Behind the Screen

GLOBAL CINEMA

Edited by Katarzyna Marciniak, Anikó Imre, and Áine O'Healy

The **Global Cinema** series publishes innovative scholarship on the transnational themes, industries, economies, and aesthetic elements that increasingly connect cinemas around the world. It promotes theoretically transformative and politically challenging projects that rethink film studies from cross-cultural, comparative perspectives, bringing into focus forms of cinematic production that resist nationalist or hegemonic frameworks. Rather than aiming at comprehensive geographical coverage, it foregrounds transnational interconnections in the production, distribution, exhibition, study, and teaching of film. Dedicated to global aspects of cinema, this pioneering series combines original perspectives and new methodological paths with accessibility and coverage. Both "global" and "cinema" remain open to a range of approaches and interpretations, new and traditional. Books published in the series sustain a specific concern with the medium of cinema but do not defensively protect the boundaries of film studies, recognizing that film exists in a converging media environment. The series emphasizes a historically expanded rather than an exclusively presentist notion of globalization; it is mindful of repositioning "the global" away from a US-centric/Eurocentric grid, and remains critical of celebratory notions of "globalizing film studies."

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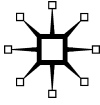Edited by Mette Hjort

Behind the Screen: Inside European Production Cultures
Edited by Petr Szczepanik and Patrick Vonderau

Behind the Screen

Inside European Production Cultures

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Petr Szczepanik and Patrick Vonderau

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To Janet Staiger

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Petr Szczepanik and Patrick Vonderau

What do we mean by speaking of "production"? According to Etienne (and Anne) Souriau's posthumously published *Vocabulaire d'esthétique*,[1] there are three meanings of the word, derived from the original Latin term *producere*, the first one broadly referring to the resulting work of human labor, while the second being the equivalent of a famously influential Marxian theorem describing an ensemble of operations that facilitate, by way of combination and transformation, a reproduction and adjustment of existing, yet imperfectly usable goods. But there is also a third definition, and it is this one that, according to Souriau, ultimately gives historical meaning to the aforementioned two—the now obsolete idea of *creatio ex nihilo*, of solitary origination and individual agency, as contained in the romanticist image of the artist.

Souriau's etymology is helpful in tracing a lasting tension inherent in any production discourse, a tension that prevails where production is brought up in terms of some finished works, in terms of a process of transformation preceding the existence of such works, or finally as a moment of creation to be experienced (or not) by someone making use of it. This tension has informed a long legacy of European thought on production, a legacy that is too complex to be covered in these introducing notes, as it includes theories of practice, "languages," "grammars," and "poetics" of film, not least the self-theorizing of European auteurs and professionals such as Tarkovsky or Bergman, Alekan or Carrière. However, it only was US-based film scholar Janet Staiger who, drawing from Raymond Williams, Jean-Louis Comolli, and Manuel Alvarado and also from Harry Braverman's influential reading of Marx, among others, turned that tension inherent in the notion of production into a model suitable for analyzing the complex social processes production invokes. It is to her insistence on a both interdisciplinary and transatlantic dialogue that our book is most notably indebted, and it is to her that this book is dedicated.

Most of the current US literature that studies production practices tends to avoid empirical historical research, despite the fact that such research fundamentally enriches our understanding of today's technological and cultural changes. What we have frequently seen is neoclassical industry analyses in the structure–conduct–performance paradigm, an analytical paradigm that does not account for the very texts resulting from production, nor for creative agency or for

acknowledging the open diversity of production cultures.[2] In a similar, although argumentatively conflicting, vein, political economists in the Schiller–McChesney tradition have provided ahistorical and often overtly polemical macro-surveys treating production in terms of a determining industrial "context."[3] As Alvarado, a major figure in British media education until his untimely death in 2010, remarked already back in 1981, referring to a materialist critique of production that had earlier been developed by French Marxist literary critique Pierre Macherey, all production research would need to include a "notion of the textual as an area of operation within larger, wider and different systems," but *also* a "theory of origination."[4]

Conjoining the different meanings of production at tension in Souriau's definition, Alvarado came up with a very useful framework for studying British television production that would inform some of Staiger's early work in the field.[5] More than 30 years ago, in her PhD dissertation, she even would employ a version of the Marxian concept of *Produktionsweise*, or mode of production, for demonstrating how changes in creative labor management influenced and were influenced by changes in narrative and stylistic standards of Hollywood products. Staiger underlined the non-determinist, "circular" character of these interrelations between "filmic practices" and "production practices."[6] In this way, she was capable to add agency and art to a largely structural interest in media industry, and she also offered a solution to the everlasting problem of media industry studies, namely of how to understand texts through industrial practices and vice versa. Exchanging "creativity" and a predilection for the *metteurs en scène*, as rooted in the auteurist paradigm, for "productivity" and the technological, economical, and managerial workings of Hollywood, Staiger still paid close attention to social processes of origination, and she would return, over a number of subsequent publications, to the rather complex question of how to theorize them.[7]

As an initial response to Staiger, the European contribution to this emerging field of production studies consisted in a theoretical counterargument most clearly articulated in the writings of Italian semioticians Peppino Ortoleva and Francesco Casetti, and was even articulated in a similar fashion by French social historians Pierre Sorlin and Michèle Lagny.[8] This criticism mainly was based on three grounds. First, it was based on a rejection of the economical approach inherent in US media industries' studies, as the various cultural economies and practices of media production appeared much more diverse than traditional economics would be able to account for. Second, it was driven by an interest in mapping the complex "professional cultures" forming part in any industry system, instead of merely identifying them with managerial tasks or class-inherited conflicts.[9] Third, and most importantly, it came from questioning the very use of the term "mode of production," which, as developed by Marx in his *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie* (1857–1858), did indeed hold little relation to Braverman's and subsequently Staiger's understanding. In Marx' writings, *Produktionsweise* refers to an abstracted whole that has no direct equivalent in Staiger's study of the classical Hollywood film industry; as Ortoleva noted, one would at least have expected an integrative *media* industry history from her appropriation of the term.[10]

What remains from this early transatlantic exchange of ideas today is, among others, Ortoleva's observation that production studies seem to flourish in periods of disciplinary crisis. It is no coincidence that Ortoleva's brief riposte to Staiger came itself in a 1988 issue of French film theory journal *Hors Cadre* devoted to "Théorie du cinéma—Crise dans la théorie."[11] Since the mid-1990s, the digital arguably has begun to "disrupt" traditional media practices, with cinema, as Casetti postulated, "exploding" into a plurality of industrial branches, products, and modes of consumption, leading to a situation where "there is no more theory because there is no more cinema."[12] At this juncture, production indeed appears as a linchpin from which new theories may flow. How should a theory of production *not* be central for rethinking both the very distinctions between media, and their alleged convergence, given that film's textual integrity, the starting point for so much of traditional film theory and analysis, seemingly just has been lost?

Still, while most empirical production studies are profoundly theoretical in both their ambition and research design, "Theory" has not been the intended systematic outcome of their efforts. Rather, theorizing production has often proven to be most productive where it comes in the format of *interventions*. It is in this interventionist sense that we open our book with a collection of chapters that promise to question, extend, and reconsider existing "fields and approaches." As Staiger interfered into neoclassical and political economic orthodoxies during the early 1980s, John T. Caldwell began to challenge disciplinary boundaries and commonplace distinctions between text and context in the early 1990s.[13] Following a conversation with Caldwell, we invite readers to join an interdisciplinary dialogue with scholars having studied media production in fields such as the sociology of art (Strandvad), organizational sociology (Mathieu), and ethnology (Grimaud). In her contribution, Sara Malou Strandvad studies the social dimension of production processes with a focus on the organizational implications of material objects, which she suggests to analyze drawing from a socio-material perspective, which sees objects as enacting a very own and active form of agency. Chris Mathieu, in turn, investigates cultural factors that impact the production of films and careers, empirically founding his chapter, like Strandvad, on extensive fieldwork and interviews conducted within the Danish film industry. Emmanuel Grimaud, in a reformulation of European theories of auteurism, observes the gestures of filmmakers at work as they direct actors on set, in order to devise a comparative model useful for explaining the various "pacts of embodiment" that exist between professional groups. At the end of this first part, historian Sylvie Lindeperg contributes with a report on a project that has traced the material transformation of one specific film, Resnais' *Nuit et Brouillard* (1955), building on and extending *critique génétique*, the French literary theory of genetic criticism that suggests to analyze the writing process rather than the finished work.[14]

Despite the lasting significance of the concept, modes of production have only seldom been analyzed more systematically, carving out national or artistic specificities of production. Notable exceptions include the work of Kristin Thompson, Colin Crisp, and Maria Belodubrovskaya, who drew directly from Staiger in order to describe industrial foundations of interwar avant-garde movements, the fragmented, artisanal production in France during 1930–1960, and the state-owned,

yet director-dominated studio system in the Stalinist USSR, respectively.[15] Even less frequent have been attempts to develop a typological scheme for comparing distinct modes of production,[16] to search for links between transnational production practices and particular narrative and stylistic forms in contemporary world or "cosmopolitan" cinema,[17] or to show how new media technologies and practices of "prosumerism" intensify economic and cultural contradictions of capitalism,[18] or even suggest possibilities for a new kind of capitalism.[19] As with production modes, production cultures have only very rarely been studied historically, by using archival documents, memoirs, or oral sources, and without downplaying the significance of everyday lived experiences. The existing literature provides scant evidence where such trends indeed could emanate from. With a few exceptions, sociology and the anthropology of art are not into uncovering historical processes. Film and media industry histories, in turn, tend to focus on organizational structures, political institutions, or influential individuals, while ignoring production communities as social groupings. Over the past years, studies on women (especially female directors and screenwriters) and sexual politics in the early US film industry have promised to fill in this gap, as much as histories of individual professional groups, of collaborative or industrial authorship, and of workers' migration.[20] Similarly striking is a strong geopolitical bias. Only very recently, ethnographical studies of media have finally begun to investigate production cultures in non-Western parts of the world, including research on production processes in Mumbai[21] and Hong Kong.[22] Still, with the exception of scholars such as Tejaswinti Ganti or Georgina Born, production communities have never been related to the history of their respective production systems. Also, the cinemas of small nations and of the former socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe remain marginalized up to today.[23] This neglect is surprising, not least given the wealth of archival materials preserved especially by the former state-owned, centralized media industries, which preserved documentation on almost every aspect of daily production practices.

Looking at production systems and production cultures historically and globally requires methodological reconsiderations. Social and cultural history, especially the tradition of the French Annales school, may serve as one potential model for identifying temporalities and (dis)continuities in filmmaking cultures. In addition, multi-sited and collective ethnographies may help to account for today's globally dispersed and digitally networked production that renders any concept of production community problematic. Bringing these two perspectives together, a second part of our book offers various case studies exploring hitherto under-researched "modes of production." Petr Szczepanik analyzes East-Central European production systems after 1945 as the "State-socialist Mode of Production"—based on a specific version of production "units"—and shows how production communities acted upon this regulatory environment. Daniel Steinhart's contribution deals with runaway productions in postwar Western Europe, with the aim to uncover interactions between Hollywood filmmakers and their European counterparts; as he is able to demonstrate, such transnational production cultures indeed changed the classical Hollywood mode of production. Even Alessandro Jedlowski addresses transnational production cultures, although

in a reverse perspective, in the form of ethnographic research that investigates the transformation of Nigerian video production over its migration to African diaspora networks in Europe. Eva Novrup Redvall uncovers the organizational background for the remarkable international success Danish television drama production has had over the past years, by describing how this small nation's TV industry appropriated the concept of the showrunner. The second part of the book is completed again by John T. Caldwell, who, pointing to the industrial and cultural logic of deprivation and stress that increasingly marks Hollywood's work worlds, or what he calls "stress aesthetics" and "invisible production economy," asks us to consider to what extent such logic may operate in other national and production settings as well.

One of the key differences between the US and European screen industries consists in the latter's reliance on public funding and television. National cultural policies and public service broadcasting form the core of Europe's production systems today. It is therefore not entirely surprising that foundational European ethnographies of media production have focused on the BBC and on its transformation under the influence of UK's neoliberal policies in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Georgina Born, a classically trained anthropologist who had begun her career with a PhD dissertation that would criticize a very influential institution of French music, IRCAM (Institut de Récherche et Coordination Acoustique/Musique), spent years observing and interviewing key personnel within different BBC departments, resulting in a monumental volume entitled *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC*.[24] Without being able to go into the details of her elaborate methodology, we would at least like to introduce one of her conceptual suggestions that may stimulate further production research. As much as Staiger and Caldwell, Born has productively intervened in the field, and one way of doing so consisted in taking up the concept of mediation in order to advance production analysis beyond the outworn dichotomies of structure and agency, context and text, or object and subject. Drawing from anthropologists such as Alfred Gell or sociologists of art such as Antoine Hennion (see Chapter 2 in this book), Born uses this concept in order to show how organizations mediate creative practice on social, material, and temporal levels.[25] Focusing on the interplay between individual subjectivity and collective processes in her analysis of ethnographic and historical material, she considerably complicates the notion of agency by demonstrating how cultural objects (or "indexes") that result from creative agency condense and mediate the social relations entailed in their production—an observation resonating well in Strandvad's and other recent research.[26] In the line of such current research, Born combines social and aesthetic strands of analyses, by tracing the social logic of creative decision-making and artistic innovation processes. This is most evident in her concepts of situated aesthetics and ethics, which are rooted in historical trajectories and the discourses of specific genres. Reconstructing these embedded value systems allows her to develop a critical perspective on what she sees as a decline of creativity within the BBC and of its public service mission.[27]

It is worthwhile noting, however, that the approach of "sociological hermeneutics"[28] advocated by Born and others comes as more than just a

in progress, key concepts, and research strategies. As editors, we would like to thank our contributors for their patience regarding the long gestation period of this project, and also those colleagues and friends who since 2007 have kept our interest in the field of production research alive, including Olof Hedling, Alejandro Pardo, Isak Thorsen, Anna Zoellner, and Alex Zons. We are especially indebted to Melis Behlil and Dorota Ostrowska for continuous and thought-provoking discussions, and for co-hosting and co-organizing many of the events out of which the initiative for this book project emerged. Much of the inspiration we found in pursuing our individual research came from repeated encounters and extensive dialogues with scholars from the other side of the Atlantic, including Miranda Banks, John T. Caldwell, Michael Curtin, Jennifer Holt, Amanda Lotz, Vicki Mayer, Denise Mann, Toby Miller, and Alisa Perren. Fredline Laryea and Richard Nowell have been enormously helpful in bringing this manuscript into its final shape. Finally, we want to warmly thank the editors of Palgrave MacMillan's "Global Cinema" series in which this book is published—Katarzyna Marciniak, Áine O'Healy, and particularly Anikó Imre—for their constant and generous support.

Notes

1. Etienne Souriau, *Vocabulaire d'esthétique. Publié sous la direction de Anne Souriau* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1990).
2. See, for instance, Douglas Gomery, "The Centrality of Media Economics," *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 3 (1993): 190–198; Benjamin M. Compaine and Douglas Gomery, *Who Owns the Media? Competition and Concentration in the Mass Media Industry* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2000); and Janet Staiger and Douglas Gomery, "The History of World Cinema: Models for Economic Analysis," *Film Reader*, no. 4 (1979): 35–44.
3. Janet Wasko and Eileen R. Meehan, "Critical Crossroads or Parallel Routes? Political Economy and New Approaches to Studying Media Industries and Cultural Products," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 150–157.
4. Manuel Alvarado, "Authorship, Organization and Production," *Australian Journal of Screen Theory* 6, no. 9/10 (1981): 15.
5. See also Manuel Alvarado and John Stewart, *Made for Television: Euston Films Limited* (London: BFI, 1985).
6. Janet Staiger, "The Hollywood Mode of Production: The Construction of Divided Labor in the Film" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981).
7. See, among others, Janet Staiger and David A. Gerstner, eds, *Authorship and Film* (New York: Routledge, 2003), especially Staiger's "Authorship Approaches" (27–60); and Janet Staiger, ed., *The Studio System* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995).
8. Peppino Ortoleva, "Historiographie et recherche cinématographique," *Hors Cadre* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1988/89): 151–161; Francesco Casetti, "I ferri del mestiere. Metodico, anti-metodico e post-mestodico nello studio della produzione cinematografica," in *Dietro lo schermo. Ragionamenti sui modi di produzione cinematografici in Italia*, ed. Vito Zagarrio (Venice: Marsilio, 1988), 159–166; Pierre Sorlin, *Sociologie du cinéma. Ouverture pour l'histoire de demain* (Paris: Aubier, 1977), 77–113; Michèle Lagny, *De l'histoire du cinéma. Méthode historique et histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992), 168–69, 221.

