged cultural arbiters and committed subcultural devotees to exaggerate the credentials of the divisive object through which they define themselves appositionally, so-called "gore-hounds" substituted impact for accuracy by citing high-profile teen slashers alongside genuinely blood-soaked obscurities like *DR. BUTCHER M.D.* (1980).<sup>38)</sup> "We love gore", one such fan told the *Los Angeles Times*, "Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part 3' [1982] was fun".<sup>39)</sup> The association of splatter movie discourse and teen slasher films was encapsulated in the bookending of Brand *Elm Street*'s 1980s development by two lengthy publications devoted to splatter: teen slashers featured extensively in both of them.<sup>40)</sup>

Its appropriation of the newly reconstructed teen slasher genre persona enabled New Line Cinema to invite multiple distinctions between its *Elm Street* property and unduly disreputable generic antecedents, chief among which was emphasizing *Elm Street*'s supposedly novel status as a quintessentially Hollywood enterprise.

35) Karen Stabiner, 'Behind Hollywood's new "slice-and-dice" flicks: big profits and real pain', 12 September 1982, p. D3.

36) See Maslin, "Bloodbaths".

37) Nowell, *Blood Money*, pp. 39–40.

38) Kerry Platman and Bill Steigerwald, 'For gore fans, life is a scream', *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1982, pp. O3–O4.

39) Ibid.

40) John McCarty, *Splatter Movies: Breaking the Last Taboo of the Screen* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984); John McCarty, *The Official Splatter Movie Guide* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989).

### "Courage and Resourcefulness": *Elm Street* as Hollywood Cinema, Phase I

"They talk about the 'New' Hollywood", declared Freddy Krueger actor Robert Englund, pointing to *Elm Street* marketing materials; "Well, this is it".<sup>41)</sup> Efforts to position American horror films within a perceived cultural "mainstream", like that made by Englund, are usually deemed to be exceptional responses either to unusually bloated budgets or skyrocketing popularity.<sup>42)</sup> Growing evidence, however, suggests that such approaches may well constitute standard industry practice, particularly considering that historically industry professionals have striven to expand US consumption of other types of niche audience film such as non-Anglophone pictures and those featuring ambiguous or complex forms of narration.<sup>43)</sup> The extent to which the courting of those viewers who are thought to eschew horror actually shapes the American movie business will become clearer once attention is shifted away from examinations of individual examples such as *THE EXORCIST* (1973) and *THE SIXTH SENSE* (1999) towards the relationships between them.

While spotlighting Brand *Elm Street*'s relentless migration into a perceived US cultural mainstream, scholars and commentators have left largely unexamined the relationships between the *Elm Street* property and early teen slashers. Consequently, they have stopped short of recognizing the ways in which producer-distributor New Line Cinema appropriated and cultivated genre personae to advance its cause.<sup>44)</sup> As a result of these tendencies, overstated claims of creative vision, textual differentiation, and corporate bullishness have drowned out consideration of how repackaging exercises drove production and distribution of the property. This situation has led to widespread reproduction of the distorted visions of Brand *Elm Street*, early teen slashers, Hollywood cinema, and relationships thereof, upon which New Line relied so heavily.

New Line Cinema's framing of its *Elm Street* property as a quintessentially Hollywood enterprise unfolded in two chronologically distinct phases. It began in 1984 with the first film and not, as is usually suggested, with 1987's third installment, *DREAM WARRIORS*. Thus, where a largely overlooked Phase I (1984–1985) was marked by a continuation of practices that characterized the handling of early teen slashers, Phase II (1986–1989), as the next section details, witnessed an intensification of conduct that reflected changing perceptions within American film culture of Hollywood. Both phases were distinguished by their ambition, scope, and complexity, thus supporting Justin Wyatt's contention that New Line favored "gradual expansion and diversification only following breakthrough success".<sup>45)</sup> The cultivation of *Elm Street* served as a major catalyst in New Line's expansion from financially unstable independent producer-distributor of the 1970s and early 1980s

41) H. J. Kirchhoff, 'The two faces of Robert Englund', *Globe and Mail*, 13 April 1987, unpaginated.

LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexus.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

42) See for example Stacey Abbott, 'High concept thrills and chills: the horror blockbuster', in Ian Conrich (ed.), *Horror Zone: The Cultural Experience of Horror Cinema* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2010), pp. 27–44.

43) See for example Stefan Soldovieri, 'Socialists in outer space: East German film's Venusian adventure', *Film History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1998), pp. 382–398; Geoff King, *Indiewood U.S.A.: Where Hollywood Meets Independent Cinema* (London, I. B. Taurus, 2009), pp. 1–44.

44) See Conrich, 'Seducing'.

45) Justin Wyatt, 'The formation of the "major independent": Miramax, New Line and the new Hollywood', in *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*, p. 76.

to market-leading independent of the early 1990s and to conglomerate-owned industry heavyweight of the mid-to-late 1990s and early 2000s. The *Elm Street* property also provided a blueprint upon which to base the assembly and dissemination of the tent-pole franchises that underwrote New Line's rise to prominence, from its subsequent properties *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles* (1990–93) and *House Party* (1990–94) to later ventures such as the *Austin Powers* (1997–2002) and *Lord of the Rings* (2001–2003) trilogies.<sup>46)</sup>

Both phases were underwritten by a rewriting of teen slasher film history in which early teen slashers such as Paramount's *FRIDAY THE 13TH* and Twentieth Century Fox's *TERROR TRAIN* were divorced from the positions they occupied within Hollywood's aesthetic and institutional structures. Overwritten were efforts by the early pictures' independent producers to secure lucrative Hollywood distribution deals by tailoring content to reflect that of Hollywood's youth-oriented and horror hits.<sup>47)</sup> Erased were early teen slasher marketers' efforts to maximize attendance by emphasizing similarities to those hits.<sup>48)</sup> Sidestepped were Hollywood distributors' wide theatrical openings and intensive advertizing campaigns, which had facilitated the high cultural visibility of early teen slashers.<sup>49)</sup> Ignored also was the exhibition of early teen slashers in shopping mall multiplexes and other prominent sites — the very practice that had catalyzed the reconstruction of the teen slasher genre persona that New Line was summoning. Through such activity, early teen slashers were invoked as remnants of a malaise-era exploitation ghetto that stood in sharp contrast to Brand *Elm Street*'s status as symbol of a vibrant, new Hollywood.

New Line Cinema's appropriation of the reconstructed teen slasher genre persona initially represented a fairly standard industry response to a challenging American horror film market that was characterized by overproduction and market saturation. These circumstances resulted from efforts to capitalize on earlier horror hits and the increased, albeit short-lived, new distribution opportunities offered by the expansion of home video.<sup>50)</sup> While moderate cost and youth market potential has ensured teen slashers are generally deemed low-risk propositions, localized conditions nevertheless affect industry confidence, irrespective of the type of film in question.<sup>51)</sup> Accordingly, when, in early 1984, New

46) See for example Justin Wyatt, "Independent, packaging, and inflationary pressure in 1980s Hollywood," in Prince, *A New Pot of Gold*, pp. 157–158; Wyatt, "The formation of the 'major independent'"; Schatz, Thomas Schatz, 'New Hollywood, new millennium', in Warren Buckland (ed.), *Film Theory and Contemporary Hollywood Movies* (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 19–46.

Additional information can also be found in the following book, which was published only after this essay was completed: Alisa Perren, *Indie Inc.: Miramax and the Transformation of Hollywood in the 1990s* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012).

47) Richard Nowell, "'The ambitions of most independent filmmakers': indie production, the majors, and *Friday the 13th* (1980)," *Journal of Film and Video*, vol. 63, no. 2 (Summer 2011), pp. 28–44.

48) Ibid.

49) Ibid.

50) See Frederick Wasser, *Veni, Vidi, Video: The Hollywood Empire and the VCR* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

51) To indicate the perceived commercial viability of evoking certain films, I include domestic theatrical rentals (monies received by distributors from US and Canadian exhibitors). All figures are taken from US trade paper *Variety*'s annual 'Big Rental Films' lists. Figures are expressed in the following abbreviated form: *THE EXORCIST*: \$66.3m (2nd/1974), meaning that *THE EXORCIST* generated US\$66.3 million in domestic rentals to rank second of all the films in circulation on the US market in 1974.



Line Cinema green-lit *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET*, a near-four-year-run of over twenty commercially disappointing teen slasher films<sup>52)</sup> indicated that the young and youthful moviegoers swarming to films like *WARGAMES*, *FLASHDANCE*, and *RISKY BUSINESS* (all 1983) had, for some time, shown little interest in teen slashers that had not been differentiated clearly from their predecessors and competitors.<sup>53)</sup> Moreover, the potentially encouraging financial achievements of the suitably differentiated sequels *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART 3: 3D* (1982) and *FRIDAY THE 13TH: THE FINAL CHAPTER* (1984)<sup>54)</sup> were undercut somewhat by concerns that strong attendance figures had been stimulated by their having been presold properties.<sup>55)</sup> Employing the reconstructed teen slasher genre persona had gathered momentum across the early 1980s, with industry-professionals finding some success offsetting a general downturn in horror film ticket sales by directly addressing moviegoers assumed to eschew gory, misogynist fare. Director George A. Romero had, for example, mobilized discourses of quality, authenticity, heritage, subtlety, and originality, when drawing distinctions between “the slasher stuff” and the “more gothic and more traditional” merits of his 1950s horror pastiche *CREEPSHOW* (1982).<sup>56)</sup> Similarly, press releases for Columbia Pictures’ vampire picture *FRIGHT NIGHT* (1985) cited “slasher” titles as shorthand for cinematic otherness. “[*FRIGHT NIGHT*] is no ‘Halloween’ or ‘Friday the 13th,’ not a slasher or gore movie,” remarked writer-director Tom Holland, urging readers to “[p]lease tell people that.”<sup>57)</sup> Setting apart the development of Brand *Elm Street* from these efforts and others like them, was the fact that New Line’s handling of its property was less an exercise in underscoring meaningful differences from earlier teen slashers than a concerted effort to mask a substantial number of textual and extra-textual similarities between them; similarities which had been to a greater extent marginalized discursively during the reconstruction of the teen slasher genre persona.

During Phase I, New Line Cinema replicated the conduct of early teen slasher film makers and marketers by tailoring the content, promotion, and publicity of *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* (1984) and *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET PART 2: FREDDY’S REVENGE* (1985) (hereafter *FREDDY’S REVENGE*) to evoke Hollywood’s recent youth-centered and horror hits. The hits in question enabled New Line to distinguish both of the films from early teen slashers by inviting oppositions between the alleged misogyny, inner city deprivation, and brutal realism of early teen slashers and *Elm Street*’s supposedly innovative sta-

52) Between fall 1980 and winter 1984, no non-sequel teen slasher bettered the disappointing domestic rentals of *HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO ME*: \$4.9m (74th/1981) Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1981’, *Variety*, 13 January 1982, pp. 15, 42.

53) *WARGAMES*: \$36.6m (4th/1983); *FLASHDANCE*: \$36.2m (6th/1983); *RISKY BUSINESS*: \$28.5m (12th/1983). Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1983’, *Variety*, 11 January 1984, pp. 13, 30.

54) *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART 3: 3D*: \$16.5m (21st/1982); *FRIDAY THE 13TH: THE FINAL CHAPTER*: \$16m (26th/1984). Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1982’, *Variety*, 12 January 1983, pp. 13; Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1984’, *Variety*, 16 January 1985, p. 16.

55) After *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART II* (1981) fared badly when sold on similarities to the first film, marketers highlighted the novel presentation of *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART 3: 3D* (1982) and pitched *FRIDAY THE 13TH: THE FINAL CHAPTER* (1984) as an end-of-era event picture.

56) Quoted in Associated Press, ‘Names in the news’, 11 November 1982, PM cycle, unpaginated. LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

57) Quoted in Associated Press, ‘A small budget for a big fright’, 27 August 1985, PM cycle, unpaginated. LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

tus as female-friendly, middle-class-centered, suburban fantasies, when in fact early teen slashers had usually exhibited these exact properties.<sup>58)</sup> Accordingly, in addition to the suburban-set, supernatural blockbuster hit *POLTERGEIST* (1982), youth market winners like *FAST TIMES AT RIDGEMONT HIGH* (1982),<sup>59)</sup> *FLASHDANCE*, and *RISKY BUSINESS* were called to mind by *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET*'s press-kit, which emphasized fantastical dream sequences, a spirited heroine, and the economically upper-middle-class suburban streets, residencies, and high schools in which the film was set.<sup>60)</sup> "Nancy Thompson is a typical American kid growing up in a clean middle-class California suburb", began a plot synopsis featured therein; it concluded by stating that "*A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* is the story of the courage and resourcefulness of one extraordinary girl — a psychological fantasy thriller that rips apart the barrier between dreams and reality".<sup>61)</sup> Moreover, to recall the promotional artwork of several glossy Hollywood fantasy-horror films, including *THE DEAD ZONE* (1983) and *FIRESTARTER* (1984), print advertising featured the aforementioned Nancy lying in a sumptuous bed amid expressionistic imagery that blended ethereal threat and refracted light. Unsurprisingly, press-kits spotlighted cast members' links to Hollywood companies, films, and personnel. They emphasized, for example, John Saxon's 1950s contract with Universal Pictures, starlet Amanda Wyss's role in *FAST TIMES AT RIDGEMONT HIGH*, the acquaintanceship between newcomer Johnny Depp and rising star Nicholas Cage, and Robert Englund's fleeting appearances opposite bankable stars such as Barbra Streisand.<sup>62)</sup> The solid albeit unspectacular commercial performance of *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* encouraged New Line Cinema to bankroll a sequel entitled *FREDDY'S REVENGE*.<sup>63)</sup>

The marketing campaign for *FREDDY'S REVENGE* highlighted the film's focus on young love so as to invite comparisons to youth-oriented Hollywood hits that had been released after the first *Elm Street* film was in production. If the demonization of early teen slashers had been encapsulated in Roger Ebert's proclamation that "these films hate women",<sup>64)</sup> New Line was seeking to insulate its property against such potentially damaging rhetoric. The press-kit synopsis of *FREDDY'S REVENGE* therefore evoked the youth market smashes *FOOTLOOSE* and *THE KARATE KID* (both 1984),<sup>65)</sup> both of which centralized the romantic travails of a male youth whose family had recently relocated to a different town. It did so by emphasizing a key relationship between protagonist Jesse — "the new kid on the block", as trailers described him — and his teenage neighbor, Kim.<sup>66)</sup> Imagery of the couple em-

58) New Line Cinema Corporation, *A Nightmare on Elm Street* Press-kit, p. 2.

59) *Poltergeist*: \$36.2m (8th/1982); *FAST TIMES AT RIDGEMONT HIGH*: \$14m (27th/1982). Anon., 'Big rental films of 1982', p. 13.

60) New Line, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, p. 2.

61) *Ibid.*

62) New Line, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, pp. 4, 7–8.

63) *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET*: \$9.3m. This sum was accumulated across two calendar years (1984 and 1985). Had it been accrued entirely in either 1984 or 1985, *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* would have ranked thus: 55th/1984; 43rd/1985. Anon., 'Big rental films of 1984', p. 16; Anon., 'Big rental films of 1985', *Variety*, 16 January 1985, p. 16.

64) Roger Ebert, 'Sneak Previews'. Broadcast 23 October 1980.

65) *THE KARATE KID*: \$41.7m (6th/1984); *FOOTLOOSE*: \$34m (11th/1984). 'Big rental films of 1984', p. 16;

66) New Line Cinema Corporation, *A Nightmare on Elm Street Part 2: Freddy's Revenge* Press-kit, p. 1.

bracing, in conjunction with the tagline “the man of your dreams is back”, ensured that print advertising was so romance-heavy that New Line elected to confirm the horror credentials of *FREDDY’S REVENGE* by crowning newspaper advertisements with a review snippet that read “The film is scary”.<sup>67)</sup> Its press-kit went as far as to cite director Jack Sholder — whom, it stressed, was “no fan of slasher films” — promising schmaltz over splatter by proclaiming that, when looking to provoke emotional responses, he had been “going for the ‘aah’ rather than the ‘ecch’”.<sup>68)</sup>

The incentive to communicate product differentiation from early teen slashers remained pronounced in the second half of the 1980s, with new releases including Paramount’s *APRIL FOOLS DAY*, MGM’s *KILLER PARTY* (both 1986), and Paramount’s later *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>* sequels (1985, 1986, 1988, 1989) all disappointing commercially.<sup>69)</sup> Crucially, *FREDDY’S REVENGE*’s surpassing of its predecessor’s relative financial success enabled New Line to expand its efforts to distance its new corporate cornerstone from the disreputability of its generic heritage,<sup>70)</sup> not only by continuing to appropriate the reconstructed early teen slasher genre persona but through invocation of a founding myth of post-Classical American cinema.

### “The ‘Star Wars’ of New Line Cinema”: *Elm Street* as Hollywood Cinema, Phase II

During Phase II (1986–1989), New Line Cinema transformed its *Elm Street* property from convincingly Hollywood-like independent movies into a multimedia brand befitting a largely imagined American popular cultural mainstream of the late 1980s. A company executive captured the character of the phase by drawing parallels to arguably the quintessential Hollywood property of the day. He described Brand *Elm Street* as “the Star Wars’ of New Line Cinema”.<sup>71)</sup> Industry-watchers evidently shared this view because they casually described the *Elm Street* films as, among other things, “Hollywood”, “mainstream”, and even “horror’s answer to James Bond”.<sup>72)</sup>

Distinguishing Phase II from Phase I were interlocking strategies, often utilizing the Freddy Krueger character, which were designed to invoke multi-demographic consumption and to maximize exposure in what New Line called “areas of dominant influence”.<sup>73)</sup>

67) See for example, Display Ad 70, *New York Times*, 29 November 1985, p. C15.

68) New Line, *Freddy’s Revenge*, p. 8.

69) *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART V: A NEW BEGINNING*: \$10m (40th/1985); *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART VI: JASON LIVES*: \$9.4m (44th/1986); *APRIL FOOL’S DAY*: \$5.3m (73rd/1986); *KILLER PARTY*: <\$1m (>158th/1986); *FRIDAY THE 13TH PART VII: A NEW BLOOD*: \$9.1m (49th/1988). Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1985’, p. 16; Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1986’, *Variety*, 14 January 1987, pp. 25, 100; Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1988’, *Variety*, 11–17 January 1989, p. 16.

70) *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET PART 2: FREDDY’S REVENGE*: \$12.1m. This sum was accumulated across two calendar years (1985 and 1986). Had it been accrued entirely in either 1985 or 1986, the film would have ranked thus: 32nd/1985; 35th/1986.; Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1985’, p. 16; Anon., ‘Big rental films of 1986’, p. 25.

71) Seth Willenson quoted in Patrick Goldstein, ‘Is Freddy back with a bad rap?’, *Los Angeles Times*, 7 August 1988, p. 70.

72) Al Walentis, ‘Gory effects dominate Freddy’s latest sequel’, *Reading Eagle*, 23 August 1988, p. 16.

73) David T. Friendly, “Nightmare”: an industry dream’, *Los Angeles Times*, 26 February 1987, p. 1.

Central to these strategies was the implementation of prominent industrial/aesthetic practices which, although they had been remarkably uncommon, were assumed to typify 1980s Hollywood. Their execution underwrote what would stand as the most comprehensive iteration of a dominant genre persona of contemporaneous Hollywood cinema — High Concept. High Concept was an industry buzzword that conveyed a film's high-earning potential based on textual and extra-textual properties that are now recognized as hallmarks of twenty-first-century blockbuster properties like *SPIDERMAN* (2002) and *AVATAR* (2009).<sup>74</sup> In principle, High Concept films were undemanding, spectacle-heavy, youth- and family-friendly genre films. They also boasted high levels of media transferability and merchandizing potential, and were, in order to generate event status, released widely in conjunction with intensive multimedia marketing campaigns that reduced content unambiguously to an easily digestible idea.<sup>75</sup> In practice, however, this amalgam of characteristics, in its entirety, reflected very few releases before *BATMAN* opened in the summer of 1989 (with numbers of such enterprises increasing only gradually throughout the 1990s). Moreover, as reevaluations of individual High Concept components reveal, these features, in isolation or in limited combinations, characterize most US releases — Hollywood or otherwise.<sup>76</sup> Sufficiently flexible to appear familiar to cineastes, cinephiles, and casual movie-watchers alike, but ultimately too elastic meaningfully to reflect the materiality of American cinematic output, High Concept is perhaps best understood as a discursive construct. It conveys disparate strands of creative and organizational conduct, the prevalence and prominence of which was deemed to have reached unprecedentedly high levels when, across the 1980s, the term and its associated discourses became established among film industrial and critical elites. High Concept was an attractive idea because it imbued participation in American audiovisual culture with a prestigious sense of topicality which was summoned by association with creative industries that were supposedly standing united in the newly conglomeratized, deregulated Reagan era. If claims-makers invoke the political to elevate the popular, High Concept was a suitably packaged vehicle befitting a seductive, hyper-real notion of Eighties America. Its problematic relationship to media history notwithstanding, High Concept, as a discursive phenomenon par excellence, influenced industry conduct profoundly. In particular it influenced ambitious independent companies that were aiming to reposition themselves and their product within a perceived mainstream of American popular culture, an oft-cited example being Vestron Video's *DIRTY DANCING* (1987).<sup>77</sup> Corporate showboating and uncritical journalism had therefore presented insightful, risk-taking, capitalized independents with the seemingly

74) Justin Wyatt, *High Concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994); Thomas Schatz, 'The studio system and conglomerate Hollywood', in Paul McDonald and Janet Wasko (eds), *The Contemporary Hollywood Film Industry* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), pp. 13–42; Schatz, 'New Hollywood, new millennium', pp. 19–46.

75) Wyatt, *High Concept*, pp. 1–22.

76) See for example Marco Calavita, "'MTV aesthetics' at the movies: interrogating a film criticism fallacy', *Journal of Film and Video*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (Fall 2007), pp. 15–31; Sheldon Hall and Steve Neale, *Epics, Spectacles and Blockbusters: A Hollywood History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2010).

77) Justin Wyatt, 'Independents, packaging, and inflationary pressure in 1980s Hollywood', in, *A New Pot of Gold*, p. 155.



paradoxical opportunity of engaging in Hollywood-like practices by filling the void that separated Hollywood's rhetoric from its conduct. High Concept became a self-fulfilling prophecy. New Line's Phase II development of Brand *Elm Street* stood as an unacknowledged catalyst in High Concept's evolution from idealized Hollywood self-image to industry standard for high-end releases.

In order to increase the cultural visibility of its *Elm Street* property, New Line Cinema executed High Concept distribution practices. They included wide theatrical openings and intensive promotion, publicity, and licensing. *DREAM WARRIORS* opened on 1383 US screens (top 12 % of 1987); *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 4: THE DREAM MASTER* (hereafter *DREAM MASTER*) on 1767 US screens (top 3 % of 1988); and *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 5: THE DREAM CHILD* (hereafter *DREAM CHILD*) on 1902 US screens (top 4 % of 1989).<sup>78)</sup> Moreover, quite generous marketing budgets financed extensive television and print advertizing, and uncommonly lengthy press-kits boasting 20–40 pages of material intended to maximize and to marshal publicity in ways that promised to uphold New Line's interests. These steps are often cited to elevate the *Elm Street* films' standing from the solid youth market fare that they were,<sup>79)</sup> to genuine blockbuster hits, which they certainly were not.<sup>80)</sup> These steps were actually taken primarily to maintain the profit New Line accrued from the films' theatrical releases (and to a less extent from home video releases, wherein revenue was shared with a partner) by maintaining conceptual differences from early teen slashers. It was therefore enriched symbolic value, not increased capital gains, which rationalized New Line's high-risk investment in high-end distribution practices. After all, distribution, like production, comprises unseen organizational aspects and public manifestations that generate individual films' "narrative images" and which contribute consequently to the development of genre personae.<sup>81)</sup> Accordingly, conceiving of a heavily promoted saturation release as a hallmark of commercial prowess conflates intention and potential affect. Distribution of this kind requires huge outlay (hence its contribution to Hollywood's postwar stranglehold of major markets). Such expenditure increases a film's break-even point considerably to the extent that it reduces the profit-margins of moderate hits like *DREAM WARRIORS* and *THE DREAM MASTER* while plunging flops like *THE DREAM CHILD* deeper into the red.<sup>82)</sup> Moreover, although the products and services

78) Box Office Mojo,

<<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/yearly/chart/?view=releasedate&view2=domestic&yr=1987&sort=theaters&order=DESC&p=.htm>>;

<<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/yearly/chart/?yr=1988&view=releasedate&view2=domestic&sort=theaters&order=DESC&p=.htm>>;

<<http://www.boxofficemojo.com/yearly/chart/?yr=1989&view=releasedate&view2=domestic&sort=theaters&order=DESC&p=.htm>>. [accessed 1 April 2012].

79) *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 3: DREAM WARRIORS*: \$21.3m (20th/1987); *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 4: THE DREAM MASTER*: \$22m (17th/1988); *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET 5: THE DREAM CHILD*: \$10m (51st/1989). Anon., 'Big rental films of 1987', *Variety*, 20 January 1988, p. 49; Anon., 'Big rental films of 1988', p. 16; Anon., 'Big rental films of 1989', *Variety*, 24 January 1990, pp. 24, 188.

80) Conrich, "Seducing".

81) See Klinger, 'Digressions'; Roman Labato and Mark David Ryan, 'Rethinking genre studies through distribution analysis: issues in international horror movie circuits', *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 9, no.2 (2011), pp. 188–203.

82) See note 86.

resulting from *Elm Street* licensing are often offered as evidence of blockbuster status, New Line actually licensed cheaply, having concluded, like many industry analysts had also done, that public interest in the property would wane quickly.<sup>83)</sup> According to company vice president Stephen Abramson, New Line generated a comparatively small pre-tax windfall of around \$3m from licensing deals.<sup>84)</sup> This sum would have likely returned a net profit of under \$1m — significantly short of the oft-cited \$50m bonanza that was in fact shared by licensor and myriad licensees. Ultimately, New Line may have pursued synergy via wholesale licensing but it exerted only partial control over the consequences. The potential success of constituent practices hinged on courted licensee interest, actual licensee actions, and the relative unpredictability of the market.<sup>85)</sup> Thus, where youth-oriented television station MTV collaborated with New Line, clothing retailer The Gap declined its advances. Similarly, where a premium-rate phone line became a market leader,<sup>86)</sup> Freddy Krueger doll production was halted swiftly amid condemnation from the Evangelical Right.<sup>87)</sup>

New Line Cinema implemented extra-filmic practices, and invoked locations, objects, and audiences, associated with High Concept to cultivate oppositions between Brand *Elm Street* and the early teen slasher genre persona that were based on space, mobility, and class. Discursively, early teen slashers had effectively been reduced to scratched celluloid quarantined in the dilapidated urban grind-houses of yesteryear. This notion had accumulated deeper historical inflection once many grind-houses succumbed to gentrification policies and to the establishment of home video.<sup>88)</sup> In contrast, New Line nurtured a highly mobile property. Its fractured elements were diffusible across numerous platforms so that they would occupy locations associated not with the denigration, decay, poverty, squalor, and threat of the early teen slasher/grind house nexus but with the vitality, youth, prosperity, cleanliness, and safety of High Concept. These venues included shopping malls, multiplexes, small-town neighborhoods, and upper-middle-class homes. Consequently,

83) Joshua Hammer, 'A cult-film cash machine', *Newsweek*, 12 September 1988, p. 50.

With sales of merchandise for the R-rated action movies *RAMBO: FIRST BLOOD PART II* and *COMMANDO* (both 1985) exceeding expectations, New Line clearly shared a consensus growing in industry circles that the hitherto fruitless licensing of R-rated films had been superseded by an era in which home video distribution was increasing under-17s access to audiovisual material to such an extent that licensing R-rated films that boasted strong pre-adult appeal exhibited significant potential. See Aljean Harmetz, "'Commando' garb proves popular', *New York Times*, 15 November 1985, p. C8.

84) Stephen Abramson cited in Desmond Ryan, 'Freddy Krueger doll is a hit in toy stores', *Lewiston Journal*, 24 March 1989, p. 7B. See also Anon., 'Toy company dreams up new doll from "Nightmare" star', *Associated Press*, 6 September 1989, BC cycle, unpaginated LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexus.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012]; Iain Blair, 'Recurring nightmare: famous cut-up is doing just fine', *St. Petersburg Times*, 11 August 1989, p. 13.

85) A clearer picture of licensing emerges when the cross-promotional matrices known as synergy are approached as ongoing processes involving diverse agents possessing distinct agenda and experiencing different outcomes. See Derek Johnson, 'Franchise histories: Marvel, *X-Men*, and the negotiated process of expansion', in Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake (eds), *Convergence Media History* (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 14–23.

86) Stephen Holden, 'The (900) numbers to the stars', *New York Times*, 24 January 1989, p. C15.

87) Anon., 'Is Freddy Krueger doll being buried in toy graveyard?', *Associated Press*, 19 October 1989, Thursday, BC cycle, unpaginated. LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexus.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

88) Church, 'From exhibition'.

as well as providing exhibition sites for the films and surfaces for print advertizing, shopping malls hosted meet-and-greets, during which New Line extended interested parties invitations to interact with Freddy Krueger actor Robert Englund.<sup>89)</sup> New Line also prioritized licensing to manufacturers of lifestyle goods intended primarily for public/outdoor display, such as Halloween costumes and T-shirts, or for private/domestic use, including posters, soundtracks, and games.<sup>90)</sup> Important also were New Line's collaborations with MTV. The Freddy Krueger character introduced pop videos while promoting 1987's *DREAM WARRIORS* and co-hosted MTV's *FREDDY KRUEGER HOUR* (1988), a combination of trailers, movie clips, and music videos advertizing *THE DREAM MASTER*. The markets targeted by such activities invoked the cross-demographic nature of High Concept, thereby positioning Brand *Elm Street* as entertainment suitable for, oriented to, and followed by multiple audiences, including female youths and children.

New Line Cinema emphasized female-youth-orientation and female-youth-following to distinguish Brand *Elm Street* from an early teen slasher genre persona that had been evacuated of the notion of female spectatorship. Early teen slashers were made for, marketed to, and attended by, mixed-sex youth audiences.<sup>91)</sup> Notions of female spectatorship had, however, threatened to destabilize the same-sex-identification paradigm structuring their critical reception. Ensuing questions of masochistic pleasure aroused by female interest in, and consumption of, the films would have complicated the recasting of early teen slashers as women-in-danger movies. The working-class adult male spectator therefore validated early teen slashers' credentials as backlashes against feminists and independent women. Conversely, Brand *Elm Street*'s female-youth-friendliness was conveyed explicitly through UPI press releases in which New Line president Robert Shaye used the term "date entertainment" to suggest that the films offered young people "something they can talk about and relate to with their companion" and Robert Englund invoked girlhood crushes by declaring "I get mail. Mainly from girls, who love Freddy."<sup>92)</sup> Marketing campaigns also showcased the fact that the films boasted content associated specifically with female-youth-oriented entertainment, including the contemporaneous female-youth-leaning hits *PRETTY IN PINK* (1986) and *DIRTY DANCING*.<sup>93)</sup> Spotlighted were: strong heroines, sympathetic female characters, female-friendships, daughter-parent relationships; heterosexual yearning, courtship, romance, and relationships; and topics deemed relevant to young American females such as body-image issues, eating disorders, academic expectations, and unplanned pregnancy. Concerning the teenage pregnancy plotline, New Line execu-

89) Dennis Hunt, "Nightmares" 1 and 2 are dream profit makers; supply catching up with "Back to the Future", *Los Angeles Times*, 27 June 1986, p. 23.

90) Aljean Harmetz, 'Waking from a new "Nightmare" to new profits', *New York Times*, 13 July 1989, pp. C17, C24.

91) Richard Nowell, "'There's more than one way to lose your heart': the American film industry, early teen slasher films, and female youth", *Cinema Journal*, vol. 51, no. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 115-140.

92) Bob Brewster (UPI), 'Sequels benefit film producer', *Sunday Times-Sentinel*, 26 April 1987, p. D1; Vernon Scott (UPI), 'Robert Englund nears no resemblance to horrifying character Freddy Krueger', *Scenectady Gazette Supplement*, 10 April 1987, p. 17.

93) *PRETTY IN PINK*: \$16.6m (24th/1986); *DIRTY DANCING*: \$25m (13th/1987). Anon., 'Big rental films of 1986', p. 25; Anon., 'Big rental films of 1987', p. 49.

tive Sara Risher explained "[o]ur intent was to address important teen-age issues".<sup>94)</sup> Critics spotted the female-youth-orientation of the property, with, for example, Caryn James detailing its similarities to that most culturally feminized of media forms, the soap opera. She noted that *Elm Street* owed "less to Hitchcock than to 'All My Children'".<sup>95)</sup>

Because they reached countless youths via MTV, music videos were central to maximizing and conveying young female consumption of Brand *Elm Street* during Phase II. Crossovers involving youth-oriented horror films and popular music are usually approached as efforts mutually to reinforce "subcultural authenticity" by accessing and invoking likeminded consumers (a point examined in more detail below).<sup>96)</sup> However, the later *Elm Street* films illustrate the extent to which certain types of popular music are used to maximize horror's economic potential by conveying to wary individuals its status as pleasurable entertainment. A video to an upbeat pop-metal title-track offered reassurance to any female youths who questioned DREAM WARRIORS' suitability. Functioning like the allegories of female spectatorship in 1940s horror pictures that were examined by Tim Snelson,<sup>97)</sup> the self-reflexive video to the "Dream Warriors" song portrayed a teenage girl's transformation from nervous and fearful to joyous and awe-struck upon encountering "macabre" cultural artifacts: musicians Dokken and Freddy Krueger. This notion of overcoming trepidation was expressed overtly by New Line president Robert Shaye. He claimed his own fourteen-year-old daughter, who apparently recoiled at the downbeat nature of the evening news, had enjoyed the *Elm Street* films.<sup>98)</sup> Female-youth-orientation and spectatorship also dominated the music video for Vinnie Vincent Invasion's power ballad "Love Kills", which promoted THE DREAM MASTER. The video cut between female-youth-centered film content and the band's unthreateningly androgynous singer, whose doughy-eyed boyishness, high-pitched delivery, and hyper-sensitive posturing recalled contemporaneous girl-friendly soft-rock pinups like Jon Bon Jovi, Skid Row's Sebastian Bach, and Guns 'N' Roses' Axl Rose. Exposition and action footage from THE DREAM MASTER was consequently recast as subjective impressions of melancholic, triumphant, and turbulent pleasures begat by the romantic solipsism associated with girlhood. Supporting the promise of similar experiences to consumers of the film were slow-motion shots of a young female theatergoer being drawn physically from her seat into the screened movie; acknowledging its success was Robert Shaye, who claimed that almost half of THE DREAM MASTER'S US theatrical audience had been teenage girls.<sup>99)</sup>

94) Quoted in Linda Renaud, 'LA Clips: doubts about Freddy and a do-or-die bid at the box office', *Globe and Mail*, 18 August 1989, unpaginated. LexisNexis Academic,

<<http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

95) Caryn James, 'Yech! It's Jason dripping soap', *New York Times*, 24 July 1988, pp. H1, 21.

96) Joseph Tompkins, 'What's the deal with soundtrack albums? metal music and the customized aesthetics of contemporary horror', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 49, no. 1 (Fall 2009), pp. 65–81.

97) Tim Snelson, "'From grade B thrillers to deluxe chillers': prestige horror, female audiences, and allegories of spectatorship in *The Spiral Staircase* (1946)", *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2009), pp. 173–188.