9. Ortoleva, "Historiographie et recherche cinématographique."

10. Ibid., 161. For a critical account of Braverman's influence, see, for example, Paul S. Adler, "Marx, Machines, and Skill," *Technology and Culture* 31, no. 4 (1990): 780–812.

11. See Note 8.

12. Francesco Casetti, "Theory, Post-theory, Neo-theories: Changes in Discourses, Changes in Objects," *Cinémas: revue d'études cinématographiques/Cinemas: Journal of Film Studies* 17, no. 2–3 (2007): 33–45.

13. John T. Caldwell, "Welcome to the Viral Future of Cinema (Television)," *Cinema Journal* 45, no. 1 (2005): 90–97.

14. See, for instance, Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden, eds, *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-textes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), and for a film studies application, Anna Sofia Rossholm and Jon Viklund, "Verkets förvandlingar. Ekelöf, Bergman och den genetiska konflikten," *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap*, no. 1 (2011): 5–24.

15. Kristin Thompson, "Early Alternatives to the Hollywood Mode of Production: Implications for Europe's Avant-gardes," *Film History*, no. 5 (1993): 386–404; Colin Crisp, *The Classic French Cinema, 1930–1960* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Maria Belodubrovskaya, "Politically Incorrect: Filmmaking under Stalin and the Failure of Power" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011).

16. See Chris Mathieu and Sara Malou Strandvad, "Is This What We Should Be Comparing When Comparing Film Production Regimes? A Systematic Typological Scheme," *Creative Industries Journal* 1, no. 2 (2008): 171–192.

17. See, for example, Paul Kerr, "*Babel*'s Network Narrative: Packaging a Globalized Art Cinema," *Transnational Cinemas* 1, no. 1 (2010): 37–51.

18. Mike Wayne, "Mode of Production: New Media Technology and the Napster File," *Rethinking Marxism* 16, no. 2 (April 2004): 137–154.

19. George Ritzer and Nathan Jurgenson, "Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'Prosumer,'" *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10, no. 13 (2010): 13–36.

20. See, for example, Anthony Slide, *The Silent Feminists: America's First Women Directors* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1996); Karen Ward Mahar, *Women Filmmakers in Early Hollywood* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Mark Cooper, *Universal Women: Filmmaking and Institutional Change in Early Hollywood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Emily Susan Carman, "Independent Stardom: Female Stars and Freelance Labor in 1930s Hollywood" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2008). Only few publications of this kind focus on Europe; see, for example, Roy Perkins and Martin Stollery, *British Film Editors: The Heart of the Movie* (London: British Film Institute, 2004); Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris, and Sarah Street, *Film Architecture and the Transnational Imagination: Set Design in 1930s European Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007); Laurent Le Forestier and Priska Morrissey, eds, "Histoire des métiers du cinéma en France avant 1945", *1895*, no. 65 (Winter, 2011).

21. Tejaswini Ganti, *Producing Bollywood*: *Inside the Contemporary Hindi Film Industry* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

22. Sylvia J. Martin, "Fantasy at Work: The Culture of Production in the Hollywood and Hong Kong Media Industries" (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2009).

23. A recent exception is Beata Hock, *Gendered Creative Options and Social Voices: Politics, Cinema and the Visual Arts in State-socialist and Post-socialist Hungary* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013).

24. Georgina Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (London: Vintage, 2005).

25. Georgina Born, "The Social and the Aesthetic: For a Post-Bourdieuian Theory of Cultural Production," *Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 2 (2010): 171–208; see also Born, "On Musical Mediation: Ontology, Technology and Creativity," *Twentieth Century Music* 2, no. 1 (2005): 7–36.

26. Patrick Vonderau currently resumes working on a project that dealt with prop-making practices in the runaway production context of Studio Babelsberg (Germany), adapting concepts from the anthropology of art (Gell) and "relational sociology" in order to devise an approach for studying the aesthetics of production processes. See "Theorien zur Produktion: ein Überblick," *Montage AV. Zeitschrift für Theorie & Geschichte audiovisueller Kommunikation* 22, no. 1 (2013): 9–32.

27. See Georgina Born, "Reflexivity and Ambivalence: Culture, Creativity and Government in the BBC," *Cultural Values* 6, nos 1 & 2 (2002): 65–90.

28. Born, "The Social and the Aesthetic: For a Post-Bourdieuian Theory of Cultural Production," 172.

29. Janet Staiger, "The Pleasures and Profits of a Postmodern Film Historiography," *Norsk medietidsskrift* 2, no. 2 (1995): 7–17.

30. Lillian Ross, *Picture* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1952); Herbert J. Gans, "The Creator–Audience Relationship in the Mass Media: An Analysis of Movie-making," in *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America*, eds Bernard Rosenberg and David M. White (New York: Free Press, 1957), 315–324; Robert E. Kapsis, "Hollywood Filmmaking and Audience Image, " in *Media, Audience, and Social Structure*, eds Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach and Muriel G. Cantor (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1986), 161–173; Nathaniel Kohn, *Pursuing Hollywood: Seduction, Obsession, Dread* (Lanham, MD/New York: Altamira Press, 2006); John T. Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC/London: Duke University Press, 2008).

Part I

Fields and Approaches

1

Borderlands, Contact Zones, and Boundary Games: A Conversation with John T. Caldwell

Patrick Vonderau

In Production Culture. Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television *(2008), you have identified interviews with film/television workers as one of four key registers of analysis (apart from textual analysis, ethnographic field observation, and economic/industrial analysis). What was your worst experience doing practitioner interviews in Hollywood?*

I would catch myself falling into the very traps I tell my graduate students to avoid: I would over-defer to higher-level interview subjects out of gratitude just because they granted me an audience; I did not keep systematic enough field notes to fully flesh out interview contexts in retrospect; I recorded much more material than I would ever have had the time or money to transcribe. "Open-ended interviews" can produce a nightmare of data. Unlike a number of countries in Western Europe, we do not have anything like the organized, collective multiyear government research funding for US research initiatives in the humanities, so individual scholars trying to do production studies research in Arts and Humanities have to repurpose and cobble together the resources informally to make production research happen.

In exploring industrial reflexivity and the "deep texts," machines, or artifacts production workers circulate among themselves, you rely on Clifford Geertz's notion of culture as an ensemble of texts, and on his call to "read over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong."[1] "Reading over the shoulders" implies a sense of alignment or compliance, which became vital for the success of Geertz's classic ethnography of Balinesian cockfights. But in how far does this perspective apply to the challenges of fieldwork in today's culture industries? I am thinking of Barbara Czarniawska's alternating conception of "symmetric fieldwork," and of what she called shadowing, *a technique and attitude that emphasizes cultural difference. Or, as she provocatively put it, (symmetric) fieldwork consists "not of 'being nice to the natives', but of allowing one-self to be problematized in turn—at a certain cost to the researcher, of course."[2]*

Of course, Geertz has generated considerable critique and revision since he outlined some of the classic interpretivist views that I build on. Beyond Czarniawska, the 1986 James Clifford and George E. Marcus book, *Writing Culture*, provides a good site for that revision.[3] Yet I maintain that there are still good "takeaways" that we can gain from Geertz. First, "reading over the shoulders" of subjects as they try to make sense of themselves to themselves is still a fundamental tactical requirement in ethnographic fieldwork. Even if it is not the scholar's overall strategic or final purpose, it should be an obligatory or preliminary part of fieldwork-based projects. Secondly, Geertz's notion that culture is something we can know mostly as a collection of "texts about other texts" serves as an elegant and understandable bridge for cinema and media studies scholars trained in textual analysis and the humanities. When we take our research into the field we always necessarily confront our subjects in staged and constructed ways first, as texts, choreographed rituals, or scripted cultural realities. Acknowledging and planning for this fundamental preliminary stage does *not* preclude bringing many other things to ethnographic research that Geertz himself did not bring—including politics, self-critique, political economy. But we have to attend to honestly "reading" our field-site texts first, before we can get to any higher aspiration.

Czarniawska's notion of "symmetric fieldwork" resonates on many levels, and evokes the coauthoring model of "shared ethnography" suggested in Clifford and Marcus. On a number of occasions I have argued not that we need to "cross-check" what we report before we present them as realities (as professional journalists do), but that we need to "keep *ourselves* in check" as scholars by deploying multiple (and sometimes contradictory) methodologies as we research. This is different from what Czarniawska is saying, but achieves a bit of the same goal, unsettling any predisposition or urge to omniscience by the researcher. But of course Czarniawska goes farther by destabilizing the researcher even further. I am still trying to figure out the proper balance in production studies between the scholar's "analysis" and the scholar's "performance" as an "actor" in the ethnographic account. The field of anthropology now favors full and complete disclosure of the fieldworker's actions in ethnographic accounts, so allowing oneself to be "problematized" by informants is obligatory in the discipline. Yet, the field of film history—where many of my graduate students in "production studies" come from—takes the absolute opposite approach. I have witnessed other professors warning production studies/film history doctoral candidates to "take your personal story out of the account" lest you undermine the evidence and logic of the dissertation. I am still stuck in the middle of this institutional and disciplinary tension between ethnography's complete, self-reflexive disclosure and the "*Dragnet* approach" from film history: "Just the facts, Ma'am. Just the facts."

I am intrigued with Czarniawska's argument for two other reasons: First, we do not usually have to invent, stage, or figure out how to "problematize ourselves" in media industry fieldwork. From my experience, we are always, from the start, a problem or are problematic for our corporate subjects or informants. Everything that unfolds in this commercial environment is opaque to an end reader of the published ethnography unless the scholar discloses and unpacks the specific conditions of her or his involvement in the industrial disclosure. The presence of

scholars from the start disrupts, even in some small way. Second, Czarniawska's notion of "shadowing" provides a compelling model for fieldwork. The adoption of this term in creative industries' policy initiatives (along with "embedded research") proves this point. But it is this very commercial, mainstream corporate adoption of the "shadowing" technique that I am currently trying to research and understand. One Hollywood film director I know, along with other directors, has been funded to "shadow" other more experienced and older film directors/mentors. I am presently trying to do two things: understand the commercial version of "shadowing" in the industry's own "fieldwork," and to attempt myself to "shadow" the industrial "shadower." Now there's a Geertzian phenomenon if there ever was one: shadowing in the industry's own shadow-replicating hall of mirrors!

Where does "the field" begin, where does it end? It strikes me that in American production research, "the field" often seems bound to a territorialized notion of culture, and, accordingly, access is identified with a sense of "moving inside" a local, historically grown production community—as in Production Studies: Cultural Studies of Media Industries *(2009),*[4] *where this approach is pursued in order to develop grounded theories. Yet in how far could such an approach be exported to a European country like Germany or Sweden, for instance, given the way their media industries developed historically?*

Your sense of this may have as much to do with the necessarily limited scope of our book *Production Studies* (an early attempt to frame the field), as with the geographical specificity of production studies methods. One might also consider a counterargument that the nationalized film and television industries of Western Europe may actually have been *more* territorialized than Hollywood since its studio system was broken up into endless subcontracting and flexible outsourcing networks starting in the 1950s. By contrast, European national broadcasters defined themselves historically by reference to unequivocal nation-state borders and governmental funding schemes, which evoked a clearer sense of "insides and outsides." I have tried to shift the question of research territories a bit: to underscore how and why the borders between consumption and production have collapsed—irrespective of national boundaries. This is one of the fundamental assumptions of my current research on "para-industries"—the ubiquitous, surrounding marketing and cultural buffers that media industries use to manage their activities and consumers and to "cohere" as a unified enterprise. If we follow the logic of para-industries, then the sites of production studies research can be anywhere, in almost any geographic region. I think early on in my production studies work in the 1990s, I was constantly fascinated with all of the ways that the film and television industries prevented me from "entering," and meticulously managed access by "outsiders": the high, fortress-like walls of film studio lots, the bunkered containment of soundstages, the security guards and gates, or the military occupation of neighborhoods for location shoots. Now, however, I am drawn to the very opposite of industry's policed borders: the 360-degree promotional surround that *invites* former "outsiders" "in." Social media, viral marketing, prosumer production, and the constant Twitter chatter to fans and critics from "behind-the-scenes" film workers all play a role in establishing new forms of access. I think this may have fundamentally changed the "territoriality" you have

described, and has opened up all sorts of entry points for production work that I never would have imagined.

Let us continue to talk for a moment about "culture." In my own work on prop-making in the runaway context of Babelsberg studio production, "culture" has been a viable starting point, an image useful for constructing the cohesiveness of an otherwise vast, diffuse, and perplexingly heterogeneous assemblage that includes national checklists for film funding, regional unemployment policies, corporate contract work, communities of practice, mobile prop workshops, or molds and machinery—but the image of "culture" did not translate into an analytical tool. In fact, I felt the notion of culture to obscure *the very social complexity I was interested in analyzing.*[5] *This reminded me of Tony Bennett's recent observation that there is a*

> *tendency to merge culture and the social so closely together that they become indistinguishable. This is not to dispute the prevailing contention that, in a general sense, cultural practices are implicated in the make-up and organization of social relationships—although this has become so familiar a claim that its value is now more-or-less doxological, a ritual invocation that occludes more than it reveals. For, if analysis does not push beyond such general formulations to consider more closely the varied mechanisms through which culture and the social are connected, it can only too easily result in a set of ghostly, disembodied agents—values, beliefs, meanings, narratives—being credited with the ability to perform heroic tasks: securing social cohesion, or bringing about civic renewal, for example.*[6]

Would you agree with Bennett, and what advice would you have to critically use his distinction between culture and the social?

This is a challenging question. I love your description of the cultural and material complexity of your prop-maker field site at Babelsberg, and can identify with your frustrations at trying to connect the sheer diversity of artifacts, documents, and practices there with underlying social issues. I fully share your sense that the "social" tends to be a missing or underplayed category in much production studies and cultural studies work. Behind everything I have tried to do in cinema and media studies is an impulse to connect artistic or cultural practice with social issues. That is why the endless taxonomies, models, diagrams that litter my work always usually have a category or column devoted to possible social functions for each of the "micro-"cultural practices I study or delineate. For me ethnography, at its most basic, involves a general task of inductive "pattern recognition." But patterns of what? One of the nagging issues humanities graduate students have when working in the field involves the task of parsing out the differences between the cultural (expressive, representational, and material practices) and the social (organizational arrangements, relationships, modes of change, and the maintenance of order, etc.). Since we work inductively, it is of key importance to describe and catalogue the expressive, representational, and material practices as accurately and as thoroughly as possible. Many traditional cinema and media studies scholars do not apparently have the time to "waste" on this kind of obsessive mapping and plotting. It is at the micro level of the artifact or the industrial document that one is able to ask the next higher-order level of basic social questions: How is this artifact or text actually used or exchanged? How is this tool employed and

to what end? What kinds of history and prehistory does this artifact or tool have? Answering these provisional questions immediately raises practical, local issues of social arrangements, power hierarchies, personal interests, and interpersonal boundaries and boundary maintenance. It is at this level that "the social" hopefully starts coming into clearer focus. The problem we sometimes have—and I think this precipitates the "doxological, ritual invocation," and "occluding" that Bennett may be alluding to—is that we try to "go in for the theoretical kill" prematurely in our research. I encourage my graduate students to go into the field well armed with the social theories of Max Weber, Victor Turner, Karl Marx, Allen J. Scott, Paul M. Hirsch, Howard S. Becker, David Hesmondhalgh, Nick Couldry, or Angela McRobbie, but to hold them at arm's length, in reserve—precisely so that they do not prematurely "perform heroic [explanatory] tasks" of the sort Bennett warns against. I have found that Couldry's work is particularly good at keeping fieldwork honest, since he constantly pushes scholars to keep cultural studies systematically grounded in sound understandings of the social.

What are the costs of doing empirical production studies research, especially for those of us not living close to one of the world's major production hubs? While production studies has been deliberately placed on the "low" end of academic scholarship, taking the seat of the degraded "Other," in an identity-forming opposition to a socially blindfolded "high theory," the research investment required to obtain the cachet of "insideness" strikes me as much more costly, even elitist at times—for who can afford to spend months, if not years, on set, not to speak of the cultural (and often financial) capital needed in order to gain access in the first place? Shadowing a frustrated "below-the-line" worker over the course of a year or so, I often came to the limits of where I was ready to go. Not only did he earn thrice as much as I ever would, he also was considerably less exposed to the "flexicurity" of another, but related "culture industry" —the increasingly economized university system. How to address experiences of social difference in researching culture, and how to make them productive?

Spending long periods of time with only the canned commercial truisms that pass for industry's wisdom about itself can make one hungry for Foucault, de Certeau, Habermas, Gramsci, yes, even Deleuze. In fact, I have argued for some time that you cannot really understand contemporary media industries fully without bringing some higher-order theoretical pressure to bear. And deconstruction should be a part of any fieldworker's tool kit. The Deleuzian "control society" aspect of the chapter I wrote for this collection hopefully underscores the way that I value and incorporate high theory. As a research methodology, fieldwork takes time. This is why tenure and promotion committees in the humanities sometimes have a hard time understanding the apparent low publishing productivity of ethnographers and anthropologists. It is certainly much quicker to simply "do a reading" of a film, or armchair textual analysis. I think this may also be one of the reasons that the actual "fieldwork" behind the first generation of cultural studies scholars appeared to be so "thin."

At the same time, I think I recognize the conditions your question about "elitism" is based on. But heaven help us if production studies require their researchers to have a higher cultural cachet of "insideness" to proceed. If the

field does, I would leave the game. Although your reference to frustrations over the economic differences between you and your industry informant does not fully fit Elizabeth G. Traube's notion of the long-standing "dialect of no respect"—or mutual disrespect—between media professionals and academics, it does make sense to recognize this as another kind of fault line in research.[7] I kid my UCLA colleague anthropologist Sherry Ortner[8]—who claims that I chose to "study down" when I researched below-the-line craft workers rather than "creatives"—that in fact these gaffers and grips I study make far more money, have bigger homes, and drive better cars than I do! But celebrating the proletariat is not my goal—examining how and why the industry erases labor is.

Your point about precarity and "flexicurity" in the university versus relatively better security in the media industry may be slowly becoming a distinction without a difference. This is why for the past five years I have been studying the systematic, monetized use of underemployed, unemployed, donated, and *free labor* by the mainstream commercial film and television industry. That has increasingly become the norm in US film and television. That snowballing phenomenon promises to engulf ever-larger numbers of consumers, fans, and scholars in the vast underemployed aspirant pool that feeds media production worldwide. Also, this represents new opportunities to initiate production studies research outside of the clichéd historical centers of feature film and primetime television production.

In your vast and amazingly productive production research, you refer to key proponents of ethnography (like Clifford Geertz, Bronisław Malinowski, or George Marcus, for instance). How does your ethnographic fieldwork look like in practice? Could you briefly outline how you usually start a new project?

In terms of methods, I am not as fixed on or hung up on notions of clean distinctions between "inside" versus "outside" that frame many production studies debates, since these distinctions are the very things that the commercial industry itself markets and reifies by design for all comers, fans as well as scholars. In reality, the borders between "in" and "out" are very porous, with many intermediate, concentric, overlapping layers, a tendency I tried to map systematically in my 2004 article "Industrial Geography Lessons."[9] That chapter outlines an approach that I have used since: rather than providing a map limited to distinct or segregated zones, I have emphasized the overdetermined "contact zones" and access check points where individual or career crossings are processed and managed industrially. This provides a more dynamic, complex model of the industry for me, one that necessarily emphasizes: first, my own journeys in/out/and across industrial zones; and second, the fluid conditions and flexible relations that govern most workers' lives within the industrial web. Both Hortense Powdermaker and Leo C. Rosten presupposed maps of Hollywood that perfectly fit the traditional anthropological model, with the movie industry's small, "elite" core recognizable and inhabitable as a "village center" for traditional participant observation.[10] As a result, they both pretty much disregarded as much as 90 percent of the industry and communities that occupy the deep border zones (my interest), which they implicitly wrote off as underlings, just like the executives they interviewed. Of course, much has changed since then.

All of my projects usually start from the ground up, usually with an individual informant, who hopefully will allow me to make further contact within his network of contacts. Since I do not have stable, long-term research funding, my projects do not usually launch "cross-institutionally" or formally on the basis of an official "grand bargain" made with a media corporation, or its executives or mid-level management. I do make liberal use of para-industrial organizations, trade associations, craft groups, technology providers to get a more informal toehold in some production community, recognizing that such organizations represent contact zones and staged opportunities for initial cross-cultural interaction. One goal in all of this is to be able to get a "floating viewpoint" of a given production culture, one that does not pretend to "omnipresence" or "omniscience," but that allows for multi-perspectival (and sometimes contradictory) views of my subject. My hope in this approach is not to align my views neatly with those of my informants (which a snowball method of interviewing normally cultivates), but to make myself constantly reckon with the institutional (and thus political-economic) factors and practices that manage cultural behaviors at a slightly higher level. Beyond this, I think my focus on below-the-line labor means that I am less dependent on border policing by firms, since my contact with workers can almost always take place off the lot or at professional, craft, or trade gatherings. Production studies with workers—even if disallowed on set by executive producers—can always begin by pursuing a single strand (an individual, a subgroup) that opens up gradually into a more complex network consisting of more workers and other adjacent and related firms.

In 1993, you published your first (please correct me if I am wrong) programmatic text in the field.[11] *What were the major inspirations for your work at that time, and what has inspired you to develop your research over the past two decades?*

This article was less a rejection of "high theory" than a slightly provocative appeal to other scholars to consider the profound ways that aesthetic convention and theoretical articulations had been *industrially* hard-wired into the interface designs of basic production machines that I had used or been around (video switchers, DFX workstations, nonlinear editing systems, etc.). I had been drawn to the approach of the French "apparatus" theorists in the 1970s (Jean-Luc Comolli, Jean-Louis Baudry),[12] precisely because they tried to ground bigger cultural formulations (like conventionalized ways of seeing) into the design and use of specific material technologies, like the projector, camera, and optics. I also loved much in the obsessive, analytical approach of Christian Metz,[13] and my article followed after considering how something like Metz's "*grand syntagmatique*"— understood as a descriptive taxonomy of formal practices—could have been designed and engineered into the stylistic parameters of an analog or digital production unit or switcher manufactured by Chyron, Quantel, or Avid. Although I tried to avoid the Lacanian excesses of apparatus theory, I admired Comolli's and Baudry's ability to produce prescient insights about film or media by theorizing their ideological dimensions through an integrated analysis of basic material practices and the use of production and exhibition "tools." I still try to understand any new media effect or phenomenon first in terms of the practical tools and tool use that enables them.

You began researching production at a time when Cultural Studies had peaked in US academia. In April 1990, the "Cultural Studies Now and in the Future" conference had taken place, and it was widely regarded as a defining moment in the development of Cultural Studies in the US. How important was the tradition of British Cultural Studies at that time? I am asking because David Morley once complained how much arguably was "lost in translation," in what he saw as an American trend to textualize Cultural Studies.[14] Would you agree with this view? Put differently, what did you experience as the most useful tenets of Cultural Studies?

Yes, that was a key historical moment, but I would not say that Cultural Studies had "peaked" at that time. If it appeared as a zenith, it was only for what might be considered the initial theorizers and "architects" of Cultural Studies. The real peak probably occurred when those approaches were finally institutionalized in universities as degree-granting graduate or doctoral programs, and especially when the doctoral students of those 1990 scholars started completing dissertations that reflected even more rigor and systematic study (I am thinking of subsequent research by Marie Gillespie, Nick Couldry, Barbie Zelizer, and others). Morley may have been correct about over-textualization when Americans imported British Cultural Studies, but I would argue that the problem was less with textual analysis (which remains important) but with the sense that textual analysis was largely divorced from systematic fieldwork for institutional reasons in American universities.

For me, Cultural Studies scholarship was important in teaching cinema and media studies how profoundly rich and useful the actual, lived, cultural environments in which media is consumed could be for research (as opposed to theoretically positioned or implied cultural settings). I also found Cultural Studies' demonstration that critical abilities and political agency were symptomatic and ubiquitous outside of academia to be quite liberating. While I sometimes feel "thrown off course" by what I find in the field, those lay critical abilities and "emic" practices discovered there provide alternative perspectives which encourage media studies scholars (like myself) to keep their own "etic" theories and conclusions "in check." I was soon drawn to other Cultural Studies scholars—like the influential Paul Willis—who had embarked on the very kind of "from-the-ground-up" fieldwork research on lay critical abilities in specific communities that I myself hoped to undertake in media industries research.

I am curious if you would consider Cultural Studies still as the most viable framework for doing production research. How might production research look in a couple of years from now? There are a few reasons for me to ask this question. To begin with, there has been a wave of media industry studies over the past 5–6 years or so, which included several dedicated textbooks, conferences, monographs, online platforms, and even a few new specialized journals. Is there still a political and strategic *necessity to polemicize against non-industry studies? Instead of cordoning off media industries' scholarship as separate, when in fact it is (and has been) fundamental to so many approaches for so long, would it not be of importance to integrate, and successively build on, the tensions that have dominated disciplinary politics in the past?*

I never consciously thought of production culture research or production studies to be a subset or an offshoot of "Cultural Studies." My aims were much simpler

than that, trying to achieve a more detailed and vivid understanding of "how things actually work" in film and television. To do this, my approaches were inevitably eclectic, perhaps following a "by any means necessary" strategy (to borrow Sartre's and Malcolm X's political motto from the 1960s). One thing that Cultural Studies tended to leave behind in the dust, and thus be weak at, was any sense of the utility or importance of "media specificity" (which, by contrast, pretty much *over*-determined film studies over the decades). This is where the difficult work of production cultural studies typically comes in, especially for scholars not trained in cinema and media studies: recognizing and understanding the deep specific histories of each production technology or practice that complicates their research area. So, "no," I see no political or strategic value in polemicizing against "non-industry" studies or theories.

How productive is it, in terms of long-term research results, to stick to the programmatic tendency of Cultural Studies' "blurring of genres"—that is, to an open (and noncommittal) transdisciplinarity which must have been liberating when literary turned into cultural studies, but which now occasionally leads to watering down analytical distinctions, concepts, and methods? Has production studies managed yet to engage in a truly interdisciplinary dialogue that would work out the notable distinctions between, say, cultural anthropological and sociological studies of production—or just trace back the subtle shifts and changes in the very notion of "production" itself, as it made its way through industrial (and academic) history? Put poignantly, do Powdermaker and Rosten refer to the same object of inquiry, when speaking of "production"?[15]

Unfortunately, the disciplinary "blurring of genres" mantra frequently serves as a substitute for the less respectable alternative of methodological "laziness." Rather than a "blurring of genres," my goal in production culture research would be toward developing an "aggregating disciplinarity": where bundles of disciplinary specializations (political economy, film history, anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, media archeology, etc.) can interact and work alongside of each other within longer-termed organized research units. I have never argued, and never will, that every production culture researcher should incorporate ethnography, participant observation, interviewing, economic analysis, textual analysis, and grounded theory in their research. Only that they consider contributing to the collective enterprise by drilling down aggressively into an industrial phenomenon with an intelligently aggregated tool kit they have assembled from one or more of the adjacent disciplines.

The gradual institutionalization of Cultural Studies has caused, at least in my view, two trends which I both found to run counter to our recent European attempts to develop connected production research. The first you may term an ongoing "Balkanization" of media industries research, with an unstoppable inflation of quickly launched, and quickly forgotten labels. Would you agree that institutional politics are no less over-determining work in our field than they were 20 years ago? Robert K. Merton criticized Cultural Studies already back in 1972 for its many "baronies kept exclusively in the hands of Insiders bearing their credentials in the shape of one or another ascribed status."[16] Production studies certainly is more than a label—but has it turned into a consistent field *yet?*

My first impulse is to stop capitalizing the first letters of the two terms, and to employ the more modest phrase "cultural studies" instead. The capital "C" and the "S" signify the hardening of a disciplinary boundary, and thus participate in the same kind of vocational careerism that haunts every other academic discipline as well. Merton's "baronies" describe a general condition across academia—not something unique to cultural studies or cinema and media studies. Having said that, I will note that I have been writing and presenting a paper recently entitled "Media Industries Study Is Not a Zero-sum Game."[17] In it, I decry the "disciplinary boundary policing" that continues to erupt between political economy and cultural studies, despite almost two decades of significant integrations between the two in actual research projects. A recent "In Focus" section of *Cinema Journal* starts with a "scorched-earth" approach to discrediting a generation of the newer media industries scholars.[18] As such, it fully dramatizes the popular attraction of the zero-sum ethos. By contrast, media industries are now simply too vast, ubiquitous, and complex to allow any academic scholar *or discipline* to lock down "the" or "an" appropriate disciplinary approach to research that will unlock industry's secrets.

Your final question about "the field" above is a challenging one. If vocational careerism and the political economy of academic publishing inevitably pushes fields like production studies into mutually exclusive, zero-sum competitions, then we need to work hard institutionally to manage the partisanship in more productive and imaginative ways, while keeping in mind the bigger picture. My pragmatic approach is this: "*culture*" (not "cultural studies") should be the research focus of a field, whether one's field is cultural studies, sociology, anthropology, creative industries research, or informatics, for instance. Or, alternately: "*media*" (not "media studies") should be the research focus of a field, whether one's field is media studies, communication, feminist television studies, film history, cinema studies, or film history. That is, by keeping our eye on the more fundamental categories that draw us to intellectual work in the first place—media, culture, society—we stand a far better chance of surviving and adapting as fields than if we define ourselves mostly by our theoretical orthodoxies at any given historical moment first (say, media archeology, political economy, Cultural Studies, STS [or science, technology, and society]). One implication of my argument here is that universities would identify departments according to more basic categories (culture, media, information, performance, visuality, history). This would not erase the presence of important narrower theoretical specializations, but would rather allow those specializations and competing theoretical orientations to coexist and collide against each other in refereed, exploratory, cross-disciplinary institutional spaces. For these reasons, I have always imagined that "production studies" or "production culture research" might become useful and productive institutional "*contact zones*"—not necessarily "fields" or "disciplines" in the traditional sense of intellectual activities that have clear and discrete borderlines.

What thinking guides my preference for production studies as a "contact zone" rather than a "field" or discipline? By fixing ourselves on the originating sector, object, or nexus site of our research rather than on the contested theoretical orthodoxies that guide our research toward that original sector, object, nexus site, or

starting point, we might allow our fields and university departments to better evolve and adapt, both of which are necessary if we aim to keep on top of the broad-based, accelerating cultural and industrial changes that surround us.

Another trend I am observing is what one might call, with David Morley, the development of "theoretical orthodoxies."[19] The key "master paradigm" I am trying to come to terms with is that of the "inside-outsider"—the emerging doctrine that one has to ground any scholarly insight into own's experience—an epistemological fundamentalism that begets us turning into native speakers in order to understand the languages we are studying. This is especially prevalent in research on digital media, where any experience of a new technology may lead to claims about radical change. But it reverberates among production researchers as well. Thus, I am wondering—is there a limit to what you were to accept as "deep texts"? Or to put it in the words of Clifford Geertz, commenting on the state of the art of anthropology: "Who is now to be persuaded? Africanists or Africans? Americanists or American Indians? And of what? Factual accuracy? Theoretical sweep? Imaginative grasp? Moral depth?"[20] Studying cannibals, do we have to become cannibals? Do we need to adopt the native viewpoint to the effect of posing as "digital natives," "aca-fans"—or media practicioners?

In terms of how one limits what counts as a "deep text," I would say that practitioner communities themselves heavily invest in some deep texts more than others. As such, scholars need to constantly and systematically ask, when confronted with lots of deep textual ephemera: how are these deep texts actually exchanged in this work world? How is value converted to or from the deep text? What kinds of socio-professional rituals or interactions are these deep texts embedded within? Can you count or articulate the number of human relationships or connections in the interpersonal network that this deep text is embedded within? These are all working questions that should help researchers make critical distinctions, in deciding what to include and what to leave out.

I like the way you problematize the "inside-outsider," since navigating one's place in a new community of practice is indeed tricky business. But an alternative to the epistemological problem of apparently having to "become one to understand one" might be to simply look at the "learning curve" caused by a researcher entering a new community as a simple resource or competency issue. That is, learning how to author digital media or learning how to shoot and edit are in some ways little different from having to learn a foreign language in order to write a dissertation or book on some (other) national cinema. It can serve as a basic, unremarkable part of our research tool kit. From my experience, research subjects and informants never lose sight of the fact that the researcher is from the outside, even if they have mastered the local language of production or digital media. I do not believe we need to become "digital natives" or "aca-fans" to research and write intelligently about some media or production culture, although both modes or postures are increasingly seen as legitimate ways to meld the inside and the outside. Aca-fans can possess and deploy detailed knowledge about a media phenomenon that some academic critical scholars simply have not bothered to take the time to learn. On the other hand, much that passes for aca-fan writing and analysis can take on an air of benign partisanship and unproblematic

boosterism. I think there are still fundamental differences between informed participant observation—which can and should be critical and independent of the subjects' perspectives—and largely celebratory aca-fan writing.

We owe it to ourselves, our subjects, and our field: first, to describe the emic viewpoint as accurately and as completely as possible; but also, second, to present an independent analysis and theorization of what is going on as well. In this sense, good production culture research, or production studies, should always in some ways be "cross-cultural." Produced not just for the community of researched informants—who have their own "shadow academies" producing this analysis for them—but for scholars and communities outside of the field site as well.