98) Robert Shaye quoted in Nina Darnton, "'Elm Street 3' is box office no. 1", *New York Times*, 6 March 1987, p. C8.

99) Quoted in Harmetz, 'Waking', p. C17.



New Line Cinema's openly acknowledged, and widely recognized, cultivation and emphasis of child consumption<sup>100)</sup> also enabled projection of Brand *Elm Street's* High Concept credentials while distancing the property from the early teen slasher genre persona. Pre-adolescent spectatorship infused High Concept's family-friendly image which was epitomized by the *Star Wars* trilogy (1977, 1980, 1983) and by *E.T.: THE EXTRA-TERRESTRIAL* (1982),<sup>101)</sup> with a genre persona that reduced pre-teen slasher American horror to bloodless Saturday matinee monster movies through the erasure of ultraviolent fare like H.G Lewis' gore films.<sup>102)</sup> It also mitigated unwanted affiliation of Brand *Elm Street* and the earlier teen slasher genre persona by ensuring that such efforts would arouse a potentially outlandish notion of children harboring the reactionary sociopolitical values purportedly underwriting the misogynistic pleasures of early teen slasher film consumption. New Line boasted success in securing child audiences. Actor Robert Englund claimed that the films had, by attracting the "kid brother and kid sister" of America's movie-watching youths, "gotten the 'Poltergeist' audience" (a reference to a 1982 horror hit that had been sold on the name of family-friendly producer Stephen Spielberg and which had been made accessible to un-chaperoned children of all ages due to its controversial receipt of a PG-rating).<sup>103)</sup> Subsequent claims that New Line's targeting of pre-teens constituted the "juvenalization" of the teen slasher have, however, cast imitation as innovation by failing to recognize that early teen slashers were also made for children;<sup>104)</sup> publically cited market research conducted by Twentieth Century Fox had revealed that early teen slashers boasted a forty-five percent child following,<sup>105)</sup> which, if disregarded, threatened commercial disaster for producers, distributors, and exhibitors. New Line's handling of the *Elm Street* films therefore did not mark the "juvenalization" of the teen slasher film. Teen slashers were historically conceived to mine the aspirational tendencies believed to draw many children to youth-centered entertainment — behavior which is institutionalized in American film history as the "Peter Pan Syndrome". New Line reduced the *Elm Street* films' potential to horrify and framed the property as child-suitable. Accordingly, as has been well-documented, series villain Freddy Krueger was transformed publically during Phase II. He changed from a stoic, shadowy, prowler, who shook to its core characters' understanding of the world, into an attention-seeking menace accepted readily as an everyday threat. In cognitive psychology terminology, New Line diluted the threatening, diegetic incongruousness underwriting horror responses. This practice rendered the character,

100) Michele Litzky (PR Inc.), *Business Wire*, October 7 1988, unpaginated. LexisNexis Academic, <<http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/lnacademic/?>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

101) See Peter Krämer, 'Would you take your child to see this film? the cultural and social work of the family-adventure movie', in *Contemporary Hollywood Cinema*, pp. 294–311; Peter Krämer, "'It's aimed at kids - the kid in everybody'": George Lucas, *Star Wars* and Children's Entertainment", *Scope: An Online Journal of Film and TV Studies*, January 2001. Scope, <<http://www.scope.nottingham.ac.uk/article.php?issue=dec2001&id=278&section=article>> [accessed 1 April 2012].

102) See Kevin Heffernan, 'Inner-City exhibition and the genre film: distributing *Night of the Living Dead* (1968)', *Cinema Journal*, vol. 41, no. 3 (Spring 2002), pp. 59–77.

103) Quoted in Bob Harris, 'Could this be Freddy's last stand', *The Herald*, 21 September 1989, p. 6B.

104) Nowell, *Blood Money*, pp. 39–40.

105) Aljean Harmetz, 'Quick end of low-budget horror-film cycle seen', *New York Times*, 2 October 1980, p. C15.

as countless industry-watchers noted, proximate to a loquacious pantomime villain or perhaps closest in form and in function to the fast-talking heels facilitating professional wrestling's transformation from regional, niche, working-class attraction to national, multimedia, child-friendly entertainment.<sup>106)</sup> Capturing general sentiment, a newspaper editorial noted of *THE DREAM MASTER*: "[n]o longer can this scary movie be judged on its ability to scare", adding — "Nightmare' movies have become the feel-good horror films of the '80s".<sup>107)</sup> Perhaps best encapsulating such sentiments was print advertising for *THE DREAM CHILD* that had been designed to recall *E.T.: THE EXTRATERRESTRIAL*'s promotional artwork via shared evocation of Michelangelo's "The Creation of Adam".<sup>108)</sup>

In terms of its magnitude, constitution, and address, licensing reinforced Brand *Elm Street*'s child-suitability. While most products and services, including phone-lines, costumes, fan club membership, and games, exhibited strong appeal to youths and to children, some objects were angled specifically at them.<sup>109)</sup> Notable was the video for "Are You Ready for Freddy?", a single from novelty rap trio The Fat Boys, which promoted *THE DREAM MASTER*. Its video associated the *Elm Street* films with childhood games. It recast a disheveled mansion from the films as a neighborhood haunted house, wherein the outlandish performers bravely must stay overnight. Freddy Krueger's rapping with The Fat Boys aligned the character to a cartoonish, depoliticized, anodyne reconstruction of cultural agents positioned contemporaneously within public discourse as threatening to mainstream American mores. It suggested that he was to the depraved maniacs of early teen slashers what The Fat Boys were to assertive, politically-engaged, gangsta rappers like Public Enemy and N.W.A.: a family-friendly alternative. The child spectator/consumer, in conjunction with its elder sister, called forth mixed-sex, middle-class Americans spanning childhood to young adulthood, thus differentiating, in terms of address and audience, Brand *Elm Street* from the alleged sexist-orientation of early teen slashers and their adult male viewership.

Where its implementation of industrial-aesthetic practices associated with High Concept distinguished Brand *Elm Street* from the early teen slasher genre persona by situating the former as the quintessence of an imagined popular cultural mainstream, New Line Cinema strove to establish quite different conceptual allegiances when framing its property as reified cultural product.

**"Ingenious ... remarkable ... clever ... surreal":  
*Elm Street* as Quality Entertainment**

MTV footage of Freddy Krueger reading Nietzsche's *Beyond Good and Evil* exemplified and parodied New Line Cinema's efforts to raise Brand *Elm Street* above the cultural standing of early teen slashers through the invocation of prestigious cultural artifacts and dis-

106) See Dennis Hunt, "Wrestlemania" makes a comeback for round 2, *Los Angeles Times*, 23 May 1986, p. J19.

107) Mitch Zamoff, "Nightmare:" cut-up Krueger steals the show, *Cavalier Daily Spectator*, 8 September 1988, p. 4.

108) See for example Display Ad 74, *New York Times*, 13 August 1989, p. H24.

109) Harmetz, "Waking", p. C17.

courses. The supposedly clear-cut distinctions between horror as a low-prestige form and comparatively prestigious culture have tended to be questioned through consideration of intersections occurring in niche sectors of American film culture, which are already elevated by internal markers of distinction related to inaccessibility, expertise, and connoisseurship — 1980s mail order video circuits and twenty-first-century indie culture being examples.<sup>110</sup> The case of Brand *Elm Street* indicates the extent to which invoking discourses of prestige extends even to calculatedly “mainstream” American horror film production, promotion, and publicity.

New Line Cinema’s handling of its *Elm Street* property was underwritten by appreciation of the early teen slasher films’ status as low-prestige incarnations of the already devalued American horror film.<sup>111</sup> This evaluation of the cultural standing of 1980s horror may not have respected the contestation and flux that shape cultural hierarchies, especially when divisive forms like horror are involved, but it gauged fairly accurately a current of antagonism that ran deep through US cultural elite circles.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, New Line clearly recognized that the American critical establishment deemed contemporaneous American horror anathematic to longstanding discourses of artistic value. This position was based on the films’ supposedly unchallenging content, on the (non-intellectual) emotional and bodily responses that they provoked, and on the class of patrons whom they supposedly addressed and attracted.<sup>113</sup> Rather than being accepted as reflections of inherent superiority, such distinctions are widely acknowledged to be products of the associations that cultural artifacts invite to other cultural artifacts, to human beings, to institutions, and to discourses.<sup>114</sup> Accordingly, the generally low cultural status of 1980s American horror and of the early teen slasher genre persona in particular was fuelled by associations it invited to entities that were seen to lack prestige in a class-based, capitalist, socio-economic system, wherein value is often measured in terms of education, wealth, or a combination thereof.<sup>115</sup> The classism that had underwritten the demonization of early teen slashers had generated a genre persona in which the already low status of contemporary horror had been infused with a sense of economic deprivation and, via reductive implication, educational deficiency. This phenomenon, as noted above, resulted from the invocation of economically impoverished locations (rundown urban neighborhoods and grind-houses), periods

110) See for example Joan Hawkins, ‘Sleaze mania, Euro-trash, and high art: the place of European art films in American low culture,’ *Film Quarterly*, vol. 52, no. 2 (Winter 1999), pp. 14–29; Janie Sexton, ‘US Indie-horror: critical reception, genre construction, and suspect hybridity,’ *Cinema Journal*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Winter 2012), pp. 67–86.

111) See Vincent Canby, ‘How should we react to violence,’ *New York Times*, 11 December 1983, p. H36.

112) See for example Scott Eyman, ‘Despite gore, slasher flicks still sell big,’ *The Day*, 6 August 1989, pp. D1–D2; Eve Zibart, ‘Shock schlock & today’s horror movie: from Jekyll to Jason, how Halloween fare has deteriorated over time,’ *Washington Post*, 29 October 1989, pp. G1–G2.

113) Linda Williams, ‘Film bodies: gender, genre, and excess,’ *Film Quarterly*, Vol. 44, No. 4. (Summer 1991), pp. 2–13.

114) See Pierre Bourdieu [Translated by Richard Nice], *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984 [1979]), pp. 1–9. See also for example Jonathon I. Oake, ‘Reality Bites and Generation X as spectator,’ *The Velvet Light Trap* 53 (Spring 2004), pp. 83–97; Michael Z. Newman, ‘Indie culture: in pursuit of the authentic autonomous alternative,’ *Cinema Journal*, vol. 48, no. 3 (Spring 2009), pp. 16–34.

115) Bourdieu, *Distinction*, pp. 1–9.

of recession (the 1970s malaise), and underprivileged consumers (underclass and working-class males).

New Line Cinema's development of its *Elm Street* property was made possible by a sophisticated understanding of the extent to which the multi-directional exchanges of symbolic value that underpin cultural status, distinctions, and hierarchies enable already prestigious entities to bestow additional prestige upon either borrower or bequeathed.<sup>116)</sup> This understanding was informed by substantial experience in art cinema distribution.<sup>117)</sup> The company distinguished Brand *Elm Street* from the disreputability of the early teen slasher genre persona by loading the films, their marketing campaigns, and associated publicity materials with references to entities that were rich in transferable cultural capital. Framing *Elm Street* as quality entertainment also constituted an attempt to broaden the property's appeal. This effort involved addressing niche audiences that were thought to eschew material that they, and cultural arbiters whom they admired, had deemed to be inappropriately lowbrow fare. It also involved nourishing a sensibility that was assumed to be operative among the larger collective of "cultural omnivores" who consumed a broad range of cultural products — appealing therefore to a transient disposition which might be termed "a quality cinema state of mind".<sup>118)</sup>

New Line Cinema sought to distinguish its *Elm Street* property from a major aspect of the early teen slasher genre persona wherein accusations of low quality had been supported by suggestions of insufficient textual differentiation between the films and by their general vacuousness. Early teen slashers were singled-out for being unacceptably formulaic films, which, by implication (and rarely by explication), offered little to judicial viewers on account of their exhausted repertoire of formal, stylistic, and structural elements. They were also derided for being superficial films in which plodding narration and lurid spectacle was supposedly exacerbated by a virtual absence of thematic depth. This is a slightly paradoxical position given that the claims of misogyny that were directed at early teen slashers rested on engagement with their supposed thematic terrain. Acts of selectivity, homogenization, and caricature had served to erase substantial textual differences between films to such an extent that even HALLOWEEN, which had been lauded in some quarters for its apparent visual flair and self-reflexivity, was routinely, albeit temporarily, stripped of its status as an anomalous stylish, intelligent teen slasher film. In truth, the contention that early teen slashers were "all the same" and "dumb" were less elaborated critiques than short-hand rhetorical stratagems intended to stoke indignation towards the films. Because the specific nature of uniformity and superficiality was left ambiguous, both claims could be used to intensify numerous denunciations through exploitation of acceptance of notions of innovation (as a generator of originality) and thematic sophistication representing legitimate criteria of quality. The sense of mass called forth by the formulaic served to magnify to pandemic levels any objectionable or unacceptable traits.

New Line Cinema associated Brand *Elm Street* with agents who had castigated early teen slasher films for their textual shortcomings. It did so by emblazoning the *Elm Street*

116) Ibid.

117) Wyatt, 'Formation', p. 76.

118) See King, *Indiewood*, pp. 11–28.



films' print advertizing materials with quotes attributed to leading American journalists, many of whom had lambasted early teen slashers. The sheer volume of accolades mobilized aligned the *Elm Street* ads, and by extension the films themselves, to "quality cinema" and "art cinema", recognized categories of cultural product that were exalted for exhibiting the formal, thematic, and/or stylistic attributes said to be absent from the early teen slashers.<sup>119)</sup> This association was cemented by the content of the snippets which made claims for the films' fulfillment of recognized indices of cultural worth. One tendency mainly emphasized elevated forms of narrative cinema. Intelligent, subtle, uncanny motion pictures in the mold of studio-era noir-mysteries were, for example, called forth by an advertisement billing *FREDDY'S REVENGE* as: "a classy thriller" which boasted "satiric humor", "a classic character", and "a surprise ending"; as a "deliriously frightening" film; and as a film that "gives you goosebumps [sic]".<sup>120)</sup> A second tendency, which invoked primarily venerated exercises in style, was exemplified by an advertisement that framed *DREAM WARRIORS* as a landmark in visual expression. It suggested that "spectacular and imaginative fantasy sequences" and "devilishly creative predicaments and spectacular special effects" had contributed to the creation of a work that was "ingenious ... remarkable ... clever ... surreal".<sup>121)</sup> A third tendency forwent direct evocation of applauded cultural forms by stressing general superiority. It was epitomized by an advertisement that showcased endorsements from leading cultural arbiters who had proclaimed *THE DREAM MASTER* to be "[t]he most intelligent premise in current genre film", to "[balance] wit and gore with imagination and intelligence", and to exude "style, class, and charisma".<sup>122)</sup> Such strategies underwrote the production of other texts as well.

The content of the *Elm Street* films and their marketing campaigns was tailored to associate the property with prestigious cultural artifacts that were recognizable to a general audience. The films routinely featured discussion of canonized literature and art. Where, for example, readings from, and thematic analyses of, William Shakespeare and Aristotle featured in *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* and *THE DREAM MASTER* respectively, *DREAM WARRIORS* was prefaced with an Edgar Allen Poe quotation. Similarly, *THE DREAM MASTER* and *THE DREAM CHILD* featured extended visual allusions to works by Salvador Dali and M. C. Escher respectively. Promotional photographs, on the other hand, associated the Freddy Krueger character with bourgeois leisure. They showed him sporting a shirt and bow tie or a dinner suit as he posed with ball gown-clad actresses or enjoyed a martini. This practice disassociated the character (a former-janitor otherwise clothed in a tattered jumper), from its proletarian roots, and, by extension distanced the *Elm Street* property from the working-class connotations of earlier teen slashers.

Brand *Elm Street's* human resources were also presented in press-kits and interviews as off-screen embodiments of legitimate culture. Central to this strategy were the respective star personae of New Line president Robert Shaye, actor Robert Englund, and Wes Craven (the writer-director of the first film and the co-writer of *DREAM WARRIORS*). Shaye served

119) See Steve Neale, 'Art cinema as institution', *Screen*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1981), pp. 11–39.

120) See for example Display Ad 56, *New York Times*, 8 November 1985, p. C14.

121) See for example Display Ad 109, *Chicago Tribune*, 27 March 1987, p. M.

122) See for example Display Ad 41, *New York Times*, 26 August 1988, p. C21.

as the behind-the-scenes face of Brand *Elm Street*. He was portrayed as the ultimate Renaissance man. His achievements in academia, law, international art, commerce, and legitimate cinema culture were conveyed by the spotlighting of his credentials as an Ivy League graduate, a Fulbright scholar, a published authority on copyright law, a director of short-films acquired by New York's Museum of Modern Art, a successful businessman, and a patron of the arts who had been responsible for showering America with the sweetness and light of the Czech New Wave, Jean-Luc Godard, Lina Wertmüller, and a Best Foreign Film Oscar recipient.<sup>123)</sup> Englund was ostensibly the public face of Brand *Elm Street*. He was in part depicted as a serious thespian boasting refined taste in cultural products. Much was made of Englund's training at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art, his early days performing Shakespeare plays, and his apparent predilection for quality cinema and international art house fare.<sup>124)</sup> "My taste goes more in the line of 'The Last Emperor [1987]', 'Tender Mercies' [1983], and 'Dance with a Stranger' [1985]", responded Englund, when asked if he enjoyed viewing horror films; "I go for the classic American and foreign cinema."<sup>125)</sup> Despite only having participated in two out of five films at this point, Wes Craven continued to be invoked as a kind of spiritual father to the *Elm Street* property. As an early interview in the *Journal of Popular Film and Television* already begins to show, Craven was a consummate self-promoter who had capitalized on some critical observations of apparent hints of social satire in his films *LAST HOUSE ON THE LEFT* (1971) and *THE HILLS HAVE EYES* (1977) by cultivating the media-friendly persona of a progressive, cerebral, iconoclast using a debased cultural form:<sup>126)</sup> "the professor of horror", as the *Chicago Tribune* called him.<sup>127)</sup> Accordingly, press-kits emphasized Craven's time as a college humanities instructor, acknowledged his "underrated genius", spotlighted his "intelligent approach to the horror genre", and drew comparisons to esteemed director Alfred Hitchcock.<sup>128)</sup> These materials also attributed to Craven suitably high-register abstractions concerning the thematic sophistication, social relevance, and psychological resonance of his films. Craven was cited voicing his conviction that his films were "very important" because "they deal[t] with images and situations that mirror[ed] the anxieties which shoot through us all or all of our culture."<sup>129)</sup> He was also cited contending that a story scenario he had written had ensured that *DREAM WARRIORS* was "about consciousness and accepting responsibility on a very deep level."<sup>130)</sup> In the absence of Craven, similar marriages of authorial insight and interpretative analysis were offered by Englund and Shaye. Where,

123) Compare New Line Cinema Corporation, *A Nightmare on Elm Street 4: The Dream Master* Press-kit, pp. 19–20 and for example Harmetz, 'Waking', pp. C17, C24.

124) See for example Michael Chapple, et al, 'Freddy Krueger likes to scare people', *Milwaukee Journal — Green Sheet for Kids*, 26 November 1988, p. 1

125) Quoted in *Ibid.*

126) Tony Williams, 'Wes Craven: an interview', *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, vol. 8, no. 3 (Fall 1980), pp. 10–14.

127) Glenn Lovell, 'The "professor of horror films" wants to be understood', *Chicago Tribune*, 7 December 1984, p. A1.

128) New Line, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, p. 3; New Line Cinema Corporation, *A Nightmare on Elm Street 3: Dream Warriors* Press-kit, pp. 32–44.

129) Quoted in New Line, *A Nightmare on Elm Street*, p. 3

130) Quoted in New Line, *Dream Warriors*, p. 6.

for example, Englund employed pop-Freudianism to proclaim Freddy Krueger “a latent symbol of the father of us all”<sup>131)</sup> Shaye offered a social-reflectionist view whereby “the symbolic underpinnings” of the films served as “recognition by the younger generation of life-threatening malevolence in the air [...]”<sup>132)</sup>

The logic, mechanics, and strategies that characterized New Line Cinema’s systematic attempts to inflect Brand *Elm Street* with the prestige that was associated with recognizable examples of legitimate culture were echoed, albeit for the benefit of a quite different imagined audience or sensibility, in its framing of the property as cult object.

### **“Not Just Idiots Walking Around the Mall Listening to Madonna...”: *Elm Street* as Cult Object**

In 1987, actor Robert Englund described Brand *Elm Street* consumers as “not just idiots walking around the mall listening to Madonna [...]”<sup>133)</sup> In so doing, he encapsulated New Line Cinema’s efforts to communicate to segments of the American public that its *Elm Street* property was fully concordant with the oppositional stance underwriting certain cultural products’ elevation to “cult” status. New Line’s handling of Brand *Elm Street* shows that existing scholarship on the critical and popular reception of cult films can illuminate how, in an effort to shroud their products in the aura of cult, industry professionals handling apparently “mainstream” fare appropriate, and thereby commodify, discourses surrounding cult fandom.

Bestowing cult status upon an object involves drawing rhetorically powerful yet conceptually unsupportable oppositions between a demonized caricature of the “mainstream” and a valorized alternative.<sup>134)</sup> In terms of media texts, these oppositions operate at the levels of production, content, engagement, and consumption.<sup>135)</sup> New Line’s understanding of the cult/mainstream dichotomy was not unusual in the sense that it was underpinned by the belief that the imagined cultural mainstream was derided in some quarters for supposedly being characterized by an unimaginative lower-middle-class mass consuming passively the readily available, unchallenging (feminized) cultural products of corporate America;<sup>136)</sup> or, to put it differently, idiots walking around the mall listening to Madonna. Consumers holding this antagonistic view, it follows, set themselves apart from what they see as mindless conformers by engaging in cultural practices that they deem to be superior to, and that they conceive of as representing a symbolic challenge to, such indiscriminating behavior.<sup>137)</sup> The belief that this latter form of consumption amounts to subversion — that it transgresses, rather than upholds, canons, protocols, and tastes endorsed by le-

131) Stephen Schaefer, ‘Ready to don another mask,’ *USA Today*, 11 August 1989, p. 2D.

132) Quoted in Harmetz, ‘Waking,’ p. C17.

133) Kirchhoff, ‘The two.’

134) Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures: Music, Media and Subcultural Capital* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995)

135) Mark Jancovich, ‘Cult fictions: cult movies, subcultural capital and the production of cultural distinctions,’ *Cultural Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (2002), pp. 306–322.

136) Jancovich et al, ‘Introduction,’ in *Defining Cult Movies*, pp. 1–2.

137) Ibid.

gitimate culture elites — differentiates the mindset underpinning it from the mindset characterizing consumers of cultural products that are generally accepted to qualify as "quality", "art" or "highbrow".<sup>138)</sup> However, even though cult devotees' identities are seen partly to be based on perceived oppositions to legitimate culture, they share with self-styled legitimate culture aficionados a sense of connoisseurship. A common bond can be seen to be forged by a shared sense of distinction from the imagined mainstream, based on protocols of consumption involving distance and de-familiarization.<sup>139)</sup> Accordingly, and crucially for New Line's efforts to maintain conceptual distance between its property and the devalued teen slasher genre persona, cult connoisseurship, like preferences for legitimate culture, was seen to be imbricated within a cultural middle-class (albeit one marked by turf wars).<sup>140)</sup>

New Line Cinema's association of Brand *Elm Street* with the protocols of cult was a commercially motivated and conceptually complex undertaking which projected symbolic value towards certain audiences and sensibilities. To communicate a sense of "sub-cultural authenticity", the company endeavored to distance Brand *Elm Street* from a vision of the cultural mainstream it was simultaneously evoking by associating its property with High Concept, and to distance Brand *Elm Street* from an imagined bourgeois culture that it was also evoking by associating the property with quality entertainment such as art cinema. This distinction was made possible by the imagined cult audience possessing significantly more cultural capital than the imagined early teen slasher spectator (a working-class male supporting animatedly the gratuitous spectacle of misogynist murder). Framing Brand *Elm Street* as cult also fortified the property's appeal to targeted audiences. Invoking cult seemingly represented an attempt to maximize the series' apparently strong early following among subcultural groups. Perhaps more importantly, however, it promised to arouse among a larger cohort of young Americans less invested in cultivating identities through oppositional consumption, a potentially attractive sense of mild transgression born out of consuming, being seen to consume, and imagining one's self being seen to consume media said to boast a measure of subcultural capital. That youth audience was required to turn profit. New Line employed established industry strategies to fulfill these objectives, associating its property with recognizable youth subcultures and recognizable cult movies, and by circulating oppositional readings of the *Elm Street* films themselves.

New Line Cinema sought to establish relationships between the *Elm Street* films and youth subcultures it had deemed to embody the oppositional stance undergirding cult.<sup>141)</sup> Accordingly, the subcultural orientation of creative personnel was emphasized. For instance, Robert Englund suggested that "[t]hese art school kids bring a sort of punk sensibility to the films".<sup>142)</sup> Similarly, characters defined by subcultural belonging appeared alongside conventional youth character-types in the films and their marketing materials: a punk in *DREAM WARRIORS*; a martial artist in *THE DREAM MASTER*; a comic book artist

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138) Ibid.

139) Jancovich, 'Cult fictions'.

140) Ibid.

141) Thornton, *Club Cultures*.

142) Kirchhoff, 'The two'.



and skateboarder in *THE DREAM CHILD*. Subcultural sports were also central to publicity for *THE DREAM CHILD*, with photographs featuring Freddy Krueger posing with a credibly branded skateboard and surfboard. Publicity materials were used to relay apparent subcultural endorsement of the brand. Accordingly, Robert Englund portrayed the relative commercial achievements of *A NIGHTMARE ON ELM STREET* and *FREDDY'S REVENGE* not as what they were — products of astute and aggressive corporate practice having secured a moderately sized general youth audience — but as a byproduct of the grassroots support of niche music fans.<sup>143)</sup> “[T]he original audience were [sic] punk rockers and heavy metal kids”, Englund declared: “They discovered the movie on their own”.<sup>144)</sup> To ensure that masculine overtones accompanying invocation of subcultural fandom did not arouse the notions of misogyny and female victimization imbricated within the early teen slasher genre persona,<sup>145)</sup> New Line also claimed sexually confident female rock music fans had embraced the *Elm Street* films. It addressed to both sexes titillating/inspiring stories of female sexual empowerment. “You wouldn’t believe the girls [...] those rock girls, the heavy metal girls”, claimed Englund: “they take the glove and they rub it all over their bodies”.<sup>146)</sup> This strategy suggested that Brand *Elm Street*’s cult fandom accommodated certain forms of youthful femininity, rather than necessitating their rejection which would have been needed to become, in the oft-cited words of Sarah Thornton, “culturally ‘one of the boys’”.<sup>147)</sup>

New Line Cinema also sought to associate Brand *Elm Street* with a manifestation of cult cinema that was likely to be recognizable in the mid-to-late 1980s to many young Americans: the midnight movie. The midnight movie referred to a loose grouping of mainly low-cost, idiosyncratic films which were primarily associated with late night screenings that had been held across the 1970s and early 1980s at dilapidated metropolitan theatres. This genre persona was distinguished from that of the early teen slasher primarily by the social class of their respective imagined spectators and the modes of engagement those imagined spectators were said to practice. The supposedly immersive, emotional, working-class experience of consuming early teen slashers in ghetto grindhouses stood in stark contrast, discursively at least, to the image of a cultural bourgeoisie, comprising loft-dwelling bohemians and slumming grad students, viewing in detached or ironic fashion the iconoclastic offerings of the downtown picture house.<sup>148)</sup> Invoking the spirit of the midnight movie provided an alibi of sorts if antagonistic claims-makers rhetorically positioned Brand *Elm Street* within the urban decay that was central to the early teen slasher genre persona. The midnight movie became emblemized in the image of costumed fans viewing *THE ROCKY HORROR PICTURE SHOW* (1975); an image that Robert Englund aroused when he described similar practices taking place at screenings of the *Elm*

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143) Ibid.

144) Bob Harris, ‘Could this be Freddy’s last stand’, *The Herald*, 21 September 1989, p. 6B.

145) See Hollows, ‘The masculinity’.

146) Rob Salem, ‘Santa Claws Freddy Krueger is coming home for Christmas’, *Toronto Star*, 4 December 1988, p. V34.

147) Thornton, *Club Cultures*, p. 104.

148) J. Hoberman and Jonathan Rosenbaum, *Midnight Movies* (New York: De Capo Press, 1983).

*Street* films.<sup>149</sup> This incarnation of cult unsurprisingly boasted its canon of touchstone films, a small number of which had been distributed by New Line Cinema. Accordingly, New Line went to great lengths to ensure audiences were not reminded of the overwhelming majority of forgotten, low-budget efforts it had handled over the years, but were made acutely aware of the fact that the company behind Brand *Elm Street* was in fact the risk-taking cineastes behind such high-profile midnight movies as director John Waters' taboo-breaking gross-out picture *PINK FLAMINGOES* (1972) and the visually innovative horror films *THE TEXAS CHAINSAW MASSACRE* (1974) and *THE EVIL DEAD* (1981).

Finally, New Line Cinema showcased Brand *Elm Street*'s subcultural credentials in publicity materials by articulating oppositional readings of the *Elm Street* films. This strategy involved creative personnel, particularly actor Robert Englund, speaking on behalf of insightful, critical young Americans who purportedly read Freddy Krueger as a radical, Leftist, anti-establishment figure. Readings of this sort drew from popular conceptions of Marxism and anarchism to recast Krueger's vengeful killing of fairly affluent American teenagers as a symbolical challenge to oppressive class structures that shaped social inequality in Eighties America. In so doing, they framed Krueger's actions as allegorical, morally righteous, socially just, and, therefore, binarily opposed to the literal, unwarranted, egocentric crimes perpetrated in early teen slashers. Of course, the very content that was used to develop these readings was present in early teen slashers, indicating that, by extension, the early films also made possible similar interpretations. Disseminating such positions insulated New Line against attempts to employ the notion of sadistic consumption, aroused by declaring violent characters identification-figures, to link Brand *Elm Street* to the misogynistic killers of the early teen slasher genre persona. The strategy preempted any efforts to denounce Freddy Krueger as another extreme manifestation of a cultural "backlash" which many second-wave feminists saw emanating from the American cultural Right. Thus, for example, *DREAM CHILD* director Stephen Hopkins suggested "[p]erhaps one of the reasons Freddy is so popular is that he only kills white yuppies".<sup>150</sup> Similarly, Robert Englund suggested "[t]here was a certain subversiveness, a certain anarchy to Freddy, a slight attack on middle-class complacency. After all — 'Elm Street.' What does that stand for? Picket fences and mowed lawns".<sup>151</sup> Emphasizing the economic class of the young victims over their sympathetic characterization also allowed Freddy Krueger to be celebrated for enacting, on behalf of America's disenfranchised middle-class youth, symbolical retribution against the young beneficiaries of social hierarchies operative around high schools, which, if not a lived reality for specific individuals, were at least recognizable to a mixed-sex youth audience exposed to class-conflict teen romances in the vain of *RECKLESS* (1984), *PRETTY IN PINK*, and *CAN'T BUY ME LOVE* (1987).<sup>152</sup> "Freddy's kicking butt out there, and not only sticking up for those kids", argued Englund, "he's exploiting Elm Street — white, Anglo-Saxon, white-bread

149) Cited in Edward Jones, 'Better things ahead for Robert Englund', *Free Lance-Star*, 23 November 1985, p. 4.

150) Stephen Hopkins quoted in UPI release adapted and reprinted as 'Freddy Krueger cultural hero', *Ellensburg Daily Record*, 4 August 1989, p. 16.

151) Harris, 'Could', p. 6B.

152) See Timothy Shary, 'Buying me love: 1980s class-clash teen romances', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 44, no. 3 (2011), pp. 563–582.

America".<sup>153)</sup> The challenge the character posed to this perceived nexus of economics and social-value was also expressed in terms that showcased solidarity with disenfranchised members of New Line's targeted young female audience. "Freddy Krueger is the guy getting revenge on all those rich girls that ticked you off in high school, those girls that thought your dress was shabby and your corsage was from J. C. Penny", explained Englund, in a statement that appeared tailored to recall the most female youth-oriented horror picture of its generation: *CARRIE* (1976).<sup>154)</sup> Framing Freddy Krueger in such ways had contributed to the character's reception as "the ultimate anti-hero" and as a "cult hero".<sup>155)</sup>

### Conclusion: "Not the Typical Slash-and-Splatter Thing"

The issue of categorization was, throughout the second half of the 1980s, prominent in the US critical reception of Brand *Elm Street*, as industry-watchers wrestled with how best to position the property in relation to earlier films about maniacs menacing youth. At issue was the question of whether the measure of differentiation from, and similarities to, earlier teen slashers exhibited by *Elm Street* amounted to an unremarkable case of textual development in full accordance with the regimes of invocation and differentiation underwriting cultural production or whether difference overwhelmed similarity to such a degree that *Elm Street* and the early teen slashers were best conceived of as distinctive contributions to media culture. This predicament was typically resolved by suggesting that the *Elm Street* films were at once affiliated with, and notably distinct from, early teen slashers — a form of rhetorical compromise that was encapsulated by phrases which proclaimed *Elm Street* to be, among other things, "not the typical slash-and-splatter thing".<sup>156)</sup> Driving this critical quandary was a sense of incompatibility characterizing the textual and extra-textual properties of a group of films released in the early 1980s and a prominent cluster of discourses which, after having orbited the films synchronically, remained audible across the decade. In short, the situation had arisen because of an irreconcilable tension between, on the one hand, the materiality of output and content, and on the other hand, the discursive phenomenon that this essay has called genre personae.

The analysis of New Line Cinema's handling of its *Elm Street* property presented above suggests that film historiography may benefit from paying greater scrutiny to the construction, dissemination, and appropriation of genre personae. By centralizing consideration of these misrepresentative discursive clusters, this essay has shown that New Line's handling of Brand *Elm Street* was driven by efforts to distinguish the property conceptually from an early teen slasher genre persona constructed around the films' misrepresentation as women-in-danger movies. Framing its property as High Concept, quality entertainment, and cult object, it has been argued, enabled New Line to insulate Brand *Elm Street* against comparisons to early teen slashers, even though the very acts of distinction

153) Lou Gaul, 'Freddy Krueger's popularity no nightmare', *Burlington County Times*, 23 October 1988, pp. D1, D3.

154) Ibid.

155) Hunt, "Nightmares", p. 23

156) Lovell, 'The "professor of horror films"', p. A1.

underwriting this practice often involved replicating textual and extra-textual dimensions of early teen slashers that had been obfuscated during the reconstruction of their genre persona. Paying close attention to genre personae also enabled this essay to expose a hitherto unacknowledged class dimension shaping the first successful repackaging of the American teen slasher film. Differentiating the new films from their generic antecedents involved reorienting class-associations away from the proletarian inflection of the early teen slasher genre persona towards a multifaceted vision of middle-class-belonging determined by economic factors and cultural orientations.

Bearing in mind that the case of Brand *Elm Street* reveals reception cultures (inside and outside of the academy) as well as industry-insiders have a vested interest in circulating misrepresentative images of certain films and groups of films, consideration of genre personae promises to develop understandings of genre as an industrial, aesthetic, and discursive phenomenon. In particular, consideration of genre personae promises to enrich both the currently dominant reception approach to genre, which examines critical and fan responses to, and use of, groups of films, as well as emergent industrially-focused production-content approaches to genre, which examine the dynamics of production trends, textual patterns, and output configurations. Reception studies' necessary distance from the discursive dynamics of reception cultures may be complemented by a comprehensive understanding of output and content. In addition, a deeper appreciation of the cultural politics shaping reception promises to enrich understandings of the economic forces driving production, content, distribution, and marketing. Crucially, the extent to which new insights gleaned from considering genre personae may mandate revision of existing genre histories will only be determined empirically. As this essay perhaps indicates, uncovering the extent to which genre personae and deliberate mischaracterization have shaped genre history, and, by extension, perceptions of media history more generally, requires extensive research, and fine-grained analysis of specific historical circumstances — examples of the midrange, piecemeal scholarship called for by David Bordwell and by Noël Carroll.<sup>157</sup>) In the absence of such research, the making of broader claims risks reproducing the very misrepresentations that the approach seeks to counter. Accordingly, while prevalent resource to textual models across the creative industries, coupled with a propensity in reception cultures for disseminating genre personae, suggests cases like New Line's handling of Brand *Elm Street* are not uncommon, elucidation will be restricted at this point to a case touched upon in the introduction to this essay.

The second successful effort to repackaging the American teen slasher film started, it turned out, in 1996 when *SCREAM* was green-lighted by Dimension Pictures, a subsidiary of Miramax films, which itself was a leading independent company that had struggled financially when New Line Cinema was developing into the market leading independent of its day thanks to Brand *Elm Street*.<sup>158</sup>) Dimension's handling of its *Scream* property exhib-

157) See David Bordwell, 'Contemporary film studies and the vicissitudes of Grand Theory'; Noël Carroll, 'Prospects for film theory: a personal assessment', both in *Post-Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 3–36; 37–70.

158) For discussion of the influence of New Line on Miramax and Dimension see Bradley Schauer, "Dimension Films and the exploitation tradition in contemporary Hollywood", *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, vol. 26, no. 5 (2009), pp. 393–405.



ited key similarities to New Line's handling of Brand *Elm Street*. Against the backdrop of a bold graphic of a hand covered mouth, SCREAM's poster warned that, in "[t]he highly acclaimed new thriller from Wes Craven", "[s]omeone has taken their love for scary movies one step too far". Declarations of quality and of fandom printed atop an uncomplicated composition, which recalled High Concept poster art, framed SCREAM as at once Hollywood fare, quality entertainment, and cult object. The invocation of these supra-generic discursive formations belonged to Dimension's broader efforts to differentiate SCREAM from the genre persona of a group of earlier films. Dialogue extracted from the film for use in audiovisual marketing materials made clear the nature of the films in question. "There all the same", a female youth mused, "some stupid killer stalking some big breasted girl [...]". Prominent among this group, other characters explained, were not only early teen slashers but also the *Elm Street* films. In much the same way as it had appropriated and cemented a genre persona that misrepresented the output of its competitors, including Miramax's debut effort *THE BURNING*, so was New Line Cinema subject to the very same practices, as invocation of its one-time tent-pole ensured that SCREAM stood to benefit from the blurring of discourse and materiality that publicists might have dubbed "the barrier between dreams and reality".

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#### Cited Films:

*April Fool's Day* (Fred Walton, 1986), *Avatar* (James Cameron, 2009), *Batman* (Tim Burton, 1989), *The Burning* (Tony Maylem, 1980), *Can't Buy Me Love* (Stev Rash, 1987), *Carrie* (Brian De Palma, 1976), *Commando* (Mark L. Lester, 1985), *Creepshow* (George A. Romero, 1982), *The Dead Zone* (David Cronenberg, 1983) *Dirty Dancing* (Emile Ardolino, 1987), *Dr. Butcher M.D.* (Marino Girolami, 1980), *Dracula* (Todd Browning, 1931), *Dressed to Kill* (Brian De Palma, 1980), *The Empire Strikes Back* (Irwin Kershner, 1980), *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial* (Stephen Spielberg, 1982), *The Evil Dead* (Sam Raimi, 1981), *The Exorcist* (William Friedkin, 1973), *Eyes of Laura Mars* (Irwin Kershner, 1978), *Fast Times at Ridgemont High* (Amy Heckerling, 1982), *Firestarter* (Mark L. Lester, 1984), *Flashdance* (Adrian Lyne, 1983), *Footloose* (Herbert Ross, 1984), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>* (Sean S. Cunningham, 1980), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>* (Marcus Nispel, 2009), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part 2* (Steve Miner, 1981), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part 3: 3D* (Steve Miner, 1982), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup>: The Final Chapter* (Joseph Zito, 1984), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part V: A New Beginning* (Danny Steinmann, 1985), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part VI: Jason Lives* (Tom McLoughlin, 1986), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part VII: The New Blood* (John Carl Buechler, 1988), *Friday the 13<sup>th</sup> Part VIII: Jason Takes Manhattan* (Rob Hedden, 1989), *Fright Night* (Tom Holland, 1985), *Halloween* (John Carpenter, 1978), *Happy Birthday to Me* (J. Lee. Thompson, 1981), *The Karate Kid* (John G. Avildsen, 1984), *Killer Party* (William Fruet, 1986), *The Hills Have Eyes* (Wes Craven, 1977), *Last House on the Left* (Wes Craven, 1971), *Maniac* (William Lustig, 1980), *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* (Joel Zwick, 2002), *My Bloody Valentine* (Patrick Lussier, 2008), *A Nightmare*

on *Elm Street* (Wes Craven, 1984), *A Nightmare on Elm Street Part 2: Freddy's Revenge* (Jack Sholder, 1985), *A Nightmare on Elm Street 3: Dream Warriors* (Chuck Russell, 1987), *A Nightmare on Elm Street 4: The Dream Master* (Renny Harlin, 1988), *A Nightmare on Elm Street 5: The Dream Child* (Stephen Hopkins, 1989), *Poltergeist* (Stephen Spielberg, 1982), *Pink Flamingos* (John Waters, 1972), *Pretty in Pink* (Howard Deutch, 1986), *Prom Night* (Paul Lynch, 1980), *Rambo: First Blood Part II* (George P. Cosmatos, 1985), *Reckless* (James Foley, 1984), *Return of the Jedi* (Richard Marquand, 1983), *Risky Business* (Paul Brickman, 1983), *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (Jim Sharman, 1975), *Schizoid* (David Paulsen, 1980), *Scream* (Wes Craven, 1996), *Scream 2* (Wes Craven, 1997), *Scream 3* (Wes Craven, 2000), *The Silence of the Lambs* (Jonathan Demme, 1991), *The Sixth Sense* (M. Night Shyamalan, 1999), *Spiderman* (Sam Raimi, 2002), *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977), *Terror Train* (Roger Spottiswoode, 1980), *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (Tobe Hooper, 1974), *Wargames* (John Badham, 1983).

## SUMMARY

**“Between Dreams and Reality”.**

*Genre Personae, Brand Elm Street, and Repackaging the American Teen Slasher Film*

Richard Nowell

This essay introduces the concept of “genre persona” — the notion that misleading discourses contribute to perceptions of film categories. It provides a revisionist account of New Line Cinema’s handling of its *A Nightmare on Elm Street* property that demonstrates the extent to which the industrial mobilization of genre personae enables product differentiation to be exaggerated. I show that this leading American independent producer-distributor went to great lengths to distinguish its flagship multimedia teen horror franchise from an earlier cycle of films about maniacs menacing young people. Central to New Line’s production and distribution strategies, I argue, was the invocation of that cycle’s genre persona, wherein constituent films such as *HALLOWEEN* (1978) and *FRIDAY THE 13TH* (1980) had been transformed discursively from anodyne youth market date-movies into insidious, misogynist sleaze. In so doing, the company was able to frame its own property as the quintessential Hollywood enterprise of the day, as a form of quality or art cinema, and as an example of cult media — three supra-generic formations that stood in binary opposition to the genre persona of the earlier films. The case of New Line’s conduct reveals that genre historiography as a whole may be enriched by confronting the extent to which misrepresentation shapes the circulation of categories of cultural product.





Sheldon Hall

## Carry On, Cowboy

### *Roast Beef Westerns*

For obvious reasons — lack of landscape, the pointlessness of competing with the Americans in a genre they invented, lack of British actors who looked good in the saddle — Britain's contribution to the Western has been on a par with Switzerland's contribution to naval warfare.<sup>1)</sup>

Paul Simpson

The chapter on "Westerns around the world" in Paul Simpson's survey book *The Rough Guide to Westerns* includes entries on a dozen countries or regions which have produced significant numbers of Westerns; yet Britain is the only country to attract this kind of mockery. Not surprisingly, Simpson is British, thus exemplifying the traditional national characteristics of self-deprecation and celebration of failure. The first point Simpson makes recalls one of the reasons François Truffaut gave to Alfred Hitchcock for what Truffaut notoriously saw as "a certain incompatibility between the terms 'cinema' and 'Britain' [...] there are national characteristics — among them, the English countryside, the subdued way of life, the stolid routine — that are antidramatic in a sense. The weather itself is uncinematic".<sup>2)</sup>

In his own reference book on the Western, Edward Buscombe makes a similar point when he discusses the way in which the genre has represented the English as an ethnic group:

There's something about the English that is inherently un-Western; or at least the cinema makes them so [...] not being settlers, like the Irish or the Swedes in John Ford's films, they never get to be fully at home in the West.<sup>3)</sup>

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1) Paul Simpson, *The Rough Guide to Westerns* (London: Rough Guides, 2006), p. 241.

2) François Truffaut, *Hitchcock* Revised Edition (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), p. 124.

3) Edward Buscombe (ed.), *The BFI Companion to the Western* (London: André Deutsch/BFI Publishing, 1988), p. 117.

Although Irish, Scottish, and Welsh frontier communities have been the subject of Hollywood Westerns, English pioneers have not. Even the Mayflower pilgrims of *PLYMOUTH ADVENTURE* (1952) are played mostly by American actors. The relatively few English characters to have appeared in the genre are typically comical outsiders belonging to the archetypes of the "dude" ("anyone who comes west just for fun", as Buscombe described him)<sup>4)</sup> or the "tenderfoot" or "greenhorn" (a newcomer or alien to the frontier West). Such figures, typically clad in inappropriate garb more suited to the urbane, urbanized East, may take the form of a prim butler (Charles Laughton in *RUGGLES OF RED GAP* /1935/), a florid travelling player (Alan Mowbray in both *MY DARLING CLEMENTINE* /1946/ and *WAGON MASTER* /1950/), an eccentric aristocrat (Roland Young in *RUGGLES OF RED GAP*), a seedy clergyman (David Warner in *THE BALLAD OF CABLE HOGUE* /1970/), or a self-pitying intellectual (John Hurt in *HEAVEN'S GATE* /1980/). Villains are of course another matter. Unsympathetic English-accented figures are encountered in Westerns with pre-Revolutionary settings (George Sanders in *ALLEGHENY UPRISING* /1939/) and films concerned with range wars and despotic cattle barons (Donald Crisp in *THE MAN FROM LARAMIE* /1955/; Alan Rickman in the Australian-set *QUIGLEY DOWN UNDER* [1990]). More gentlemanly British ranchers are represented by Crisp again in *SADDLE THE WIND* (1958) and by the paternalistic benefactor of Billy the Kid, usually named Henry Tunstall, played by various actors including Ian Hunter (*BILLY THE KID* /1941/), Colin Keith-Johnston (*THE LEFT HANDED GUN* /1958/), and Patric Knowles (*CHISUM* /1970/). *CHUKA* (1967), a minor but interesting Western, which emphasizes character motivation and back-story over action, features both John Mills and Louis Hayward as US Cavalry officers commanding a back-of-beyond fort, with the former having been cashiered for cowardice from the British Army in the Sudan. The novelty casting of John Cleese as a non-comedic English sheriff in *SILVERADO* (1985) creates expectations of the dude while delivering instead a heavy. These characters are, however, exceptions, and none of them occupies the major principal role in the film in which he appears.

Despite the handicap of their accents (sometimes suitably modified), two English-born actors did forge substantial careers as Western heroes. Ray Milland and Stewart Granger played leads in six and seven Westerns respectively (although three of Granger's films were European-produced). Granger also starred as a British Colonel in the final season (1970–71) of the television series *THE VIRGINIAN* (1962–1971), which was re-titled *THE MEN FROM SHILOH*. Tasmanian-born Errol Flynn starred in eight Westerns; but, while his Anglicized pronunciation never varies, none of his characters is identified clearly as English. One of those characters is George Armstrong Custer, in *THEY DIED WITH THEIR BOOTS ON* (1941), and it may have been the dandyish qualities of Custer that led to the casting in *CUSTER OF THE WEST* (1967) of British actor Robert Shaw. Accent is the downfall of Terence Stamp in the title role of *BLUE* (1968). While his character, the adopted son of a Mexican bandit, remains silent for the film's opening third, he exudes a mysterious, otherworldly quality, instantly dissipated when Stamp's first line of dialogue reveals a distracting tangle of artificial American burr and London East End Cockney. Only

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4) Ibid., p. 114.

Irishman Richard Harris has made a virtue of his immigrant Otherness, notably in *MAJOR DUNDEE* (1965), as the English lord turned Sioux warrior of *A MAN CALLED HORSE* (1970) and its sequels, and as "English Bob" in *UNFORGIVEN* (1992). The foregoing, however, are all American-produced films; and it is British productions that I mainly want to discuss here.

It may at first glance appear surprising that few scholars have written about the British Western when the Continental European Western has become so fashionable. Although they had a long pre-history, European-produced Westerns first made a significant international impact in the mid-1960s, most notably with *DER SCHATZ IM SILBERSEE* (AKA *THE TREASURE OF SILVER LAKE*), a co-production between West Germany, Yugoslavia, and France, in 1962 and with *PER UN PUGNO DI DOLLARI* (AKA *A FISTFUL OF DOLLARS*), a co-production between Italy, Spain, and West Germany, in 1964. Generally dismissed by reviewers at the time, especially in Anglophone countries, European Westerns have since been subjected to critical and cultural analysis which has established them as a legitimate development of the Western genre. Such films belong as much to European cultural traditions as to the American ones to which they refer, sometimes imitatively, sometimes ironically.<sup>5)</sup> Indeed, their very existence throws into relief those aspects of the Western which make it an exceptional, rather than an exemplary, genre: the particularity of its geographical and historical setting and its central thematic concern with the national identity of the United States.<sup>6)</sup>

Yet, in spite of all the attention paid to the Italian and, to a lesser extent, to the German Western, little notice has been taken of the British variety, aside from a few passing references in genre histories. The only sustained discussion of British Westerns I have found is online, notably a transcript of a talk given by Luke McKernan at the British Film Institute's Museum of the Moving Image in 1999. McKernan's paper is suggestive of some of the underlying reasons why British Westerns have not been discussed more widely. Although he claims that "the Western theme is an almost constant thread running through British film history", this observation stands at odds with his overriding point that "British Westerns are obviously a contradiction in terms. We don't have the West — we lost it in 1776, and no amount of pretending Australia or South Africa can act as substitutes will change the fact".<sup>7)</sup> McKernan argues that there is something incongruous about the very idea of

5) Major studies of the European Western include: Tim Bergfelder, *International Adventures: German Popular Cinema and International Co-Productions in the 1960s* (New York: Berghahn, 2004), pp. 172–206; Christopher Frayling, *Spaghetti Westerns: Cowboys and Europeans from Karl May to Sergio Leone* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981); Tassilo Schneider, 'Finding a New Heimat in the Wild West: Karl May and the German Western of the 1960s', in Edward Buscombe and Roberta F. Pearson (eds), *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western* (London: BFI Publishing, 1998), pp. 141–59; Laurence Staig and Tony Williams, *Italian Western: the Opera of Violence* (London: Lorrimer, 1975).

6) Steve Neale discusses the atypicality of the Western in Steve Neale, *Genre and Hollywood* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 133–42.

7) Luke McKernan, 'Cockney Cherokees on the sky-line', paper given at MoMI, London, 12 May 1999, pp. 1, 16; Luke McKernan, <<http://www.lukemckernan.com/cherokees.pdf>> [accessed 25 April 2012]. A version of this paper was previously published as 'Cherokee Cockney', *Bianco e Nero*, no. 3, 1997. McKernan's filmography of silent British Westerns is available at Brit Movies, <<http://www.britmovie.co.uk/forums/ask-film-question/86370-british-westerns-2.html>> [accessed 25 April 2012].

a British Western, which he suggests is not the case with the European Western, at least, not since its commercial success and later critical acceptance. McKernan cites Leslie Wood, a film historian writing in 1937, who drew attention to "the sense of absurdity that the British Western brought about" from its inception in the early silent era.<sup>8)</sup> McKernan provides a summary of the genre's chronological development along with a loose typology: "straight attempts at Westerns, adaptations of the Western milieu to British Empire settings, and parodies."<sup>9)</sup> I have adapted and built on these categories while adding considerably to the films he lists as examples.<sup>10)</sup>

In the account that follows — which should be taken as a scouting of the territory, not an attempt at a definitive study — I concentrate on what I consider to be the British Western's three main phases of development in the sound era, each of which reveals distinct patterns and characteristics: (1) a disparate group of films made between the late 1930s and the mid-1960s, many of which are pseudo-Westerns set in various parts of the British Empire; (2) an intensive period of production between 1968 and 1973, with many "cosmopolitan" Westerns aimed at the international market, along with a few late stragglers in the late 1970s and 1980s; (3) a number of films that have been produced since the early 1990s, with a similarly multinational production base but a more eclectic approach to the genre. Parodies and comedies occur in all three phases and it is with these that I begin. Unlike "straight" dramatic films, parodies and comedies are able not only to acknowledge but to capitalize on what McKernan and others claim to be the basic incongruity of the British — or, more precisely, the English — Western. Questions of cultural and aesthetic value raised by scholars in relation to British cinema often hinge on notions of national identity and cultural specificity. Comedic and parodic Westerns, along with imperial and colonial adventures, provide some scope for discussion along these lines, but it is the relative absence of traces of Britishness from the international and multinational productions that has contributed to their neglect by critics. There are, however, other reasons, which have more to do with the quality of the films themselves, and I conclude by considering the nature of the "badness" which is often (with some justice) imputed to British Westerns.

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8) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

9) *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.

10) McKernan concentrates particularly on films made in Britain during the silent period; there were some forty-five of these, dating from as early as 1901 and with a particular burst of activity between 1908 and 1913. Only six of the films are known to survive: *THE INDIAN CHIEF AND THE SEIDLITZ POWDER* (1901); *THE SQUATTER'S DAUGHTER* (1906); *FLY ANN* (1907); *FATE* (1911); *THE SCAPEGRACE* (1913); *LITTLE BROTHER OF GOD* (1922). Although I have viewed some eighty films when researching this article, I have not seen any of the silents and interested readers are therefore referred to McKernan's illuminating discussion.



## Comedies and Parodies

If in fact westerns have been shot in France against the landscapes of the Camargue, one can only see in this an additional proof of the popularity and healthiness of a genre that can survive counterfeiting, pastiche, or even parody.<sup>11)</sup>

André Bazin

THE FROZEN LIMITS (1939), RAMSBOTTOM RIDES AGAIN (1956), and THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW (1958) are Western comedies. CARRY ON COWBOY (1966) is a Western parody. The distinction lies in the manner in which Western elements are deployed in each type of film. The first three films introduce comedic elements (the English characters) into a Western setting which is itself played essentially straight. The fourth subjects the conventions of the Western to a burlesque treatment, much like the other genre spoofs in the "Carry On" series' "middle period".<sup>12)</sup> In all four films the central joke is the contrast of manners between tenderfoot newcomers to a frontier community and the rough-hewn locals (including stereotyped Indians of the 'How!' variety). In THE FROZEN LIMITS, the Crazy Gang are a theatre troupe in gold-rush-era Alaska; in RAMSBOTTOM RIDES AGAIN Arthur Askey plays a provincial publican who inherits property in Canada; in THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW Kenneth More stars as a shotgun salesman (Figure 1), and in CARRY ON COWBOY Jim Dale plays a sanitary engineer, both attempting to ply their trade in a Western township (respectively, Fractured Jaw and Stodge City) before becoming lawmen. Such situations are often described as "fish-out-of-water" tales but, in relation to the Western genre, they might more accurately be termed dude narratives.<sup>13)</sup> CARRY ON COWBOY also belongs to a long tradition in British popular culture of Western parodies, including an episode of the BBC radio series *Beyond Our Ken* (1958–64) entitled "Tunbridge Wells Fargo"; Benny Hill's chart-topping 1971 song (and accompanying video) "Ernie (the Fastest Milkman in the West)"; a 1975 episode of the TV show THE GOODIES (1970–1981) entitled "Bunfight at the O.K. Tea Rooms"; a 1984 episode of THE COMIC STRIP PRESENTS... (1982–2011) called "A Fistful of Travellers' Cheques"; Alex Cox's punk Western STRAIGHT TO HELL (1987); and Edgar Wright's semi-professional directorial debut A FISTFUL OF FINGERS (1995). In each of the last three examples, the object of parody is specifically the Italian Western, the form in which the genre is best known to contemporary audiences.

Little of the comedy in THE FROZEN LIMITS derives specifically from its Western setting, although the film's best joke (a reference to the recently-filmed operetta ROSE-MARIE) concerns the Mounties' slowness in riding to the rescue because they insist on singing about "always getting their man". RAMSBOTTOM RIDES AGAIN, THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED

11) André Bazin, 'The Western: or the American film *par excellence*', translated in *What Is Cinema? Volume II* (ed. Hugh Gray, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971 [1953]), p. 142.

12) On the "Carry On" genre spoof cycle, see Nicholas J. Cull, 'Camping on the borders: history, identity and Britishness in the "Carry On" costume parodies, 1963–74', in Claire Monk and Amy Sargeant (eds), *British Heritage Cinema* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 92–109.

13) The British production *Africa — Texas Style* (1967) is a reverse fish-out-of-water tale, involving two American cowboys rounding up animals on an East African game reserve.



Fig. 1. *The Sheriff of Fractured Jaw* (directed by Raoul Walsh, 1958).

JAW, and CARRY ON COWBOY hew more closely to the pattern established by THE LAMB (1915), DESTRY RIDES AGAIN (1939), and THE PALEFACE (1948), in which an apparent milquetoast proves his mettle.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the plot of RAMSBOTTOM RIDES AGAIN (of which I have only been able to view fragments) parallels both DESTRY and SON OF PALEFACE (1952), in which the comic lead is a descendant of an authentic town-taming hero whose exploits and masculine example he must learn to match; however, rather than reticence, cowardice, or incompetence, the British films play heavily on the typically-English qualities of their dudes. When his stagecoach is attacked by Indians in THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW, Jonathan Tibbs (More) remarks disapprovingly: "Someone should definitely have a word with these natives". As the soundtrack strikes up "Rule Britannia", he strolls up to the Chief, taps him on the shoulder with his rolled-up umbrella, and chats politely with him before they shake hands to seal the truce. In a roughhouse saloon, Tibbs orders a glass of sherry, "very dry", followed by a pot of tea and a chicken sandwich. He prefers whist to poker and later employs his Native American blood brother as a butler. Tibbs' patrician confidence and imperturbable civility clearly are modeled on Jules Verne's archetypal Englishman Phileas Fogg, who, in AROUND THE WORLD IN EIGHTY DAYS (filmed in 1956), also journeyed through the Wild West.

These films also depend on other specifically British modes of humor, in particular various forms of wordplay such as the Crazy Gang's crosstalk and tortuous puns, the CARRY ON team's alternately corny and bawdy innuendo, and the common use of British

14) A milquetoast is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a "timid, submissive or ineffectual person, a milksop". *Oxford English Dictionary*, <<http://www.oed.com>> [accessed 29 April 2012].

slang terms. In *THE FROZEN LIMITS*, Chesney Allen and Bud Flanagan discuss the Gang's destination:

Ches: Hey, where is this Yukon?  
 Bud: It's in, er, I'll-get-her-to-tell-me.  
 Ches: It's in I'll-get-her-to-tell-me?  
 Bud: Er, I'll-take-it-up-with-the-old-woman.  
 Ches: I'll-take-it-up-with-the-old-woman?  
 Bud: Yes, I'll-ask-her —  
 Together: Alaska, Alaska, oi!

In *CARRY ON COWBOY*, Judge Burke (Kenneth Williams) and the Doc (Peter Butterworth) introduce the former character thus:

Judge: I'm Judge Burke, the mayor.  
 Doc: That's right. Judge's folks founded Stodge City, Marshal.  
 Judge: My great-grandfather came over here on the Mayflower. He was the original Burke. Married into the Wright family and became a Wright-Burke.  
 Doc: The whole family are right berks, Marshal.<sup>15)</sup>

This flaunted Englishness occurs despite the fact that, in all of the films except for *THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW*, the frontier townsfolk are played mostly by British actors who affect, with varying degrees of conviction, American accents. They include Bernard Lee, clad in lumberjack cap and zip-up jacket, as the heavy in *THE FROZEN LIMITS*, and Sidney James (South African-born but British by association), fulfilling the same function in both *RAMSBOTTOM RIDES AGAIN* and *CARRY ON COWBOY* (James also appears in *THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW* as a drunken stagecoach passenger). When the gormless Marshal Marshall P. Knutt (Dale) attempts to apprehend the Rumpo Kid (James) — whose henchmen include Short and Curly — the following exchange ensues:

Knutt: It seems that last night Colonel Houston's ranch was raided again by rust-  
 lers.<sup>16)</sup>  
 Rumpo: What's that got to do with me?  
 Knutt: I think it's got a lot to do with you. They got away with forty cows.  
 Rumpo: Bullocks ...  
 Knutt: I know what I'm talking about!

*THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW* is the only one of the four films not to have been shot entirely in Britain. It was shot in Spain, in contrast to the other films wherein both budgetary considerations and a lack of concern for precise verisimilitude confined them to stu-

15) Non-UK readers who struggle to see the jokes may take that as evidence of their Anglocentricity.

16) Jim Dale's own speech impediment, which causes him to pronounce his "r"s as "w"s, gives this line a particular piquancy.

dio sets and a few neighboring exteriors. Certainly little care was taken to disguise the Buckinghamshire locations of *CARRY ON COWBOY*, with its overcast skies, country-walk trails, and rain-damp dust. The music-hall origins of the "Carry On" films allow them to take other liberties with credibility. Indian Chief Big Heap (Charles Hawtrey) speaks in the same camp manner and with the same English accent that characterized Hawtrey's numerous other appearances in the "Carry On" series. He also wears the same round, wire-rimmed spectacles. It is precisely this cozy familiarity that Roland Barthes, of all unlikely cultural commentators, celebrates in his analysis of the "Carry On" universe as a Utopian space of comfort and reassurance, comparable to a children's nursery and its games of let's-pretend.<sup>17)</sup>

It seems fitting, then, that Edgar Wright's *A FISTFUL OF FINGERS* should be a film actually made, if not by a gang of children, then by a group of post-adolescent art college students. As Wright later noted, the fact that "it's all 18-year-olds pretending to be badass Americans" provides the film with its central conceit, similar to Alan Parker's (British-produced) gangster pastiche *BUGSY MALONE* (1976). *A FISTFUL OF FINGERS* shares with Wright's subsequent films *SHAUN OF THE DEAD* (2004) and *HOT FUZZ* (2007) the premise of a disjunction between the foreignness of the generic conventions invoked and the prosaic quaintness of the English surroundings (Wells, Somerset, rather than Apache Wells, Arizona). Wright remarked of proposals to remake his later films and the TV series *SPACED* (1999–2001) in Hollywood: "Surely there's nothing charming about watching American slackers act out American films? Surely the charm of it is that people are in a North London pub recreating scenes from *THE MATRIX*? Doing it within its own country doesn't really mean anything."<sup>18)</sup> Such cultural disjunctions are central to the comic Western; with colonial and imperial adventure films it is cultural coincidences with the Western that will initially concern us in the following section.

### Colonial and Imperial "Westerns"

Unlike that concerning the British Western proper, critical literature on films about the British Empire is extensive. Numerous writers have drawn attention to the resemblances between imperial or colonial adventure films and the Western, often arguing that the former is the generic equivalent of the latter and that it serves a similar set of ideological functions: "themes such as the expansion of the frontier, the taming of a wilderness and

17) Roland Barthes, 'The Nautilus and the Nursery' (trans. Gilbert Adair), *Sight and Sound*, vol. 54, no. 2, (Spring 1985), pp. 130–2.

18) Interviewed in Nick Dawson, 'Edgar Wright, "Hot Fuzz"', *Filmmaker: the Magazine of Independent Film*, 20 April 2007. *Filmmaker: The Magazine of Independent Film*, <<http://www.filmmakermagazine.com/news/2007/04/edgar-wright-hot-fuzz/>> [accessed 25 April 2012]. The pub around which the action in *SHAUN OF THE DEAD* revolves is called the Winchester, after the rifle; a quintessentially Western weapon that figures prominently in the film.

19) James Chapman, 'Action, spectacle and the *Boy's Own* tradition in British cinema', in Robert Murphy (ed.), *The British Cinema Book* Second Edition (London: BFI Publishing, 2001), p. 218. On the relationship between British colonial and imperial films and the Western, see also Raymond Durnat, *A Mirror for England: British Movies from Austerity to Affluence* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), pp. 77–83; Marcia Landy, *British*



the triumph of white culture over barbarism are common to both".<sup>19)</sup> This comparison overlooks important differences between the genres, not only in terms of narrative and iconography, but also in relation to the different colonial experiences they dramatize and from which many of their particular conventions spring. Indeed, distinctions can be drawn within the "Commonwealth" adventure film itself, partly on the basis of the colonies or territories in which stories are set and the specific issues arising from them. The most important distinction is between stories set in the Dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) and those set elsewhere in the British Empire (particularly India and North and East Africa). The central distinguishing factor is of course race, along with the narrative and ideological roles played by the agents of British colonial rule and especially by the military.

British adventure films set in the Dominions are often modeled directly on the narrative structures of American Westerns: the building of the Canadian Pacific railroad in *THE GREAT BARRIER* (1937); a hazardous cattle drive in *THE OVERLANDERS* (1946); a gold rush in *EUREKA STOCKADE* (1949); an untamed township in *DIAMOND CITY* (1949); territorial rivalry over land and water rights in *BITTER SPRINGS* (1950) and *CAMPBELL'S KINGDOM* (1957); fortune hunters falling out over loot and a woman in *THE ADVENTURERS* (1951); pioneer settlers fighting hostile natives in *THE SEEKERS* (1954) and *THE TRAP* (1966); outlaw bands as either romantic antiheroes in *ROBBERY UNDER ARMS* (1957) and *NED KELLY* (1970) or as antisocial scum in *THE HELLIONS* (1961). The point can be extended to a film such as *THE SUNDOWNERS* (1960), which was produced in Britain by an American company (Warner Bros.) and shot partially on location in Australia. The film has comparatively few narrative elements in common with the Western but shares its central thematic core: an oppositional tension between the desire to settle and to wander.

The notion of the relationship between British adventure films and Westerns being determined by more than narrative similarities is set out by Peter Limbrick in a discussion of Ealing Studios' trilogy of Australian "Westerns": *THE OVERLANDERS*, *EUREKA STOCKADE*, and *BITTER SPRINGS*.<sup>20)</sup> Limbrick demonstrates persuasively that *THE OVERLANDERS* in particular was conceived by its director, Harry Watt, and received by contemporaneous critics, as, to use Charles Barr's term, a "quasi-Western".<sup>21)</sup> For Limbrick, both the American and the Australian Western are instances of a type of narrative form common to all cultures with a "settler colonial" past, including the other Dominions. This phenomenon can also be seen in films produced by these territories' own national film industries, such as the Afrikaans epics *DIE VOORTREKKERS* (1916) and *THEY BUILT A NATION* (1938), with their Boer wagon trains attacked by Zulus, as well as in American-produced films such as

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*Film Genres: Cinema and Society, 1930–1960* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 97–117; Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 100–177; Sarah Street, *British National Cinema* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 43–46; Christine Geraghty, *British Cinema in the Fifties: Gender, Genre and the "New Look"* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 116–8.

20) Peter Limbrick, 'The Australian Western, or a settler colonial cinema *par excellence*,' *Cinema Journal*, vol. 46, no. 4 (Summer 2007), pp. 68–95.

21) Charles Barr, *Ealing Studios* Third Edition (Moffat: Cameron & Hollis, 1998), p. 64. Raymond Durnat refers to Harry Watt's *WHERE NO VULTURES FLY* (1951) as a "game reservation 'Western'". See Durnat, *A Mirror for England*, p. 79. On Watt's *EUREKA STOCKADE*, see *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

UNTAMED (1955) and THE FIERCEST HEART (1961), both of which feature similar situations.<sup>22)</sup>

There remain, however, elements of imperial cinema that cannot be equated quite so easily to the conventions of the American Western. This is most clearly the case with adventure films set in India and North and East Africa, which concern, not pioneer settlers, but the British Army and other official agencies of colonial government. Typically, such films involve a native uprising in which the white male hero proves his courage and fortitude by helping to suppress the rebellion. Examples include SANDERS OF THE RIVER (1935), THE DRUM (1938), THE FOUR FEATHERS (1939), the latter's remake STORM OVER THE NILE (1955), NORTH WEST FRONTIER (1959), and EAST OF SUDAN (1964). Two relatively late entries provide significant variations on the genre: THE LONG DUEL (1967), in which a native rebel is himself the hero, who leads a just revolt against colonialist oppression; and THE BRIGAND OF KANDAHAR (1965), in which a mixed-race army officer joins an Indian outlaw band after he is falsely accused of cowardice — a charge triggered by his affair with the wife of a white officer. THE BRIGAND OF KANDAHAR is a reworking of *King of the Khyber Rifles*, a 1916 novel by Talbot Mundy that was twice filmed in Hollywood, in which the Anglo-Indian Captain King is torn between his sense of duty to a British establishment (several of whose officers are represented as racist) and his sense of loyalty to a colonized people.<sup>23)</sup> In all of these films, the hero is (unsurprisingly given the period in which they were made) played by a white actor, irrespective of the character's race.<sup>24)</sup> All of the films are also concerned with the legitimacy of British governance, and, at some point, establish their position on this issue. This may be done non-verbally, through action and through the figure of the hero himself, who embodies the virtues of the British ruling class. As Jeffrey Richards has noted, one of the defining features of the genre is therefore the Britishness of the hero and the qualities of the national character he represents.<sup>25)</sup>

The military adventure nevertheless has its affinities to the Cavalry Western, which also deals with the imposition of order on an indigenous population, often represented as hostile and rebellious (with or without justification). The "pro-Indian" Western of the 1950s became the anti-Cavalry Western of the 1960s and 1970s, represented by such films as CHEYENNE AUTUMN (1964), A DISTANT TRUMPET (1964), LITTLE BIG MAN (1970), and

22) For discussion of these and other South African-set films, see Peter Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996).

23) The first of the American versions, THE BLACK WATCH (1929), was directed by John Ford and starred Victor McLaglen, both of whom subsequently made the Rudyard Kipling adaptation WEE WILLIE WINKIE (1937), also set on India's North West frontier. McLaglen, who invariably played Irishmen for Ford, was born in Scotland. The Westerns directed by his son, Andrew V. McLaglen, evince a second-generation nostalgia for Scottishness every bit as sentimental as Ford's for Irishness.

24) As late as 1978, a remake of THE FOUR FEATHERS could boast the credit "and Richard Johnson as Abou Fatma".

25) On the British imperial adventure and the character of the hero see: Jeffrey Richards, *Visions of Yesterday* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 2–220; Jeffrey Richards, "Patriotism with profit": British imperial cinema in the 1930s, in James Curran and Vincent Porter (eds), *British Cinema History* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), pp. 245–56; Jeffrey Richards, 'Boy's own empire: feature films and imperialism in the 1930s', in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp. 140–64; Jeffrey Richards, *Films and British National Identity: From Dickens to "Dad's Army"* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 31–81; Andrew Spicer, *Typical Men: the Representation of Masculinity in Popular British Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), pp. 68–71.