Notes

1. Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," In *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 412–454.
2. Barbara Czarniawska, *Shadowing: And Other Techniques for Doing Fieldwork in Modern Societies* (Malmö: Liber, 2007).
3. James Clifford and George E. Marcus, *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
4. Vicki Mayer, Miranda J. Banks, and John T. Caldwell, eds, *Production Studies: Cultural Studies of Media Production* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009).
5. See Patrick Vonderau, "Theorien zur Produktion: ein Überblick," *Montage AV. Zeitschrift für Theorie & Geschichte audiovisueller Kommunikation* 22, no. 1 (2013): 9–32.
6. Tony Bennett, "The Work of Culture," *Cultural Sociology*, no. 1 (2007): 31–47.
7. See *Making & Selling Culture*, ed. Richard M. Ohmann (Hanover, Germany, and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).
8. Cf. Sherry B. Ortner's most recent book, *Not Hollywood: Independent Film at the Twilight of the American Dream* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2013).
9. John T. Caldwell, "Industrial Geography Lessons: Socio-professional Rituals and the Borderlands of Production Culture," In *Media Space: Place, Scale, and Culture in a Media Age*, eds Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2004), 163–190.
10. Hortense Powdermaker, *Hollywood. The Dream Factory* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1950) and Leo C. Rosten, *Hollywood: The Movie Colony, the Movie Makers* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1941).
11. John T. Caldwell, "Televisuality as a Semiotic Machine: Emerging Paradigms in Low Theory," *Cinema Journal* 32, no. 4 (1993): 24–48.
12. See, for instance, Jean-Louis Baudry "Cinéma: effets idéologiques produits par l'appareil de base," *Cinéthique*, no. 7–8 (1970): 1–8([published in English as "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus"), or Jean-Louis Comolli's series of articles on "Technique et idéologie" in *Cahiers du Cinéma*, no. 229–241 (May 1971–October 1972).
13. Christian Metz, "La grande syntagmatique du film narratif," *Communications* 8, no. 8 (1966): 120–124; see also Metz, *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*. Translated by Michael Taylor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

14. David Morley in an interview with Johannes von Moltke, "Radikale Verpflichtung zur Interdisziplinarität," *Montage AV. Zeitschrift für Theorie & Geschichte audiovisueller Kommunikation* 6, no. 1 (1997): 36–66.

15. Although both Rosten and Powdermaker investigate Hollywood's "movie colony," both have rather different backgrounds, being rooted in both screenwriting and the Chicago School of sociology like Rosten, and cultural anthropology like Powdermaker, respectively.

16. Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," *American Journal of Sociology* (July 1972): 9–47.

17. See also John T. Caldwell, "Para-industry: Researching Hollywood's Blackwaters," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 157–165.

18. Janet Wasko and Eileen R. Meehan, "Critical Crossroads or Parallel Routes? Political Economy and New Approaches to Studying Media Industries and Cultural Products," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (2013): 150–157.

19. David Morley, "Theoretical Orthodoxies: Textualism, Constructivism and the 'New Ethnography' in Cultural Studies," In *Cultural Studies in Question*, ed. Marjorie Ferguson and Peter Golding (London: Sage, 1997), 121–137.

20. Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988), 132–133.

Analyzing Production from a Socio-material Perspective

Sara Malou Strandvad

While film studies is showing growing interest in production studies, the sociology of art and cultural production is turning its attention to the role of artworks.[1] As sociologists have begun to emphasize the organizational implications of material products, film studies have started to highlight the social dimensions of the way production is organized. In this chapter, I aim to pursue and combine these lines of thought to suggest that the social analyses of cultural production could be taken further by including objects as potential actors, thereby developing what may be called a socio-material perspective. This perspective is well developed within science and technology studies (STS). My proposal for a socio-material perspective on cultural production therefore implies drawing on insights from developments within this field. Others have made similar transfers of ideas, by comparing the laboratory and the studio for instance.[2] By considering artworks as objects, the socio-material perspective questions the traditional distinction between the sociology of art and art studies. I will therefore begin this chapter by outlining this distinction and by suggesting that it should be transgressed. I will then present three examples of the socio-material analyses of cultural products to show how this perspective can be used in cultural production analyses. These examples are taken from the work of cultural sociologists who have carried out music, architecture, and film production analyses from a socio-material perspective. Finally, I will briefly discuss some of the potential criticisms and limitations linked to this perspective.

What Are the "Products" in Production Studies?

According to Richard A. Peterson, the leading proponent of the production of culture perspective, "If production studies run the risk of eliminating 'culture' from the sociology of culture, researchers who focus on the content of cultural products run the risk of . . . taking the 'sociology' out."[3] Sociology of art is a discipline that

has been established as an alternative to art studies in the humanities. Whereas the humanities focus on pieces of art, the sociology of art aims to demystify art by uncovering the social causes behind the supposedly autonomous logic of aesthetics.[4] However, this opposition to the humanities implies that the sociology of art can sometimes be rather ignorant of art. Artworks have been neglected or reduced to transmitters of social causalities.[5] As Peterson argues, sociological qualities are threatened when attention is paid to cultural products. This is because such attention shifts the focus to the content of the products that is beyond the bounds of sociological analysis. Hence, as Peterson suggests, it is better to ignore artworks rather than risk veering off the sociology track. This argument is based on the perspective that artworks need hermeneutics and that cultural products can be studied only by scrutinizing their inner meaning. According to this view, it can be argued that the sociology of art can only study what causes art, whereas art itself is subsumed under the faculty of the humanities. This means that there can be only two possibilities when dealing with artworks: they should be either interpreted or ignored.

However, some sociologists have tried to avoid this opposition. Vera Zolberg, in her book *Constructing a Sociology of the Arts* (1990), was the first to argue that the sociology of art should address the artworks themselves. Over the past few years, this quest for a new sociology of art that includes artworks has progressed and found expression for example in the *Cultural Sociology* journal.[6] According to its proponents, the new sociology of art opens the way for an approach to artworks other than hermeneutic inspection. The new sociology of art suggests that in social analyses, it is indeed possible and productive to consider the product as an equal participant to other actors in production processes. The new sociology of art therefore makes it possible to empirically identify the role artworks play in their own production and consumption and to study the effects of these products within the unfolding social processes to which they belong.

While the British tradition of cultural studies has generated studies that identify how cultural products and their users are constituted simultaneously in consumption practices, a similar co-production can be assumed to take place in production practices.[7] Two-way or even multiple-way interaction between the cultural product and those who experience it can occur not only when the product is finished and received by users but also when those making the evolving product face it during its realization. Makers of cultural products should not just be seen as having intentions that are materialized in their work; during their work processes, they also act as receivers. Intentions are therefore formed by the producers' interactions with the evolving product.[8]

The Displacement of "Sociology" in the Sociology of Art

According to the proponents of a new sociology of art, the idea of taking the product into consideration does not break with sociological approaches. Yet, this proposal raises the question of whether sociologists can address artworks in empirical studies without making interpretations and evaluations. As Peterson feared,

this is the danger of leaving the sociological realm and focusing on the content of cultural products.[9] In the so-called production of culture perspective, ignorance of the product is explained by the inevitable judgments the researcher makes about the product when he or she is analyzing it. A quote by Max Weber is used to justify the separation of sociological analysis from the product: "An aesthetic evaluation cannot be arrived at with the means afforded by an empirical approach and it is indeed quite outside its province."[10] Weber's argument that tools of empirical analysis cannot be used to assess aesthetic qualities has led the proponents of the production of culture perspective to argue that sociology cannot deal with aesthetic products. However, another quote from the same text by Weber states that "whoever wishes to do empirical research in the history of art must be able to 'understand' artistic productions. This is, obviously enough, inconceivable without the capacity for evaluating them."[11]

Weber's statement suggests that social studies of art require an understanding of art as an object that necessitates the ability to make aesthetic judgments. The argument that artworks and judgments about them are necessary in social studies of art is in contrast to the idea of an empirical sociological approach that excludes aesthetic evaluations. To follow Weber's suggestion and to involve the product in the sociological analysis of art, one has to do exactly what the proponents of the production of culture are against: interpret and evaluate content. Weber's solution to this dilemma, which he presents later on in the text, paraphrases his famous suggestion of separating the researcher's (aesthetic) judgments from his or her studies. However, excluding one's evaluations does not show how artworks can be included in social analyses. There therefore appears to be a blind spot regarding what sociologists are supposed to do with the product. The claim that the product can be incorporated into the analysis in the new sociology of art draws attention to the unanswered question of how sociologists should deal with the artistic product.

One suggestion that has been put forward by a number of scholars is, again, to unite the two opposites—sociological analysis and humanist analysis.[12] Apart from Vera Zolberg, the British cultural sociologist Janet Wolff has also suggested "postcritical aesthetics" to supplement the critical sociological approach.[13] Similarly, the British sociologist Robert Witkin has suggested "a sociology of the artwork" that aims to relate content to wider social structures.[14] The American sociologist of art Anne Bowler makes the following recommendation along the same lines:

> What is needed, therefore, is the development of a sociology of art capable of surmounting the traditional impasse that has existed between institutional and interpretive approaches to the study of culture and the arts. In practice, this means an approach capable of simultaneous attention to aesthetic issues and social structure.[15]

However, simultaneously paying attention to the content of artworks and the social relations surrounding them still does not explain how the artwork can be incorporated into sociological analyses. Rather, it maintains the separation of studying the contents of works of art from their social production and can subsequently "create cumbersome combinations."[16] Moreover, as the interpretative approach focuses on single cases whereas the institutional sociological approach

seeks to identify general social structures, this agenda generates a micro–macro dualism. Unlike the double agenda, the methodology of the socio-material perspective aims to go beyond the simultaneous consideration of aesthetic issues and social structures. The socio-material perspective suggests investigating the product's effects in social situations. This new perspective on the sociology of art thereby constitutes an approach to artwork that does not depend on interpreting the content but on identifying the ways in which this content acquires social implications.

A Socio-material Perspective

The socio-material perspective within the sociology of art has been pioneered by the French cultural sociologist Antoine Hennion from the Centre de Sociologie de l'Innovation at École des Mines in Paris. Hennion combines the sociology of art with theoretical insights from science and technology studies. Over the past decades, he has been exchanging ideas with his colleagues in this field, Madeleine Akrich, Michel Callon, and Bruno Latour. In the beginning of his career, Hennion studied the production of pop songs in music studios.[17] Since then, he has researched radio programming, advertising, and music lovers.[18] Besides these empirically analytical texts, Hennion has also produced more theoretical and programmatic accounts of his perspective in English[19] and an overview of the sociology of art,[20] and has contributed to establishing new directions in actor-network theory.[21] With a catchphrase, Hennion advocates "a sociology of art, not against art", and clarifies this by stating that; "sociologists are faced with the challenge of developing a sociology of art which is not, a priori and from the outset, hostile to art."[22] As this quote indicates, Hennion finds that a turn towards incorporating art is needed in sociology of art. To perform this turn, he suggests a radical break with the previous tradition.

Hennion's starting point is to oppose the dominating hostile attitude toward artworks in sociology of art. Yet, it is not only the neglect of the product which he opposes. Even more so, Hennion contests the way in which artworks have been conceptualized when they have been encountered by sociologists. This means that Hennion does not merely locate a missing element in sociology of art. Rather, he contests the way in which art has been mistreated by sociologists who have reduced it to a function of social processes.

From Hennion's perspective, the hostility toward art stems from the prevailing critical tradition that aims to uncover what lies behind artworks. He explains this tradition as follows:

> The key to the critical approach is the theory of belief which, from Durkheim to Bourdieu or Becker (which is indeed a lot of sociology!), has been mobilized continuously. For critical theorists, [analyzing the objects] from a "social" point of view . . . amounts to considering them as objects of belief . . . they are reduced to mere tokens or signs deprived of any other value or raison d'être than that of being mediums for our social games of identity and difference.[23]

Hennion's objection to the critical tradition lies in the fact that artistic objects are seen as belief mediums, which implies that they are understood as nothing but substitutes for social predispositions. Hennion argues that by considering artworks as symbols that represent meanings, the critical tradition totalizes its sociological outlook. Artworks are derived from any function other than representing and transporting socially constructed beliefs. Hence, according to Hennion, the critical perspective represents a sociologism.[24] He therefore considers the strategy of balancing humanist and sociological approaches to be pointless.[25] The aestheticism/sociology dichotomy is an unproductive theoretical construct that cannot be solved by trying to unite its defining oppositions. Accordingly, Hennion formulates the central question in sociology of art as follows: "The dilemma now faced by sociologists is how to incorporate the material character of works produced and devices used, without reverting to autonomous aesthetic comments, which in the past treated works of art as extractions removed from their social context."[26]

Rather than adding an aesthetic approach to sociological studies, Hennion wonders if there is a different way out. That is, the problem which sociologists are confronted with is how to address the product without essentializing it and without reversing into reductionist social accounts. According to Hennion, sociologists should tackle this problem by addressing the specificities of the workings of concrete objects in empirical occurrences. He suggests looking into situations where products are actively involved: "this forces one to take the works more seriously—they 'do' something, they 'matter.'"[27] Instead of suggesting that products are immanently influential objects, investigations should focus on specific events or situations within which artistic products turn into active participants—instances when social relationships and objects become constituted simultaneously.

Hennion uses the concept of mediation to clarify the workings of the product and the product's continuous transformations. The concept of mediation raises fundamental questions about the object, such as "Where do objects get their power from?"[28] As mediation addresses such questions, he uses it to explain how the object is active and a construct at the same time. For example, in a study about the popularity of Baroque music in France today, he explains that "what we have here is an interconnected series of mediations—the availability of early instruments, scores which have stood the test of time, modern media seeking new sounds—creating an irreversible movement which none of them alone would have been able to achieve."[29] By pointing to the instruments, scores, and modern media to account for the rise of Baroque music, Hennion shows how specific mediations can make certain products stronger. When Hennion draws attention to mediations that lead to artworks, he does not do so in a bid to reveal the social causality behind art. He uses the concept of mediation to propose a new perspective on creation which would investigate:

> specific intermediaries, considered not as the neutral channels through which pre-
> determined social relations operate, but as productive entities which have effectivities
> of their own . . . sociologists do not have to 'take away' creation from the great artists,
> and hand it to society . . . What they can do, however, is to . . . recognize that creation

is far more widely distributed, as it takes place in all of the interstices between the multiple intermediaries involved in producing and appreciating art.[30]

Mediation is one of the ways in which sociologists can describe the collective processes of making art as a distributed creation rather than reiterating the sociological claim that cultural production is the result of social factors. Mediation thereby constitutes the most fundamental concept in Hennion's writings because it provides a means of transgressing the prevailing dualism between aestheticism and sociology and suggests a novel approach to conceptualizing the object.

Moreover, Hennion suggests that objects and the practices to which they belong are co-produced; the object is constituted by social practices just as much as social practices are constituted by the product. This implies that cultural objects are considered to be influential as well as being defined in use:

> Music acts and moves, in relation to other mediations; it transforms those who take possession of it and do something else with it. Conversely, it does not denote the same thing, depending on the situation and the time. This co-production, the co-formation of a music and those who make it and listen to it (with other activities) can be the subject of a more balanced sociology of music.[31]

Hennion thus outlines a new direction in sociology of art that aims to overcome the aestheticism/sociologism dichotomy by directly addressing the artwork. Through the concepts of mediation and co-production, Hennion's perspective attributes agency to the artwork without imposing an essentialist description of this object. In the next section, I will give three examples of how Hennion's perspective has been applied and developed in empirical studies. Through these examples, I will seek to outline a socio-material direction for production studies.

Examples of Socio-material Analyses

Three analyses of cultural products that have adopted Hennion's socio-material perspective will be described here. The first is the work by the British music sociologist Tia DeNora on music in everyday life, which highlights ways in which cultural objects become actively involved in configuring social practices. The second example consists in studies of architectural practices by the Bulgarian sociologist Albena Yaneva, which draw attention to the affordances of materials in creative work practices. Thirdly, I will give an example from my own study of development processes in Danish filmmaking, which suggests that the evolving product becomes an organizing device as the product and the practices of making it are co-produced.

These three examples are chosen because they illustrate, first, how artworks can be influential as objects; second, how various objects can become active in constructing finished works; and third, how the evolving object can have organizational effects on production processes. In that way, I aim to turn the socio-material perspective to consider production practices, emphasizing the socio-material character of not only individual use practices but also collective production practices.

So even though Hennion's recent studies on the performativity of the object have mainly focused on individual users of finished artworks, I suggest unfolding his perspective in studies of art as collective action.[32] By doing so, I accommodate the critique of Hennion's perspective for describing "singular aesthetic moments of attachment" (Prior 2011, p. 134),[33] but I propose that depictions of individual use practices do not necessarily constitute the endpoint for this perspective.

By choosing these three examples to illustrate my discussion, I have obviously demarcated the perspective and only considered the strand originating from Hennion. A couple of related developments could have been included in an overview of socio-material analyses of cultural production. Recently, a number of sociological studies of cultural production have taken the actor-network theory (ANT) as formulated by Latour as a starting point.[34] The work of the British anthropologist of art Alfred Gell has also been used in discussions about cultural production within cultural anthropology.[35] Despite their differences, these various social studies of cultural production share an interest in the same phenomenon, namely the question of the agency of objects. There are two reasons why I have focused my discussion on Hennion's legacy. First, I find that studies that apply ANT to cultural production risk colonizing the empirical field with a ready-made, settled framework.[36] I will come back to this critique at the end of this chapter. I believe that Hennion's approach is more productive because it prescribes making detailed empirical studies, paying close attention to the specificities of the objects under study. Second, although Gell's work is indeed compelling and remarkably similar to Hennion's approach, it is a perspective that has rarely been used in cultural production studies in contemporary post-industrial contexts.[37] I shall therefore restrict my examples to three studies that explicitly follow the approach as it is outlined by Hennion.

Cultural Objects as Agents

In her book *Music in Everyday Life*, DeNora examines how music affects people and evokes emotions. While it is widely accepted that music is powerful, DeNora proposes that this is not an immanent quality of music. As she explains, "too often, music is thought of as a stimulus capable of working independently of its circumstances . . . I suggest that it is probably impossible to speak of music's 'powers' abstracted from their contexts of use."[38] DeNora sets out to investigate how music becomes influential in specific contexts of use. She empirically identifies how music becomes an active component of practices in everyday life using the theoretical framework outlined by Hennion and Latour. For instance, in a study of aerobic classes, DeNora shows that music is crucial in structuring practices:

> Played at full volume throughout nearly the whole session, the musical features of aerobics are thus designed to provide much more than the all-important grounding of beats per minute. In aerobics, music is expressly designed to be placed in the *foreground* as a device of the body constitution and bodily organization, a device upon which body coordination and conduct may be mapped.[39]

In this case, DeNora suggests that music cannot be seen as a background against which social practices unfold; social practices are structured according to the music. This, however, does not imply that music is active, while those using the music are passive: "class members are not passive recipients, acted upon by music, but are active sense-makers trying to . . . work with available materials."[40] Rather than imposing itself on listeners, the music creates an effect when its receivers use it. DeNora concludes:

> Thus, to say that music will 'cause' things to happen, that it makes the body do things or that its objective properties will automatically entrain the body in particular ways, is to miss the collaborative dimension of how music's effectiveness is achieved, for it is always in and through the ways that it is appropriated that music provides structuring resources—devices that enable and constrain the body.[41]

DeNora's research thus illustrates how cultural products can be studied sociologically by considering their active engagement in social contexts. This analytical strategy means that she can approach the object without having to choose between revealing the social forces behind artistic production and scrutinizing the inner meaning of art. DeNora outlines an approach that investigates cultural objects as active contributors and highlights their social effects.

However, her study of music in everyday life does not account for socio-material entanglements during production processes.[42] The next two examples from production studies will focus on creative work practices.

Mediations in Production Practices

In a number of ethnographic studies, Yaneva examines architects' work practices.[43] In doing so, she shows how innovations are created in everyday practices that involve various materials. Thus, as an alternative to descriptions of creative processes as eureka moments, Yaneva portrays them as mundane routine activities. In the case of architecture, work practices mainly involve model making—scaling models up or down. Hence, rather than supporting the traditional view that creative ideas are transplanted from the mind into the world, Yaneva's investigation of architecture-in-the-making shows that great works have mundane trajectories.

Yaneva's approach is inspired by the work of her former supervisors Hennion and Latour at the Centre de Sociologie de l'Innovation at École des Mines in Paris. She therefore draws attention to what objects do. Rather than understanding design objects as passive outcomes of human intentions and actions, Yaneva suggests that objects actively participate in constructing the practices they are part of.

For example, Yaneva suggests that the building Alte Aula in Vienna, which was undergoing renovation, surprised the renovators; their plans became impossible. As the building did not contain the materials the renovators expected, it resisted their actions and forced them to change their plans.[44] Yaneva employs the distinction between the concepts of the intermediary (a passive and undisturbing channel) from the mediator (an active and altering connector)[45] and concludes:

Thus, far from being a passive material in the hands of preservationists and ren-
ovators, an uneventful intermediary that would transport meaning without trans-
formation from 17th century to our days, reflect or reify the social, the Alte Aula
performed mediation, *transforming* action in unexpected ways not merely repeating
and relaying it, *distorting and modifying* the social meanings attributed to it instead
of faithfully transporting it through the centuries.[46]

In this example, Yaneva suggests that the building has a direct influence on
the practices of renovators and conservationists. According to her, the building
disturbs and changes their plans for renovation; the building "surprises" its ren-
ovators. As the building contained unexpected elements, parts of a fresco for
example, they had to do things differently. Rather than confirming and stabilizing
existing knowledge of the building that has been accumulated over centuries, the
"surprises" mean that the renovators learn new things from the building. Yaneva
thus illustrates how materials become active participants in work practices.

While her studies underline the active role of objects in creative work processes,
they do not consider the collective dimension of work practices. Hence, the last
example of a socio-material analysis will emphasize how the evolving product
influences individual actors and their work practices as well as the relationships
that are formed between human collaborators.

The Organizational Implications of Objects

In my own study on development processes in the Danish film industry, I used
Hennion's approach to understand how collaborative creative work practices are
organized. Before this study, I researched the work life of young Danish film direc-
tors using interviews with 15 up-and-coming directors.[47] The young directors
estimated that when working on their own projects, they spent 80 percent of their
time developing the projects and only 20 percent of it conducting them. The devel-
opment phase therefore seems highly crucial. I conducted pilot interviews with a
number of experienced filmmakers who confirmed the hypothesis: development
is a critical time-consuming phase.

To study how processes of development unfold, I followed projects during their
development; from the early stages when collaborators have just met and started
conceiving an idea to the final version of the script, and from when project fund-
ing is being arranged (or is declined by investors and the project is abandoned)
to the start of production. I planned to follow projects over a one-year period by
attending meetings and conducting extra interviews with the participants. I con-
tacted five producers from five different companies and asked them to each find
one project I could follow.

One of the projects never took off. I kept calling the producer who told me
about different projects that he had tried to set up. One year later, three projects
were in the works but for some reason they all failed to get off the ground. In this
case, my empirical material consisted of two interviews and notes from a number
of phone calls. A second project underwent constant changes throughout the year
of my study. When I started following the group meetings, the project was in the

very early stages of choosing an idea and it was at the same stage a year later and the film concept had been changed a number of times. I observed the group meetings, conducted additional interviews with the producer and the director, and read e-mails, brainstorms, and a synopsis of the project. In the third project, the first draft of the script was being completed when I met the group and it progressed into a finished film over the year of my study. The participants did not plan any meetings but occasionally met at the production company and called each other, usually at night. I followed that project by interviewing the producer every month, conducting a couple of interviews with the director, attending the meeting at the Danish Film Institute where they were granted subsidies for production, and reading case material such as scripts, applications, e-mails, etc. The fourth project had been under development for nearly two years when I started observing and the shoot was set for the first meeting I would attend. However, this project collapsed a few months later when the scriptwriter refused changes the producer and the director made to the script. I tried to chart this process through e-mails, different versions of the script, and interviews with the producer and the scriptwriter. The fifth and last project, which was based on a novel, went according to plan and has certainly been made into a film by now. This group met regularly and I observed a couple of their meetings. However, I stopped following this project after a few months because two other researchers also started following it.[48] The study therefore consists of five highly different processes that I have studied with various ethnographic methods by attending meetings, interviewing participants, and reading case material such as manuscripts, funding applications, and e-mails. I followed the five projects during 2006–2007.

As I had planned to use a traditional sociological perspective to analyze the empirical material, I believed that the production of culture perspective was applicable. A number of empirical studies have been undertaken within this tradition to consider how cultural products are formed during production.[49] In my opinion, within the production of culture perspective, Becker's micro-sociological perspective, which focuses on interactions during the production of cultural products, was particularly useful.[50] Becker argues that art can be seen as collective action and he outlines a pragmatic processual approach for studying cultural production by considering all the people who are involved, identifying their interaction, and describing how creative collaboration takes place.

Yet, there is one element missing from this picture of the production of culture research and Becker's analyses. In my study, nearly all actions and interactions were linked to the evolving product: the film in the making and its ability to create effects. But in sociological perspectives on cultural production, artworks are portrayed as outcomes of social relations, rather passive results. One example of how the empirical material did not fit into this sociological paradigm:

> *Sociologist*: So, what can be the problems during the course of development?
> *Film producer*: The problems?
> *Sociologist*: Yes, I mean, if you don't get any money then that could be a problem?
> *Film producer*: Yes.
> *Sociologist*: So, I reason that it is about the biggest problem?

Film producer: Of course, if you're developing and don't get any funding to do that, or you're developing for very long, and then you discover at some point, like I did yesterday with that director [explains which director it is], that you get to a point where you discover, well, it is not at all the same film we want to make. And that can take quite long time. Or that the person cannot convey that story. And you can actually get quite far—you can play around the bush for a very, very long time, really, a terribly long time.

Sociologist: And then how do you discover that?

Film producer: Well, you discover that when you all of a sudden face, where you are like saying "but do you want to show that?" Well, he wants to show that, "but do you want to show that he lies giving the other guy a blowjob right there?" Yes, that was important to him. Alright, but then I really think—I'm not in, I can't do that. To me that would be making a gay movie, I don't want to do that. It is actually very straight. It can happen very suddenly.[51]

This extract is from one of my pilot interviews when I asked the interviewee, a film producer, if there were any problems during development, he was not sure what I meant. To help him understand, I drew attention to the importance of social relationships, for example, their relationships with stakeholders. The film producer agreed that money from stakeholders is important, which confirmed my assumption that social relationships influence the product's development. However, when I tried to make the film producer reaffirm this hypothesis, he turned attention away from financial arrangements and instead chose to focus on story development and how it affects collaboration. This account went against my sociological assumptions about the evolving object; the producer and the director did not want to make the same film. This disagreement could of course be considered within a traditional sociological framework, from a Bourdieuian perspective for example, as a reflection of differing economic interests, different social dispositions, or varying cultural tastes.[52] However, these explanations would take attention away from the film producer's main concern: the film.

The question I thus began to ask in my research was how the evolving object becomes active during its production. In other words, how does the evolving object influence the collective process that goes into making it? For example, with regard to the project that collapsed, I demonstrated how the evolving product becomes an active participant in the process that goes into its making.[53] The analysis follows a development process that ended in a disagreement over the product's content. In the beginning, the product united the participants. The script circulated between the involved parties internally and externally, and based on their experiences of the script, they formed attachments to the project. However, later on, when the producer and the director made changes to the script, the scriptwriter abandoned the project.

I argue in my analysis that it is specific changes in the product, such as a specific wording for example, that broke up the project—not differing interests or the fact that the division of labor is overstepped. The participants knew beforehand that they had different interests and both the producer and the director had previously made changes to the script. The scriptwriter left the project because of particular changes. Based on all five cases from my study, I would suggest generalizing

the idea that the evolving product is decisive for creative collaboration during the development phase.[54] To demonstrate this, I identified three moments during the development process when the evolving object becomes an organizing device.

The first instance is when the idea is externalized. To enable progression and collaboration, the idea has to be separated from the person who conceived it. As long as the project remains within people, it is difficult to work on. Separation of the project signals that the project is about the idea and not about one's inner self. A material version of the evolving product, a synopsis or a draft of the script, for example, makes collaboration and progression easier. In STS terms, this moment may be described as the construction of an "immutable mobile"—a stabilized version of an idea that can be circulated.[55]

The second instant occurs when making attachments. The evolving object becomes a mediator as relations to the project are established based on the idea for the film and, later on, via the script. Potential participants make up their mind about the project and choose to connect or disconnect themselves from the process based on how they feel about the evolving object. Similarly to the music producers that Hennion studied,[56] the film producers in my study suggested that they decided to commit to projects based on the evolving object's emotional effects: "Is it something that moves you?"[57] The attachment to projects therefore depends on the experiences triggered by the evolving object.[58]

These two moments could lead one to think that successful development is simply a matter of externalizing an idea and becoming attached to it—a matter of stabilizing the product and constructing a network around it. However, the third instance is equally important and involves postponing closure by keeping the product open for as long as possible to enable creative experiments. This moment resembles the STS concept of a "mutable mobile": a fluid object that is circulated and used in various ways.[59] During development, ideas entail such fluidity and the work involves investigating an idea's limits and possibilities. For that reason, the process is not just a matter of settling on a specific version as quickly as possible.

Discussion

To finish, I will briefly look at some of the critiques that can be raised against the socio-material perspective. First of all, the active role of objects could be criticized for resembling material determinism. The suggestion that objects may hold agency could be interpreted as meaning that objects determine action. This is a critique that has been debated heavily within STS, and the Latourian answer would be that even though objects prescribe action, they do not compel users to behave in certain ways.[60] The writings of both Hennion and DeNora come to this conclusion.[61] Moreover, as an alternative to the dual opposition between social and material determinism, Hennion and DeNora suggest that the socio-material perspective aims to investigate the co-production of objects and social situations.

Second, the socio-material perspective could be criticized for being uncritical. It is a framework that does not set out to reveal hidden social causality such as

power structures at work behind the scenes. Within the socio-material perspective, informants are believed to know what they are doing. This does not prevent the perspective from making critical analyses but it does require that the critique be grounded in detailed descriptions of local practices.[62]

Last but not least, as the perspective is consolidated, it may turn into a dogmatic position. There is a particular danger of repeating the same findings in every field based on a ready-made framework from the actor-network theory. The growing popularity of Latour's actor-network theory means that we could find networks of human and nonhuman actors in film production as well as in any other context. Such conclusions would of course rapidly become uninteresting and they could cement an orthodox way of undertaking socio-material analyses that goes against this perspective's empirical ambition. In my opinion, this is the major limitation of the socio-material perspective—if it does not follow its own ambitions and continue challenging its assumptions empirically.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have suggested that the socio-material perspective can readdress the classic discussion between sociology of art and the humanities and that it can offer new ways in and out of this debate. The chapter therefore suggests revisiting the ingrained dualism between aestheticism and sociologism, where works of art are either ignored or interpreted. The new socio-material perspective on sociology of art does not accept this division and, instead, offers an approach in which the artwork is understood as an object. Rather than interpreting its content, this perspective aims to identify ways in which the object acquires organizational implications. Seeing evolving cultural products as objects that are constructed, circulated, used, and made to have effects suggests an empirical approach that investigates how art is experienced and the roles the objects play.

Based on Hennion's approach, a pioneering and exemplary formulation of the socio-material perspective within cultural sociology, I have shown how this perspective has been used and developed in analyses of cultural products. I have described three examples of empirical analyses about music, architecture, and film production. The first example underlines the active character of cultural objects when they are used; the second emphasizes the active role of materials in creative work practices; and the third draws attention to the implications of evolving products for the collective processes that go into making them. Through these examples, I have outlined three directions for a socio-material perspective on cultural production. First, cultural objects can be investigated as potentially active, not only when they are used but also when they are produced. Second, cultural objects can be understood as constructs that are not just formed by human intentions, knowledge, and plans but also by the materials involved in their production. Third, cultural objects can be seen to influence the social processes that go into making them. The socio-material perspective thus aims to describe the co-production of objects and practices. It remains to be seen how the links between objects and practices will unfold in various contexts in future empirical studies on film and media production.