SOLDIER BLUE (1970). It was in this context, that ZULU (1964) and its prequel ZULU DAWN (1979) were produced. ZULU in particular has regularly been described as a "Welsh Western".<sup>26</sup> Its climax, in which the Welsh defenders of Rorke's Drift sing "Men of Harlech" to counter enemy war chants, is anticipated by APACHE DRUMS (1951), in which Welsh settlers do the same thing albeit in the Welsh language. Although ZULU and ZULU DAWN are both examples of the imperial narrative discussed above, neither film articulates an affirmative reason for the British presence in South Africa. In the former, skepticism is expressed through the querulous attitudes of the lower ranks, which nevertheless hold the line and withstand a massive Zulu assault. In ZULU DAWN, the imperial project is roundly defeated with the massacre of the British forces in what is shown as an unjust war that has been started by the colonial governor. These and the other imperial adventure films demonstrate the pressure attendant upon the theme of the British colonial presence in an alien land.

Even the earliest colonial adventure films were made in the context of political challenges to the legitimacy of the British Empire, and they therefore continually address that issue in one way or another. In the American Western, on the other hand, the legitimacy of white rule, and indeed the presence of white civilization on the North American continent, is a given. While the morality of the US government's and the Cavalry's treatment of Indians is often at issue, neither the right of the government to rule nor the authority of the Cavalry to maintain the peace has to be articulated or defended. Unlike the British Empire, the American Empire remains in existence. Whereas assent to the validity of white colonial rule can therefore be assumed in the Western, in the imperial adventure it is always contested even when it is ultimately upheld. In this respect, then, the imperial "Western" is quite unlike its nominal model and deserves separate analysis. In the next section, I consider a group of films aimed specifically at resembling the American and Continental European Western.

### International and Multinational Westerns

When shooting a western in Spain one should not say to oneself, "Never mind, no one is going to see it", because that will be just the film which the Rank Organisation will choose to release in England.<sup>27</sup>

James Mason

I have already mentioned that 1958's THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW was shot in Spain. According to *Variety*, it was in fact the first Western to be made in that country; however,

26) On ZULU's relationships to the Western see: Christopher Sharrett, 'Zulu, or the Limits of Liberalism', *Cineaste*, vol. 25, no. 4 (2000), pp. 28–33; Stephen Bourne, 'Secrets and lies: black histories and British historical films', and Sheldon Hall, 'Monkey feathers: defending Zulu', both in Monk and Sargeant, *British Heritage Cinema*, pp. 47–65, 110–28; Robert Shail, 'Stanley Baker's "Welsh Western": masculinity and cultural identity in Zulu', *Cyfrwng: Media Wales Journal*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2004), pp. 11–25; James Chapman, *Past and Present: National Identity and the British Historical Film* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), pp. 199–227.

27) Quoted in Bernard Gordon, *Hollywood Exile, or How I Learned to Love the Blacklist* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), p. 257. The film Mason had in mind was BAD MAN'S RIVER, produced by Gordon, which was released on Rank's Odeon circuit in 1972.

the regular filming of Westerns on Spanish locations (especially in the remote Almeria region, with its mountains, canyons, and desert plains) did not begin in earnest until *THE SAVAGE GUNS* (1961) became, in the trade paper's words, "the first Western fully fabricated in Spain".<sup>28)</sup> Partly because of its low labor costs and its diverse landscapes, Spain was often used by British and American companies as a cheap substitute for other settings in costume epics such as *THE BLACK KNIGHT* (1954), *ALEXANDER THE GREAT* (1956), and *SOLOMON AND SHEBA* (1959), and indeed the imperial adventure films *NORTH WEST FRONTIER* and *THE LONG DUEL*. Like many European countries, including Britain, Spain imposed fiscal trade barriers limiting the amount of pesetas that could be taken out of the country by foreign companies. The remaining blocked or "frozen" funds could be used only to purchase Spanish goods or to pay for services provided in the country, such as those relating to film production.<sup>29)</sup>

*THE SHERIFF OF FRACTURED JAW* was made by British independent producer Daniel M. Angel for release through Twentieth Century-Fox. Its director (Raoul Walsh) and screenwriter (blacklistee Howard Dimsdale, working under the pseudonym Arthur Dales) were Americans, as were co-star Jayne Mansfield and several supporting actors, although top-billed Kenneth More and key crew members were all British. *THE SAVAGE GUNS* was produced and directed by Michael Carreras, executive producer for Hammer Films, who formed an American company, Capricorn, so that the film could be made as a co-production with the Spanish outfit Tecisa Films for release through MGM. The stars of *THE SAVAGE GUNS* (Richard Basehart, Don Taylor, and Alex Nicol) and its screenwriter (Edmund Morris) were American, but most other members of its cast and crew were Spanish. Fox's and MGM's frozen peseta revenues were used respectively to fund the two films, which were not only the harbingers of the Spanish-filmed Western — of which hundreds followed in the 1960s and 1970s — but typical instances of cosmopolitan productions of the period, made with international audiences in mind and utilizing talent, labor, and finance drawn from several countries. The "statelessness" of much popular cinema in this period is due partly to prevailing economic conditions: single, dual, or multiple nationality status (which earned participation in state subsidy or tax benefit schemes) often depended on the national origins of cast and crew as much as it did on financing. The need to expand audiences at a time of declining theatrical attendance also motivated the production of types of film with a track-record of international appeal. In this respect, Europeans filled a gap in the market that had been left by the decline in numbers of American Westerns (caused by the profusion of Western television series) by seeking to capitalize on demand for Westerns outside the US: *THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN* (1960), perhaps the most influential Hollywood film in terms of the Western's subsequent development, earned rentals of only \$2.5m in the US and Canada but \$9m overseas.<sup>30)</sup>

British producers were slow to join the Continental rush to make Westerns in the wake of *A FISTFUL OF DOLLARS* (which was not released in the UK until 1967, some three years

28) Anon., 'Spain's bargain-basement Westerns; British started it there in 1958', *Variety*, 2 October 1963, p. 19.

29) See for example Hank Werba, 'Blocked pesetas foreseen as hypo to Yank film-making in Spain', *Variety*, 5 November 1958, p. 18.

30) Anon., 'Spain current world sagebrush pic capital; a legacy of Leone oaters', *Variety*, 15 July 1970, p. 24.



after it had opened in Italy). Between 1968 and 1973, however, around twenty Westerns were made with significant British involvement at the level of production.<sup>31)</sup> The first of these films, and the one that displays most tangibly its Anglo-European credentials, was *SHALAKO* (1968), which was produced by Euan Lloyd. Lloyd acquired a free option on the novel of the same name by Louis L'Amour, raising financing partly through international pre-sales. This method of selling a film to distributors in advance of production had been pioneered for big-budget epics by Dino De Laurentiis and Samuel Bronston and remains common today. Territorial deals with thirty-six distributors around the world, among them Cinerama Releasing Corporation in the US and Anglo Amalgamated in the UK, provided bank guarantees to cover the cost of *SHALAKO*, which was reported to have been either \$4m or \$5.1m, including a record \$1.2m payment to lead actor Sean Connery. This fee was equal to the original budget for the entire picture before Connery came aboard; the star was also entitled to thirty percent of the film's profits. The rest of the cast was filled with other bankable name players, including the French Brigitte Bardot, the German Peter van Eyck, the Northern Irish Stephen Boyd, the Canadian Alexander Knox, and the English Jack Hawkins, Honor Blackman, and Eric Sykes. The director, Edward Dmytryk, was American; but the most prominent US actor, African-American Woody Strode (playing an Indian), was only billed tenth. The multinational cast was justified not only by the pre-sales arrangement but also by the story, which concerns a party of European aristocrats engaged in a hunting expedition to the Wild West and falling foul of Apaches. Connery plays a former Cavalry scout who comes to their aid, and while he does not noticeably affect an American accent, his character's national origin is unspecified. Although *SHALAKO* was initially set to be filmed in Mexico, the devaluation of the Mexican peso led to the film's being shot in Almeria instead. Only a modest box-office performer in the US, it fared sufficiently well internationally to turn a profit.<sup>32)</sup> In 1970, Lloyd formed Frontier Films with the intention of making additional L'Amour adaptations, including a TV series (unrealized). From a projected total of seven feature films, only two were completed: *CATLOW* (1971), costing \$2 million and starring Yul Brynner and Richard Crenna; and *THE MAN CALLED NOON* (1973), costing \$1.5 million and starring Crenna and Stephen Boyd. Whereas eighty-five British technicians had been recruited to work on *SHALAKO*, the majority of the crew on *CATLOW* and *THE MAN CALLED NOON* was Spanish, helping to keep down budgets and, in the case of "Noon", facilitating Spanish nationality status despite the presence of British director Peter Collinson. Lloyd and Collinson's plans to make a Western horror film, *JACK THE RIPPER GOES WEST*, fell through however, when they were beaten to the draw by a similar American production, *A KNIFE FOR THE LADIES* (1974).<sup>33)</sup>

31) I have taken an elastic rather than a legalistic view of what constitutes a British production, and have included all films in which a British-based company or a substantial proportion of British personnel were involved at a creative, practical, or financial level.

32) Anon., 'Sean Connery key to \$4-mil co-prod. between Mex film bank, British firm', *Variety*, 21 June 1967, p. 5; Anon., 'Connery winning salary sweepstakes with \$1,200,000 in cash for "Shalako"', *Variety*, 3 April 1968, p. 27; Anon., 'Euan Lloyd's coin tactics on "Shalako"; area rights clue', *Variety*, 5 February 1969, pp. 5, 26; Army Archerd, 'Just for Variety', *Daily Variety*, 11 December 1969, p. 2; Mac McSharry and Terry Hine, 'Euan Lloyd: the ties that Bond, part 2: the way west', *Cinema Retro*, vol. 1, no. 2 (May 2005), pp. 38–45.

33) Peter Resas, 'Indie prod. Euan Lloyd, pioneer in distrib financing, mourns its decline', *Variety*, 2 June 1971, p. 24; Peter Resas, 'Lloyd's "Noon" wins credit as wholly Spanish pic despite o'seas backing', *Variety*,

Other London-based makers of Westerns included both expatriate Americans and native Britons. Euan Lloyd had begun his career as a producer working for Warwick Film Productions, a company owned jointly by Irving Allen and Albert R. Broccoli, with funding by the British arm of Hollywood's Columbia Pictures. After the partnership broke up, Allen's first solo production in 1961 was the South African "Western" *THE HELLIONS*. Later in the decade, Allen made *THE DESPERADOS* (1969), a post-Civil War Western with a cast including Jack Palance and Sylvia Syms. Walter Shenson, the American producer of The Beatles' first two films, made *A TALENT FOR LOVING* (1969), a comedy Western starring Richard Widmark, for release through Paramount Pictures. Ultimately, Paramount elected not to distribute *A TALENT FOR LOVING* and the same studio also shelved Harry Alan Towers' *THE CALL OF THE WILD* (1972), a five-nation co-production that had been filmed in Norway with a cast headlined by Charlton Heston. But Paramount did release two other Westerns produced by small British companies. *HANNIE CAULDER* (1971) was made by Tigon British Film Productions, which generally specialized in horror and exploitation pictures. Hollywood veteran Burt Kennedy directed Raquel Welch in the title role, with a cast including Christopher Lee, Diana Dors, and an uncredited Stephen Boyd.<sup>34)</sup> *CHARLEY-ONE-EYE* (1972) was directed by Briton Don Chaffey and starred Richard Roundtree, Roy Thinnes, and Nigel Davenport. It was made by David Paradine Productions, a company that had been formed by broadcaster David Frost to supply programs (mainly featuring Frost himself) to television stations, but which also produced several theatrical films. Richard Harris and his American producing partner Sanford "Sandy" Howard made *MAN IN THE WILDERNESS* (1971) for release by Warner Bros. Starring Harris with a primarily British cast and crew, it was filmed in Spain with editing, dubbing, and scoring executed in the UK.<sup>35)</sup>

While most of the other films just mentioned were also made in Spain, some producers looked further afield for Western locations, including to America itself. Writer/producer Carl Foreman, resident in London since the early 1950s, reassembled several of his collaborators from *THE GUNS OF NAVARONE* (1961), including director J. Lee Thompson and actors Gregory Peck and Anthony Quayle, to film *MACKENNA'S GOLD* (1969) in Arizona and Oregon, although postproduction was again carried out in Britain. *THE McMASTERS* (1970), filmed in New Mexico, was described by *Variety* as "possibly the first American Western financed by a British company, Dimitri de Grunwald's London Screenplays".<sup>36)</sup> In a further instance of what *Variety* called "reverse runaway" production, Michael Winner directed and produced *LAWMAN* (1971) for his company Scimitar Films and United Artists in Durango, Mexico, at a cost of \$3.4m. He then went to Spain to make

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4 December 1972, p. 30; Anon., 'Opening up the west', *Films Illustrated*, vol. 1, no. 10 (April 1972), p. 35; Unnumbered Display Ads, *Variety*, 9 May 1973, p. 168; Anon., 'Cannes closings for Euan Lloyd; set world distrib deal on "Ripper"', *Variety*, 23 May 1973, p. 24; Unnumbered Display Ads, *Variety*, 4 July 1973, p. 23; McSharry and Hine, 'Euan Lloyd'.

34) Boyd claimed that he played the same character in *SHALAKO*, *HANNIE CAULDER*, and *A Man Called Noon*: "It doesn't matter what name the script gives him: it is fun to develop him over the years". Quoted in Anon., 'Stephen Boyd: Giving Up Gratefully', *Films Illustrated*, vol. 3, no. 28 (October 1973), p. 136.

35) Peter Resas, 'Filmmaking boom in Spain', *Variety*, 17 February 1971, p. 34.

36) Robe., 'The McMasters', *Daily Variety*, 17 June 1970, p. 3. Russian-born, de Grunwald had co-produced *SHALAKO* among other pictures.

CHATO'S LAND (1972) in Almeria for \$1.7m. Winner estimated that both films would have cost \$1m more apiece to shoot in the US because of studio overheads and union rates.<sup>37)</sup>

Financial considerations invariably determined where a film was shot, and often the composition of its cast and crew. Films made in Commonwealth countries counted as British productions for quota purposes and were also eligible for a subsidy under the government's Eady Plan.<sup>38)</sup> This applied, for instance, in the case of *THE CANADIANS* (1961), Burt Kennedy's directorial debut for Twentieth Century-Fox, which was shot on location in Canada and completed in London.<sup>39)</sup> Norman Jewison and Ted Kotcheff, themselves Canadians, formed a London-based company, Algonquin, to make *BILLY TWO HATS* (1973) for release by United Artists.<sup>40)</sup> Produced by Jewison and directed by Kotcheff, with a script by Scottish screenwriter Alan Sharp (who also wrote *THE HIRED HAND* [1971], *ULZANA'S RAID* [1972], and *ROB ROY* [1995]), *BILLY TWO HATS* starred Gregory Peck as a Scottish outlaw. Asked why the picture, which was set in Arizona, had been shot in Israel, Peck replied: "If I had as good an offer from Cairo, I'd be filming in Egypt right now".<sup>41)</sup>

Benmar Productions was formed in 1970 as a subsidiary of Scotia Investments, a British leisure finance group, whose driving force was real-estate tycoon Robert Marmor. Benmar's films were distributed worldwide by Scotia International; its board of directors included producer S. Benjamin Fisz and screenwriter Philip Yordan. The company's Spanish production operations were supervised by another American screenwriter, Bernard Gordon. Both Gordon, a former blacklistee, and Yordan had long been active in Europe. The pair had collaborated on a number of films, including several for Samuel Bronston and for the widescreen roadshow company Cinerama, among which was *CUSTER OF THE WEST*. Scotia's first four releases were all Westerns: *A TOWN CALLED BASTARD* (1971) and *PANCHO VILLA* (1972), both of which featured Telly Savalas, and *CAPTAIN APACHE* (1971) and *BAD MAN'S RIVER* (1971), both starring Lee Van Cleef. All four films had been made by mainly Spanish crews and, in order to secure Spanish nationality status, *BAD MAN'S RIVER* and *PANCHO VILLA* were directed by a Spaniard, Eugenio Martin, who was billed on overseas prints as Gene Martin.<sup>42)</sup>

Scotia International's film activities petered out in the late 1970s, by which time the Western, irrespective of origins, was entering into a period of commercial decline that has never since been completely reversed. While Westerns continued to be made in small numbers for the rest of the decade, they were no longer as viable economically as they had once been. Bernard Gordon recalls Philip Yordan telling him as early as 1972: "You can't

37) Anon., 'Reverse "runaway" continues; U.K.'s Winner to roll "Lawman" in Mexico', *Variety*, 4 February 1970, p. 31; Anon., 'Michael Winner sounds off on Westerns, "classical" producers', *Variety*, 2 June 1971, p. 25.

38) The Eady Plan was introduced in 1950 to subsidize the producers of British films by returning to them a portion of a fund collected from all UK box-office revenues in a sum proportionate to the films' earnings.

39) Anon., '20th's "Canadians", shot in Canada, qualifies as British quota film', *Daily Variety*, 23 November 1960, p. 6.

40) Anon., 'Israel like Ariz., or vice versa', *Variety*, 30 August 1972, p. 22.

41) Anon., 'Teheran tidbits', *Variety*, 19 December 1973, p. 6.

42) Anon., 'Scotia Inv. forms new global distrib', *Variety*, 30 September 1970, p. 27; Anon., 'Benmar rolling four more films for distribution via Scotia Int'l', *Variety*, 7 October 1970, p. 23; Robert B. Frederick, 'Britain's Scotia set in U.S.', *Variety*, 7 June 1971, pp. 5, 24; Gordon, *Hollywood Exile*, pp. 235-84.



give them away in the States anymore. And without the American market, there's no way to recoup costs".<sup>43)</sup> In fact, none of the British-produced Westerns had been a major box-office success in the US, with only MACKENNA'S GOLD and LAWMAN (both filmed on the American continent) earning more than the unspectacular sum of \$3m in domestic rentals. Several big-budget pictures made by major British companies in the late 1970s and early 1980s fared no better. As part of its first production slate in some considerable time, Rank backed EAGLE'S WING (1979), which was filmed in Mexico. Lew Grade's Incorporated Television Company (ITC), which had entered theatrical filmmaking in 1974, made THE LEGEND OF THE LONE RANGER (1981) and BARBAROSA (1982) as part of its short-lived American production program. John Daly's Hemdale was involved in CATTLE ANNIE AND LITTLE BRITCHES (1981), WAR PARTY (1988), and BLOOD RED (1989).<sup>44)</sup> None of these films was sufficiently profitable to revive the moribund genre that the Western had become. What did revive it was an ambitious American independent production financed primarily by overseas distributors. Kevin Costner's DANCES WITH WOLVES (1990) was co-produced by Guy East's Majestic Films International, a London-based company that itself was financed by the Crédit Lyonnais bank in the Netherlands, a leading film industry investor. Majestic provided up to forty percent of the \$15m production budget for the three-hour epic, which went on to become a major box-office hit worldwide, a critical success, and the winner of seven Academy Awards.<sup>45)</sup> Among the Westerns made in the wake of DANCES WITH WOLVES were two films produced by Working Title Films (the highly successful company behind FOUR WEDDINGS AND A FUNERAL [1994]): POSSE (1993) and THE HI-LO COUNTRY (1998).

Market conditions in the 1990s and the 2000s favored multinational financing, albeit often without the restrictive terms imposed by such deals in the 1960s and 1970s, whereby each participating country had to be represented by key personnel, resulting in the polyglot character of many of the films discussed above. Channel Four Television invested in THOUSAND PIECES OF GOLD (1991) and the BBC invested in both PAINTED ANGELS (1998) and THE CLAIM (2000). All of these films were shot in Canada, as was Richard Attenborough's GREY OWL (1999), in which Pierce Brosnan plays an English suburban fantasist masquerading as an Indian. The Film Consortium, a venture supported by the UK National Lottery, co-produced THE PROPOSITION (2005), a quasi-Western filmed and set in Australia. Eastern Europe is now as popular a choice for location filming as Spain was several decades earlier, and, for similar economic reasons: DUST (2001), a co-production among the UK, Germany, Italy, and Macedonia, was filmed and partially set in the last-named country, while the horror Western RAVENOUS (1999) and the romantic Civil War saga COLD MOUNTAIN (2003) were shot largely in the Czech Republic and Romania respectively. South Africa was the location for several Westerns made by Paul Matthews' Peakviewing Productions: GUNS OF HONOR, TRIGGER FAST (both 1994), and HOODED

43) Gordon, *Hollywood Exile*, p. 264.

44) Hemdale had also been a participant in LES PÉTROLEUSES (AKA THE LEGEND OF FRENCHIE KING, 1971), a co-production between France, Italy, and Spain, which starred Brigitte Bardot and Claudia Cardinale.

45) Don Groves, "'Texasville,' 'Wolves,' 'Heart' form East's Majestic line-up", *Daily Variety*, 27 February 1989, p. 50.



ANGELS (2002). The first two of these, which were released direct to video, remain the only film adaptations of the work of J. T. Edson, the prolific Derbyshire-born author of Western novels. HOODED ANGELS, along with a large proportion of the other films mentioned in this section, also highlights a characteristic all too readily associated with the British Western: its badness.

### Badness and the British Western

There are no bad Westerns. There are superb Westerns (SHANE, LONELY ARE THE BRAVE, RED RIVER); there are good Westerns (THE BIG COUNTRY). And there are Westerns [...]. But none of them are really bad.<sup>46)</sup>

Dilys Powell

For Luke McKernan, CARRY ON COWBOY is “maybe the best British Western there is”.<sup>47)</sup> The same claim is made more assertively by Andy Medhurst in his study of the “Carry On” films: “The best British Western ever made”.<sup>48)</sup> In his review of A FISTFUL OF FINGERS — self-deprecatingly advertised as “The best Western ever made ... in Somerset” — *Sight and Sound* contributor Tom Tunney suggests that “a more accurate line would call it the best British feature Western since CARRY ON COWBOY”.<sup>49)</sup> The preference expressed by all three critics for this most overtly anachronistic, determinedly down-market example certainly helps to account for the paucity of retrospective commentary on the British Western. With the exception of McKernan’s presentation, the British Western has received neither the detailed cultural and historical exegeses enjoyed by German, Italian, and American Westerns nor the auteurist analyses merited by Sergio Leone’s work. Filmmakers of comparable stature have simply not been associated with British Westerns and, leaving aside Harry Watt’s colonial pictures, the only directors to have made more than one are American Burt Kennedy (THE CANADIANS and HANNIE CAULDER) and Michael Winner.<sup>50)</sup>

John Exshaw is at pains to rescue Winner’s LAWMAN and CHATO’S LAND from the “seemingly permanent state of disrepute” into which they have fallen since receiving generally positive reviews from journalists on initial release; but Exshaw’s defense of the films takes the form of an interview with their Canadian screenwriter Gerald Wilson rather than a close analysis of the films, which would surely have confirmed that the promise of

46) Dilys Powell, review of *Cheyenne Autumn* and *West of Montana*, *The Sunday Times*, October 1964, reprinted in Christopher Cook (ed.), *The Dilys Powell Film Reader* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 277.

47) McKernan, ‘Cockney Cherokees’, p. 12.

48) Andy Medhurst, ‘Carry on Camp’, *Sight and Sound*, vol. 2, no. 4 (August 1992), p. 19.

49) Tom Tunney, ‘A Fistful of Fingers’, *Sight and Sound*, vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1996), p. 39.

50) On HANNIE CAULDER see Tim Lucas, ‘Hannie get your gun’, *Sight and Sound*, vol. 20, no. 9 (September 2010), p. 90. In addition to the Anglo-American production MACKENNA’S GOLD, J. Lee Thompson made the wholly American film THE WHITE BUFFALO (1977). Other non-British Westerns made by British directors include Carol Reed’s modern-day comedy FLAP (1970), John Guillermin’s EL CONDOR (1970), Terence Young’s RED SUN (1971), and Peter Hunt’s DEATH HUNT (1981). Scottish-born Frank Lloyd directed seven Westerns in Hollywood from 1918, including his final film, THE LAST COMMAND (1955).

the screenplays is often betrayed by the crudity of Winner's direction.<sup>51)</sup> Consider, for example, the sequence of the funeral in *LAWMAN*. Funerals and graveside orations have provided many Westerns with some of their most memorable moments. *LAWMAN*'s funeral scene lasts ninety seconds and contains eighteen shots. Six of the shots contain abrupt, rapid zooms into or out from close-ups. None of the eighteen set-ups is repeated and few of the camera angles match their neighbors, though two shots are taken from inside the grave, looking up at the mourners. The second of these "coffin point-of-view" shots is the last image of the sequence, which concludes with a shovelful of earth being thrown directly into the camera lens. The result of Winner's choice of angles, movements, and cuts is a riot of over-emphasis. The style fights with the subject of the scene: rather than reinforcing the mood of somber regret suggested by the dialogue and performances, the camera simply draws attention to itself as an obtrusive observer and commentator on the action.<sup>52)</sup>

Although one would not want to suggest that all makers of British Westerns should be represented by Winner's approach, "crudity" is a word very much suited to describe many of the other films mentioned above; several are frankly inept, notably the Benmar/Scotia productions. While the same could certainly be said of many of the titles discussed in Christopher Frayling's *Spaghetti Westerns* and in Tim Bergfelder's *International Adventures*, the rich contextual analyses delivered by both of these authors reveal a depth of cultural resonance that would be difficult to match in the British case. Although the comedies and parodies, on the one hand, and the imperial and colonial adventures, on the other, can be related to culturally specific forms and histories, it would be futile to attempt to locate signs of British national identity in the later attempts at "straight" Westerns. The cultural-specificity approach has yielded insights when it has been applied to many a minor British example of a genre such as the horror film; but it is curious that, while Italian, German, and Spanish films have been labeled spaghetti, sauerkraut, and paella Westerns respectively, an equivalent culinary term — "roast beef" or "fish and chip" Westerns, perhaps — has not been applied to the British films. This state of affairs suggests a case of non-recognition: the films simply do not boast sufficient unifying characteristics to identify them as a distinct generic type; instead, to borrow André Bazin's terms quoted at the head of an earlier section, they tend to approximate to a "counterfeit" or a "pastiche" of either the American or the Italian form. *THE SINGER NOT THE SONG* (1961) — described by Peter Hutchings as "difficult to classify generically" — has attracted a deal of critical attention, largely because of its close-to-the-surface homoerotic subtext (Figure 2).<sup>53)</sup> Set in Mexico

51) John Exshaw, "Back Off, Lawman": Gerry Wilson on Winner, the West, and the Wilderness, *Cinema Retro*, vol. 5, no. 14 (2009), pp. 12–17.

52) *LAWMAN* was photographed by Robert Paynter, who made ten films with Winner, and edited by Freddie Wilson. Winner himself edited most of his subsequent films under the pseudonym Arnold Crust, so it is safe to assume that he was actively involved in the selection of shots and cuts on this film too. In fairness to Winner, it should be added that Sam Peckinpah was also often criticized for directorial over-emphasis, especially for his use of zooms and montage, and, in common with many directors of 1970s Westerns, it is likely that Winner was influenced by Peckinpah's style.

53) Peter Hutchings, 'Authorship and British cinema: the case of Roy Ward Baker', in Justine Ashby and Andrew Higson (eds), *British Cinema, Past and Present* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 179. See also: Andy Medhurst, 'Dirk Bogarde', in Charles Barr (ed.), *All Our Yesterdays: 90 Years of British Cinema* (London: BFI, 1986), pp. 346–54; Durgnat, *A Mirror*, pp. 241–2; Geoff Mayer, *Roy Ward Baker* (Manchester: Manchester University



Fig. 2. *The Singer Not the Song* (directed by Roy Baker, 1961).

and filmed in Spain for the Rank Organisation, *THE SINGER NOT THE SONG* involves an Irish Catholic priest (John Mills) who becomes the object of desire of a black-leather-clad bandit (Dirk Bogarde) whose gang is terrorizing the territory. Little of the film's thematic interest is particular to the Western, though its quadrangular melodramatic structure (Mills is also desired by a young girl and Bogarde by an older member of his gang) strongly resembles that of *THE OUTLAW* (1943); however, the miscasting of Mills ensures that the forbidden desire is all in one direction, and is not only unfulfilled but unaccountable. As a result, the film delivers neither authentic amour fou nor an authentic Western. Of course, the use of such a term in such a context begs the questions of what generic authenticity is and of whether *any* non-American Western can aspire to it. The larger problem for the British Western, however, is that it is not usually perceived as authentically British either.<sup>54)</sup>

The absence of any particular correlation between the Western and British culture has marooned British Westerns in mid-Atlantic when they are not tangled in the net of European co-production. In most cases, except those in which British actors are involved, it is virtually impossible to pinpoint any specifically British component of the films. In the case of *THE HUNTING PARTY* (1971), directed by American TV journeyman Don Medford and produced by the American partnership of Jules Levy, Arthur Gardner, and Arnold

Press, 2004), pp. 33–36, 128–36; Matthew Sweet, *Shepperton Babylon: the Lost Worlds of British Cinema* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), pp. 238–48.

54) Justifying his marginal treatment of films which “though technically British belong to an international, Hollywood-dominated cinema”, Robert Murphy refers to *THE SUNDOWNERS* as an instance of the kind of films “which are British only because British technicians worked on them”. Robert Murphy, *Sixties British Cinema* (London: BFI, 1992), pp. 6, 7.

Laven for release through United Artists, I have been unable to discover why it was even registered as British at all. The film stars Oliver Reed in an otherwise predominantly American cast, it was shot in Spain, and postproduction was executed in Los Angeles.<sup>55)</sup> Although it is perhaps one of the more interesting "British" Westerns, *THE HUNTING PARTY* can scarcely be analyzed as such in a way that confers upon it any sense of cultural belonging.

If non-comic British Westerns are far from "culturally British" (to use the phrase adopted by the BFI) and unreceptive to auteurist analysis, they are not all aesthetically negligible; nor are they, if one ignores the question of national origins, devoid of interest in relation to the historical development of the Western. Apart from *DANCES WITH WOLVES* (in which British involvement was exclusively financial) I would make strong claims for Anthony Harvey's *EAGLE'S WING* to be regarded as a major work in its own right and for a half-dozen others — including *THE HUNTING PARTY*, *THE McMASTERS*, *MAN IN THE WILDERNESS*, *BILLY TWO HATS*, *BARBAROSA*, and, yes, even *LAWMAN* — to be seen as significant and substantive, if flawed, genre pieces. But if cultural historians are determined to make a British thematic connection somewhere, they might consider director Michael Winterbottom's *THE CLAIM*, which relocates Thomas Hardy's novel *THE MAYOR OF CASTERBRIDGE* from Victorian Wessex to the gold-rush California Sierras of 1867. Indeed, one scholar has already done so. According to Gayla S. McGlamery, analysis of *THE CLAIM* reveals a surprising correlation between Hardy's preoccupations and the themes of classic Westerns. Both Hardy and the Western show characters in challenging, impersonal environments; chronicle the thrust of technological and other kinds of progress; record a way of life that is imperiled; present willful, dominant male characters who rule their worlds; and dramatize the descent of doomed leaders who pay the price for youthful violations.<sup>56)</sup> But McGlamery also faults Winterbottom for failing to aspire to the epic quality achieved by both the Western and by Hardy's novel.<sup>57)</sup> Is this preference for the small, intimate detail over the big picture, for behavioral naturalism over tragic grandeur, a characteristically British impulse? This trait, alongside the knowing anachronisms of the Western parodies and comedies, suggests that the anti-epic impulse may indeed be the most distinctively British quality of the British Western, if there has to be a distinctly British quality at all. Yet, for all its limitations, *THE CLAIM* at least helps to disprove the assumption upon which I began to research this article: to employ a typically British form of extravagant praise, it's not so bad.

55) Army Archerd, 'Just for Variety', *Daily Variety*, 20 January 1971, p. 2.

56) Gayla S. McGlamery, 'Hardy goes West: *The Claim*, the Western, and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*', *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2007), p. 369.

57) *Ibid.*, p. 371.



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## SUMMARY

**Carry On, Cowboy.**  
*Roast Beef Westerns*

Sheldon Hall

Most critical discussions of non-American Westerns have centred on films by Italian and German filmmakers, such as Sergio Leone and Harald Reinl. There has, however, been little attention paid to the Westerns produced by British companies and British-based filmmakers. They are surprisingly numerous, with a particular concentration in the silent period (though most of the films are now lost) and in the heyday of the European-shot Western in the 1960s and 1970s. This article focuses on the latter, and attempts to explore the commercial and industrial factors which led British and British-based producers such as Michael Winner and Euan Lloyd to undertake a genre which is not typically associated with UK production houses. Some of the particular characteristics of the British-made Western are identified with the analysis of a small selection of examples from three significant sub-groups of the genre: comedies and parodies; "pseudo-Westerns" set in various parts of the British Empire rather than in the American West; and international co-productions partly modelled on the Italian "spaghetti" Western. The films themselves are, like the Italian and German varieties, most often co-productions with one or more other countries and are rarely recognisably "British", hence do not readily lend themselves to the discussion of national identity that characterises much critical discourse on British and European cinema. One other reason for their neglect by critics and historians is their generally poor quality and failure to produce a distinct group style or identity or an "auteur" director specialising in the form. In this respect the article broaches questions of artistic value that are themselves often neglected in recent explorations of generic and national cinemas.





Richard Nowell

## Film Genre and the Industrial Mindset: More Work Needed

*A Brief Exchange with Peter Hutchings*

**Peter Hutchings** is Professor of Film Studies at Northumbria University, UK. He is the author of *Hammer and Beyond: The British Horror Film* (1993), *Terence Fisher* (2002), *Dracula: British Film Guide* (2003), *The Horror Film* (2004), and *The Historical Dictionary of Horror Cinema* (2008), along with numerous articles and chapters on horror, science fiction, and British film and television history. He agreed generously to answer a series of questions on the topic of genre and the movie business.

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*Genre Studies was widely seen to have been “reconfigured” and rejuvenated by a body of work published mainly in the late 1990s and early 2000s by scholars such as Steve Neale, Janet Staiger, Rick Altman, James Naremore, and Jason Mittell. What do you see as having been the most important interventions of that period — important in the sense that they genuinely required scholars conceptually and pragmatically to rethink the ways in which they approached genre and its study?*

What might be seen as “the discursive turn” in genre studies was, if not inevitable, at least a way forward from what was looking increasingly like a dead end. In particular, attempts authoritatively to define genres or to present genre as a kind of closed circuit between industry and audience failed before the sheer, undeniable heterogeneity of genres themselves. In other words, the more genre films you saw, the harder it became to lock down generic categories, either in themselves or in terms of their likely functions. An increasing emphasis in critical work on the historical and institutional contexts of both specific genres and film genre in general often revealed previous definitions of genres as overly abstract. This was probably frustrating for some inasmuch as it rendered genre, which was meant to be the self-evident and obvious category, as opposed to the hermetic world offered by auteurism, to be surprisingly difficult and elusive. I would say that the most positive aspect of work on film genres since the 1990s is a dispelling of certainty and an acknowledgement that genres are constructed in different ways for different reasons by dif-

ferent groups and that there is not always consensus within this process. Raphaëlle Moine has used the term "genre jungle" to describe this; I think it's a good term. One outcome of this way of seeing things is a tendency to shy away from the more abstract notions of genre and instead focus on specific parts of a genre — for example a genre defined by a particular historical period. One also sees sometimes a separation of what are deemed industrial versions of genre from critically defined genres such as film noir, although it is not always easy to separate out such things, and in any event this division often begs the question of whether the term "genre" itself operates similarly in both contexts. I believe more work remains to be done on how notions of genre operate within the industry. So far, academics have focused on the films themselves and on marketing strategies and journalistic responses, partly because this material is readily accessible, but more research into how notions of genre operate in relation to production decisions, if they do at all (at least in the way that academics understand genre) is needed to underpin this whole area of study.