Notes

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3

The "Cultural" of Production and Career

Chris Mathieu

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This chapter explores some of the central cultural tenets of career and filmmaking among the Danish film industry elite or what is inelegantly and somewhat grammatically incorrectly referred to as "the 'cultural' of production and career" in this chapter's title. The theory behind this formulation is that it focuses attention on the ideational dimensions of culture in the Danish film industry, especially as derived from reflections on work and career by those working in that industry. In this sense, the approach, though less inclusive and ambitious, resembles Caldwell's interest in " 'indigenous' interpretive frameworks" in *Production Culture*.[1] This chapter also argues that production and career decisions and actions are inextricably linked. Sometimes the two are consciously and obviously linked in terms of the implications that working on a given film with given people in a given manner, etc., will have on one's further work opportunities. Or, the converse, career considerations can affect how films are made in terms of who works on them and what resources, skills, tastes, and perspectives are brought into and used in a production. Sometimes the interrelation of these considerations remains latent. This chapter explores how certain cultural issues underpinning inter-occupational collaboration, especially deference, occupational respect and integrity, and occupational revitalization in particular, support forms of these mutually intertwined considerations. This chapter also focuses on how the content of several of these cultural considerations supports a particular form of auteur ideology and practice in the Danish film industry and shows how this ideology is made up of discrete cultural components that secure expressive space for A-function holders rather than a hierarchically imposed command-and-control coordinating regime. The argument here is that the operative power of auteur ideology does not come from top-down steering but from the confluence of more partial cultural understandings that support the idea of an artistic sovereign director. However, in return, this sovereign director must engage in artistic and trusting collaborations with other A-function holders. Some of the central cultural notions in this configuration are part of larger principles such as the idea of

the "craftsperson," which is a living cultural notion among our informants. Interestingly, the notion of "auteur" was largely absent from our informants' discourse except as a shorthand label for the overall system. The director is just "the director," or, as we will see below, a person in a vulnerable position who needs *care*.

Before going any further, we should define what is meant by production and career in this chapter. By "production," we are simply referring to the planning and execution of work directly related to making, or, more specifically, materializing a film. Here, production considerations and decisions are merely delimited considerations and decisions manifestly oriented toward the work process of materializing a film. This quite elementary approach to production casts the more encompassing sociological questions that are often associated with the concept of production aside, whether it differentiates production from reproduction and accounts for the conditions, processes, and effects of both[2] or whether it adheres to the "production of culture" approach that details institutional factors and their interaction or "nexus," which results in the ability to produce cultural goods especially (but not exclusively) for commercial purposes.[3] This chapter does however deal with the cultural foundations of what Wilkinson identifies as the basic social elements of production—mutual interests and relative power—by explicitly showing how the relationships of power between A-function holders are not just culturally legitimated but also how the particular configuration of deference and authority systemically serves mutual interests and structures both production and careers.[4]

According to the more relaxed contemporary definition of the term, career is defined as "the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time,"[5] as opposed to the once current notion of career as equivalent to "organizational career" involving an escalating succession of jobs held in a single or limited number of organizational contexts.[6] Career also connotes subjective and objective dimensions of "the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time."

Using career or work history as a line of inquiry does not just open up access to facts about what an individual has accomplished over time and how he or she has accomplished it. It also calls for subjective assessments of the meaning of what has been accomplished, the means of accomplishment, specific episodes in one's working life, and more cumulative retrospective assessments of one's work.[7] This form of inquiry particularly raises issues about changes in opportunity and motivation over one's working life, what is rewarded as well as what individuals find rewarding, and assessments of demands, norms, and degrees and areas of conformity and deviance allowed in the Danish film industry as subjects are accounting for their histories and contextual factors in their own words. In other words, even if the cultural is not manifestly the object of the account, it is squarely lodged at the center of the process as will be discussed in the following section.

Why might one be interested in the Danish film industry and its contemporary cultural foundations? One reason is its multifaceted success. It can reasonably be argued that the Danish film industry has been extraordinarily successful in several respects including artistic and commercial achievements as well as talent development and retention. Second, its success has been sustained over a long period

of time—approximately 20 years—and shows few signs of abating.[8] Third, it has been argued that the "Danish model" is somewhat unique and far from static (see below).[9] This chapter provides insight into the cultural foundations of this highly successful film industry, which may be unique in certain respects, from the perspective of some of its most central and influential filmmakers.

This chapter presents a qualitative analysis based on in-depth interviews with leading figures in the Danish film industry. At times, data presented here some-times give a fairly uniform picture and at other times it seems heterogeneous. As Sewell argues, cultural analysis is both about convergence and divergence: "Our job as cultural analysts is to discern what the shapes and consistencies of local meanings actually are, and to determine how, why and to what extent they hang together."[10] The primary purpose of this chapter is very much in keeping with Sewell's fundamental aspirations for cultural analysis—to explore and explain "local meanings," in this case within the Danish film industry, see where they come from and how they are interconnected or possibly mutually supportive and how they support or challenge specific meanings of wider systems. However, this chapter wants to go beyond a mere analysis of the origins and patterns of cultural orientations and see how they affect dispositions toward individual and collective conduct.

The structure of this chapter is fairly simple. In the next section, the distinction between "the cultural" and "culture" is elaborated in order to clarify the primary subject of the chapter. This will be followed by a presentation of the methodolog-ical foundations of the empirical material that the chapter is based on. The key cultural frames (and some counter-frames) in the Danish film industry related to work, production, and career will be at the heart of the analysis, especially as they relate to the particular variant of *auteur* ideology currently found in Denmark.[11] The chapter will end with some concluding remarks.

The "Cultural" versus "Culture"

In order to simplify matters, the "cultural" should be differentiated from "culture." In this chapter, the cultural refers exclusively to normative ideas about contextually appropriate action on the one hand, and cognitive ideas about the nature of real-ity on the other. Both normative and cognitive ideas are what DiMaggio calls "the content" as opposed to the "styles or mechanisms" of cognition (which according to many accounts are also impacted by culture).[12] This limited definition of the cultural can be contrasted with the term "culture," which is a much more cluttered concept, usually including the cultural ideas specified above as well as culturally influenced practices and their behavioral and physical manifestations. This ulti-mately amounts to everything being produced by human beings. The cultural refers to the former whereas culture refers to the latter. By separating the cultural from culture, it is possible to focus on the ideational level rather than examining processes and events that are affected by cultural as well as social, political, eco-nomic, historical, etc., factors, all of which are to an extent culturally informed. Similarly, I am in no way contending that the cultural is a "pure" realm, which is

unaffected by the aforementioned factors. Indeed, the "cultural" is largely made up of ideal interpretations and renderings of broad understandings of "culture."

Thus, according to the formulation used here, the cultural is the discursively articulable surface of "culture." The relationship between the cultural and culture can be investigated empirically but their connection is often unquestioned or merely implied. In other words, the articulable "local meanings" are the tip of the iceberg for cultural analysts, since what cannot be articulated, namely tacit knowledge and practical or nondiscursive knowledge and capabilities, is not by definition verbally accessible (though possibly observable in conduct). Neither are the factors that produce or cause the emergence of certain discursive formulations and their use in a given circumstance. Studying what is articulated shows what individuals have close to hand when they are planning and/or explaining their action and conduct. It also gives strong indications about which ideas are current and circulated within a given context or group. In other words, people reflect their own thought processes as well as those of the wider environments they are familiar with through speech.

A second central theoretical anchor for understanding the role of the cultural in this chapter is Ann Swidler's "tool kit" approach.[13] Swidler makes several useful distinctions and differentiations. She distinguishes between what she calls "settled and unsettled lives." "Settled lives" are periods during which the cultural orientations in use are not questioned since they are perceived as satisfactorily mediating thought and action about behavior and the state of the world. In "unsettled lives," cultural beliefs are in crisis and called into question due to actual or perceived discrepancies about behavior or the state of the world. Unsettled lives lead to questioning and the quest for better cultural resources (similar to Joas's conception of what provokes "creative action").[14] The tool kit notion differs from "deterministic" notions of culture as an entity that dictates particular beliefs and behaviors by claiming that there are broad repertoires and that the quantity of available materials exceeds the amount of materials used. It also claims that actors are aware of many of the repertoires and materials they do not use and of what is applicable to others and to themselves. Informants can therefore talk about themselves, other specific individuals, and generalized others—"colleagues," the "branch" or "industry," other domestic or foreign "branches" or "industries," or "society"—in terms of the cultural tools that are used. Or, to use Swidler's words, "people know much more of their culture than they use."[15] Similarly, the tool kit approach promotes the idea that not everything in the tool kit is useful and true—culture is rife with falsity, pretenders, multiple solutions, and inappropriate conceptions and advice. Individuals must therefore use it carefully and modify cultural materials. To quote Swidler again, "Indeed, most of our active cultural involvement in everyday life is not joyful participation in shared ritual, but the demanding work of dismissing, criticizing, or filtering the culture with which we come in contact."[16] Swidler explains the concept of active involvement in and with culture further:

> If people in some sense choose among diverse cultural resources and put them to use in different ways, culture's effects are mediated by such variability . . . There are not simply different cultures: there are different ways of mobilizing and using culture, different ways of linking culture to action.[17]

Despite the tool kit idea, the fact that cultural resources can be transposed does not mean that they are "free floating." They circulate and are pronounced and taught but their durability on individual and collective levels often depends on their being "corroborated" by experience in some way—whether it is observed or personal.

Methods and Sampling

The empirical foundation for this chapter is primarily rooted in in-depth career history interviews with established film workers belonging to the Danish film industry "elite" who fall primarily into four occupational categories: director, producer, cinematographer (director of photography), and editor.[18] These members of the Danish film industry "elite" were identified through lists of the top ten domestic Danish box office feature films over the past 15 years as well as lists of films and individuals nominated for national film awards in Denmark (Roberts and Bodils) and international awards over the same period of time. Belonging to the "elite" meant either working on two or more of these productions or receiving two or more prize nominations. To identify younger emerging talent in these occupational categories, some reputational sampling was undertaken. Working regularly was a second qualifying factor. What constitutes regular work naturally varies from one occupational category to another; on average, directors are expected to make one film every three years while most producers, editors, cinematographers, etc., are expected to be credited for one feature film per year.[19]

Based on these rough lists, a minimum of ten interviews were carried out with individuals whose primary activities fell within a given occupational category. Semi-structured career history interviews were then carried out in Danish with the 58 people who agreed to take part in the project. The interviews were conducted in person, digitally recorded, and lasted between one and a half and five hours. The interviews aimed to chart career histories over time, and the cultural understandings presented in this analysis emerged surreptitiously as the informants discussed their careers, work, productions, and the industry. The oldest interviewee was 85 and the youngest was 31. We also sought to obtain a sample that was as gender balanced as possible even though, as is the case internationally, there are very few female cinematographers in Denmark. The data were coded in Danish by the author and a research assistant autonomously. The focus was first and foremost on identifying strategies, perspectives, and ambitions at various career stages (career choice, entry into the film industry, further education/training, entry into one's primary occupation, early career development, mid-career, and, for some, late career development) as well as skill acquisition and use, relationship development and collaboration, and changes that have occurred in the Danish film industry and other industries they have worked in over their career. For the purposes of this chapter, the data were reanalyzed to identify the cultural precepts that predominate in the material and those that are used to explain subjective and objective dimensions of the labor processes and career patterns described by our informants. In other words, we have attempted to use individual-level data to paint a picture of

some of the cultural precepts about work and career that make up the dominant ideological infrastructure of the feature film industry's elite, in Denmark at least.

The decision was made to focus on the Danish film industry elite to gain insight into its predominant cultural resources and hierarchies pertaining to production and career thinking. The sample of the established elite gives us insight into the explanations and dilemmas of success in terms of cultural understandings such as norms, explanations, and expectations. Even among the established elite, there was a wide range of personal experiences and observations as only a few individuals obtained immediate acclaim and success. Most members of what is defined as the established elite can also retrospectively discuss initial or subsequent periods of "paying dues," uncertainty, and insecurity. In other words, members of the elite are interesting because they have (had) multiple vantage points in the industry (vertically, at least). It was also assumed that these members of the industry had the necessary historical extensive experience of working in the industry that would allow them to make profound comparisons, revealing the variations found within the industry and changes over time. However, it is clear that having "elite" status affected our respondents' experiences and perspectives as illustrated by the following quote from an editor:

> my [ex-]husband works as a cinematographer, he works really hard, takes all kinds of work, he takes anything he is offered. He doesn't get to choose like me. I'd done a big thing [name of film] and he'd done documentaries . . . I was very secure going on parental leave. There is a lot of angst in the film branch about being forgotten, but I didn't have that because I'd just done that film [name of film again]. I knew I'd be fine, but my husband, he couldn't think that way because he hadn't done anything that people recognized. He just trudged on, and he still does.

The Cultural Foundations of "Auteurism"

In spite of the fact that Danish film has attracted a huge amount of attention for an industry with its volume of production and size, the industry itself is probably not very well known. Scholarly works in English have given overviews of or delved into specific aspects or trends in Danish film.[20] Outside Denmark, Danish film is probably most widely associated with the Dogme 95 movement, Lars von Trier, Susanne Bier, Mads Mikkelsen, Lone Scherfig, Bille August, the production companies Nimbus, Zentropa, and Nordisk Film, maybe the film *The Celebration*, and, more historically, Carl Th. Dreyer. Behind or below this line of recognized individuals, productions, and production companies are among several institutions and factors commonly associated with the (often underspecified) "Danish model." One is the National Film School of Denmark, which has had an indisputably profound effect on the Danish film industry over the past few decades.[21] Another is what has been described in Denmark as "the world's best film subsidy agreement," the core idea of which is to channel a set and predictable amount of funding directly from the state budget into various forms of film production, talent development, and marketing, primarily through the Danish Film Institute,

which continues to have a predominant role in the Danish film industry. A small but not insignificant amount of funding comes from subnational regional film funds. In short, this funding secures a more or less stable volume of production, which stands at around 25 feature film releases a year. Another structural factor is that the industry is quite small and intimate, maybe not literally to the extent described in the following quote by one cinematographer we interviewed, but by some accounts, not too far off: "It is a little branch, everyone knows each other, and have been married to each other and slept with each other." Though small, the consensus is that the industry is getting bigger or at least broader, if not in terms of volume of production, at least in terms of people, companies, and genres as well as the increased emergence of alternative channels into the industry. When elaborated upon rather than treated as a static shorthand explanation, it becomes clear that the "Danish model" has both durable components as well as dynamic dimensions. One of the three central institutions mentioned above, the National Film School of Denmark is a dynamic institution that has developed organizational resources and a perception of its close and more distant industrial, political, and pedagogical environments in relation to its own history. The basic form of the subsidy system remains constant, though in monetary value and its configuration it usually changes with each periodic renewal. The Danish Film Institute's mandate and activities change over time, partly due to changing policies, contracts it is responsible for implementing, as well as personnel changes and organizational learning processes. The ideational and industry praxis dimensions that make up the industry's less visible infrastructure and permeate its central institutions are as significant as the institutional configurations present at any given time in the "Danish model." While many researchers including myself find it meaningful to speak of a "Danish model" (see Note 9 for substantiation), especially for comparative purposes, it should not be assumed that it is radically unique or static in all dimensions.

It should also be noted that there are burgeoning industries adjacent to the film industry in Denmark. For over a decade, the TV industry, more precisely the state TV company Danmarks Radio (DR), has enjoyed national and international success and acclaim. There has also been a recent upswing in theater, but for linguistic and media reasons, it has received less international recognition. While there is a degree of personnel movement and influence and technological exchange between the film industry and theater and TV, they operate according to different basic production logics and ideologies. Agger argues that the success of DR's TV dramas is linked to the fact that they are produced along TV (as opposed to theater or film) principles to international standards based on audience segment analyses, production design, strong producers, and screenwriter control.[22] As one director who has worked in both TV and film said about the boundary between film and TV, "There's no problem doing TV, but it's different. There is also a big difference between doing your own mini-series like I've done and full season/long running series." As we will see below, the differences between the "density" of producer-screenwriter-concept-steered TV and the relative freedom of feature filmmaking in Denmark are experienced directly (as in the quote above) or indirectly as real and significant and thereby culturally vibrant, by heads of departments at least.

The rest of this chapter revolves around cultural themes related to the fundamental bases of collaboration, divisions of labor, and divisions of credit. As implied in the title of this chapter, collaboration, divisions of labor, and respect are carved out of a framework in which a particular notion of the auteur creates a creative space for the craftsperson. As Allen and Lincoln argue, auteur theory has two basic dimensions or functions: "The ascendancy of auteur theory as a cultural schema in films studies serves not only to privilege the contributions of directors over those of other collaborators in the production of films, it also serves to privilege some directors over others."[23]

The first dimension separates the director's role from other roles in film production and elevates her or him above the rest and the second serves to differentiate and elevate some directors above other directors. It is the first dimension of the theory that is relevant in this context, as it provides a specific production ideology that revolves around the empowerment of the director who has authoritative creative control over the production process.[24] The famous (in Denmark, at least) "creative team" idea underscores the collaborative dimension of film production and is advocated and taught at the National Film School of Denmark.[25] In most creative team renditions, the interaction between the producer, screenwriter, and director is seen as pivotal to the production process. However, this is mainly true when the project is in the initiation phase or preproduction phase. When projects go into production, the director's centrality is reasserted. As the former head of the producer program at the National Film School of Denmark Ole John Povlsen puts it, "We are after all still director governed and we have of course to be that in the Danish and European [cinema], it is our tradition that naturally the director is the most important person."[26]

However, a central issue, at least from a sociological perspective, is what the authority of the auteur ideology is based on and how it is contested or seen as legitimate, especially by those in less privileged positions.[27] In the section below, we will explore the cultural issues underpinning directorial power by looking at conceptions of role, order, and hierarchy.