*Some of the most important genre scholarship of the last ten years has focused on the ways conceptions of categories, corpora, and textual properties shape reception practices and reception cultures. In what ways do you think the integration of reception studies approaches might enrich industrially-oriented work on genre?*

A desire to integrate reception studies into work on the industry sounds a little like an attempt to reinstate a genre-based closed circuit between industry and audience. For me, the most productive aspect of the new genre studies is its shattering of any possibility for a transcendent or idealist or even just a confidently expressed model of genre that binds together industry and audience in a cohesive manner. We're back to the genre jungle again — something that is not organized, that has its contingencies and areas that just do not connect with each other. Of course there are connections between audience and industry — for example, fans interacting with film and TV program makers — but these are historically and contextually specific phenomena best addressed in terms of that specificity rather than in terms of genre in general. I also have to say that industrially-orientated work on genre should primarily be enriched by work on the industry itself; I think there is a long way to go before that particular area is exhausted.

*Given that genre frameworks continue heavily to shape industry practice, to what extent do you think industrially-oriented film scholarship has been supported by a full, adequate, and theoretically-informed appreciation of genre?*

Do genre frameworks shape industry practice? Have we really established that? We've established that labeling of films is important, with this labeling connecting a particular film with other films. Do creative figures in the industry see beyond those labels into something that genre theorists might think of as genre, or instead are these people operating in a much more short-term, pragmatic, and localized way, connecting their films to something that was recently successful in the market or to more intuitive ideas about what makes a good film that do not relate to any specific genre? To reiterate a point I made earlier, we need to be engaging more with the mindset and language of film industries. To what extent are our understandings of genre their understandings of genre? This goes beyond the division I have already mentioned between critical and industrial notions of gen-

re, which ultimately is probably a facile division inasmuch as it often suggests that industrial definitions of genre are self-evident whereas our current understanding of them is nowhere near as nuanced as it might be.

*The sustained attention now starting to be paid to the dynamics of cycles of cultural production has brought into sharp focus a pivotal question in genre studies, which is of particular relevance to the industrially-oriented approaches on show in this edition of Iluminace: the issue of whether, to what extent, and in what ways, extra-industrial socio-cultural factors determine the textual models used by the culture industries as well as elements of content mobilized to furnish those models. Where do you stand on this issue?*

I think an awareness that film genres do not exist as self-defining, self-regulating entities goes hand in hand with seeking specific relationships between different areas of culture and particular connections with “social factors” (however these might be defined). I also believe that a historical approach is probably best suited to mapping out generic configurations, which might involve specific connections between different cultural and industrial areas — for instance, there are connections between horror cinema, horror television and horror literature but these exist in some periods and not others and they are arranged very differently in, say, the 1970s than they are today. How do you make sense of this? Do you try to generalize from it and make some broad point about the nature of a genre or genre itself, or do you accept that the horror genre is fractured and disorganized and that the network of industrial and non-industrial factors that support it in one period are replaced by entirely different configurations in other periods? In other words, the overall history of this particular genre is broken, in pieces, non-continuous, whereas, by contrast, other genres might have more continuous patterns of development. Ultimately, it depends on the genre.

*Are there certain directions you would like to see Genre Studies take in the future?*

I would like to see more work on the ways that genres in certain circumstances exist across different media forms, and in particular critical engagements with the question of how specific generic elements move through and are sustained or refashioned by these media and how the cultural industries involved in this think about generic categories and labels.





## P. D. C. s. r. o. (1920–1955)

PDC půjčovna filmů, společnost s. r. o. byla založena na základě společenské smlouvy ze dne 19. prosince 1925. Tu podepsal jako zástupce Williama M. Vogela (General Manager, Producers International Corporation of New York City) berlínský obchodník Walter W. Kofeldt a pražští obchodníci Jan V. Musil (1891–1962) a Antonín Chrastil (1894–1933). Předmětem podnikání této firmy s původním názvem Producers Distributing společnost s r. obm.<sup>1)</sup> byla 1) výroba, půjčování a prodej filmů, 2) zařizování, pachtování, koupě a prodej jakožto provozování biografu, 3) zcizování filmových přístrojů a potřeb, 4) provozování všech ostatních pomocných obchodů do oboru filmového spadajících s výhradou obchodů bankovních.

Orgány společnosti tvořili dva jednatele (Musil a Chrastil) a valná hromada.<sup>2)</sup>

S opovězením společnosti ze dne 17. února 1926 však nesouhlasila Správní komise pro obchodní a živnostenskou komoru v Praze, stejně jako Ministerstvo vnitra, z několika důvodů.<sup>3)</sup> Ve druhé polovině roku 1926 tak společnost provedla některé formální úpravy, které vedly dne 1. února 1927 k zápisu firmy PDC půjčovna filmů, společnost s r. obm. (dále jen PDC) do obchodního rejstříku.<sup>4)</sup> Jednak došlo v červenci 1926 ke zjednodušení předmětu podnikání na pouhé půjčování filmů, dále byl navýšen kmenový kapitál společnosti a k podnikání přistoupl také nový společník, dřívější právní zástupce firmy Dr. Arthur Bloch.<sup>5)</sup> Název společnosti pak

- 1) Některé prameny a literatura poukazují na to, že tato společnost navazovala svou činností na bývalou Musilovu firmu, jejíž název však z těchto zdrojů nelze přesně určit. Viz Národní filmový archiv (dále jen NFA), f. P. D. C. s. r. o., inv. č. 47; Zdeněk Š t á b l a, *Data a fakta z dějin čs. kinematografie 1896–1945*, sv. 2. Praha: ČSFÚ 1989, s. 167–168, 459; Jiří H a v e l k a, *Kdo byl kdo v československém filmu před r. 1945*. Praha: ČSFÚ 1979, s. 173.
- 2) Státní oblastní archiv v Praze (dále jen SOA Praha), f. Krajský soud obchodní Praha (dále jen KSO Praha), spis. sign. CXV 394. Kmenový kapitál společnosti obnášel 100 000,– Kč, přičemž se na něm jednotliví společníci podíleli následovně: Vogel 40 000,– Kč, Musil a Chrastil po 30 000,– Kč.
- 3) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394. Správní komise pro živnostenskou a obchodní komoru v Praze požadovala změnu názvu společnosti, protože pod názvem Producers Distributing byla na zdejším trhu známá americká firma zabývající se stejným podnikáním. Vzhledem k tomu, že se firma zabývala pouze půjčováním filmů (při poměrně nízkém kmenovém kapitálu se ani ničím jiným zabývat nemohla), požadovala také komise úpravu předmětu podnikání ve společenské smlouvě. Ministerstvo vnitra pak uvedlo, že v ČSR je již značné množství filmových půjčoven, které nemohly při tehdejších národohospodářských poměrech prosperovat. Jako další překážku pak také ministerstvo upozornilo na potřebu zvláštního povolení k provozování biografu podle tehdejší legislativy.
- 4) Oznámení o zápisu firmy do obchodního rejstříku bylo zveřejněno v *Úředním listu Republiky Československé*, č. 73 dne 29. 3. 1927. Sídlo společnosti se nacházelo v Praze II, Havlíčkově náměstí 977.
- 5) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394. Kmenový kapitál nyní činil 200 000,– Kč s těmito podíly: Vogel 98 000,– Kč, Musil a Chrastil po 48 000,– Kč a Bloch 6 000,– Kč. Při hlasování měl pak Vogel 49 hlasů, Musil a Chrastil po 24 hlasech a Bloch 3 hlasy. Viz dodatek ke společenské smlouvě ze dne 12. 7. 1926.

byl upraven v listopadu 1926.<sup>6)</sup> Dne 7. března 1927 se konala ustavující valná hromada společnosti, na které byl jednatel Musil ustanoven generálním ředitelem a druhý jednatel Chrastil ředitelem komerčním.<sup>7)</sup> Další organizační změny zaznamenala půjčovna roku 1931, když společník Vogel za Blochova souhlasu postoupil svůj závodní podíl (odpovídající jeho kmenovému podílu 98 000,- Kč) Musilovi a Chrastilovi, každému jednou polovinou. Tato změna však byla kvůli administrativním průtahům zanesena do obchodního rejstříku až 14. září 1933.<sup>8)</sup> Dne 19. srpna téhož roku Chrastil náhle zemřel.<sup>9)</sup> Protože bylo po jeho smrti u Okresního civilního soudu pro Prahu-Jih dlouho projednáváno (1934–1937) pozůstalostní řízení, nemohlo ve společnosti dojít k jmenování nového jednatele či ke změně společenské smlouvy. Nakonec však v říjnu 1937 postoupili Chrastilovi dědicové jeho závodní podíl odpovídající kmenovému vkladu 97 000,- Kč společníku Musilovi. S tím souhlasil jak výše zmiňovaný soud, tak také Bloch na valné hromadě společníků dne 21. října 1937, kde byla novým jednatelem společnosti zvolena Musilova manželka Ludmila Musilová.<sup>10)</sup> Ta se o dva roky později stává druhým společníkem firmy, když ji v roce 1939 Bloch po-

stoupil svůj závodní podíl s kmenovým vkladem 6 000,- Kč.<sup>11)</sup> Roku 1943, kdy dochází v rámci soustředěného filmového obchodu ke slučování českých půjčoven, byla společnost PDC začleněna do Kosmosfilmu a její činnost tak de facto zanikla.<sup>12)</sup>

Po skončení druhé světové války v roce 1945 již nebylo podnikání společnosti obnoveno a v září téhož roku byla zahájena jeho likvidace.<sup>13)</sup> Výměrem ministerstva informací a osvěty ze dne 30. prosince 1949 pak byla nad společností PDC zavedena národní správa. Prvním národním správcem byl jmenován JUDr. Karel Myška, po jeho smrti v roce 1950 JUDr. Václav Šefrna. Společnost zanikla dnem 6. června 1950, její likvidace se však táhla po celá padesátá léta 20. století. Posledním národním správcem firmy se stal JUDr. Karel Šercl.<sup>14)</sup>

Činnost společnosti, tj. půjčování filmů, byla od samého začátku ovlivněna svojí vazbou na společnost Producers International Company v New Yorku (dále jen PIC), která PDC dodávala zdarma své filmové kopie. PIC současně hradila i veškeré výdaje na dopravu a úpravu filmů (doprava kopií, clo, překlad, titulky, cenzura, předvádění filmů zájemcům, inzerce). Výnos z distribuce filmů v ČSR pak byl dělen v poměru

6) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394, dodatek ke společenské smlouvě ze dne 14. 11. 1926.

7) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 2.

8) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394; NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 47.

9) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394. K vymazání jeho jména a funkce z obchodního rejstříku došlo dne 21. 3. 1934. NFA, f. PDC, k. 1, inv. č. 10.

10) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394. Musilová byla do obchodního rejstříku jako jednatelka firmy zapsána dne 6. 12. 1937. Společníky firmy však zůstali pouze Musil s kmenovým vkladem 194 000,- Kč a Bloch s kmenovým vkladem 6 000,- Kč.

11) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394.

12) NFA, f. Kosmosfilm s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 27; TAMTÉŽ, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 62. Společnost Kosmosfilm převzala od všech svých členských půjčoven nejen exploataci jejich filmů, ale také část inventáře. Kmenový kapitál Kosmosfilmu činil 750 000,- Kč, PDC se na něm podílela 15 000,- Kč. Ačkoli PDC oficiálně svoji činnost již neprovozovala, ponechala si provozní místnosti na Havlíčkově náměstí č. 24 v Praze II nejen v protektorátní době, ale až do 30. září 1949. Tehdy pod nátlakem majitele domu (banka Slavia) musela místnosti opustit a usídlit se v přidělených prostorách Ústřední národní pojišťovny v Praze v ulici Na Poříčí 7. Příslušná smlouva byla sepsána dne 21. 12. 1949. V průběhu stěhování se však PDC dohodla s bankou Slavia, že starý nábytek a zařízení společnosti zůstane prozatím uloženo na půdě původního sídla firmy, čímž došlo k existenci dočasné dvojadresnosti PDC.

13) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 62. Provedením likvidace byl pověřen úředník Ústřední půjčovny filmů Jan Zbránek. Obchodní činnost společnosti byla ukončena ke dni 28. 8. 1945, viz SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394.

14) SOA Praha, f. KSO Praha, spis. sign. CXV 394; NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 60, 62.

75 % (zisk PIC) ku 25 % (zisk PDC).<sup>15)</sup> Ze zápisů z řádných i mimořádných valných hromad<sup>16)</sup> však vyplývá, že se společnost již od počátku své existence potýkala s určitými problémy.<sup>17)</sup> Již roku 1928 došlo, kvůli narůstající konkurenci, ke zmenšení počtu objednávek. V následujícím roce pak vzhledem k poklesu počtu distribuovaných filmů nebyla PDC schopna získat nové zákazníky. Roku 1929 PDC dlužila americké PIC 1 050 000,- Kč.<sup>18)</sup> V roce 1930 byla společnost postižena nejen všeobecnou hospodářskou krizí, několika cenzurními zásahy, ale také zavedením zvukového filmu.<sup>19)</sup> K určitému zlepšení situace ve společnosti došlo v červnu 1932, kdy se podařilo uzavřít dohodu o dodávání filmů s americkou společností RKO Export Corporation, New York.<sup>20)</sup> Další smlouvu, tentokrát na dodávání zvukových týdeníků, uzavřela PDC dne 20. října 1933 s mnichovskou společností Bavaria-Film.<sup>21)</sup> Spolupráce trvala do roku 1935, než společnost začala exploatovat týdeníky berlínské firmy Tobis-Cinema.<sup>22)</sup>

Na konci třicátých let 20. století se hospodářská situace společnosti stále zhoršovala. Na podzim 1938 byla PDC značně postižena ztrátou

svého významného odbytiště — českého pohraničí.<sup>23)</sup> V září 1939 PDC převzala distribuované filmy likvidované židovské společnosti Artur Heller-Film.<sup>24)</sup> V průběhu roku 1940 byla omezena obchodní činnost pouze na distribuci ze zásob starých filmů. Později byla z důvodu nedostatku kvalitních celovečerních filmů nucena půjčovat také dodatky k nim. Svoji činnost pak fakticky ukončila, jak bylo již výše řečeno, včleněním do Kosmosfilmu roku 1943. Dále nutno poznamenat, že již na začátku své existence v roce 1927 stála společnost PDC u obnovení Svazu filmového průmyslu a obchodu.<sup>25)</sup> O osm let později (1935) se pak stala jedním ze zakládajících členů Kartelu filmových dovozců.<sup>26)</sup> Společnost vyrobila též čtyři vlastní hrané filmy: SKALNÍ ŠEVCI (1931), OSUDNÁ CHVÍLE (1935), NAŠI FURIANTI (1937) a ŽENY U BENZINU (1939).<sup>27)</sup>

Přestože není archivní fond P. D. C. s. r. o. příliš rozsáhlý (3 kartony), z hlediska obsahu jej lze považovat za poměrně dobrý informační zdroj jak ke studiu dějin této instituce, tak k dílčímu poznání filmového obchodu od druhé poloviny 20. století přes dobu protektorátu až po osudy

15) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 2.

16) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 2–17.

17) Na konci každého obchodního roku vykazovala firma ztrátu v řádu statisíců, jež byla pokaždé přenesena do dalšího roku.

18) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 6. Společnost PIC požadovala okamžité vyrovnání pohledávek. V případě, že by se tak nestalo, chtěla zastavit dodávky filmů. Nakonec však došlo mezi PDC a PIC k dohodě, že k okamžitému vyrovnání nedojde, pokud všechna aktiva a pasiva společnosti přejdou na jiný právní subjekt. Měla tak vzniknout společnost pro půjčování filmů mající opční právo na převzetí aktiv a pasiv společnosti PDC. Podle dochovaných materiálů však tato společnost nikdy nevznikla a zadlužení PDC stále rostlo. Proto byl roku 1931 zvýšen podíl PDC na zisku z 25 % na 50 % za účelem rychlejšího splácení dluhu. Viz k. 1, inv. č. 8.

19) NFA, f. PDC, k. 1, inv. č. 7.

20) Bližší o spolupráci PDC a RKO a o následném soudním sporu a urovnání v letech 1935–1936 viz NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 9, 10 a k. 2, inv. č. 43 (zde je uveden název společnosti RKO Export Corporation London).

21) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 10.

22) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 2, inv. č. 42.

23) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 2, inv. č. 42.

24) NFA, f. Artur Heller-Film, k. 1, inv. č. 3, 11, 13, 15.

25) Z. Štábla, c. d., s. 520–521. Archiv hlavního města Prahy, f. Magistrát hlavního města Prahy II, odbor vnitřních věcí, spolkový katastr, spis. sign. SK VIII/481, 1921–1927 a spis. sign. SK VIII/638, 1927–1950; NFA, f. Svaz filmového průmyslu a obchodu, k. 1, inv. č. 18 a k. 2, inv. č. 52–58.

26) NFA, f. Kartel filmových dovozců, k. 1, inv. č. 6; TAMTÉŽ, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 56.

27) *Český hraný film II 1930–1945*. Praha: NFA 1998, s. 311, 231, 214, 426. Ve fondu jsou dochovány písemné materiály pouze k filmu NAŠI FURIANTI, viz NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 59.

filmových podnikatelů po roce 1945. Jako pilířové archiválie můžeme označit téměř ucelenou řadu zápisů z řádných a mimořádných valných hromad PDC z let 1927–1942,<sup>28)</sup> materiály (převážně z třicátých let 20. století) týkající se finančních záležitostí společnosti,<sup>29)</sup> korespondenci<sup>30)</sup> či písemnosti dokumentující likvidaci firmy po druhé světové válce.<sup>31)</sup>

Jarmila Petrová

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28) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1, inv. č. 2–17.

29) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 1–2, inv. č. 19–43, k. 3, inv. č. 63.

30) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 47–52.

31) NFA, f. P. D. C. s. r. o., k. 3, inv. č. 60, 62.



## Vzhůru k sebekolonizaci, obsaďte me nemísta

Jana Dudková, *Slovenský film v ére transkulturality*. Bratislava: Drewa a srd 2011.

Jana Dudková přemýšlí o kinematografii způsobem, který je ve slovensko-českém kontextu vzácný, ba ojedinělý. Kromě imponující filozofické erudice disponuje vzhledem do jihoslovenského areálu, jenž vykazuje pružné vstřebávání zahraničních paradigmat, vycházejí tam jiné původní knihy a překlady než u nás a zároveň se v tamější sociální a mediální realitě některé trendy exponují dříve a ostřeji. Už ve své první monografii *Línie, kruhy a svety Emira Kusturicu* (SFÚ, 2001) překvapila Dudková analytickým, nikoli cinefilním přístupem ke Kusturicovým filmům, k čemuž využila psychoanalytické koncepty Slavoj Žižka. V úvodu ke druhé knize *Balkán alebo metafora. Balkanizmus a srbský film 90. rokov* (SFÚ & Veda, 2008) naznačila, že se setkává s nepochopením, když píše o balkanismu, kterýžto pojem slovenské (dodejme: ani české) humanitní disciplíny neznají. V novém svazku *Slovenský film v ére transkulturality* polemizuje s domácí tvorbou i kritikou; závěrem ovšem podotýká, že její ambicí bylo toliko zmapování, nikoli prognostika ani stanovení programu. Jádrem souboru relativně samostatných studií vznikalo v letech 2005–2009, některé z textových verzí byly již dříve publikovány.

Jana Dudková přistoupila k průzkumu provázena několika paradoxy: zkoumá národní kinematografii, jejíž výroba je početně slabá; hledá v ní evokaci identity, k níž se slovenské filmy uchylují „výjimečně a nesystematicky“; a vyzbrojila se teoriemi, jež nacházejí v česko-slovenském prostoru jen nepatrnou ozvěnu. V polistopadové slovenské produkci nevidí sled osamělých uměleckých pokusů, ale soubor textů, mezi nimiž už má smysl hledat spojitosti,

trendy, analogie. Hned v úvodu však nesouhlasí se třemi redukcemi: se zúžením kinematografie na hranou produkci, se ztotožněním slovenského filmu s tvorbou Martina Šulíka (vtipně konstatuje, že s prvními filmy tohoto autora získala kinematografie „dvojníka uvnitř sebe samé“, s. 20) a s představou, že čest domácí tvorby zachraňují dokumenty z dílny takzvané generace '90.

Dudková se dále vymezuje proti „modernistické“ (čti tradiční čili překonané) kritice, když odmítá požadovat „reprezentační“ neboli „synekdochickou“ funkci; tedy aby byly slovenské filmy průřezem či zrcadlem národního života. Přijala výzvu postkoloniálních studií a pokusila se o aplikaci jejich konceptů na slovenský film. Ohradila se vůči „verbálnímu sportu“, jenž spočívá v trvale negativním hodnocení domácích filmů (dodává: podobně jako v České republice). A také proti vyzvedávání dokumentární tvorby nad „lifestylové“ hrané snímky. Zdá se jí apriori jasné, že pojem národa i národní kinematografie ztratil význam a je nahrazován mnohostí identit. Dobře ví, že ve slovenském kontextu zní tato teze diskutabilně (hrozí „úzkost z absolutního vyprázdnění“, s. 173); provokativně by konec konců vyzněla v kterékoli zemi postsocialistického regionu, kde se touhy po integraci střetávají se zjitřeným patriotismem. Na rozdíl od Polska a Maďarska, jejichž kinematografie dlouhodobě řeší především vztah k Rusku, jsou pro Slováky tradičně prvním „druhým“ Češi. Projevuje se to právě ve filmech Martina Šulíka, jimž Dudková věnuje důkladnou interpretační kapitolu.

Nikoli poprvé zde musíme připomenout zvláštnost slovenské situace, kde audiovizuální

tvorba přežívá pod úrovní svého potenciálu (podle počtu obyvatel by mělo mít Slovensko stejně silnou kinematografii jako Finsko nebo Dánsko), zatímco ediční činnost, školství, historie, teorie a estetika dosahují úctyhodných výsledků. Podobně jako v Bulharsku tam chybí kontinuita žánrového mainstreamu, takže se skoro všechny celovečerní projekty jeví jako festivalové neboli artové — pokud nejsou zcela amatérské (TAK FAJN). Příznačné pro tyto disproporce jsou právě lifestyleové městské snímky (tento typický postsocialistický žánr se částečně kryje s tím, čemu se v Česku začalo pejorativně říkat „trendový film“), jimž Dudková věnuje povzbudivou pozornost: O DVE SLABIKY POZADU, ZOSTANE TO MEDZI NAMI, ŽENY MÔJHO MUŽA. Tyto elegantní filmy, napsané mladými absolventkami VŠMU, jako by vypadly z přednášek profesora Petra Michaloviče o poststrukturalismu; univerzitní seminář, obávám se, jako by byl také jejich jedinou cílovou skupinou. Tak se uzavírá nejen festivalový, ale též hermeneutický a akademický kruh: scenáristka si ve škole osvojí koncept proměnlivosti identit, vymyslí podle něj pretenciózní film o proměnlivosti identit, z něhož pak analytička vyvodí závěry o proměnlivosti identit. V pozadí sice ještě doznívá nespokojené mručení esencialistických (čti zpátečnických) recenzentů, ani publikum se do kina dvakrát nehrne, ale z perspektivy vědeckých konferencí je takový opus „up to date“.

Jenže nic není tak přesvědčivým důkazem provinčnosti jako křečovitá snaha vyhovět globalizujícím trendům, které obvykle probíhají ve dvou fázích: nejprve se rozšíří idea, že národnost je cosi trapného, o čem se už ani nesluší hovořit, načež se do vyklizených pozic prosadí produkty silnější kultury. Zatímco ve festivalových katalozích už žádné národní barvy nestraší, hegemonova vlajka hrdě vlaje v každém blockbusteru. Vítěz už opravdu nemusí upozorňovat na národní původ svých výrobků, neboť sebral vše. Polemika o rozmyšlení identit není nová: dávno před fondem Eurimage vznikaly koprodukční projekty, jejichž hrdinové bloudili od jedné atraktivní turistické destinace ke druhé, hledající za doprovodu pohledných intelektuálů svou unikavou totožnost (klasickým příkla-

dem takového europudingu je POVOLÁNÍ: REPORTÉR od mého milovaného melancholika Michelangela Antonioniho). Jistě, teoretička může zkoumat jenom ty filmy, které byly natočeny. Žánrovým kouskům se nevyhýbá, všímá si například kuriózní kolonizátorské imaginace ve FONTÁNĚ PRE ZUZANU 1–3 Dušana Rapoše (a také v Jarošově a Jakubiskově TISÍCROČNÉ VČELE). Mimo analytický aparát ovšem zůstávají podstatné aspekty studovaných děl, jako jsou tempo, rytmus, obrazové kvality, dialog či divácká recepce.

Jak jsou teze o rozplývání identit nespolehlivé, dokazuje badatelčino přesvědčení, že se koprodukční DOM/DŮM přímo netýká slovenské identity, neboť jeho dvě jazykové verze umožňují, aby byl zároveň vnímán jako svědectví o identitě českého či šířeji středoevropského venkova. Jenomže tak to právě nefunguje: snímek Zuzany Liové zůstal pro české publikum ryze slovenským příběhem, jenž byl pro česká kina a televizi nesmyslně nadabován do češtiny; tento dabing dokonce vede až k jakémusi efektu zcizení, kdy se musíme ptát, kde jsme: krajina je slovenská, postavy se chovají jako na Slovensku, platí slovenskými penězi (eurem) — a přesto mluví česky..? Jiné nedorozumění se týká charakteristiky Hřebejkova filmu MUSÍME SI POMÁHAT jako „nostalgického retropříběhu“ (s. 20); život v protektorátu však znamenal takovou úzkost, že k němu Češi nemohou pociťovat žádnou nostalgii.

Jana Dudková píše pevně, sebejistě, přitom za jejím nerozechvělým tónem tušíme úsměv. Každá její studie je zároveň nastolením nové agendy. Tentokrát uvádí do zdejšího oběhu pojmy francouzského antropologa Marca Augého *nadmodernita* a *nemísta* (takto klausovsky zní překlad francouzského „non-lieux“), a termín bulharského kulturologa Alexandra Kiosseva *sebekolonizace*. Ve stopách bělehradské filmoložky Neveny Dakovićové pak upozorňuje na rozdíl mezi jazykem *pidgeon* (nebo snad pidgin?, lze psát i pidžin) a *kreolizací*. Typickými nemísty jsou prý letiště či nákupní galerie, kde se už lidé, včetně antropologa, nesetkávají se sebou navzájem, ale participují na virtuálním prostoru „smluvené osamělosti“. Právě pobyt v nemístech

považuje Dudková za výdobytek lifestyleových filmů (bratislavské shopping centrum Aupark ve filmu *ZOSTANE TO MEDZI NAMI*). Pidžin znamená takové osvojení západních žánrů, při kterém dochází k funkčnímu a gramatickému splynutí při nepřekonatelné omezenosti slovníku a gramatiky. Naopak kreolizace představuje „přežánrování“, tedy překlad cizího žánru do lokálního chronotypu. Podle těchto definic může být příkladem pidžinu western Zdenka Sirového *KAŇON SAMÉ ZLATO*, zatímco kreolizaci pozorujeme, jak uvádí Dudková, ve snímku *JE TŘEBA ZABÍT SEKALA* (a vzpomenout si můžeme i na takzvané kosovské westerny Žiky Mitroviće nebo hajducké série ze studia Bufta podle scénářů Eugena Barba). Až sebernrskačský potenciál má z těchto nových pojmů Kiossevova sebekolonizace, typická prý pro chování takzvaných traumatických kultur. Ty se ve svých dějinách musí opakovaně vyrovnávat s pocitem vlastního zaostávání, což řeší dvěma protichůdnými strategiemi: westernizací a nativismem (tedy bukolickou idealizací domněle autentické podstaty národa). Výsledný autoexotismus, jak Dudková dokládá na příkladu ceněného dokumentu Marka Škopa *INÉ SVETY*, vychází pak vstříc objednavce Západu a evropským grantovým projektům, které si právě takto přejí stimulovat zanikající rozmanitost regionů „nové Evropy“. Na cestě k multikulturalismu však slovenský film, jak autorka vyvozuje, nadále kráčí cestou monologu.

Bývám nedůvěřivý vůči pokusům vycházet z importovaných teorií a poté hledat v domácím prostředí příklady k jejich ilustraci či aplikaci. Často takový postup odklání badatele od empirie, neumožňuje uchopit domácí kulturu v její komplexnosti, ale sugeruje selektivní mřížku, která apriorně nadhodnocuje jevy, jež korespondují s módním paradigmatem. Marxistické imperativy třídnosti a pokrokovosti, jimž bylo — vedle auteurské teorie — podrobeno několik generací zdejších kritiků a historiků, byly po strukturalistické epizodě vystřídány nabídkou genderových a postkoloniálních studií. Je otázka, zda je nepřiliš vstřícný postoj českého prostředí vůči těmto příležitostem projevem zlostalosti, nebo zdravé skepse. Když 12. listopadu

2011 v Moravské galerii v Brně v rámci konference Screen Industries in East-Central Europe vystoupila Anikó Imre s metodologickou přednáškou, kde jako produktivní přístup pro studium (post)socialistických kinematografií navrhla právě postkoloniální studia, zahájila ji zcela samozřejmě videocitací ironické promluvy Slavoje Žižka; slovinského filozofa, který sice o pět dní později promluvil na Václavském náměstí, ale jeho přijetí v českém milieu bylo v předchozích letech opožděné a zůstává zdrženlivé. V několika dnech mezi těmito událostmi bylo maďarsko-americké docentce dopřáno zjistit, že posluchači filmové vědy na Masarykově univerzitě o postkoloniálních studiích nic nevědí. Jana Dudková ve své knížce prokázala, že se koncepty těchto studií dají využít přinejmenším ke kritické rozpravě; zároveň přiblížila cestu k jejich vážnému studiu.

Jaromír Blažejovský

## **“They’ve Seen the Impossible ... They’ve Lived the Incredible ...”. Repackaging Czechoslovak Films for the US Market during the Cold War**

Using poster-art to repack films for different markets, different audiences, and different time periods has been recognized by scholars as a standard business practice of distributors and marketers.<sup>1)</sup> This strategy is employed principally for two reasons — to avoid the alienation of imagined audiences and to appeal to the audience in ways deemed by the distributor to be in tune with movie-goers preferences, marketing trends, and the social, cultural, and political character of a given national market. On the US market, films of European origin have often been sold on erotic, titillating, and adult-oriented material.<sup>2)</sup> Historical understandings of the practices of distributors that handled European films in the United States can be expanded by looking at the ways in which they handled in the second half of the twentieth century films imported from an “enemy state” such as the Eastern Bloc country of Czechoslovakia.

This short essay looks, by a way of comparison, at the manner in which two films produced respectively in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s and 1960s were marketed on the Czechoslovak market and on the American market. It focuses on the promotional posters used to advertise a fantastical-adventure movie entitled VYNÁLEZ

ZKÁZY (1958), which was released in 1961 in the US as *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE*, and on the science-fiction film IKARIE XB-1 (1963), which was released in the US in 1964 as *VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE*. Comparative analysis shows how the identity of the two films was constructed for each market in part via their poster-art. In doing so, this short essay also permits consideration of the main reasons behind the manner in which the films were re-packaged.

Two general conditions characterizing the Czechoslovak market exerted a meaningful influence over the assembly of the Czechoslovak poster-art for VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY and for IKARIE XB, as well as for that of similar films I have examined elsewhere.<sup>3)</sup> First, the concept of genre was commonly deemed antithetical to the cinema of socialist countries; genre was seen by film culture elites and by cultural elites generally as an inherently “Hollywood” phenomenon, and, therefore, by extension, a lowbrow cultural form. Consequently, features and iconography commonly associated with established genres, such as the heroes of action-adventure films, the loving couples of romantic comedies, and headlining performers of star-vehicles were deliber-

- 1) See Paul McDonald, ‘Miramax, *Life is Beautiful*, and the Indiewoodization of the foreign-language film market in the USA’, *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 7, no. 4 (2009), pp. 353–375; Richard Nowell, ‘“Where nothing is off-limits”: genre, commercial revitalization, and the teen slasher film posters of 1982–1984’, *Post Script*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Winter/Spring 2011), pp. 53–68.
- 2) See for example Mark Betz, ‘Art, Exploitation, Underground’, in Mark Jancovich, Antonio Lázaro Reboll, Julian Stringer and Andy Willis (eds), *Defining Cult Movies: The Cultural Politics of Oppositional Taste* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 202–222.
- 3) See Jindřiška Bláhová, ‘Dare you take the first ... voyage to America: Re-genrification, movie posters, and promoting Czechoslovak popular cinema in the Cold War United States’, (forthcoming).



ately played down or omitted entirely from poster-art. Second, poster-art was influenced by Czechoslovakia's state-controlled economy. The fact that the national film market was controlled by a state-run film "monopoly" and the fact that it was therefore not governed by the principles of free market economics impacted directly on the ways in which films could be advertised and sold. Because maximizing profit was not deemed the be all and end all of film distribution, poster-art in Czechoslovakia was often treated by designers as if it was a form of "applied art",<sup>4)</sup> which meant designers approached film posters first and foremost as artworks that would reflect the "essence" of the movie via a distinct creative style.

The posters for *VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY* and *IKARIE XB-1* bore the hallmarks of the creative freedom given in Czechoslovakia to poster designers. The designers of the films' respective posters drew ostensibly upon the high culture traditions of European art and literature. The heavily stylized poster for *VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY* established a direct link between the film it promoted and the work of French science-fiction author Jules Verne, upon whose writings the film had been based, by imitating the Victorian engravings that featured on the covers of Verne's books and by imitating the style of the books' covers, which often included a small "card" on which a book's title would be written (see Figure 1). The replication of this visual motif on the film's poster-art highlighted the national origins of the film ("Czech Film") and its literary pedigree ("A Fantastic-adventure film based on the work of J. Verne"). The poster also invited the drawing of parallels to the work and the distinctive fantastical style of French filmmaker Georges Méliès — an acknowledged inspiration on the film's director Karel Zeman. By aping a nineteenth-century artistic style and the look of Méliès' films, the poster also evoked a sense of nostalgia and a poetic tone, projected by the meeting of past and presence. It invited immersion into the fantasies of yesteryear, wherein intrepid adventurers ex-

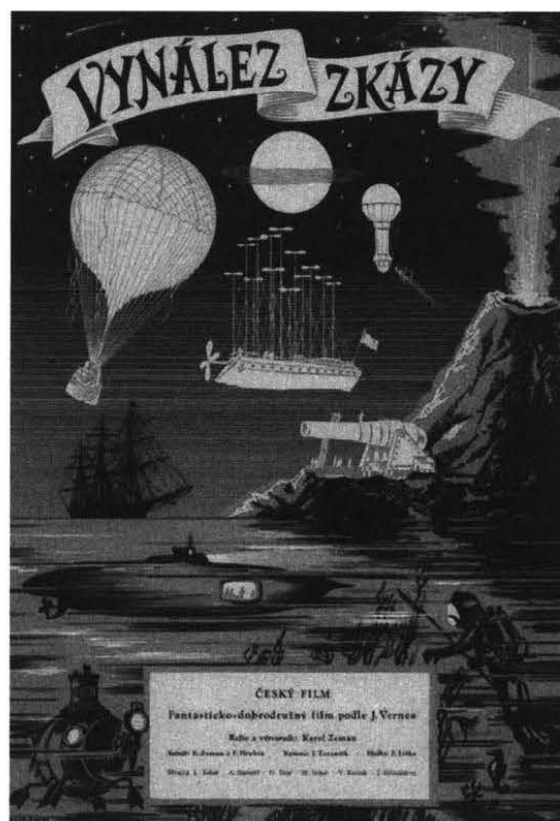


Fig. 1. The Czechoslovak Promotional Poster for *VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY* (by Karel Knechtl).

plored the world and wherein ingenious inventors dared to dream the unimaginable. Technology, invention, and modernity were central to the poster. Imminent danger (symbolized by cannon, erupting volcano, and the color red) is romanticized. The sky, the land, and the ocean exist harmoniously; natural objects such as stars, the moon, and comets coexist alongside technology such as air-balloons and airships. This sense of whimsy is accentuated by the red and sepia tint of the poster, which recalls aging photographs, and by a floating banner bearing the title of the movie in a manner reminiscent of those used at nineteenth-century fairs.