In a famous article, "Role as Resource in the Hollywood Film Industry," Baker and Faulkner identify and explain something they call "role consolidation"— expanding one's role, power, and authority in the production process through a form of lateral imperialism.[28] This was not what we found in the present Danish case—instead of expansion, it was depth of activity and expression that mattered most. Two things were essential—an occupational creative space and artistic respect. These two elements mutually reinforced each other. But this creates a situation in which the director's position is respected, possibly not in exchange for but part and parcel of the respect granted to other heads of creative departments. There is a general consensus on the acceptance of the director's authority. A second basic maxim is that the good of the film should be everyone's overriding concern, not individual opportunities for expression. The first notion is exemplified by the following quote from an established elite editor: "You have to accept that it's the director's film, it's that simple. I accept that it isn't my film. But this is my interpretation. And we get a lot of credit. In the branch we know what each other do and how great a job it is." A leading cinematographer says the same thing:

> how we tell the story [is] based on the vision of the director . . . [the cinematographer's job is] to capture the visions of the director and both technically and artistically convey that vision through practical work that on the screen is the expression that the director wanted, while at the same time one can heighten that expression, so as a collaboration partner the expression can be even better than what the director wanted.

Thus, editors and cinematographers submit to the ultimate authority of the director while also carving out a niche for personal expression ("my interpretation") and occupational excellence (heightening the director's expression to exceed his/her expectations). The second maxim that places limits on what should be done in and from these niches is expressed by the "kill your darlings" cliché used by several informants as well as the more specific explanation that shots may be "too beautiful" or "too interesting" or that editing might be "too daring" and divert attention away from the story (the director's primary area of concern) to the cinematographer's or editor's individual accomplishments. In other words, there is a risk that the part might temporarily overshadow the whole.

The quotations above adhere to this basic perspective—it is not a matter of finding and imposing one's own vision or imprint but, rather, of using one's skill to lift or elevate the director's vision, not using one's skill, imagination, and ingenuity to create something else but working within the given parameters to obtain the best possible result. This specialist creative contributory role led to most of our interviewees describing themselves as a type of artistic craftsperson. A leading cinematographer combines artistic expression and career in the craftsperson concept—"to have a career is as I see it to be a good craftsperson, to express oneself artistically is why we do it, or why I do it." An editor also refers to the craftsperson concept to highlight the occupation's limited scope—"We [editors] are a bunch of craftspeople, we are not the ones who have constructed the project." In the context of this study, we can see how the craftsperson concept becomes a central cultural notion that solidifies a division of labor, relatively autonomous creative space, a social order, a certain orientation toward production work, and subjective career aspirations and assessments.

Adhering to these two maxims does not mean that everyone works in the same manner. On the contrary, the same cultural notions cover different production practices. Among three of the main editors in the Danish film industry, there are three very different approaches to collaborative work (that is, production orientations). These craftspeople ply their trade in different ways. These ways lead to different types of work reputations that appeal to various types of directors and thus inform a career. Two types of assessments kept recurring in our interviews with both producers and directors when discussing hiring decisions: what the person can do—what types of films and what styles they have done?—and how they do it, that is to say, how they accomplish their work and how they collaborate. This latter dimension is addressed below. One editor describes the best way of working as follows:

> I like working in this way—You are alone . . . If you are sitting there with the director there is no one to make decisions. It will be some sort of collective residue. It's better

that there is one person to make decisions. Me [laughs]. And then the director comes in and says "No that is not what I imagined," or "gosh, I never could have imagined that [in a positive tone]." But if you've done it together, there is no one who can say that. It doesn't work if you are two together. It needs to go back and forth.

Another editor says editing "is a trust relationship. When I say it's OK it's based on his [the director's] criteria that I say it's OK." This is based on extensive collaboration—"We knew each other so well because we did so many films together that when I say this, he knows what it means." The "this" is synonymous with what the director thinks. A third editor sits with the director and they experiment their way through the process:

I think that one of the reasons why people want to work with me is because things simply don't end up in conflicts, one shouldn't sit there and discuss things to death, you should just try them and do it . . . and the new technology makes it possible.

Though they adhere to the same cultural dictum regarding hierarchy and deference, we can see three different approaches to practical work. The first editor sits alone and makes authoritative decisions based on a personal interpretation, which are then presented to the director as a coherent proposal for approval or further modification. The second editor adopts or embodies the director's perspective. This is possible thanks to extensive previous collaboration, and the editor views the material and edits it in accordance with the director's personal vision and ideas as a type of surrogate. The third editor brings personal interpretations to an ongoing and interactive dialogue based on a mutual openness to try anything either the director or the editor suggests and seeing how it works rather than having an abstract debate about the merits of different options. In other words, the cultural norm of deference to the director and respecting his or her *author*itative role can lead to three quite different expressions of deference in practice, based on capabilities and preferences mixed with experience. It is equally important to note the trust and authority in the relationships between editors and the directors they collaborate with, as well as the dyadic nature of the processes they describe—that is, no other parties or considerations enter into the picture.

One can see both self-limitation and challenge in the quotations and perspectives above. Again, these two concepts or phenomena are linked to each other in another cultural ideal and practice that is current and professed within the Danish film industry. It has to do with the virtues of working under constraints. In other words, finding the way to produce maximal effect within a given set of parameters rather than seeking to expand or exceed these parameters creates artistic challenges and accomplishment. This is a basic pedagogical form used at the National Film School of Denmark, where the students are given exercises in which they must work according to very specific limiting parameters.[29] The best known manifestations of this cultural ideology are the Dogme 95 rules and the film *The Five Obstructions*, but, as argued here, this ideology or cultural understanding is more pervasive, is personally held, and secures self-limitation, an acceptance of parameters, role restriction, a division of labor, as well as delimited aspirations and acceptance of collaborators' creativity.

A second factor that secures the legitimacy of the auteur ideology is the fact that trust is granted and credit, both formal and informal, is shared among the productions teams. Trust is essential in creating the restricted but free creative space that our informants valued deeply as it allowed them to make significant, creative contributions. In the words of one editor, "Trust is one of the biggest factors. You only get better if someone has undoubting trust in you. You are only as good as you are allowed to be. If people don't have trust, you cannot do anything." Trust is therefore essential for the creative process. It secures the creative space within which one can use one's skills, experiment, learn, reflect, and thus develop as an artistic craftsperson. Since recognition rewards and provides occupational guidance beyond limited consecutive assessments, credit becomes important for systemically sustaining creative inputs as well as subjective sustenance. As one editor states, "We are vain and insecure and we are made of soft stuff and we like accolades. Recognition means incredibly much, not just to me."

A third central factor that appears to make the "auteur" ideology function socially is an interesting role reversal involving *care*. As we saw above, the director's vision and authority are paramount. However, almost all the cinematographers, producers, and editors culturally portrayed the director as a vulnerable being in need of care.[30] When explaining the occupational skills required for editing, one editor segues directly from empathy toward characters in films to empathy for real-life directors:

> [editing] demands immense psychological understanding and empathy, in part to deal with characters, but also in collaboration with directors, because directors are often very, I don't want to say neurotic people, but very sensitive people. In a way it demands a certain degree of psychological insight and competence into how to just deal with them and get them through the process alive and well . . . . You have to have the competence that radiates that it all will turn out OK. And that you have control— "you shouldn't be afraid, it will turn out well and we can do it."

Another editor takes a more "structural" approach and explains that directors need to be cared for in a certain way because of their vulnerable sensitive position:

> it can be a very violent thing to stick your fingers into someone's lifeblood, someone's story, that they may have fought for years for, to collect money for the project, to work on the manuscript and develop it. There is an incredible amount of prestige built up in directors.

One cinematographer sums up what we have heard from several other cinematographers, "On set you need to display confidence. You need to convince the director and crew that no matter what happens we will find a solution and it will be good." It was obvious in most interviews that collaborating successfully with directors—an extremely personal process that can take many forms as displayed above—was a tremendous source of pride and satisfaction for editors and cinematographers. One producer expressed the prime concern about protecting the director's status and public image with regard to care and criticism,

"I would never publicly criticize a director . . . criticism is verbal, direct, and face-to-face . . . . Commendation, whenever possible should be public."

The structure of the "auteur ideology" here results in, and appears to depend on, support from subordinate roles in what could be called "lieutenantship." Lieutenantship is defined here as delegated broad authority over a given jurisdiction under the ultimate command of a higher authority. This captures the literal meaning of the word as the holder or central figure in a certain space, or, more abstractly, domain. A number of the factors mentioned above therefore come together—being at the top of one pyramid (a department) but not the whole pyramid, being seen and respected as the ultimate authority in a given realm, enjoying relationships built on trust, recognition, and respect for one's creative contributions—in what could be described as a fiefdom or sphere of contingent autonomy. This situation appears, and is widely believed to be, contingent upon the existence of an expressively oriented sovereign, the auteur, to whom one can relate on a personal basis. This context was regularly compared to TV, where, as noted above, concept continuity, audience analyses, and time constraints lead to constricted artistic license. The leading role producers and writers have in such circumstance led several informants to castigate what was referred to as "committee" rather than individual or dyadic decision-making. In addition to the usual Danish TV production process, foreign (primarily Anglo-American, often generally referred to as "Hollywood" or "Hollywood-like") film production processes that are more hierarchical and producer driven than in Denmark were also negatively compared with Denmark in the same terms, where individual contributions and touch are washed out.

Reinventing Oneself

We see an interesting confluence of desire for challenge and self-limitation in another widespread principle our informants mentioned regarding the need to "reinvent" oneself. This may seem paradoxical considering that the sample was made up of many of the most successful practitioners in their fields in Denmark, who at the time of the interviews were very much in demand. This amply shows the power of this cultural notion. On one level, this cultural dictum was presented as a rather objective career "labor market issue." There were a couple of slants on this. One was that one has to avoid categorization, being pigeonholed and labeled as this or that type of editor, director, or cinematographer. You have to show that you can do different things, sometimes across genres with varying budgets, in order to secure a sufficiently wide variety of offers. The other was linked to fighting age (biologically and career-wise)[31] and the need to present oneself as "fresh" at a certain point. On another level, we heard explanations that were more in keeping with subjective career considerations. These well-established film workers from the elite spoke of reinventing themselves to be able to discover different sides of their personalities and building partnerships with new and often younger collaborators in order to do so. This shows that artists and craftspeople need to build new relationships in order to practice and develop their talent and expression. While doing so,

they must be aware that one will only be able to make a limited number of films in one's career and that one can never know when and how one's career will end. Often, these two levels are combined, as in the following quote from an editor: "If I could wish for something for myself it would be to reinvent myself. Because we have so little time. I'm fortunate that I've been visible, but one can extremely quickly be forgotten. Lack of visibility comes with age, it comes with age."

More proof of the centrality of this notion of reinvention that falls in line with Sewell's quote in the introductory section is the fact that some contest its status as a legitimate dictum. One cinematographer argues:

> I don't think one can reinvent oneself all the time. I think you do the same thing every time, but you refine it each time. You cannot adapt to "this is in fashion now, or that is in fashion now." Then it's superficial and you are not yourself. That gets seen through really fast. It has to be authentic and come from inside you, otherwise you cannot stand there in a situation and make a quick decision if it should be like this or like that. You have to trust your intuition and you can only do that if you are totally yourself with it.

This cinematographer questions both the possibility and wisdom of breaking from a successful, embodied, professional "habitus."

Interestingly, one of the editors who talked about an actual personal reinvention process also spoke about the absolute necessity of trusting one's intuition and "musicality" in a different context. This raises the issue of what is altered in a reinvention process: is it a social and relatively superficial process or a deep reorientation of judgment and taste right down to the intuitive and musicality levels? According to the cinematographer quoted directly above, improvement and refinement is possible and desirable but reinvention is inauthentic and leads to social, practical, creative, and artistic problems.

Reinventing oneself in one's present occupation rather than progressing or entering into other roles or occupations in search of more challenges, expressive opportunities, or control (as in Baker and Faulkner quoted above) can be interpreted as a contextually and culturally logical career process, a logical way of satisfying one's desire for challenges that is also framed by the cognitive and cultural mindscape of the upper echelons of the Danish film industry in which depth within roles rather than extension across roles is both generally possible and expected.

Conclusion

The auteur ideology and its constituent stable production and career roles appear to be held together by several intertwined cultural notions that are invoked in different ways. The *confluence* and mutual interaction of opportunities for and acceptance of artistic expression within constraints that are culturally indoctrinated and supported in the Danish film industry seem to be essential. The "craftsperson" ideology, which prizes attention to detail and minute expression, leaves the overarching design or "architecture" to others. The artistic and leadership dimensions

of "lieutenantship" offer an opportunity to exert and develop managerial skills (over other lower-ranking crew members, thus increasing the acceptance of deference and one's lower rank to the director). These occurrences and the opportunity to turn the tables on the director with "care" are all culturally supported by the Danish film industry.

All of this is crucially accomplished without recourse to the most common legitimating notion associated with auteur theory—the director's "genius." This is partly due to the fact that the people and occupational categories featured in this study work most intimately and collaboratively with directors, and, therefore, to use a cinematic allegory, they are behind the curtain in Oz; they do not just see but also contribute to making the Wizard. This means that they are aware of the coauthorship and their roles in the process—artistically, technically, leadership-wise, and emotionally. This makes the auteur visible to the mass audience on the other side of the curtain. It also enables him or her to receive recognition and accolades from colleagues who see or know what goes on behind the curtain and vice versa. As suggested by the arguments above, other A-function holders support the "auteur" system by stating that the way it is culturally defined, supported, and practiced in Denmark perhaps somewhat paradoxically makes individual contributions and differences possible, notable, and recognizable. In other words, protecting the auteur means protecting the person who protects and respects the space for artistic craft and the work of central collaborators. To return to Wilkinson, mutual interest sustains the division of labor as long as relative powers are exercised in culturally appropriate manners. It contributes to career satisfaction and supports this general way of working. It also stands and is held discursively in relief to another key cultural concept within the Danish film industry—the disdained "work by committee" and "producer-steered production" associated with a lot of Danish TV and "Hollywood" film production.

Notes

1. John T. Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 14.
2. Bourdieu has written extensively about the notion of reproduction in cultural life and displayed the means by which established tastes, preferences, behaviors, and practices are socially conveyed and reinforced. See Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Sage, 2000); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984). With regards to film, Bechky has analyzed the mechanisms of role performance and norm reproduction that make the film production routine possible. See Beth Bechky, "Gaffers, Gofers, and Grips: Role-Based Coordination in Temporary Organizations," *Organization Science* 17, no. 1 (2006): 3–21. As opposed to reproduction, production involves the creation and invocation of relatively novel behaviors, practices, ideas, entities, etc. Filmmaking, like all aspects of social life, is rife with both.
3. For a seminal review, see Richard A. Peterson and N. Anand, "The Production of Culture Perspective," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30 (2004): 311–334. Peterson and Anand also take up a third central sociological dichotomy regarding the concept of

Cinema (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Mette Hjort, *Dekalog 01: On the Five Obstructions* (London: Wallflower Press, 2008); Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, *Purity and Provocation: Dogme 95* (London: The British Film Institute Publications, 2003); Chris Mathieu, "Transforming the Danish Film Field via 'Professionalization', Penetration and Integration," *Creativity and Innovation Management* 18 (2006): 242–249.

21. See Heidi Philipsen, "Dansk films nye bølge—afsæt og aftryk fra den Danske Filmskole," PhD dissertation, University of Southern Denmark/Syddansk Universitet, 2005.

22. See Gunhild Agger, *Dansk tv-drama: arvesølv og underholdning* ("Danish TV-drama: The Family Silver and Entertainment") (Frederiksberg, Denmark: Samfundslitteratur, 2005). This explanation, which stresses audience research and the producer/screenwriting team axis, was also given by the long-time executive producer at DR Sven Clausen at the "Kreative desillusioner?" workshop at the Copenhagen Business School, May 8, 2012.

23. Michael Patrick Allen and Anne E. Lincoln, "Critical Discourse and the Cultural Consecration of American Films," *Social Forces* 82, no. 3 (March 2004): 887. For recent treatments of auteur theory, see Caldwell, *Production Culture*; for the Danish case, Sara Malou Strandvad, "Organizing for the Auteur: A Dual Case Study of Debut Filmmaking," working paper 2011; Alexander Hicks and Velina Petrova, "Auteur Discourse and the Cultural Consecration of American Films," *Poetics* 34 (2006): 180–203.

24. While emphasizing the first dimension of auteur theory, the second dimension remains relevant as it functions prescriptively to keep expressive ambitions at the forefront of the filmmaking process.