The poster-art for *IKARIE XB-1* was fashioned in such a way as to evoke similarities with the well known and highly regarded science-fiction novels of Polish writer Stanisław Lem; novels which were rich in philosophical themes of an

4) Marta Sylvestrová, *Český filmový plakát 20. století* (Moravská galerie v Brně: Exlibris, 2004).

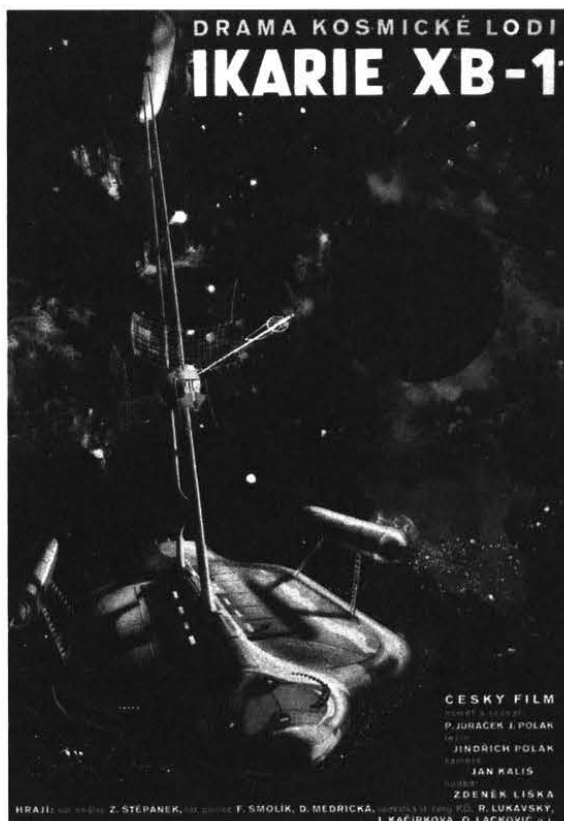


Fig. 2. The Czechoslovak Promotional Poster of IKARIE XB-1 (by Theodor Rotrekl).

existential and metaphysical nature. Science-fiction was thriving in 1960s Eastern Europe, particularly literature concerned with the future of mankind and with the limits of human existence. Accordingly, the poster for IKARIE XB-1 was designed by one of Czechoslovakia's prominent science-fiction illustrators, Theodor Rotrekl. As a result of the emphasis Rotrekl placed on philosophical tropes, the Czechoslovak poster for IKARIE XB-1 is meditative and atmospheric in tone rather than being action-driven — with adventure implied as opposed to being presented overtly (see Figure 2). Elusive rather than specific, indicative rather than literal, the poster openly invited philosophical readings — a stark contrast to the US posters examined below.

Underplaying action and human agency was a key characteristic of the posters for both VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY and IKARIE XB-1. IKARIE XB-1's poster stated that the movie was "[a] drama of



Fig. 3. A 1964 US Promotional Poster for VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE (original Czechoslovak title: IKARIE XB-1) (by American International Pictures).

a space-ship called Ikarie XB-1", leaving the rest of the film's plot to the imagination of potential movie-goers. Built in to the film's tagline and the visual style of the poster was a sense of the enigmatic, of the uncertain, and of a profound, collective experience. The spaceship dominates the poster, flying forward to explore the unknown. Potential threat is conveyed by a dying Sun shrouded by a red halo. The violet and black background resembles abstract paintings and underscores uncertainty. The poster for VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY also minimizes human agency by centralizing a means of transport and presenting mechanical inventions as objects of wonder.

In contrast, all of the US posters used framed the selected Czechoslovak-made films as action-heavy sagas, with human agency suitably centralized. Consequently, poster-art repackaged both films primarily as action-adventure pictures, while retaining a sense of their original generic identities — science-fiction in the case

of VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE, the fantastic in the case of THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE. On one of the posters that US distributor American International Picture used for VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE, the single enigmatic spaceship featured on the Czechoslovak poster for IKARIE XB-1 was replaced by a more conventional-looking spaceship, a flying saucer-shaped spaceship, a small satellite-like object, and two astronauts floating toward the machines. On another poster promoting the film in the US, one of the astronauts carries to safety an unconscious busty woman, thus further emphasizing action (see Figure 3). The shift to human agency is encapsulated in the film's change of title — from the name of a single spacecraft to a title conveying an adrenaline-driven journey into the furthest reaches of outer space. Similarly, the tranquil nostalgia of the poster for VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY was replaced by kinetic action, with the cluttered composition of the poster pairing images of divers confronting a giant octopus and air-vehicles piloted by dare-devils (see Figure 4).

Poster-art also obscured the Czechoslovak origins of *VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE* and *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE*. Both films were released in the US at the height of the Cold War, ensuring that the selling to American audiences of films associated with Communist enemies was anything but attractive: the label “made in Czechoslovakia” being a far from effective marketing hook. Oftentimes, the films were framed as American-made, even featuring anglicized versions of the actors’ names. Conversely, its title change associated *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE* with France and, as a consequence, that nation’s cultural heritage. Crucially, this choice of title highlighted the name of Jules Verne, whose name promised to call forth fantasy-adventure thanks to the circulation in the US of comic books based on his work. Moreover, invoking fantastical worlds envisaged by a French author was, in the 1960s, more anodyne than directly translating



Fig. 4. A 1961 US Promotional Poster for THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE (original Czechoslovak title: *Vynález zkázy*) (by Warner Bros. Pictures).

ing the film's original Czech-language title, which would have read "The Invention of Destruction"; a title which ran the risk of calling to mind apocalyptic imagery and as such a specter of nuclear war that was so prevalent contemporaneously in both American public-sphere discourse and in everyday life.

Finally, the respective US distributors of *VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE* and *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE* emphasized spectacle in such a way as to appeal to a demographic that American film industry-professionals deemed to be the most avid consumers of science-fiction and fantasy films: children and adolescent boys.<sup>5)</sup> In this sense, distributors American International Pictures and Warner Bros employed the kind of carnivalesque ballyhoo that exploitation film promoters used to

5) See Eric Schaefer, *"Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!": A History of Exploitation Films, 1919-1959* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).



Fig. 5. US 1964 Promotional Poster for *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE* (original Czechoslovak Title: *VYNÁLEZ ZKÁZY*) (by Warner Bros. Pictures).

package lurid or curious spectacle (rather than the more elevated sense of wonder and awe used to sell the period's big-budget Biblical epics).<sup>6)</sup> Accordingly, the poster-art for *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE* evoked, by way of a banner that was stretched across the poster, the visual and experiential pleasures of the fair-ground. It also emphasized wholesome Saturday matinee attractions including "The Wing-Man and the Living-Submarine! The fantastic Pedal-Blimps! The Four-footed Fighting Machines!" and mildly dangerous action involving "The underwater escape from Terror Island!". With purported novelty central to the marketing of exploitation and having been fairly recently used to sell some high-profile "event pictures", distributor Warner Bros. went as far as coining a new term to reflect combination of animation

with live action on display in *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE*. Renamed *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE*, a little Czechoslovak science-fiction film was advertised as "The first motion picture produced in the magic-image miracle of Mystimation!" (see Figure 5).

The promise of visual pleasure was also central to the poster artwork for *THE VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE*, which evidently was designed to appeal to a perceived insatiable desire among audiences to SEE new and transgressive, albeit largely un-threatening, phenomena. A stream of visual attractions was conveyed via small frames running alongside poster's main image, all of which promised mild titillation, bounded scares, and fun-filled surprises (see Figure 6). Similarly, the poster for *THE FABULOUS WORLD OF JULES VERNE* promised never-

6) Ibid.





Fig. 6. A 1964 US Promotional Poster for VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE (original Czechoslovak title: IKARIE XB-1) (by American International Pictures).

before-experienced sensations — a promise conveyed by captions, under small frames highlighting a scene from the movie, which read: “They’ve Seen the Impossible ... they’ve lived the incredible ... now they must come back!” The poster for *THE VOYAGE TO THE END OF UNIVERSE* amounted to deliberately misleading marketing because the content that would supposedly generate such responses did not in fact appear in *THE VOYAGE TO THE END OF THE UNIVERSE* in the way being suggested.

The analysis of the Czechoslovak and US posters used to advertize a Czechoslovak science-fiction film and a Czechoslovak fantasy-adventure film that have been presented in this short essay invites reconsideration of the extent to which deliberate misrepresentation functions as a legitimate strategy among film distributors and marketers, and, by extension, invites consideration of those instances in which, and those

forms by which, misrepresentation is employed industrially. It also invites consideration of how such extreme instances of repackaging movies impact upon audience experiences of the films in question. Digital archiving of the popular press, including many small-town newspapers, offers film historians increased and easier access to print advertising materials. This development promises deeply to enrich understandings of distributor and exhibitor promotion. It therefore provides long-overdue opportunities to examine how films were framed in quite different ways for different national or even regional audiences and, more importantly, permits consideration of why such practices are a key aspect of global audiovisual culture.

Jindřiška Bláhová

## Cycles and Continuities.

### Understanding Media Convergence through Media History

Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake (eds.), *Convergence Media History*.

London: Routledge 2009, 211 pp.

Convergence studies, with its emphasis on the impact of digital technologies on industrial strategies, audiences, and new narrative forms has in the last ten years become an umbrella topic for film, television, and media scholars. Adapted from a 2007 conference, *Convergence Media History* forms part of an increasingly valuable sub-field within convergence studies that promotes research into the relationships between old and new media through extensive focus on historical precedent, while also cautioning against zeitgeist-led accounts.<sup>1)</sup> As well as reasserting a general need for comprehensive media history methodologies not unlike those advanced in earlier film historiographical work,<sup>2)</sup> Staiger and Hake's collection builds from positions advocated in studies of long-term interactions between the media industries in the twentieth century.<sup>3)</sup>

Taking into account the broad definition of convergence and its updating of older forms of media interaction, the collection is divided into four sections. A section entitled "New Methods" considers how recent forms of technological convergence affect broader theoretical questions of interest for media scholars. It contains chap-

ters by Hamid Naficy on convergence and Third Cinema, by Derek Johnson on the history of Marvel and the *X-Men* franchise, by Chris Cagle on RKO and Leftist politics, by Marsha F. Cassidy on synthaesthesia and cigarette advertising, and by Mark Williams on intermediality. "New Subjects" features case-studies of overlooked interactions between old and new media. Kathryn H. Fuller-Seeley and Laura Isabel Serna examine respectively the roles of film exhibition in early American and Mexican cinema, Kyle S. Barnett and Richard Butsch explore the history of the recording industry and the history of political broadcasting, and Harper Cossar focuses on a series of short films about golf released by Warner Bros. "New Approaches" revises previously examined topics. It includes chapters by Sue Collins on liveness and silent film stardom, Karl Schnoover on neo-realism, Ken Feil on camp, Dan Leopard on avant-garde cinema, and Alisa Perren on television movies-of-the-week. Finally, "Research Methods" discusses the problems and limitations of researching convergence media history. Elana Levine suggests some problems in studying soap operas, Pamela Wilson provides an overview of the current state of

- 1) See Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (London: MIT, 2000); Dan Harries (ed), *The New Media Book* (London: BFI, 2002); Anna Everett and John Caldwell (eds.), *New Media: Theories and Practices of Digitextuality* (London: Routledge, 2003); Wendy Hui Kyong Chun and Thomas Keenan (eds.), *New Media, Old Media: A History and Theory Reader* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006).
- 2) See Robert C. Allen & Douglas Gomery, *Film History: Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1985); James Chapman, Mark Glancy, and Sue Harper (eds), *The New Film History: Sources, Methods, Approaches* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- 3) See Michele Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting: From Radio to Cable* (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1990); Derek Kompare, *Rerun Nation* (London: Routledge, 2004).

media archives, and Megan Sapnar Ankerson proposes new research into web design.

Range is not a problem for the collection, with convergence being a sufficiently broad term to cover a range of media interactions. There is, however, some discrepancy between the collection's overall methodology, the individual case studies it presents, and some chapters in which broader theoretical areas are broached. The majority of the chapters in "Methods", in "Subjects", and in "Approaches" make persuasive cases for grounding examinations of new media change in examples from older eras and case studies from media history. This includes a set of chapters that explore early institutional practices to better explain current industrial strategies. Derek Johnson's history of the influence on contemporary film franchise strategies of Marvel Comics' *X-Men* series promotes a comprehensive approach to media history wherein "a multiplicity of texts, institutions, practices, and historical contexts collide, leading to uneven experimentation, challenge, and failure".<sup>4)</sup> Johnson's chronological history is complemented by Kyle Barnett's analysis of specialist record label Gennett in the 1920s and 1930s. Considering how the label established a niche for commercial jazz music, Barnett argues that the form evolved from a nexus of specific industrial, institutional, and technological conditions. Also noting how the recording industry provides crucial precedents for other media, Barnett uses the period to identify what he dubs "cyclical battles over technological formats and what we would now call intellectual property".<sup>5)</sup> A similar approach is

taken by Richard Butsch, who examines negotiations between early American radio as a public service and as a commercial interest, outlining how key policy decisions and their embodiment in social processes were instrumental to the formative stages of US broadcasting.<sup>6)</sup>

Parallel strengths are found in Fuller-Seeley's, Serna's, and Schnoover's discussions of changing film exhibition strategies, which are often overlooked as important sites for negotiating new media change. Fuller-Seeley's chapter is particularly strong in terms of its analysis of how the 1908 Jamestown Exhibition merged cinematic presentation with older theatrical and storytelling traditions to contextualize shifts in the construction of modernity.<sup>7)</sup> Serna's study of early Mexican film exhibition, by comparison, discusses how local theatre owners in the 1910s and 1920s re-packaged US imports for audiences, suggesting further precedent for understanding how globally distributed film converges with national viewing cultures.<sup>8)</sup> Conversely, Schnoover outlines how the reception of European art-films in the US in the post-WWII period was shaped by specific exhibition-led marketing practices which negotiated high art and exploitation appeals.<sup>9)</sup>

In "New Approaches", Sue Collins' overview of anxieties surrounding the "liveness" of 1920s film stars' public appearances identifies some of the overlooked negotiations that took place between the aura of early cinema and its production of celebrity capital.<sup>10)</sup> Shifting attention to television, Alisa Perren surveys the movie-of-the-week's rise and decline as a form, providing

4) Derek Johnson, 'Franchise histories: Marvel, *X-Men*, and the negotiated process of expansion', in Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake (eds.), *Convergence Media History* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 14.

5) Kyle S. Barnett, 'The recording industry's role in media history', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 88.

6) Richard Butsch, 'Forging a citizen audience: broadcasting from the 1920s through the 1940s', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 92–101.

7) Kathryn Fuller-Seeley, 'Provincial modernity?: film exhibition at the 1907 Jamestown Exhibition', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 59–68.

8) Laura Isabel Serna, 'Exhibition in Mexico during the early 1920s: nationalist discourse and transnational capital', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History* pp. 69–80.

9) Karl Schnoover, 'The comfort of carnage: neorealism and America's world understanding', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 127–138.

10) Sue Collins, 'Bonding with the crowd: silent film stars, liveness, and the public sphere', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 117–126.

undervalued insight into shifts from an older, mass audience-era of broadcasting to the medium's contemporary era of multi-platform digital programming.<sup>11)</sup> Sharing this approach, Cossar explores how Warner Bros.' 1930s golf films provide examples of early experimentation with ephemeral productions, showcasing new technologies alongside the cross-promotion of Hollywood with other leisure activities. In doing so, Cossar makes important links between classical Hollywood practices and the current deployment across the media industries of extra-textual materials like making-of-featurettes and online content.<sup>12)</sup> This scrutiny extends to Cagle's analysis of the development of the American social problem film, contextualizing a diverse genre within a specific set of production cycles and marketing imperatives for Hollywood during the same historical juncture.<sup>13)</sup>

While these chapters illustrate media convergence's long industrial history, Cassidy's and Ankerson's contributions offer perhaps more eye-catching examples. Cassidy focuses on the ways in which televised cigarette advertisements from the 1960s demonstrate convergence through synaesthesia, whereby the "ads crossed the sensorium, manipulating words, music, visual imagery, and olfactory memories to elicit the gratification of a pleasing taste. Sixty seconds of cross-modal stimuli all converged on the mouth".<sup>14)</sup> Cassidy's is a distinctive approach, teasing out the complexities of the adverts as media texts in order to illustrate more general

tensions over gender and the body. Equally innovative is Ankerson's promotion of the emerging field of game and internet software studies through the development of Flash animation as a response to institutional imperatives and to trial-and-error coding.<sup>15)</sup> Taken together, these chapters provide case studies grounded in rigorous historical research, acting as entry points into broader discussions over the periodization of convergence and cyclical industrial practices.

While nevertheless significant in their own right, some other chapters do fall short of this high standard, reproducing familiar contingencies of art, technology, and commerce. This is particularly apparent in Feil's take on the reception of cinematic camp in the 1960s, and Leopard's analysis of avant-garde production. Feil views camp as a form of subversive pleasure defined by the mainstream reception and categorization of landmark films like *What's New, Pussycat?* (1965). Detailing a process of converged cultural tastes, Feil points to opportunities for rupture between the "social constituencies of mainstream and subculture".<sup>16)</sup> While the point is valid and the case study well-drawn, as an example of social convergence it lacks the broader industrial considerations of other chapters. The same is true of Leopard's consideration of how filmmakers Stan Brakhage and Andy Warhol experimented with new video technologies, in a chapter reproducing well worn themes of artistic struggle within institutional constraints.<sup>17)</sup>

11) Alisa Perren, 'Whatever happened to the movie-of-the-week? (the shocking true story of how made-for-TV-movies disappeared from the broadcast networks)', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 161-170.

12) Harper Cossar, 'Bobby Jones, Warner Bros., and the short instructional film', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 102-113.

13) Chris Cagle, 'When Pierre Bourdieu meets the political economists: RKO and the Leftist in Hollywood problematic', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 24-33.

14) Marsha F. Cassidy, 'Touch, taste, breath: synaesthesia, sense memory, and the selling of cigarettes on television, 1948-1971', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 40.

15) Megan Sapnar Ankerson, 'Historicizing web design: software, style, and the look of the web', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 200-201.

16) Ken Feil, "Talk about bad taste": camp, cult, and the reception of *What's New Pussycat?*, in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 148.

17) Dan Leopard, 'Selling out, buying in: Brakhage, Warhol, and BAVC', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 151-160.



Problems with this approach's recycling of tensions between film art and institutional constraints become clearer in chapters dealing with more theoretical questions of converged media. Hamid Naficy examines the effect of technological convergence through a dialogue between digitally-enhanced, oppositional Third Cinema and Hollywood as a form of "textual multiplexing".<sup>18)</sup> Considering how technology has enabled diverse production while rejuvenating Hollywood imperialism, Naficy again criticizes ideologically-mediated technology without providing clearly-defined case studies.<sup>19)</sup> Mark Williams repeats some of these shortcomings, analyzing intermediality through variations on realism within televisual and cinematic representations of a US crisis.<sup>20)</sup> However, the collection's general format, with chapters on average running at just over ten pages, compresses the scope of Williams' argument.

Difficulties over the scale of historical research underpin *Convergence Media History's* final section. Elana Levine explains how her work on soap operas encountered multiple problems over academic legitimacy due to the ephemeral nature of the format.<sup>21)</sup> She instead proposes an inclusive approach to genre and media history that dismantles "universalist claims so common to genre criticism".<sup>22)</sup> Challenges over legitimacy are also taken up by Pamela Wilson, who examines the archive more generally as a resource that, while expanding, continues to be complicated by copyright restrictions and narrow definitions of cultural value.<sup>23)</sup>

Taken together, *Convergence Media History* is an important collection, providing multiple entry-points into understanding histories of old and new media interaction as ones shaped by

cyclical industrial processes, trial and error, and continuities in social practice. However, some of the shifts in scope demonstrate the collection's conference origins, generating a disconnect in terms of the short individual chapters and the collection's convincingly expressed call for a rigorous form of media history. At its best, though, *Convergence Media History* promotes a much-needed return to the archive, particularly for ephemeral media objects, and provides ambitious scope for future research.

Gareth James

18) Hamid Naficy, 'From accented cinema to multiplex cinema', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 3.

19) Ibid., p. 11.

20) Mark Williams, 'Rewiring media history: intermedial borders', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, pp. 46–56.

21) Elana Levine, 'Doing soap opera history: challenges and triumphs', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 173.

22) Ibid., p. 180.

23) Pamela Wilson, 'Stalking the wild evidence: capturing media history through elusive and ephemeral archives', in Staiger and Hake, *Convergence Media History*, p. 182.

## The Problem with Sexploitation Movies

The process of researching and writing film history has changed significantly over the past fifty years. What gets written about has changed. Broadly dealing with masterpieces, select auteurs and a few national cinemas has given way to focused histories of marginal forms (as well as marginalized filmmakers and audiences), including films made by or for racial and ethnic minorities, the GLBT community, those made in postcolonial contexts, and a variety of “orphaned” forms — educational films, industrials, home movies, etc. How those movies are researched has also changed, moving from merely watching films and expounding on them in chronological order to conducting extensive archival research and rooting it in carefully considered theoretical propositions. This change finds a correlation in what David Bordwell has referred to as “middle-level research” and has expanded what constitutes our understanding of “film history”.<sup>1)</sup> My current “middle-level research” is into the history of sexploitation movies. It has been a frequently fascinating and rewarding experience; it has resulted in a number of satisfying conference papers, some keynote addresses, and several published articles. But it has also proven to be frustrating. That frustration is borne out of the ways in which the films were situated historically, the challenges they

present to any scholar who attempts to approach their history holistically (instead of as cult items or as an excuse to dabble in auterism), and because of the nature of the films themselves.

After completing my first book, *“Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!”: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959*, I decided to work on a history of sexploitation films.<sup>2)</sup> Even though the “classical”<sup>3)</sup> exploitation films about which I wrote in *“Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!”* represented a variety of sub-categories (including sex hygiene films, drug movies, and nudist documentaries) almost all of them shared a fundamental concern with sexuality. Moving into the sexploitation era, which in popular accounts begins around 1959 or 1960 with the appearance of the first “nudie cutie” films, seemed to be a logical extension of the first book. The result would be *Massacre of Pleasure: A History of Sexploitation Films, 1960–1979*, a work, like the prior one, driven by questions without preconceived answers in mind, and based on a minimal number of guiding, evidence-based, assumptions. What I had hoped would be a six or seven year process of research and writing has gone on considerably longer than anticipated, in part due to the methodological and the historiographic hurdles posed by sexploitation movies, in part because of my own determination to be thorough, and in

1) See, for example, David Bordwell, ‘Contemporary Film Studies and the Vicissitudes of Grand Theory’ in Bordwell and Noel Carroll (eds), *Post-Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies* (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), pp. 3–36.

2) Eric Schaefer, *“Bold! Daring! Shocking! True!”: A History of Exploitation Films, 1919–1959* (Durham Duke University Press, 1999).

3) Classical exploitation films are so dubbed because they paralleled the “classical Hollywood cinema”.

part because of the dreary nature of so many of the films in question. Below are some of the problems of sexploitation movies.

Exactly when sexploitation began can be debated to some degree; but the term was in use in the American trade press as early as 1958, and was probably used in conversation prior to that date.<sup>4)</sup> Defining exactly what constituted a sexploitation film is, however, not as easy to determine. In the trades in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the term sexploitation was often synonymous with hardcore pornography and, at other times, critics used the appellation to tar mainstream films of which they did not approve. For my purposes, sexploitation has developed a specific meaning. Sexploitation films were independent productions made on low budgets (relative to the cost of major mainstream releases). The films were advertised for "adults only" and, when the ratings system became operational in late 1968, were either rated R or X, or continued to be shown to adult-only audiences. While classical exploitation movies balanced titillating elements with claims of educational intent, sexploitation films focused on nudity and sexual situations, including seduction, adultery, voyeurism, and various fetishes; but they rarely asserted higher aims (see Figure 1). Like their predecessors, sexploitation movies could be narratives, documentaries or, at times, a combination thereof. Narrative sexploitation films were made in a wide variety of genres: comedies, melodramas, thrillers, Westerns, horror films, science fiction, to name just a few. So, in many respects, sexploitation is less a genre per se, but can instead be seen as a series of strategies (filmic, marketing, and legal) for displaying on-screen softcore sex. The form began to proliferate around 1960 and reached a peak of production and distribution in the United States

around 1970 before gradually tapering off as mainstream Hollywood films began to incorporate softcore elements into juvenile comedies and erotic thrillers. Moreover, the downtown theaters and outlying drive-ins that had been a haven for sexploitation pictures were rapidly falling to urban renewal projects and suburban sprawl. The home video revolution provided the final nail in sexploitation's coffin as low-budget films of any kind, unable to attain theatrical release, went straight to video release. Although softcore films have continued to be made for various media and various audiences, by the early 1980s sexploitation was no longer a viable theatrical form.

The problems in researching sexploitation films extend beyond mere definition. Unlike the mainstream American film industry, the production of sexploitation films reached well beyond Los Angeles. New York, Chicago, Miami, San Francisco, Texas, as well as other places, were all home to sexploitation producers, and sometimes regional differences are notable. Moreover, movies from Europe, South America, and Asia also became sexploitation after they had been, often in altered forms, imported into the United States.<sup>5)</sup> While a few companies made large numbers of sexploitation films, there were dozens of outfits that knocked out a movie or two and then called it a day. The quality of sexploitation movies varies wildly; some compare favorably to the production values of mid-level Hollywood or non-US films, while others, made for a few thousand dollars at best, are virtually incomprehensible and stagger the imagination with their ineptitude. Therefore, it is difficult to generate a clear, overarching narrative about the "production" of sexploitation movies. Unlike the distribution system of the majors, sexploitation producers relied on a scattered collection of

4) A review of *THE SHAMELESS SEX* (a 1952 Italian film originally titled "Wanda la Peccatrice") in *The Exhibitor* (12 November 1958, n.p.) claimed the movie was "strictly for the sex-ploitation [sic.] spots". It was just a short time before the hyphenated "sex-ploitation" had become the word "sexploitation".

5) Imported films were often cut to create a shorter running time or to emphasize nudity or sexual storylines. Alternately, for some movies, racy inserts were shot in the States and edited into the imported version of the film. For *Massacre of Pleasure*, I am looking solely at films distributed and exhibited in the U.S. To consider other countries, with an array of different cultural contexts, film industries, legal systems, and so on, would simply be impossible.



Fig. 1. Typical action in a run-of-the-mill sexploitation film from 1968, *ACAPULCO UNCENSORED* (Hollywood Cinema Associates).

small, regional sub-distributors. This situation meant that, while some movies were able to achieve what amounted to national distribution, others had at best spotty releases. As was the case with production, the picture of sexploitation distribution is fragmented and difficult to chronicle.

As the dominant form of motion picture entertainment in the United States, "Hollywood" movies can usually be considered on their own terms. Sexploitation films, however, cannot be viewed in isolation — they were in their first decade defined in relation to mainstream Hollywood product, to "art cinema", and, to some degree, even to the emerging underground cinema movement. As sexploitation films moved into the 1970s, they were made and exhibited in the context of theatrical hardcore pornography. Any history of sexploitation films must therefore consider the product and its circumstances in light of four other distinct categories of motion picture.

From a methodological standpoint, the best works of film and media history are now interdisciplinary in nature; the days of looking at texts through a single, tightly focused lens are in eclipse. But again, sexploitation demands that a variety of perspectives be brought to bear on it: history, law, sociology, psychology, urban studies, and, of course, sexuality and gender studies. To approach the subject from just one or two perspectives would deprive it of dimension and depth. Indeed, I would venture that the vast majority of books, articles, and other references I have consulted thus far are outside the realm of academic film studies, in part because, to date, relatively little has been written about sexploitation; but also out of the necessity to provide the broadest possible context for understanding the form and its history.

Finding information about the production, distribution, and reception of sexploitation films has been a challenge: there is no "one-stop shopping" for material on these movies. Over



the years, I have made pilgrimages to several private collections and to more than half-a-dozen public archives. Because sexploitation movies were both disposable and disreputable, and because companies came and went, records were seldom retained. Interviews with producers, distributors, and exhibitors (some published; many conducted by myself either in person, on the phone, or by letters and email) have filled several of these gaps. Some figures from the field of sexploitation were dead before my research began, others were reluctant to talk, and then there were those individuals who have been impossible to track down. Examination of years of trade publications (including *Variety*, *Boxoffice*, and *Independent Film Journal*) has helped me to understand how at the time sexploitation was situated within the wider film industry, and contemporaneous popular press coverage (newspapers and newsmagazines, popular books, and tabloids) has provided an outline of discourse about sexploitation circulating the culture-at-large. Over time, collections of personal and business papers have come into my hands and I have accumulated hundreds of pressbooks and thousands of publicity stills.

It is this gradual aggregation of material that finally has put me in a position in which it is possible for me to construct a fairly broad history of sexploitation films, something beyond the work of a single individual, company, or locale. The key to answering questions has come from the assemblage of a sufficient amount of evidence required to develop compelling explanations. And a sufficient amount of evidence only comes about when a large pile of information — a “critical mess” — has been fashioned. Some years ago, I read an article that introduced me to the concept of the “critical-mess theory of collecting”, a process involving the casting of the widest net possible, amassing material, and then looking for patterns in order to be able to draw conclusions.<sup>6)</sup> The concept resonated with me: I realized that I had, in my work on exploitation

and sexploitation cinema, been engaging in what amounted to “critical-mess historiography”. Critical-mess historiography is slow and it is messy; it relies on chance connections and fortuitous convergences. But ultimately it represents the most thorough and conclusive method of studying fringe phenomena like sexploitation films when compared to faster, more cursory efforts at writing history, especially those that start with a predetermined thesis.

What now slows me down are the films themselves. In the two decades bookended by 1960 and 1979, something in the order of 2000 sexploitation movies were made. While I set out with no intention of watching them all — a not inconsequential number of them are lost evidently — getting through 20–25 percent of this output seemed crucial to understanding the diversity that sexploitation exhibited over time. Accessing the films is one thing, sitting through them is quite another. For every single film that offers some interest, be it aesthetic, or be it in terms of its content or its historical importance, there are five sexploitation films that verge on the unwatchable. Even movies made by “leaders” in the field such as Russ Meyer and Radley Metzger, not to mention those from filmmakers who have become cult figures, like Joe Sarno and Doris Wishman, can be difficult to sit through. After a while, the prospect of watching another hour in which two or three people writhe under the sheets, as a shaky camera hovers above them like a hungry mosquito, is daunting. Even with sexploitation films often running at less than 70 minutes, many of the movies feel far longer than that due to repeated sequences of people wandering through Central Park or driving down the streets of Los Angeles, or of extended scenes of desultory dressing and undressing. Add to these features the muddy cinematography, amateurish performances, non-synch “dialogue,” bleak motel rooms and bland suburban tract houses used as sets, the canned jazz scores, lame comedy, or the strained

6) The idea of “critical-mess collecting” was put forward in a profile of obsessive bibliophile Michael Zinman. See Mark Singer, “The book eater” *The New Yorker*, 5 February 2001, pp. 62–71.

seriousness in so many of the movies, and it is a grim task.

Given the problems with sexploitation films, why bother to write their history? First, the sheer numbers speak for themselves. Even though the films were of meager quality, frequently interchangeable, and often forgettable, they were for twenty years a prominent part of the American movie scene. Their very existence helped to keep many theaters alive and, in some respects, buoyed the entire American film industry in a time of steep economic decline. Although they did not lead directly to the establishment of theatrical hardcore pornography, they contributed to a tolerance for increasingly explicit sexual entertainment, which in turn made theatrical hardcore possible. For better or worse, sexploitation films paved the way for a broadly sexualized popular culture that we now experience in print, on television, in films, and on the internet. So, even though these movies were, for the most part, neither very good nor terribly entertaining, they played a significant role in shaping the contemporary media scene.

So I soldier on, wading through movies like *HIP, HOT AND 21* (1967), *ACAPULCO UNCENSORED*, *THE KISS-OFF* (both 1968), *SEX CIRCUS* (1969), *MOONSHINE LOVE* (1970), *TEENAGE JAILBAIT* (1976), and *SWEATER GIRLS* (1978). As they say, it's a dirty job, but somebody's gotta do it.

Eric Schaefer

## Notes Towards a Theory of Cyclical Production and Topicality in American Film

In one way or another, I have been reaching for a theory of film cycles since work began on my first book.<sup>1)</sup> That research attempted to understand the reasons behind the ebb and flow of Western films during the 1930s. Those enquiries sought to explain Western film cycles as they related to the explicit needs of film producers, exhibitors, and audiences. My more recent studies into the linked post-war/post-studio cycles of boxing, social problem, gangster, rock 'n' roll, and hot rod movies has continued this line of investigation, but as I stretch out from research on a single-genre to considering the inter-relationships between film cycles, particularly around the issue of topicality, I find the need to understand and to explain the methodology that will shape my enquiries.<sup>2)</sup>

To meet this challenge, I have drawn from the ideas of the literary historian Franco Moretti. "Countless are the novels of the world", he observed, "[s]o, how can we speak of them?"<sup>3)</sup> His

question poses a radical break with literary theory based on a canon of acclaimed works, and his observation presumes a need for a quantitative historical account of literature. Moretti is not interested in the isolated text but in the manner in which texts are related to each other. His focus is on the many, not the few; a history of literary genres in which quantification poses the question the literary historian must answer — why this genre appeared at this particular moment in history and then faded? Moretti intends to produce an account that is responsive to literature in history and that is sensitive to the history of literature. His history is not a record of the extraordinary, but the ordinary, not the unusual forms of literary production, but the everyday forms. I want to propose a similar account for film, one that considers movies through a theory and history of cycles and trends. My study will propose that film is examined in its complexity, not in its singularity, as

1) Peter Stanfield, *Hollywood, Westerns and the 1930s: The Lost Trail* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001).

2) Published work on film cycles by Peter Stanfield includes: 'A Monarch for the Millions: Jewish Filmmakers, Social Commentary & the Postwar Cycle of Boxing Films', in Frank Krutnik, Steve Neale, Brian Neve, and Peter Stanfield (eds.), *"Un-American" Hollywood: Politics & Film in the Blacklist Era* (2007), pp. 79–96; 'Crossover: Sam Katzman's Switchblade Calypso Bop Reefer Madness Swamp Girl or "Bad Jazz," Calypso, Beatniks, Hot Rods, and Rock 'n' Roll in 1950s Teenpix', *Popular Music*, vol. 29, no. 3 (Autumn 2010), pp. 437–456; 'Punks! Topicality and the 1950s Gangster Bio-Pic Cycle', in Kingsley Bolton and Jan Olsson (eds.), *Media, Popular Culture and the American Century* (Stockholm: National Library of Sweden, 2010), pp. 185–215; "'Got-to-See': Trends in Social Problem Pictures and the Postwar Cycles of Juvenile Delinquency Movies", in Roy Grundmann, Cynthia Lucia, and Art Simon (eds.), *Wiley-Blackwell History of American Film Volume III 1946 to 1975* (New York: Blackwell, 2011), pp. 220–40; 'Intent to Speed: Cyclical Production, Topicality and the 1950s Hot Rod Movie', *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1 (forthcoming 2013).

3) Franco Moretti (ed.), *The Novel, History, Geography, and Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. ix.

Moretti also proposed for his study of literature. He writes:

Do cycles and genres explain everything, in the history of the novel? Of course not. But they bring to light its hidden tempo, and suggest some questions on what we could call its internal shape.<sup>4)</sup>

I share his understanding on the limits and the possibilities of such an endeavor.

Moretti looks for answers to the question of how he can speak of the many and not just the few in literature's formal arrangements. His method is therefore still open to literature's rhetorical devices, but no longer are these devices isolated from the mass. He proposes an historical account of rhetoric, which is faithful to the empirical data that deals with the evolution and decline of literary genres. Moretti's approach is therefore radical — the move away from an individuated text — and, at the same time, conservative — the cleaving to formal analysis once the quantitative work has been carried out. A study of commercial cinema, however, should have the ambition to go beyond the collection of data and its formal analysis; it must also be attentive and responsive to the role of the industry, of invested institutions, and of creative agents in shaping its particular rhetorical devices.

Moretti's study will produce an account of the oxymoronic concept of "regular novelties", a concept that could have been coined by the British art critic Lawrence Alloway. Alloway's theories on film seriality, iconography, incremental modification, obsolescence, and temporary creative alliances can be aligned with Moretti's "regular novelties", and will form the foundation of my analysis of cycles and trends.<sup>5)</sup> Alloway refused the idea that the study of film should privilege the individual artifact — the

unique art object. Like Moretti, he resists and rejects the lure of the canon. Alloway argued that if we only pay strict attention to the single film or to the creative individual, the object of study will inevitably become divorced from the contexts in which it was produced, so that the study of film becomes analogous to the study of fine art. This is not to say there is nothing interesting or meaningful to be said about isolated films or auteurs, but, as Alloway contended, to use the vocabulary and techniques developed in analysis of the fine arts will do more to hide the ostensible object of study than it will assist in bringing it into the light.

Following Alloway and Moretti, the subject of my critical enquiry is the process of repetition marked by incremental innovation or readjustment. I propose to examine films in terms of sets and runs, to study temporally defined clusters of films. In sum, the object of attention is to consider a film's commonality with other films. This commonality will be considered not just in terms of content, form, and style, but also through enquiries into production, distribution, and the consumption of repeatable experiences. The aim behind the study of film cycles is to set aside the unique, the extraordinary, and the distinct — texts removed from history — and instead turn to recurrence, overlap, and fusion, which form the associations that in turn create the liaisons and connections within and between historically located cycles. As I define it, a cycle is a series, run, or set of successive and related films that are produced over a measurable period of time, the duration of which is marked from a beginning, through productivity and development, to dissipation, fade, and ending.

Mapping the repetitions, overlaps, and fusions that form the associations that link individual films within a cycle, and in turn the liaisons and connections between various cycles, will produce a better understanding of film production

4) Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 29.

5) See, Peter Stanfield, 'Regular Novelties: Lawrence Alloway's Film Criticism', *Tate Papers* #16 (Autumn 2011), pp. 1–9. Peter Stanfield, 'Maximum Movies: Lawrence Alloway's Pop Art Film Criticism', *Screen* vol. 49, no. 2 (Summer 2008), pp. 179–93.



trends than can be achieved by traditional genre analysis. This is because cycles are inherently historical, while genres tend to be conceived as a-historical. Genre theory too often presupposes that films belong to exclusive fixed groupings, which can readily be conceived as existing outside of time. The concept of cycles; however, is fixed inside time. Cycles belong to history. The study of cyclical production allows for the recognition and identification of films with shared characteristics and enables the scholar to see how a cycle merges and blends with other cycles. The scholar thus becomes interested in film's inherent seriality, with its dual focus on repetition and modification. This process of the production of regular novelties — film's institutional particularity — is located within a historical continuum, which is sensitive to the conjunctures between film and the public sphere.

The study of cycles reveals uniqueness to be little more than a re-articulation of existent components. In the process of re-articulation, the form, style, and content of films become modified. Changes in films' social contexts, in production, in distribution, in exhibition, and in reception can account for these modifications. Runs of films, so it will be argued, can act as indices of shifts in the production and consumption contexts of movies, and they can also make legible the time in which the films were produced and consumed. A study of film cycles is therefore also a study of the topical nature of film. This form of analysis can elucidate a film's life within the public sphere without resorting to vague notions such as evoking a zeitgeist, or to generalized symptomatic readings, in order to explain the changes in what was watched and the way people lived.

As used in film trade journals, the terms "fads" "cycles" and "trends" are interchangeable, suggestive of the transitory state of audience interests, which appear to live fast and die young, and

of the industry's attempts to prophesize and to influence shifts in consumption habits and taste; however, scholars should consider these terms as each defining a distinct time frame. Moretti has discussed the "temporary structures" that constitute the particular temporal arrangements that govern serial production and consumption of literature.<sup>6</sup> Drawing upon the work of historian Fernand Braudel, Moretti explores three time frames: "event", "cycle", and "longue durée". He draws the conclusion that "the short span [event] is all flow and no structure, the longue durée all structure and no flow, and cycles are the — unstable — border country between them".<sup>7</sup> In this context, temporal structures become visible to the literary historian because repetition is introduced into the equation — hence he or she is able to "map" regularity, order, and pattern. In his refiguration of Braudel's tripartition of temporal structures, Moretti re-names longue durée "genre", that is "morphological arrangements that *last* in time".<sup>8</sup>

Braudel understood all historical work to be involved in "breaking down time past, choosing among its chronological realities according to more or less conscious preferences and exclusions".<sup>9</sup> This basic principle informed his proposed dialogue between history and the social sciences. He argued that the social sciences were beleaguered by their being overly fixated on the event. This short time span is noisy and explosive, and more a matter of the moment than a means to explicating historical forces. The event's "delusive smoke fills the minds of its contemporaries, but it does not last, and its flame can scarcely ever be discerned".<sup>10</sup> The economist's preference for a longer time span than the event, i.e. the cycle, as an object of study, provides a valuable key to the orchestration of conjunctures out of which a history can be written.<sup>11</sup> The problem facing the historian is how to make use of cycles, which are often little more

6) Moretti, *Graphs*, pp. 13–14.

7) Ibid.

8) Ibid [italics in original].

9) Fernand Braudel, *On History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980), p. 27.

10) Ibid.

11) Ibid., p. 30.

than sketches and hypotheses.<sup>12)</sup> The answer, he proposes, is found in the manner in which these cycles are structured, how they are organized into a “coherent and fairly fixed series of relationships between realities and social masses”.<sup>13)</sup> This “structure” is what forms the *longue durée*.

For us historians, a structure is of course a construct, an architecture, but, over and above that, it is a reality which time uses and abuses over long periods. Some structures, because of their long life, become stable elements for an infinite number of generations: they get in the way of history, hinder its flow, and in hindering shape it. Others wear themselves out more quickly. But all of them provide both support and hindrance. As hindrances, they stand as limits (“envelopes” in the mathematical sense) beyond which man and his experiences cannot go.<sup>14)</sup>

Contiguous events form cycles, which in turn are limited by the structures within which they are produced, but which also help shape that structure. Identifying these structures (and structural changes) produces a history defined in terms of the *longue durée*. Braudel’s theory shares a number of elements with the business cycle theory first popularized by the economist W. C. Mitchell and developed by him from the ’teens through to his death in 1948. The theory had a predictive function, using abstract models in order to forecast change and regularity within an economic system. Like Braudel and Moretti’s versions, the business cycle theory has a tripartite structure, made up of fluctuations, cycles, and trends. Fluctuations are localized, short-lived, expressions of economic activity — a ver-

sion of Braudel and Moretti’s “event”. The volatility of economic systems, of which fluctuations are a symptom, can be better understood, and hence change can better be predicted, if a structure, i.e. the cycle, is used to identify the general characteristics of change. The cycle, then, provides a model from which general tendencies in economic activity over time can be identified — tendencies that are not obscured by dramatic fluctuations, fast moving, or attention grabbing, events. The variation in cycles, both in terms of duration and amplitude, are in turn held within trends. According to the economist Stanley Bober, “the trend is represented by a monotonic movement, which is the result of the longer-run underlying forces that affect the series [of cycles]”.<sup>15)</sup> Cyclical changes are then determined by “departures from a calculated trend line”.<sup>16)</sup> These changes have four phases: “Starting at a trough or low point, it (1) traverses through an expansion phase, (2) rises to a peak or high point, (3) declines through a contraction phase, and (4) reaches a trough.”<sup>17)</sup>

There are two core principles involved in a cyclical economy model. The first principle is that each cycle must be considered as “a unique series of events, which has its own particular explanatory forces and its own particular effect on the economy”.<sup>18)</sup> The second principle is that “although each cycle has its own different experience, it is an outgrowth of economic processes that were occurring during the preceding unique cyclical experience”.<sup>19)</sup> A universal model for business cycles is unattainable, because duration and amplitude differ from cycle to cycle, and although business conditions repeat themselves: they do so always with an element of difference. Paraphrasing Mitchell, Bober writes, even

12) Ibid., p. 31.

13) Ibid.

14) Ibid.

15) Stanley Bober, *The Economics of Cycles and Growth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968), p. 21.

16) Ibid., p. 25.

17) Ibid., p. 27.

18) Ibid., pp. 44–45.

19) Ibid.

though it may be possible to offer a valid explanation for a particular cycle, it is quite unlikely that the particular conditions that made this one explanation valid would necessarily exist again, or for that matter, did exist in the past.<sup>20)</sup>

Hence, the historical specificity of cycles and the value to the economist of identifying trends across cycles of activity produces a long-lived account. Despite the particularities of any given situation, this theory, so it is argued, allows for an accurate prediction based on past cyclical examples of when expansion will turn to contraction and when contraction will turn to expansion. According to Mitchell, this process of repetition and difference means that a "theory of business cycles must therefore be a descriptive analysis by which one set of business conditions transforms itself into another set".<sup>21)</sup> My aim is to adapt the theories of Mitchell, Braudel, and Moretti, and, in doing so, write a history of cinema that is orchestrated in terms of fads, cycles, and trends, which constitutes my revision of Moretti's event, cycle, and genre.

The study of fads, cycles, and trends allows for a particularly responsive account of small but significant shifts in how Hollywood conceived, produced, distributed, and exhibited its films. Thinking about films in terms of genres, directors, or stars tends to favor similarity in productions over and above difference. In genre studies, the critic searches for an ideal, in star studies he or she attempts to define a paradigmatic performance, while the auteurist critic looks for the repetition of motifs to link otherwise disparate films. On the other hand, the critical study of fads, cycles, and trends does not privilege repetition over novelty or stasis over change, but instead seeks to examine and to explain patterns of reiteration alongside innovation. In this sense, conventions are never entirely fixed, but

are mutable. A generic ideal can never be realized, only imagined.

Architectural critic Reyner Banham, a contemporary of Alloway, wrote that in "engineering a standardised product is essentially a norm, stabilised only for the moment, the very opposite of an ideal because it is a compromise between possible production and possible further development into a new and more desirable norm".<sup>22)</sup> The industrial art of Hollywood is based upon the fetish of the norm, its confirmation and disavowal: change and stasis, or minor modification masquerading as innovation, characterize Hollywood's film production. Linking the movies to the automobile industry, Alloway wrote: the "annual style changes were sufficient to entertain us with a comedy of newness but not radical enough to disrupt continuity with earlier models".<sup>23)</sup> But, just as in car design, films do change over time, however incrementally and hesitantly those shifts are realized.

One determinant of change is the need for productions to respond to topical issues and to maintain a dialogue with contemporary culture through the incorporation of everyday objects into a film's mise-en-scene. Style of hair, the cut of a jacket, the line of a coat, the model of automobile, street furniture, and branded goods, all help to signify a film's contemporaneity. As much as Hollywood drives fashion changes (magazine spreads on the latest styles worn by the top stars, say) it is also at the mercy of fads, vogues, and seasonal changes. This is why movies, regardless of developments in technology, fast become dated.

Discussing the "zeitgeist fallacy", Moretti notes how readily literary scholars move from an interpretative analysis of rhetoric to making generalizations about social history in light of their readings. The textual insight may be more or less illuminating, but the version of history produced is authoritarian, always producing

20) Ibid., p. 45.

21) Cited in Ibid., p. 45.

22) Barry Curtis, 'From Ivory Tower to Control Tower', in David Robbins and Jacquelynn Baas (eds), *The Independent Group: Postwar Britain and the Aesthetics of Plenty* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), p. 224.

23) Lawrence Alloway, *Violent America: The Movies 1946-1964* (New York: MOMA, 1971), p. 25.

a corresponding fit between the text and its contexts; however, he notes, "[w]hat becomes arbitrary when it is generalized may perfectly well not be so if it aims for a more restricted sphere of validity".<sup>24)</sup> This more localized approach means that it is possible to test the validity of the claims made against the evidence presented. Similarly, my studies of fads, cycles, and trends do not claim to elucidate the spirit of the times, to prescribe an overarching social reading of the multitude of films produced in the post-studio era, that romantic comedies, say, somehow reiterate the notion of social conformity as generally ascribed to the years of the Eisenhower administration, or that some genres, film noir for instance, subvert and attack compliance to that same field of convention. But my study does claim to show just how cyclical film production and events and concerns within the public sphere coincide, or not, as the case may be.

Forsaking an inappropriate search for cinematic masterpieces, or a concentration on the supposedly unique features of the medium, Alloway argues that we need to consider

the crossovers among communicative forms. Only then can we chart the forms that topicality takes in the movies, often oblique but definitely present as a predisposing factor in the audience's attitudes.<sup>25)</sup>

This position is akin to that taken by Christine Gledhill in *Reinventing Film Studies*, wherein she discussed the difficulties facing the discipline in the aftermath of the fragmentation of the engagement with "grand theory". She writes:

If, post grand theory, film studies is not to diminish into a conservative formalism or a conceptually unrooted empirical historicism, the question of how to understand the life of films in the social is paramount.<sup>26)</sup>

Gledhill's particular concern is with genre theory and the need to maintain an open-ended understanding of how film genres work as modalities, in which ideologies "provide material for symbolic actions and the aesthetic process hands back to the social affective experience and moral perceptions".<sup>27)</sup> Genres, she argued,

construct fictional worlds out of textual encounters between cultural languages, discourses, representations, images, and documents according to the conventions of a genre's given fictional world, while social and cultural conflicts supply material for renewed generic enactments.<sup>28)</sup>

Although I replace genre with cycles and trends, my study supports and builds upon Gledhill's directive.

In an account of low-budget films in the 1950s, Blair Davis quotes AIP producer James H. Nicholson on how his company approached the issue of formulaic production with the contradictory need to suggest the new. Blair writes "Nicholson believed that while certain audience tastes never change, they could always be updated 'by use of modern expressions such as 'Hot Rod,' 'Drag Strip' and Rock 'n' Roll,' etc."<sup>29)</sup> Charting and identifying patterns of recurrence and change in the movies — Moretti's "regular novelties" — and examining production cycles

24) Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken For Wonders: On the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London: Verso, 2005), p. 25.

25) Ibid., p. 43.

26) Christine Gledhill, 'Rethinking Genre', in Christine Gledhill and Linda Williams (eds), *Reinventing Film Studies*, (London: Arnold, 2000), p. 240.

27) Ibid.

28) Ibid., p. 239.

29) Blair Davis, *The Battle for the Bs: 1950s Hollywood and the Rebirth of Low-Budget Cinema* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2012), p. 108.



and their mutual relationship with topical issues of the day — Nicholson's "modern expressions" — scholars can arrive at a set of conclusions about the life of films within the public sphere which are verifiable against the evidence mustered before the reader.

My ambition is to match my research with that currently being carried out under the banner of "new cinema history", an approach exemplified by the work of Richard Maltby. Maltby argues that such a history must be written "from below" so that the social experience of film going is recognized alongside histories of production and the textual reading of film. The axiom of the new cinema history is that it is based on the empirical study of the circulation and reception of cinema, and the industrial, institutional, political, legal, and cultural forces and policies that help determine that movement and consumption. The best of this work is a long way from the "conceptually unrooted empirical historicism" that Gledhill feared. Indeed, like Moretti's quantitative approach, it can determine the questions that can be asked of film that free the scholar from textual readings which only honor the uniqueness of film while ignoring that which is shared with other films and with other media.

Peter Stanfield

## Z přírůstků Knihovny NFA

### AMAD, Paula

Counter-archive : film, the everyday, and Albert Kahn's Archives de la Planète / Paula Amad. -- New York : Columbia University Press, 2010. -- xiii, 408 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- (Film and culture). -- Úvod, seznam vyobrazení, citáty, poznámky na s. 309–64 - Bibliografie na s. 365–397, rejstřík - Monografická studie zkoumající okolnosti vzniku a historický význam unikátního soukromého foto-kinematografického archivu o každodenním životě, který pro zachování paměti světa vybudoval v letech 1908–1931 francouzský bankéř a filantrop židovského původu Albert Kahn. Jádrem knihy je pronikavá úvaha o proměněném konceptu archivu ve filmové éře. -- ISBN 978-0-231-13501-6 (brož.)

### BEDNÁŘ, Leoš

Úvod do právní úpravy československých filmových produkcí v letech 1945–1970 [rukopis] = Introduction to the legal regulation of the Czechoslovak film co-productions between 1945–1970 / Leoš Bednář ; vedoucí práce Ivan Klimeš. -- Praha : Univerzita Karlova v Praze - Filozofická fakulta, 2012. -- 94 l. : barev. faksim. -- Úvod, závěr, zkratky, poznámky v textu, přílohy, anglické resumé - Bibliografie na l. 64–72 - Diplomová práce, v níž se autor snaží nastínit jeden z podstatných institutů sloužících k vytváření filmových děl, analyzuje právní úpravu československých filmových produkcí v letech 1945–1970. -- (Váz.)

### BEDOYA, Ricardo

El cine sonoro en el Perú / Ricardo Bedoya. -- 1a ed. -- Lima : Universidad de Lima, Fondo Editorial, 2009. -- 314 s. -- (Investigaciones. Historia de los medios de comunicación en el Perú ; Siglo XX). -- Úvod, poznámky v textu - Bibliografie na s. 235–238 - Kniha podrobně mapuje dějiny peruánské kinematografie zvukové éry od počátku třicátých let až do konce dvacátého století. Po historickém nástinu následuje chronologická filmografie celovečerních i krátkých hra-

ných a dokumentárních filmů (1934–2000). -- ISBN 978-9972-45-231-4 (brož.)

### CINEMA

The cinema of Roman Polanski : dark spaces of the world / edited by John Orr & Elżbieta Ostrowska. -- 1st publ. -- London ; New York : Wallflower Press, 2006. -- x, 175 s. + il., portréty. -- (Directors' cut). -- Výňatky, citáty, poznámky v textu, filmografie R. Polanského, o autorech - Bibliografie na s. 164–196, rejstřík - Kolektivní monografie, v níž autoři jednotlivých studií analyzují a kriticky přehodnocují tvorbu filmového režiséra a herce polského původu Romana Polanského. -- ISBN 1-904764-75-4 (brož.)

### CINEMA

Il cinema dopo la guerra a Venezia : tendenze ed evoluzioni del film (1946–1956) / a cura di Flavia Paulon. -- Roma : Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1956. -- 236 s., [16] s. obr. příl. : il. -- Autor úvodu Floris L. Ammannati - Filmografie na s. 117–236 - Kolektivní monografie je nejen kronikou prvního poválečného období MFF v Benátkách (1946–1956), ale současně mapuje tendence, jaké přinesly filmy uvedené na tomto nejstarším filmovém festivalu. Knihu doplňují přehledy (podle zemí) všech filmů promítaných na benátském festivalu v letech 1946–1955. -- (Váz.)

### COHEN, Thomas F.

Playing to the camera : musicians and musical performance in documentary cinema / Thomas G. Cohen. -- London ; New York : Wallflower Press, 2012. -- 154 s. : portréty. -- (Nonfictions). -- Předmluva, citáty, poznámky v textu, o autorovi - Bibliografie na s. 139–149, rejstřík - Monografie je první obsáhlou analytickou studií zaměřenou na dokumentární kinematografii zachycující hudebníky a hudební produkce různých žánrů a stylů. Její záběr sahá od filmů dokumentujících koncerty klasické „vážné“, rockové a jazzové hudby, portréty skladatelů a hudebníků až k experimentálním videoartovým dílům invenčně využívajícím avant-

gardní modernistickou hudbu. -- ISBN 978-1-906660-22-2 (brož.)

### COOKE, Mervyn

Dějiny filmové hudby / Mervyn Cooke ; [z anglického originálu ... přeložil David Petrů]. -- 1. vyd. -- Praha : Casablanca - Václav Žák : Nakladatelství AMU, 2011. -- 567 s. : il., portréty. -- Odpovědný redaktor Václav Žák - Předmluva, poznámky v textu, tabulky - Bibliografie na s. 513-522, rejstřík jmenný a názvový - Obsáhlá monografie nabízí moderní a čtivé seznámení s hlavními trendy v dějinách filmové hudby od éry německého filmu až do současnosti. Na rozdíl od některých předešlých zpracování tohoto tématu se nezaměřuje jen na hollywoodské pojetí filmové hudby, ale nabízí i několik exkurzů do její podoby v rámci národních kinematografií (Velká Británie, Francie, Indie, Itálie, Japonsko, Sovětský svaz). Autor se zdařile vyhýbá prvoplánovému výčtu jednotlivých položek, namísto toho nabízí rozmanitá hlediska na téma filmové hudby, např. z pohledu žánrů, typu produkce a kritického přijetí. U vybraných filmů předkládá brilantní analýzy vztahu obrazové a zvukové stopy. Vedle hlavního proudu, jenž tvoří celovečerní hrané filmy, se autor ve zvláštních kapitolách věnuje také hudbě v dokumentární tvorbě, animovaném filmu či žánru filmového muzikálu. Reflektuje také užití vážné hudby a pop-music ve filmových dílech a jejich vzájemné prolínání. - Název originálu: A history of film music / Cooke, Mervyn. -- Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2008. -- ISBN 978-80-87292-14-3 (brož.)

### CRITICAL

Critical cinema : beyond the theory of practice / edited by Clive Myer ; with a foreword by Bill Nichols. -- London ; New York : Wallflower Press, 2011. -- xvi, 301 s. : il., faksim. -- Poznámky v textu, filmografie v textu, o autorovi - Bibliografie v textu, rejstřík - Antologie obsahuje podnětné příspěvky dvanácti prominentních filmových teoretiků (mj. Noel Burch, Laura Mulvey, Peter Wollen, Brian Winston a Patrick Fuery) a vlivných filmařů (Peter Greenaway, Mike Figgis), kteří se zamýšlejí nad vazbami filmové teorie a praxe. -- ISBN 978-1-906660-36-9 (brož.)

### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 8, East Europe / edited by Adam Bingham. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2011. -- 259 s. : il., portréty. -- Úvod, předmluva, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu a na s. 246-247 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na východoevropské kinematografie (Polsko, Jugoslávie, Maďarsko, Československo) a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech (Andrzej Munk, Andrzej

Wajda, Krzysztof Kieslowski, Krzysztof Zanussi, Jerzy Skolimowski, Walerian Borowczyk, Aleksandar Petrovic, Dušan Makavejev, Emir Kusturica, Béla Tarr, István Szabó, Miklós Jancsó, Jan Němec, Jiří Menzel, Miloš Forman) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného a dokumentárního filmu (komedie, filmy válečné a historické, umělecká díla, realistická dramata, surrealismus a podobenství). Na závěr je připojen test a anketa kritiků. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-464-3 (brož.)

### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 9, Germany / edited by Michelle Langford. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2012. -- 320 s. : (většinou barev.) il. -- Úvod, předmluva, webové odkazy, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu a na s. 304-309 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na německou kinematografii a její tvůrce od němč. éry až po současnost. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů v úvodu každé kapitoly jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného filmu (komedie, filmy hudební, fantastické, dobrodružné, vlastenecké, válečné, historická drama, politická drama, tvorba imigrantů a filmy o imigrantech, filmy s queer tematikou). Jedna kapitola je věnována filmovému festivalu v Berlíně (Berlinale). Na závěr je připojen test a anketa kritiků. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-465-0 (brož.)

### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 5, American Hollywood / edited by Lincoln Geraghty. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2011. -- 302 s. : (většinou barev.) il., portréty. -- Úvod, předmluva, filmografie, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu a na s. 282-288 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na hollywoodskou kinematografii a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech z různých epoch (Clint Eastwood, John Ford, D. W. Griffith, Steven Spielberg) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného filmu (westerny, filmy kriminální filmy, sci-fi, historické, hudební, válečné a animované, horory, komedie, muzikály, dramata, romance, blockbuster). Na závěr je připojen malý test. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-415-5 (brož.). -- ISSN 2040-7971

### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 7, Spain / edited by Lorenzo J. Torres Hortelano. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2011. -- 287 s. : (většinou barev.) il., portréty. -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, o autorech - Bib-

liografie na s. 262–270 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na španělskou kinematografii a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech (Edgar Neville, Fernando Fernán-Gómez, Carlos Saura, Victor Erice, Pedro Almodóvar) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného a dokumentárního filmu (autorská melodramata, groteskní komedie, iberská dramata, muzikály, dobové filmy, režimem zakázané filmy, kriminální a thrillery, fantastické a horory, experimentální dokumenty). Na závěr je připojen test. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-463-6 (brož.). -- ISSN 2040-7971

#### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 6, Italy / edited by Louis Bayman. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2011. -- 296 s. : (některé barev.) il., portréty, faksim. -- Úvod, filmografie, o autorech - Bibliografie na s. 280–284 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na italskou kinematografii a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech (Federico Fellini, Nanni Moretti) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného filmu (neorealismus, melodrama, komedie, gotický horor, spaghetti western, politický film). Na závěr je připojen test. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-400-1 (brož.). -- ISSN 2040-7971

#### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 10, Iran / edited by Parviz Jahed. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2012. -- 293 s. : (některé barev.) il., portréty. -- Úvod, filmografie, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu a na s. 282–285 - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na iránskou kinematografii a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech (Abbas Kiarostami, Ebrahim Golestan, Jafar Panahi, Dariush Mehrjui, Mohsen Makhmalbaf, ) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém a kulturně-hospodářském kontextu typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného filmu (melodramata v porevolučním období, obraz války, obraz dětí). Na závěr je připojen test. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-399-8 (brož.). -- ISSN 2040-7971

#### DIRECTORY

Directory of world cinema. Vol. 12, China / edited by Gary Bettinson. -- 1st publ. -- Bristol ; Chicago : Intellect, 2012. -- 232 s. : (většinou barev.) il., portréty. -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, filmografie, o autorech - Kolektivní monografie přináší komplexní pohled na čínskou (+ hongkongskou, tajwanskou) kinematogra-

fii a její tvůrce. Prostřednictvím kritik klíčových filmových děl i delších esejů o stěžejních režisérech (Chen Kaige, Lu Chuan, Tian Zhuangzhuang, Chu Yen-ping, Hou Hsiao-hsien, Tsai Ming-liang, Fruit Chan, Wong Kar-wai, John Woo, Allen Fong, Ann Hui, Patrick Tam) a hercích a herečkách (David Chiang, Chow Yun-fat, Ti Lung, Grace Chang, Esther Eng, Brigitte Lin) jsou představeny v sociálně-politickém, kulturně-hospodářském kontextu a podle teritoria (kontinentální Čína, Hongkong, Twajvan) typické žánry a tematické okruhy hraného i dokumentárního filmu (drama, kung-fu, akční filmy, komedie, muzikály, nezávislé a umělecké filmy). Na závěr je připojen test. -- ISBN 978-1-84150-558-9 (brož.). -- ISSN 2040-7971

#### DOUGLAS, Kirk

I am Spartacus! : making a film, breaking the blacklist / Kirk Douglas ; [with a foreword by George Clooney]. -- New York : Open Road Integrated Media, 2012. -- 210 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- Citáty, o autorovi - Vzpomínková kniha hollywoodského herce, producenta a spisovatele Kirka Douglase na natáčení Kubrickova legendárního historického velko filmu Spartakus, jehož okolnosti vzniku byly poznamenány tehdejší vyhrčenou politickou situací v souvislosti s vyšetřováním scenáristy filmu Daltona Trumbula pro jeho údajnou neamerickou činnost. -- ISBN 978-1-4532-5480-6 (brož.)

#### EARLY

Early cinema today : the art of programming and live performance / edited by Martin Loiperdinger. -- New Barnet : John Libbey, 2011. -- 152 s. : (některé barev.) il., faksim. -- (KINtop. Studies in Early Cinema - vol. 1). -- Předmluva, poznámky v textu, tabulky, filmografie, o autorech - Kolektivní monografie nabízí řadu novátorských projektů, které zprostředkovávají současnému filmovému publiku díla z raných dob kinematografie, kdy způsob programování a provozování kinematografických představení na výstavištích, v městských halách a stálých biographech vyžadovalo zvláštní herecké dovednosti, které byly téměř celé století ztraceny. Během posledních dvou desetiletí filmové archivy a filmové festivaly vytvořily nové metody prezentace prvních filmů, přizpůsobující vymizelou kulturu kinematografických programů dnešním divákům. -- ISBN 978-0-86196-702-5 (brož.)

#### ENGEL, Joel

Oscar-winning screenwriters on screenwriting : the award-winning best in the business discuss their craft / Joel Engel. -- 1st ed. -- New York : Hyperion, 2002. -- 200 s. -- Úvod, o autorovi - Knižní soubor esejisticky psaných rozhovorů o scenáristice, které vedl autor s 11



americkými Oscarem oceněnými scenáristy (William Goldman, Robert Benton, Ron Bass, Michael Blake, John Irving, Tom Schulman, Frank Pierson, Bo Goldman, Marc Norman, Alan Ball, Stephen Gaghan). -- ISBN 0-7868-8690-0 (brož.)

#### FARKAŠ, Petr

Nářeční prvky v českém hraném filmu 30. a 40. let [rukopis] = Dialectal elements in Czech acted cinema of the 30s and 40s / Petr Farkaš; vedoucí diplomové práce Ivan Klimeš. -- Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze - Filozofická fakulta, 2012. -- 77 l. : barev. faksim., mapy. -- PC tisk - Bibliografie na l. 68-73 - Diplomová práce, jejímž předmětem je úvaha nad možnostmi využití verbálního jazyka v rámci filmového díla s důrazem na jeden z nespisovných útvarů českého národního jazyka, kterým je nářečí. Autor se zaměřuje zejména na využití moravských nářečních prvků v řeči filmových postav u českých hraných filmů, které byly natočeny v období 30. a 40. let 20. století. Zabývá se analýzou užitého moravského nářečního materiálu jednak z hlediska jeho hláskové i lexikální podoby, jednak z hlediska jeho funkce. -- (Váz.)

#### FILM

Film 1900 : technology, perception, culture / edited by Annemone Ligensa and Klaus Kreimeier. -- New Barnet : John Libbey, 2009. -- 250 s. : il., faksim. -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, výňatky, tabulky, o autorech - Propojením tradiční vědecké erudice s nejnovějšími poznatky z různých oborů kolektivní monografie zkoumá a přehodnocuje institucionální a estetické vlastnosti počátku kinematografie jako specifickou konfiguraci technologie, vnímání a kultury. To zasazuje ranou kinematografii kolem roku 1900 do trans-kulturního vývoje (např. vědecká revoluce, industrializace, urbanizace a globalizace), ale také řeší kulturní rozdíly v procesu modernizace. -- ISBN 978-0-86196-696-7 (brož.)

#### FOSSATI, Giovanna

From grain to pixel : the archival life of film in transition / Giovanna Fossati. -- Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press, 2009. -- 320 s., [16] s. barev. obr. příl. : (některé barev.) il. -- (Framing film). -- Výňatky, poznámky na s. 261-283, slovníček pojmů, seznam vyobrazení, filmografie, o autorce - Bibliografie na s. 297-310, rejstřík - Monografie se zabývá problematikou přechodu z analogového na digitální vysílání, které hluboce ovlivňuje nejen vlastní filmovou tvorbu a distribuci, ale i teoretické konceptualizace filmového média, praxi archivování filmových děl v nových technologických podmínkách a proces digitálního restaurování. -- ISBN 978-90-8964-139-7 (brož.)

#### FRICK, Caroline

Saving cinema : the politics of preservation / Caroline Frick. -- New York : Oxford University Press, 2011. -- xiii, 215 s. : il., faksim., mapy. -- Předmluva, citáty, výňatky, poznámky na s. 181-210, o autorce - Rejstřík - Monografie věnovaná politice, strategii a praxi archivování a prezervace filmových děl v éře nových digitálních technologií. -- ISBN 978-0-19-536811-6 (brož.)

#### GOCIĆ, Goran

The cinema of Emir Kusturica = notes from the Underground / Goran Gocić. -- 1st publ. -- London ; New York : Wallflower Press, 2001. -- 196 s. : il., portréty. -- (Directors' cut). -- Výňatky, citáty, poznámky na s. 177-187, filmografie E. Kusturici, o autorovi - Bibliografie na s. 195-196 - Profilová kniha o jednom z nejvýznamnějších tvůrců balkánské kinematografie Emiru Kusturicovi. Kompaktní autorský text, členěný do uzavřených kapitol, analyzuje téměř všechny jeho filmy. -- ISBN 1-903364-14-0 (brož.)

#### GRACY, Karen F.

Film preservation : competing definitions of value, use, and practice / Karen F. Gracy. -- Chicago : The Society of American Archivists, 2007. -- v, 287 s. -- Výňatky, poznámky v textu, tabulky, diagramy, o autorce - Bibliografie na s. 265-276, rejstřík - Monografická studie nabízí jedinečný pohled na svět filmového archivnictví. Autorka sleduje historický, hospodářský a sociální rámec týkající se této jedinečné komunity, pohlíží na lidi, instituce a korporace, které hrají klíčovou roli v preservačním úsilí. Prostřednictvím etnografických příběhů uvádí autorka čtenáře do kontextu, aby plně pochopil složitost činnosti filmové archivace, co všechno tato profese obnáší. Kniha se zabývá také finančními problémy a právy duševního vlastnictví. Primární důraz je kladen na vztahy mezi různými subjekty: archivy, studii a filmovými laboratořemi na jedné straně a vlastníky autorských práv na straně druhé. -- ISBN 978-0-838-91031-3 (brož.)

#### HARTMANN, Britta

Aller Anfang : zur Initialphase des Spielfilms / Britta Hartmann. -- Marburg : Schüren, 2009. -- 414 s. -- (Zürcher Filmstudien). -- Výňatky, citáty, poznámky v textu - Bibliografie na s. 365-401, rejstřík názvový - Naratologická studie ukazuje, podle jakých metafor a paradigmát přemýšlet o začátku filmového díla, které slouží pro filmaře i diváky jako vstup a klíč k uchopení a pochopení atmosféry, stylu, poetiky, formy a rytmu následujícího fiktivního příběhu. -- ISBN 978-3-89472-522-8 (brož.)

**KLIMENT, Michal**

Obraz médií v československém filmu 30. a 40. let 20. století [rukopis] : diplomová práce / Michal Kliment ; [vedoucí práce Petr Bednařík]. -- Praha : Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Fakulta sociálních věd, Katedra mediálních studií, 2010. -- [185] l. : il. -- PC tisk - Bibliografie na l. 140-143 - Diplomová práce, v níž se autor pokouší popsat, jak byla vnímána a zobrazována média a žurnalistika v rámci československého hraného filmu 30. a 40. let 20. století. Práce se rovněž pokouší zmapovat, do jaké míry ovlivňovaly společenské, politické a technologické faktory československou filmovou produkci ve zkoumaném období s tematickým důrazem na mediální prezentaci. Součástí práce je rovněž přehled participace soudobých novinářů na filmové tvorbě. -- (Váz.)

**LIFE**

Life and art : the new Iranian cinema / edited by Rose Issa and Sheila Whitaker. -- London : National Film Theatre, 1999. -- 159 s. : il., portréty. -- Úvod, citáty, poznámky v textu, o autorech - Rejstřík - Kolektivní monografie, která v jedenácti esejích různých autorů přibližuje historii iránské kinematografie, zejména pak filmy a tvorbu režisérů 90. let 20. století (Rakhshan Bani-Etermad, Bahram Bayzai, Abolfazl Jalili, Abbas Kiarostami, Mohsen Makhmalbaf, Dariush Mehrjui, Sohrab Shahid Saless. -- ISBN 0-85170-775-0 (brož.)

**MALTIN, Leonard**

Of mice and magic : a history of american animated cartoons / Leonard Maltin ; research associate Jerry Beck. -- New York : A Plume Book, 1980. -- ix, 470 s., [8] s. barev. obr. příl. : (některé barev.) il., faksim. -- Předmluva, filmografie podle studií, ocenění, slovníček pojmů, adresáře - Rejstřík - Dějiny amerického animovaného filmu z pera renomovaného filmového publicisty. Na závěr jsou připojeny filmografie jednotlivých studií (Walt Disney, Max Fleischer, Terrytoons, Walter Lantz, Van Beuren, Warner Bros., Columbia, MGM, Paramount) a oscarová ocenění včetně nominací. -- ISBN 0-452-25240-7 (brož.)

**MICHLOVÁ, Marie**

Protentokrát, aneb, Česká každodennost 1939-1945 / Marie Michlová. -- Řitka : Nakladatelství Čas, 2012. -- 119 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- (Edice Český ČAS ; 2. sv.). -- Úvod, citáty, výňatky, poznámky v textu, o autorce - Bibliografie na s. 114-116 - Kniha přináší populárně-naučný pohled na všední život v protektorátu. Po úvodní kapitole, věnované protektorátu a tehdejšímu vztahům mezi Čechy a Němci obecně, nabízí autorka mnohé zajímavosti o kulturním a sportovním

dění, trávení volného času, médiích, školství, výchově dětí a mládeže, pracovním nasazení, rodinných financích, městském i venkovském životě, dopravě, módě, stravování, roli a postavení církve, zdravotní péči a dalších otázkách. -- ISBN 978-80-87470-60-2 (váz.)

**MINGUET BATLLORI, Joan M.**

Segundo de Chomón : the cinema of fascination / Joan M. Minguet Batllori. -- 1st ed. -- Barcelona : Generalitat de Catalunya. Institut Català de les Indústries Culturals, 2010. -- 260 s. : (některé barev.) il., portréty, faksim. -- Poznámky v textu, filmografie S. de Chomóna, seznam vyobrazení, o autorovi - Bibliografie na s. 181-184, rejstřík jmenný - Profilová monografie podrobně mapuje jednotlivé fáze umělecké tvorby španělského (katalánského) průkopníka trikového a fantastického filmu Segunda de Chomóna (1871-1929), který působil jako režisér, kameraman a animátor v letech 1901-1926 v Barceloně, Paříži a Turíně. -- ISBN 978-84-393-8141-9 (brož.)

**MOVIES**

Movies on home ground : explorations in amateur cinema / edited by Ian Craven. -- 1st publ. -- Newcastle upon Tyne : Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009. -- x, 355 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- Poznámky v textu, seznam vyobrazení, filmografie v textu, o autorovi - Bibliografie v textu a na s. 336-347, rejstřík - Kolektivní monografie mapuje padesátiletou historii (1930-1980) amatérského a rodinného filmování ve Velké Británii. Antologie nabízí řadu překrývajících se pohledů na tuto součást britské filmové kultury. Důraz je kladen na institucionální kontexty, technické determinanty, sociální formování praktikujících tvůrců a pozoruhodnou rozmanitost amatérské genericity. -- ISBN 978-1-4438-1344-0 (váz.)

**MULVEY, Laura**

Death 24x a second : stillness and the moving image / Laura Mulvey. -- 1st publ. -- London : Reaktion Books, 2012. -- 216 s. : il. -- Předmluva, výňatky, poznámky na s. 197-206, o autorce - Bibliografie na s. 207-210, rejstřík - Monografická studie, která řeší některé klíčové otázky filmové teorie, diváctví a vyprávění, zkoumá úlohu nových mediálních technologií, jakou sehrávají v našich filmových prožitcích a které změnily náš vztah k filmům a jejich vnímání. -- ISBN 978-1-86189-263-8 (brož.)

**NAPLÁNOVANÁ**

Naplánovaná kinematografie : český filmový průmysl 1945 až 1960 / Pavel Skopal (ed.). -- Vyd. 1. -- Praha : Academia, 2012. -- 557 s., [24] s. obr. příl. : il., portréty, faksim. -- (Šťastné zítřky ; sv. 7). -- Poznámka edi-

tora, úvod, poznámky v textu, filmografie v textu, tabulky, zkratky, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu, rejstřík jmenný a názvový - Předkládané texty sborníku o poválečné české kinematografii zevrubně zkoumají na základě široké škály archivních materiálů dosud opomíjené období konce 40. let a let 50. Jednotlivé studie se zaměřují na organizační strukturu a produkční a distribuční praktiky filmového průmyslu ovlivněné normami socialistického plánování: analyzují produkční kulturu barrandovského studia, zavádění koprodukčního modelu výroby v kontextu východního bloku, specifika „účelové“ produkce Krátkého filmu a Československého armádního filmu a institucionální formování filmové produkce pro děti. Z oblasti distribuce a uvádění se věnují z nadnárodní perspektivy sledované změně v roli karlovarského filmového festivalu, historii Filmového festivalu pracujících, kulturně-politickým ideálům i každodenní realitě putovních kin a akce Filmové jaro na vesnici, problémům s kinofikací a technickým vybavením tuzemských kin a vývoji konkurenčního vztahu mezi Československým státním filmem a Československou televizí. -- ISBN 978-80-200-2096-3 (váz.)

#### NARRATIVE,

Narrative, apparatus, ideology : a film theory reader / edited by Philip Rosen. -- New York : Columbia University Press, 1986. -- xi, 549 s. : il. -- Předmluva, poznámky v textu - Antologie, strukturovaná do čtyř tematických oddílů, nabízí klíčové a nejvlivnější texty o filmové teorii a estetice, které významní světoví filmologové (mj. D. Bordwell, Ch. Metz, R. Bellour, K. Thompsonová, D. Lindermanová, R. Barthes, L. Mulveyová, J.-L. Baudry, P. Bonitzer, Th. Elsaesser) publikovali v odborném tisku v letech 1966–1985. -- ISBN 0-231-05881-0 (brož.)

#### NATUR

Natur und ihre filmische Auflösung / herausgegeben von Jan Berg und Kay Hoffmann. -- 1st Aufl. -- Marburg : Timbuku-Verlag, 1994. -- 222 s. : il. -- Předmluva, výňatky, poznámky v textu, o autorech - Bibliografie v textu, rejstřík jmenný a názvů filmů - Obsahuje též: Die Antropomorphisierung von Tieren im Film / Boris Jachnin - Kolektivní monografie, v níž 16 autorů zkoumá problematiku filmového zobrazení či využití přírody jako významotvorného, estetického či výrazového prvku. -- ISBN 3-930934-00-0 (brož.)

#### OLIVA, Ljubomír

Victor Hugo a film / autor Ljubomír Oliva. -- Praha : Československý filmový ústav, 1973. -- [4] s. -- Vyd. publikační oddělení Československého filmového ústavu pro kino Porepo - Dvoulíst k programu archivního kina Porepo přibližuje život a dílo francouzského

spisovatele Victora Huga a filmové adaptace některých jeho románů a divadelních her (Bídenci, Ruy Blas, Lucretia Borgia, Zvoník u Matky Boží, Dělníci moře, Devadesát tři, Král se baví). -- (Volné l.)

#### OPĚLA, Vladimír

The Czechoslovak film institute : the film archive / [author Vladimír Opěla ; editor Jiří Levý]. -- Prague : Československý filmový ústav - filmový archiv, 1980. -- 28 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- Úvod - Brožurka věnovaná Filmovému archivu Čs. filmového ústavu se v jednotlivých kapitolkách věnuje jeho vzniku, shromažďování filmových archiválií a jejich ochraně, úpravě a restaurování filmových materiálů, archivním depozitářům, vědeckému zpracování filmových archiválií a jejich využívání, FIAFu a mezinárodní spolupráci. Je doplněna řadou fotografií. - Název originálu: Filmový archiv Čs. filmového ústavu / Opěla, Vladimír, 1938-. -- Praha : Čs. filmový ústav, 1980. -- 28 s. : il. -- (Brož.)

#### PAOLELLA, Roberto

Storia del cinema muto / Roberto Paoletta. -- Napoli : Giannini, 1956. -- viii, 554 s., [20] l. obr. příl. : il., portréty, faksim., mapy. -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, o autorovi - Bibliografie v textu, rejstřík jmenný a názvový - Obsáhle dějiny světového němého filmu. -- (Brož.)

#### RJAZANOV, Eldar

Grustnoje lico komedii, ili, Nakonč podvedennyje itogi / Eldar Rjazanov. -- Moskva : PROZAIK, 2010. -- 637 s. : il., portréty, faksim. -- Předmluva, výňatky, citáty, - Obsáhle memoáry s bohatou obrazovou dokumentací, v nichž ruský filmař Eldar Rjazanov kombinuje vzpomínky a úvahy o tvorbě s deníkovými zápisky, čímž podává plastické svědectví o své umělecké dráze a době, v níž vyrůstal a tvořil. -- ISBN 978-5-91631-061-0 (váz.)

#### RODOWICK, David Norman

The virtual life of film / D. N. Rodowick. -- Cambridge, Massachusetts ; London, England : Harvard University Press, 2007. -- x, 193 s. : il. -- Předmluva, seznam vyobrazení, citáty, poznámky v textu, o autorovi - Monografická studie analyzuje, jak digitální technologie (stejně jako televize a video před nimi) zásadně mění všechny aspekty filmové tvorby i její masovou prezentaci. Autor předkládá a zkoumá tři různé kritické reakce na „mizení“ filmu ve vztahu k jiným na čase založeným médiím, a ke studiu současné vizuální kultury. -- ISBN 978-0-674-02698-8 (brož.)

#### SCORSESE, Martin

Martin Scorsese : interviews / edited by Peter Brunette. -- Jackson : University Press of Mississippi, 1999. --

xxvii, 270 s. : il. -- (Conversations with Filmmakers). -- Úvod, poznámky v textu, filmografie M. Scorseseho - Rejstřík - Knižní antologie dvaceti rozhovorů amerického filmaře Martina Scorseseho, které byly publikovány v letech 1973–1998 v různých amerických, britských a francouzských periodikách (New York Times, American Film, Village Voice, Film Comment, Positif, South Atlantic Quarterly, Premiere, Sight and Sound). -- ISBN 978-1-57806-072-6 (brož.)

#### SLIDE, Anthony

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Základy střihové skladby / Josef Valušiak. -- 4. rozš. vyd. -- Praha : Nakladatelství AMU, 2012. -- 143 s. : il. -- Na obálce nad názvem: AMU=DAMU+FAMU+HAMU - Předmluva, úvod, závěr, doslov po 30 letech - Bibliografie na s. 143 - Čtvrté rozšířené vydání přehledných skript, v nichž autor — sám zkušený střihář — dokládá, že úkolem střihové skladby není jen slučování scén a sekvencí v ucelené filmové dílo, ale i „sdělení nesděleného“. -- ISBN 978-80-7331-230-5 (brož.)

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Korea's occupied cinemas, 1893–1948 / Brian Yecies and Ae-Gyung Shim. -- 1st publ. -- New York ; London : Routledge, 2011. -- xiv, 222 s. : il., faksim. -- (Routledge advances in film studies ; 10). -- Autor předmluvy Hyae-joon Kim - Úvod, seznam vyobrazení, poznámky na s. 169–189, - Bibliografie na s. 191–207, rejstřík - Kniha srovnává a konfrontuje v širším politickém, kulturním a ekonomickém kontextu vývoj filmového průmyslu a filmové tvorby v Koreji během japonské okupace (1910–1945) a následného období pod správou americké armády (1945–1948). -- ISBN 978-0-415-99538-2 (váz.)



# 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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## Film a opera

(uzávěrka 30. listopadu 2012)

hostující editorky: Petra Hanáková a Kateřina Svatoňová

Přestože se *Illuminace* v minulosti zabývala vztahem filmu a jiných uměleckých druhů, opoře zde byla věnována jen minimální pozornost (výjimkou je například stručná zmínka v textu Lindy Hutcheonové „Co se děje při adaptaci“ z čísla 1/2010). Cílem připravovaného čísla bude jednak tuto mezeru částečně zaplnit, jednak otevřít v českém prostředí nová badatelská témata související s tímto vztahem. Zároveň chce tento tematický blok otevřít prostor pro zkoumání vizuální stránky operního představení a jeho vztahu k filmovému obrazu; nastínit tedy témata, která jsou díky své mezioborové pozici částečně opomíjena jak v muzikologických a teatrologických pracích, tak i ve výzkumech vizuálních studií.

Odborné texty zaměřené na vztah filmu a opery se obvykle soustřeďují na možnosti převedení opery do filmu z hlediska teorie adaptace. Mezi často zmiňovaná díla patří Syberbergova adaptace Wagnerova *Parsifala* nebo Powellova a Pressburgerova adaptace Offenbachových *Hoffmannových povídek* (obojí viz např. Citron 2000). Zajímavé adaptace lze ovšem nalézt i v českém prostředí – stejně jako jinde ve světě, již v éře němého filmu. Adaptace jsou nicméně jen jedním aspektem vztahu mezi operou a filmem. Některá operní představení využívají filmové projekce (za všechny lze uvést slavnou Chaseovu inscenaci Brittenovy opery *Utažení šroubu* z roku 1969). Dále je třeba zmínit filmy, které v jistém ohledu tematizují operní produkci (*AMADEUS*, *FARINELLI*) nebo využívají operu jako nediegetickou hudbu (*APOKALYPSA*, abychom uvedli často citovaný příklad, nebo současnější *MELANCHOLIA*). Vztahy mezi filmem a operou lze vnímat také z hlediska pohybu uměleckých pracovníků mezi filmovým a operním oborem. Původně filmoví režiséři se příležitostně pouštějí do operní režie a naopak. Sem patří například práce operního a filmového režiséra Patrice Chéreaux, autora slavné bayreuthské inscenace Wagnerovy tetralogie *Prsten Nibelungův* (1976–1980).

Audiovizuální záznam tohoto představení je v současnosti, podobně jako u mnoha jiných inscenací, distribuován na DVD nosičích, čímž se dostáváme k dalšímu okruhu témat: s rozvojem techniky audiovizuální reprodukce vztahy mezi filmem a operou ještě zintenzivňují. Svědčí o tom například živé přenosy z představení vídeňské Státní opery na obrazovku umístěnou před budovou na náměstí Herberta von Karajana. Na plátna kin se dostává takzvaný alternativní obsah, tedy přímé přenosy divadelních představení, sportovních událostí a koncertů populární hudby. A právě přímé přenosy operních inscenací (u nás zprostředkovávané distribuční společností Aerofilms) znamenaly z hlediska úspěšnosti alternativního obsahu průlom. V divadelní sezóně 2009/10 se představení z newyorské Metropolitní opery promítala živě na 1000 pláten ve 44 zemích. Filmová studia zpočátku nepodporovala pronikání alternativního obsahu do kin, protože ho považovala za konkurenci. Tento trend se v poslední době mění a studia začínají alternativní obsah sama produkovat a distribuovat. Londýnský operní dům Royal Opera House se například ze své vlastní iniciativy spojil s montrealskou filmově-distribuční společností DigiScreen, která se nyní stará o záznamy představení a jejich distribuci na DVD nosičích i o živé vysílání do kin. Živý přenos může zpřístupnit operu publiku, které je zvyklé chodit do kina, ale do divadla by z různých, například finančních, důvodů nešlo. Pragmaticky orientovaná filmová studia se zase především snaží přilákat do kin příznivce opery, kteří jinak kina nenavštěvují.

I když tedy byla doposud věnována pozornost hlavně problematice adaptace, vztahy mezi fil-

mem a operou jsou různorodé a lze na ně nahlížet z různých perspektiv. Podstatné je, že při všech těchto „relokačních“ procesech dochází k proměně divácké zkušenosti, ale i ke vzájemným prolínáním obou vstupních médií či k proměně formálních a kompozičních prostředků – a to jak v rovině výstavby prostoru děl a obrazů (do nichž vstupuje i prvek výtvarný, scénický a architektonický), tak v rovině herecké (ovlivňuje podobu figurace a gestiky). Rádi bychom omezili naznačený široký rozptyl témat v souladu s profilací časopisu *Illuminace* z posledních let a zaměřili se na ta, kterým pozornost zatím věnována nebyla. Pro připravované číslo jsou tedy vítány příspěvky zaměřené na společenský, ekonomický a technický (technologický) kontakt mezi operou a filmem, ale i na jmenované proměny kontextu kulturně historického. Číslo tak má být příspěvkem k dějinám specifické oblasti kinematografie, která bývá přehlížena, i k výzkumům vizuálních a performačních studií, spojených převážně s českým prostředím. Konkrétně se zaměříme na:

- ekonomické, společenské a technické aspekty distribuce přímých přenosů oper do českých kin: marketingové strategie, mediální reprezentace, kulturní (symbolické) významy, technická reprodukce, prostor divadla versus prostor kina...;
- záznamy operních představení na DVD; marketingové a distribuční strategie;
- historie, produkční kontext a recepce filmových adaptací opery v českém prostředí v období němému a zvukového filmu;
- propojování filmu a opery, vzájemné formální výpůjčky z hlediska intermediálních, intertextuálních či relokačních teorií;
- analýzy a komparace kompozičních, figurálních, či narativních struktur opery vs. její adaptace;
- příkladové studie vztahů mezi filmem a operou v českém prostředí;
- filmová opera v kontextu „performance studies“ jako možném metodologickém rozšíření vizuálních studií;
- film jako opera (či její nástupce), operní kvality filmu.

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## Filmový marketing

(uzávěrka: 28. února 2013)

Hostující editorka: Marta Lamperová

Význam filmového marketingu pro filmovou praxi i pro odbornou reflexi filmu v USA a dalších západních zemích roste, zatímco v České republice je v obou zmíněných oblastech spíše podceňován. Je to dáno odlišným historickým kontextem i odlišnými finančními možnostmi amerického a evropského filmového průmyslu. Hollywoodská studia vynakládají obrovské prostředky na marketing filmů mimo jiné proto, že kinematografie byla v USA vždy chápána spíše jako obchod a zábavní průmysl a ziskovost byla zejména pro „majors“ společností rozhodujícím faktorem. Americká studia zároveň disponují finančními prostředky na rozsáhlé marketingové kampaně. Naopak v českém prostředí není na propagaci filmů dostatek prostředků, jak upozornila například *Studie ekonomického vlivu filmového průmyslu v České republice* společnosti Olsberg/SPI (2006). Na jednu stranu lze slyšet stížnosti, že národní produkce ve střední a východní Evropě není zisková a nedaří se ji uplatňovat na zahraničních trzích, na druhou stranu není vůle promýšlet kvalitní marketingové strategie a pracuje se s nativním předpokladem, že dobré umění se prodá samo.

Toto přehlížení či dokonce nechut k filmovému marketingu se pak logicky přelévá i do oboru, který má kinematografii reflektovat, tedy do filmových studií, v důsledku čehož nebyla tomuto tématu u nás doposud věnována adekvátní pozornost. Přípravované číslo *Illuminace* směřuje k naplnění dvou hlavních cílů: 1) Je třeba upozornit na význam marketingu pro domácí filmově-výrobní praxi, protože bez marketingu nelze vybudovat konkurenceschopnou filmovou výrobu. Marketingovou strategii přitom nelze začít připravovat a realizovat, až když je dílo dokončené, musí se táhnout celým procesem výroby od vývoje až po hotový film; měla by také zohledňovat nové fenomény, jako jsou sociální sítě, crowdfunding apod. 2) Marketing by se měl stát i u nás legitimním předmětem výzkumu. Představuje totiž důležitou součást (především americké) filmové kultury, která může prostřednictvím marketingových kampaní formovat a měnit očekávání, preference i zvyky diváků.

Vzhledem k interdisciplinárnímu charakteru filmového marketingu můžeme rozlišit několik typů publikací, které se k předmětu našeho zájmu váží. V první řadě jsou to publikace odborníků z marketingové oblasti sloužící primárně jako návod pro filmově-výrobní a filmově-distribuční praxi. Z této pozice píšou o marketingu filmu například Sibylle Kurzová, Esther van Messelová a Björn Koll v publikaci *Low-Budget-Filme. Marketing und Vertrieb optimieren* (2006), Annika Phamová, Neil Watson a John Durie v knize *Marketing and Selling Your Film Around the World* (2000) nebo Finola Kerriganová v knize *Film Marketing* (2010). Obdobných publikací lze nalézt celou řadu.

Zadruhé jde o odborné reflexe filmového marketingu například z pozic sociologických, ekonomických a historických. V této souvislosti lze uvést studii sociologa Shyona Baumanna „Marketing, Cultural Hierarchy, and the Relevance of Critics: Film in the United States, 1935–1980“ (2002), v níž autor provedl obsahovou analýzu reklamy na filmy v novinách a zaměřil se na to, jaký význam mělo v reklamě v průběhu historie slovo filmových kritiků. Ekonomicky orientované studie reprezentuje například práce Jaye Praga a Jamese Casavanta „An Empirical Study of the Determinants of Revenues and Marketing Expenditures in the Motion Picture Industry“ (1994). Autoři svou analýzou prokázali, že filmový marketing má přímý a významný vliv na finanční úspěšnost filmů. Různorodost ekonomicky orientovaných pří-

stupů k marketingu týkajícího se filmu dokládá také studie Simona Hudsona „Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism: An Empirical Identification of Supporting Marketing Initiatives“ (2006). Jak název napovídá, zde se autoři nezajímali o marketing filmů, ale o marketing destinací a rozvoj turismu založený na faktu, že se v určité lokalitě točil film nebo že byla tato destinace ve filmu vyobrazena (ať už se film točil kdekoliv). V současnosti je toto téma aktuální i v českém prostředí, jak ukázalo i téma letošního Fóra cestovního ruchu se zaměřením na „Film a marketing destinace“. Z historické perspektivy pohlíží na význam filmového marketingu například Justin Wyatt ve své průkopnické knize *High concept: Movies and Marketing in Hollywood*, kde sleduje specifické marketingové strategie tzv. blockbusteru vysokého pojetí od druhé poloviny 70. let do druhé poloviny 80. let. Mohli bychom v tomto výčtu pokračovat dále, chtěli jsme však upozornit alespoň na nejzajímavější typy výzkumů realizovaných v oblasti filmového marketingu. Příspěvky se pochopitelně nemusí omezovat na zmíněné okruhy studií. Mezi vítanými tématy jsou mimo jiné:

- případové studie marketingových strategií konkrétních filmů,
- marketing českých a slovenských filmů v historické perspektivě,
- obsahové analýzy reklamních kampaní na filmy,
- analýzy teaserů a trailerů,
- ekonomické analýzy dopadu marketingových kampaní na úspěšnost filmů,
- kinoreklama,
- kvalitativní a kvantitativní výzkumy zaměřené na marketery a distributory filmů,
- filmový turismus a destinační marketing.

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**3/2013**

**Screen Industries in East-Central Europe: Cultural Policies and Political Culture**  
Special English-Language Edition

*(deadline 30 April 2013)*

The collection of articles has its origin in a conference on film and TV industries in the region held in Brno in November 2012 under the same title.

4/2013

**Beyond "Malé, ale naše": Czech and Slovak Cinemas as Transnational Cinemas**  
Special English-Language Edition

*(deadline 31 July 2013)*

Guest Editors: Alice Lovejoy – Nataša Ďurovičová

In world film historiography, the current pressures of globalization have led to a general downplaying of the paradigm of national cinema in favor of transnational perspectives.<sup>1)</sup> By contrast, the post-1989 "detotalization" of East/Central Europe that gave birth to a dozen newly devolved nation-states also had direct consequences for writing film history. The dominant historical research soon came to focus on newly minted "unitary one-nation cinemas" — Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Latvian, etc. — born from the ruins of federated cultural formations.

Yet throughout the course of most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, East/Central European filmmaking was, in some form or another, always also a part of a larger trans- or supranational configuration. Well beyond the level of individual film productions or bilateral co-production agreements, transnational force-fields exercised a gravitational pull on the scale, and often on the very concept, of a cinema for any imagined "national" community. After all, like film industries in other small countries, the E/CE cinemas had to find ways to persist in the shifting regimes of cultural and political power by relying on 'strategic resourcefulness,'<sup>2)</sup> that is, had to continuously gauge the wider political and cultural fields in which they operated. In other words, the historical objects today so plainly and so self-evidently identified as "Czech cinema," "Slovak cinema," etc. disavow their ongoing dependence on, and debt to films, film discourses, film practices and film industries that are not-Czech, not-Slovak, etc.

This volume seeks to examine such strategies in the cinemas of the Czech and Slovak lands, which have, variously, been an integral part of the cinema of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a part of the multinational Czechoslovak Republic, a sheltered production space within the World War II Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (in the case of the Czech lands), a competitive partner in the Socialist block/Comecon trade exchange structure, two among many participants of the Eurimages/MEDIA group, or two minor film industries competing in the global media market. These configurations—all of which exceed the concept and borders of the Czech and Slovak state—have nonetheless been crucial to the development of "national" film practice, culture, and style on all levels, and beyond individual film productions: whether in the choices of production strategies, genres or stars in the thirty-some years from the beginning of film production in Prague at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the first Republic, the film politics with regard to national minorities as well as multilingual versions in the same era, the development of dramaturgical practices in the Czech and Slovak studios, in the "Czechoslovak road to socialism" that films of the early 1950s imagined, in E.U.-sponsored documentaries, in the persistence of a "bi-national" Czech-Slovak media market after the split of the two republics, the profiling politics of international film festivals in the Czech and Slovak republics, etc.

With the goal of expanding theoretical and analytical approaches to the historical and contemporary geopolitics of East/Central European cinema, we invite contributions that will investigate, theorize, and analyze the ways in which Czech and Slovak cinemas have been



shaped by their long-standing and dynamic position in a variety of larger networks. We particularly welcome studies that examine under- or unexplored films or archival sources, that extend beyond canonical works, periods, and genres (e.g., fiction features), and that integrate theoretical and historiographical approaches.

Proposals for issue 4/2013 (3–600 words) are due to the editors Nataša Ďurovičová (University of Iowa) and Alice Lovejoy (University of Minnesota), via [natasa-durovicova@uiowa.edu](mailto:natasa-durovicova@uiowa.edu) and [alovejoy@umn.edu](mailto:alovejoy@umn.edu) on May 1, 2012. The contributions (5–7000 words) may be in English, Czech or Slovak. The contributors will be notified on July 1, 2012; the essays will be due on July 31, 2013.

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- 1) E.g. Mette Hjort, On the Plurality of Cinematic Transnationalism. In: Nataša Ďurovičová – Kathleen Newman (eds.), *World Cinemas, Transnational Practices*. New York: Routledge 2009, pp. 13–33. For an example of an attempt to methodically write a “denationalized” world cinema history, see e.g. the Italian multivolume history Gian Piero Brunetta (ed.), *Storia del cinema mondiale: L'Europa. Miti, luoghi, divi*. Torino: Einaudi 1999.
  - 2) Mette Hjort, *Small Nation, Global Cinema: The New Danish Cinema*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press 2005, p. ix.

## 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.

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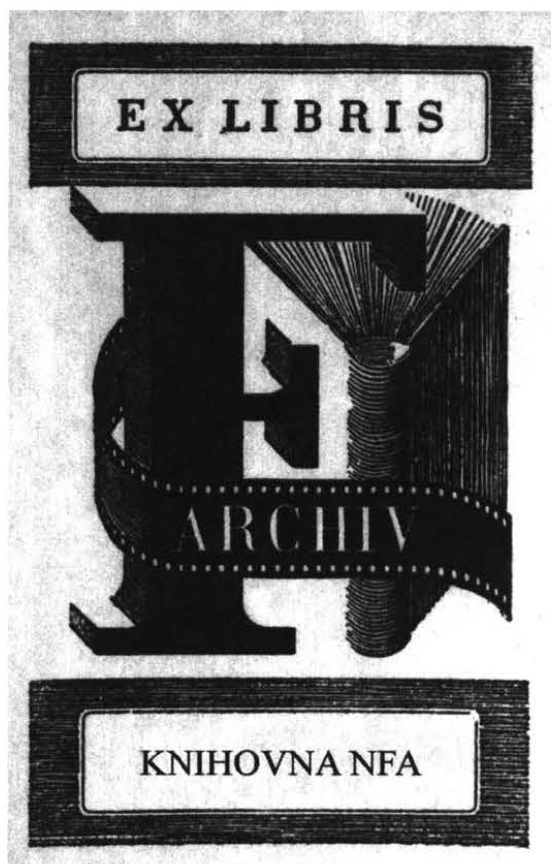
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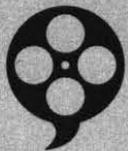
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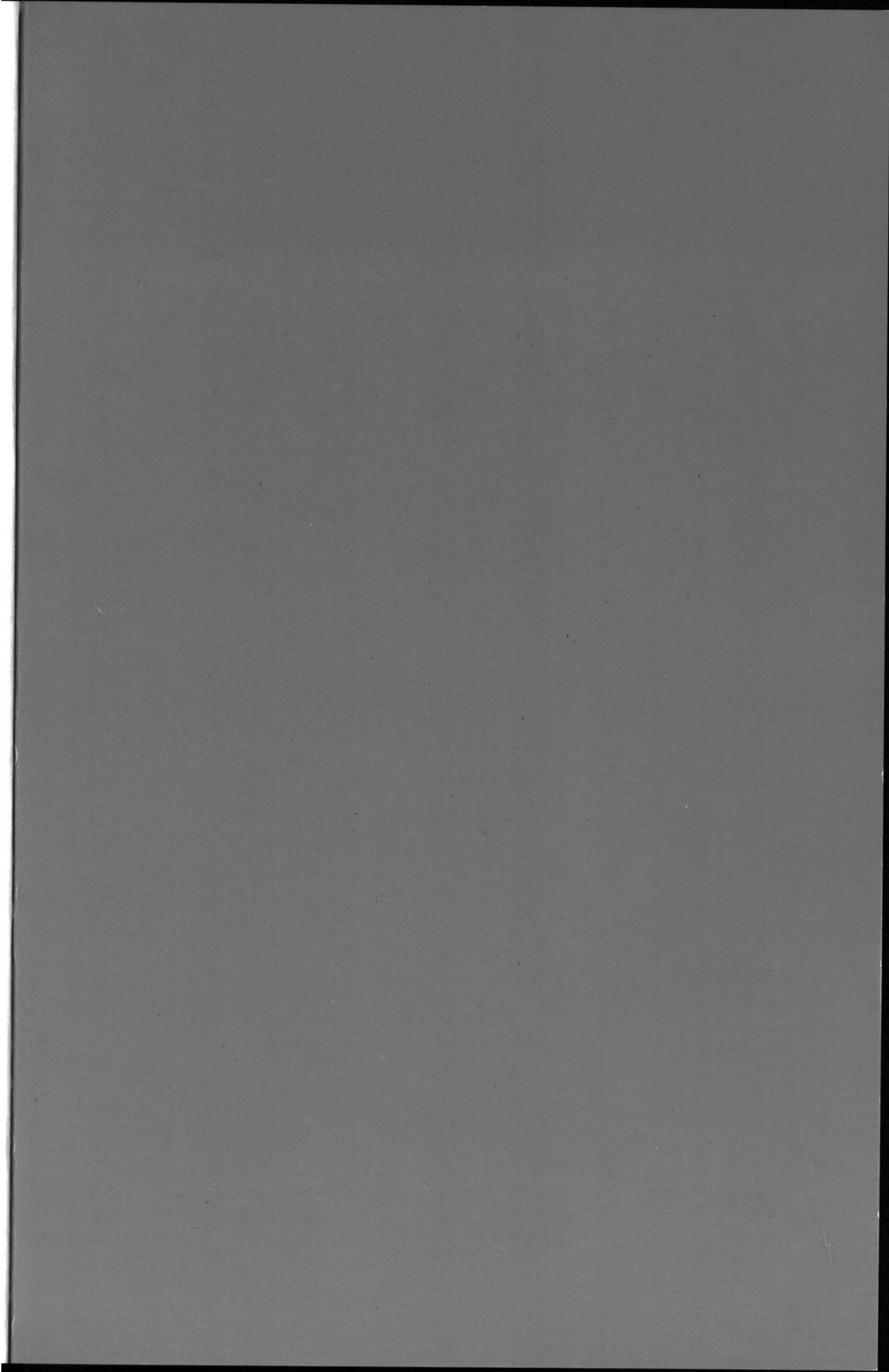
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CONTENTS ILUMINACE 3/2012



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MAIN TOPIC:

INDUSTRIAL TRENDS: GENRE AND THE MOVIE BUSINESS

Guest Editor:

**Richard Nowell**

ARTICLES

**Peter Krämer:** "Black is In". Race and Genre in Early 1990s American Cinema

**Stuart Henderson:** Family Resemblances. The Genericity of the Hollywood Sequel

**Andrea Comiskey:** Genre, Domestic Distribution, and Audiences, 1935–1945.

The Case of the Western

**Richard Nowell:** "Between Dreams and Reality". Genre Personae, Brand *Elm Street*, and Repackaging the American Teen Slasher Film

**Sheldon Hall:** Carry On, Cowboy. Roast Beef Westerns

INTERVIEW

**Richard Nowell:** Film Genre and the Industrial Mindset: More Work Needed.

A Brief Exchange with Peter Hutchings

AD FONTES

**Jarmila Petrová:** P. D. C. s. r. o. (1920–1955)

HORIZON

**Jaromír Blažejovský:** Vzhůru k sebekolonizaci, obsadíme nemísta

(*Jana Dudková, Slovenský film v ére transkulturality*)

**Jindřiška Bláhová:** "They've Seen the Impossible ... they've Lived the Incredible ...".

Repackaging Czechoslovak Films for the US Market during the Cold War

**Gareth James:** Cycles and Continuities. Understanding Media Convergence through Media History

(*Janet Staiger and Sabine Hake (eds), Convergence Media History*)