25. Heidi Philipsen, *Dansk films nye bølge—afsæt og aftryk fra den Danske Filmskole*; see also Heidi Philipsen, "Spilleregler I filmskabelse—behjælpelige begrænsninger," in *Dansk film I krydsfeltet mellem samarbejde og konkurrence*, eds Chris Mathieu and Jesper S. Pedersen (Lund: Ariadne förlag, 2009), 145–172.

26. Quoted in Strandvad "Organizing for the Auteur," 1.

27. This latter point about the perspectives of those in "subordinate" roles explains the overrepresentation of quotes from editors and cinematographers in this chapter.

28. Wayne Baker and Robert Faulkner, "Role as Resource in the Hollywood Film Industry," *American Journal of Sociology* 97 (1991): 279–309. This article deals with different roles than the ones that are given primary focus here. Even though the structural and historical context is also quite different, the process and concept of role consolidation is analytically applicable in any film industry.

29. Heidi Philipsen, "Spilleregler I filmskabelse—behjælpelige begrænsninger."

30. Our interviewees spoke of "directors" as a class in generic terms. The fact that they did not use individuals' names indicates that it is probably the role more than an individual's personality that creates vulnerability and the need to be cared for.

31. Anne Lincoln and Michael P. Allen, "Oscar et César: Deep Consecration in French and American Film Acting Careers," *Careers in Creative Industries*, ed. Chris Mathieu (New York: Routledge, 2012), 107–127.

<center>4</center>

Pacts of Embodiment: A Comparative Ethnography of Filmmakers' Gestures

Emmanuel Grimaud

As for the fact that I work on the scenario with my collaborators and avoid letting the actors read it, that's the result of experience. I've noticed that when actors can read the scenario at home in the evening, in front of a mirror, helped by family members, they adopt certain facial expressions that are absolutely not right. So, if possible, I prefer for the actors to arrive completely blank, without their own fixed idea of the character, which absolutely could not be the same as mine, or at the best of times quite different.

Federico Fellini[1]

All films obliterate the production process as they take shape and generate a "black box" that is sometimes difficult to open. A simple look at the credits at the end of a film shows how many people have been involved and gives the historian clues to investigate the collective nature of filmmaking. For the ethnographer, focusing on the working gestures of filmmakers when they are devising a shot is a good way of opening the black box of the filmmaking process. They move beyond speech and seem to communicate with a sort of sign language when they want to visualize their images or explain them to others. To realize the shots they have in mind and ensure that their instructions are understood by their actors, most of them have their own way of taking production in hand, using gesticulations or manual demonstrations. On a film set, the action to be performed must be made visible to the actor, explained several times, corrected, and modified. And most of the time, this is achieved by means of relays (assistants, stand-ins) who rarely appear in the finished film. These moments of rehearsal and demonstration are always very intense but relatively difficult to describe in a simple notebook. Filming filmmakers at work seems particularly appropriate here because we can replay movements in slow motion, describe their gestures more precisely, and understand

the part they play in making the "take" and in the dynamics of the interaction.[2] As I have demonstrated in earlier research, there is a difference between gestures that *transpose* or concretize a mental image (translating a story, narrating a scenario with the help of one's hands), those that *project* a shared object or whose purpose is to objectify it for others (positioning the frame, the camera movement before the take or in between takes), those that *coordinate* and so help to set up the take (positioning the actors, lights, accessories), and mimetic ones that *reproduce* an action or are supposed to be imitated that are executed by the director or his assistant in front of the actor.[3] Although conventional signs, which are immediately understood by people in the profession (like using both hands to simulate the camera frame), are used, directors make extensive use of trial and error, gestures of exhortation, and body stances with the aim of materializing actions, relations, and emotions, and these actions cannot be reduced to the automaticity of a sign language. Working gestures and intermediary devices that are set up around the actors to enable them to make the right gesture or expression at the right time can be considered as temporary frameworks that are made for the realization of the shot, but in certain cases we shall see that the link between these "scaffolds"[4] and the final result is not only one of transformation. Looking closely at these interactions helps us realize how the film set stands out as an original milieu of human manipulation in which the director and actors try out singular pacts of embodiment.Throughout their history, film industries have never stopped experimenting with new methods of collaborative emergence, and directors have constantly invented alternative devices (and, sometimes, their own tricks) to make their actors understand and perform what they had in mind—sometimes deliberately but often involuntarily—by keeping the gesture as the only guiding thread of the design process regardless of the scale of the film in production. Even for filmmakers working with a very precise script in the so-called Hollywood "script system,"[5] the final film can never be reduced to a transparent translation of a preconceived image onto celluloid. There is always a point in the process at which the film must be gestured to take form.[6] To take an example I know well, in Mumbai's film studios, this has given rise to a special way of organizing the creative interactions necessary for a shot to be taken that I have called the *assisted virtuosity model*,[7] which can be summarized as follows. On many Mumbai film sets, a whole workforce of assistants, dancers, and demonstrators act as "mirrors" for the actors before and after shots, breaking up and pre-chewing the actions they will have to perform, whether it is a choreographed dance or a stunt. When choreographers are asked to attend a film shoot, they take over the set with their team of dancers, hired hands, and assistants. The assistants are responsible for making up dance steps and helping actors to learn them quickly on the spot between shots. The same goes for action scenes, for which actors must quickly master martial arts moves that are sometimes complex. The more the scene is split up and the more the gestures are fragmented by a crowd of training assistants, the easier it is for the actors to reproduce them even if they are not experienced dancers or have no substantial prior martial arts training. This traditional method with multiple structures that enables actors to learn things on the spot has not attracted much attention. The need to visualize the action and then convey it to the actor by means of human

mirrors was at the heart of many production structures during the silent era, not only in India but also in Hollywood and Europe, and it puts its own spin on the relationship between the director and the actors. One could even say that the more the film uses human resources, the greater the role played by what could be called "imitation technicians." As we will see later, the mirror device could easily be converted into an industrial production method and constitute a perfectly viable way of making films that could be practiced on a small scale in small productions as well as on larger shoots. To a large extent, the effectiveness of these human mirror systems—inexpensive solutions that are ideal for quick, quality shoots—explains how film studios in Mumbai are able to produce such a large number of films.

In the following pages, I will try to investigate the implications of the mirror device in more detail and enlarge the picture to compare it with other production methods. A first attempt is made to situate the "reflecting mirrors" technique, which gives rise to several alternative forms of varying complexity (with assistants, dancers, hired hands, etc.) within the landscape of known actor direction methods. A comparison between this mimetic arrangement and other types of organization will be useful in evaluating the *plasticity* of gestures and what they represent in creative processes in general and within the filmmaking process in particular.

The Mirror Method

Ethnographers who follow the making of a particular film and want to compare it to other filmmaking processes do not have a choice: they have to watch a lot of making-ofs. Most of the making-ofs released by production companies aim to show the actors in a more natural setting, humanize them away from the spotlights, and highlight how much they enjoyed working with one director or another. They rarely show the hesitant work of conceiving and orienting actors' gestures. However, there are many exceptions to this rule. Interestingly, it was an Indian filmmaker called Dadasaheb Phalke who made one of the first "making ofs" in the history of cinema to reveal a film shot's gestural scaffolding. He is often hailed as India's Méliès due to his predilection for special effects and magic and is considered one of the founding fathers of Indian cinema. Phalke made *How Films Are Prepared* (1912)[8] to explain the filmmaking process to audiences. Whereas during the same era, Méliès did not want to divulge the secrets of his special effects to audiences for fear of demystifying cinema, he took the opposite approach in the belief that knowing how films were made would make the public enjoy them more. In one sequence, he is shown directing actors in front of the camera, orchestrating the actions they are to perform while a set is being set up. In another, we see him checking the film as it is being edited before returning to his office full of books where he reflects on the script. We are told that he is "thinking and planning."

This invitation to plan and write, which comes at the end of the film even though it could have been at the beginning, is a somewhat paradoxical injunction considering the distortions and disdain to which subsequent Indian filmmakers have subjected the notion of scripting, especially those currently working in Mumbai's studios. Due to its fundamental ambiguity, Phalke's "making of" is

paradigmatic in showing how a film must be gestured to take form. In such a context, gestures support a design process which is essentially made up of mimetic interactions. The same imitation principle (the director shows the action and the actor performs it) is repeated from one shot to another. When gestures like these are used, they are usually called analogical communication (as opposed to digital communication)[9] and the gesture's relationship to what is being mimed is one of resemblance. When Phalke demonstrates actions to his actors, he becomes an analogical multiplicator. He presents them with relationships of similarity and intensifies his gesticulations to help them understand the action he has in mind so that they can perform it in front of the camera. These gestures are stylized and melodramatic. They are the postures of a filmmaker with a background in theater. Phalke also made pointing, directing, placement, and accompaniment gestures, which were all the more essential given that his actors were not used to performing in front of a camera and had to learn things several times over. He uses his hands to draw the frame in the air, demonstrates what the actor should do by standing in for him, and also uses gestures to convey the intensity he would like the actor to give the action. All of this generates very dynamic interactions, demonstrations, and *animatios* (in the Latin sense: the action of giving vivacity or spirit to something) when the image does not yet have borders. Making a film requires the creation of a lot of screens without frames—manual, furtive screens made of fingers, hands placed close to the eye (which could be called "proto-screens"), and, like in this case, human mirrors intended to give the actor a clear idea of the gesture he or she will have to perform. Gestures with the purpose of getting the actor to internalize an action that only Phalke can clearly see in his mind do not have the same status as gestures that mime the editing or the writing, pointing to a filmic device.

Nevertheless, because Phalke presents himself as a conductor, technician, and director of actors and of the "proximal" distance from which he plays these roles, they must be considered as a unit. The actors are directed from a distance and what emanates from them is also recorded from a distance by the camera. To show his fledgling actors how to make the film come alive, Phalke stands in front of them and acts as a reflecting mirror. He never forces them to do anything and gives them enough time to form a mental image of what they need to do; they see him as an image to be imitated. The results of this process of assimilation based on the interposition of human mirrors are then captured on film. In theory, the model is very traditional. In most of today's big Indian studios that still cling to this artisanal design model, this kind of "proximity" training has become an industrial production method. But the history of cinema is rich in other actor direction models that cannot all be mentioned here. A few examples will be enough to show how the "mirror mode" is a unique composition method.

The Tactile Method of Persuasion

It is hard not to be struck by the simultaneous contrast and kinship between Phalke's "making of" and the one that Chaplin made a few years later entitled *How to Make Movies* (1918).[10] To explain the filmmaking process, Chaplin places

himself in front of the camera to give a demonstration that is similar to Phalke's. The actress arrives in front of the camera and looks at Chaplin, who dictates each of her expressions in precise detail. Then, during filming, he acts as a mirror; the actress reproduces his gesticulations, from the faint smile to the subtly swaying walk intended to convey amorous timidity. When Chaplin turns his head to the left, the actress turns hers to the right. It is a genuine mirror effect, an image inversion like a real mirror. But in another intentionally comical scene, Chaplin deliberately exaggerates the effect when showing a heavily built actor how to shake and wring the neck of his scrawny partner by wrapping his own hands around the neck of the actor in question.

In studios in Mumbai, directors never allow themselves to breach the "proximal" distance exercised on Phalke's set that Chaplin comically transgresses in one slapstick scene. To illustrate how actors can be directed through direct manipulation, we can do better than Chaplin. Fellini turned it into a genuine production method.[11] The Italian director never gave his actors the script in fear that they would practice gesticulations that had nothing to do with the image he had in mind with their wives and children at home in front of a mirror. When Fellini directed actors, he very often turned into a reflecting mirror like Phalke. But in one sense, he also went quite a bit further in his efforts to make himself understood. He was in direct contact with the actors' bodies. He would not hesitate to move their heads to point them in the right direction and he would go as far as sliding his foot between an actress' legs to get her to express sensual pleasure. Phalke and Fellini seem like the two most diametrically opposed directors of actors, representatives of two methods that every production swings between and tinkers with in its own way. On one side, there is the respectful distance of character internalization that requires gestures to be intensified to be understood, and on the other, there is interventionism that pays little heed to the actor's mental image of the character, which can even involve manhandling actors so that they unconsciously bring the character to life. Fellini explained trained actors and beginners had the same problems. Trained actors needed to unlearn the film acting methods they had already used. Beginners needed to learn to show some life in spite of themselves. By not giving the actors the script, Fellini was able to preserve blank slates and get what he wanted out of them. His directing style went beyond the prestidigitation (which inspired Phalke) or hypnosis that inspired other directors. His methods had all of the makings of a stringless puppet theater. Fellini could allow himself to manipulate actors and make these statements about them without seeming like an appalling manipulator because he was a proven master in the art of getting actors to perform in ways they were not expecting by adjusting their every gesture. The actors developed a bond of trust with the director and they let him do what he wanted with them. All those interviewed on the set of *Satyricon* seemed like happy puppets, which emphasized how much they enjoyed letting themselves be manipulated. The director had of course prohibited them from reading the script and anticipating their performance but this also freed them from the pressure of self-evaluation during filming. This bond in which the most important thing was what unconsciously emerged from the actors themselves meant that the actors agreed to be guided by someone who probably could not do what they could but who was

equally, if not more, conscious of their visual plasticity and the effects they would produce when they were magnified by the camera.

The Psychological Assimilation Method

Few Mumbai actors arrive on the set having read a script in detail but not for the reasons mentioned by Fellini. Actors are often heard complaining about receiving lines for new scenes a few minutes before filming. Not reading the script does not turn them into the kind of blank slates Fellini wanted. The actors arrive on the set with psychological profiles of their characters, which might be determined by their social role (father, mother, the hero's brother or sister, etc.) but only faintly defined in terms of concrete actions and postures. Gesture demonstrations are therefore given the upper hand, not to eliminate these profiles (as is the case with Fellini) but to make them clear and distinct. It is possible to act in a film without ever departing from the level of gestures by allowing oneself to be guided by the entirely mimetic processes that take place between shots. Many consider this system—which values filming and on-set conception over the preceding phase of writing and planning—chaotic and improvisatory. And yet, closer inspection reveals that the human mirror technique bears no resemblance to the improvisation practiced by filmmakers like John Cassavetes or Albert Serra. People often have a mistaken idea of what "improvisation" means in cinema.

Cassavetes provides a good example of this generally misunderstood improvisation. In a book-long interview, he said that "Every scene in *Shadows* was very simple":

> They were predicated on people having problems that were overcome with other problems; at the end of a scene another problem would come in and overlap. This carried it forward and built up a simple structure . . . Once I had the structure it was a matter of writing a character breakdown and then working on that with the individual.[12]

A close look at how Cassavetes prepared his shots shows that a considerable amount of advance work went into preparing actors for the production. The "brainstorming" session—during which the actors were placed in dramatic situations and made the written dialogue their own—became the key stage in the production process. Here, gestures were relegated to the background; they were only a consequence of an essentially mental process of internalization. Phalke, Chaplin, and Fellini (and others of course) took gestures as starting points and used them as important fulcrums to enable actors to successfully become their characters. But for Cassavetes, the search for the right gesture is secondary on the set. If the preliminary brainstorming created the conditions for a successful psychological adaptation, the right gesture should come spontaneously. This is probably one of the reasons why Cassavetes needed very few guiding gestures when directing actors, unlike other directors such as Phalke, Chaplin, and Fellini. Conversely, the system of reflecting mirrors that prevails in Mumbai operates

by means of waves of successive pre-visualizations (at the shooting location but always prior to filming) that aim to produce gestures that are much less accidental than they might appear. From the director's mental image to the actor's final gesture, the deconstruction of the scene to be filmed or the gesture to be performed by human mirrors swings into action cyclically between each shot. In this context, filming itself is rarely conceived as the capturing of an unforeseen event (even if this is sometimes the case); it is the final, most detailed, most lively, most "high-resolution" version of an action that had, until then, been practiced at low resolution with assistants and hired hands.

In this context, it is quite clear that the contrast between script-based production methods and other methods based on improvisation is not quite as sharp as one might think. Cassavetes-style improvisation does not mean a lack of script and it certainly does not mean a lack of preparation. The actors spent many hours rehearsing, setting up scenes, and working together on their dialogue. The content of the film was determined prior to shooting, as was the case more generally on other productions that used the Hollywood "script system." When Indian actors say they work in a chaotic system largely based on improvisation, the kind of improvisation they are referring to is very different from Cassavetes'. The film script and the contents of scenes are actually worked out during shooting (or rather between shots) through the interaction between the director and the assistants who act as human mirrors. In other words, when the actors speak of improvisation, they are referring to their reduced preparation time and the many hours they spend between shots preparing for the next shots as opposed to the way they would work if shooting were restricted to a roadmap defined in advance. And yet, what actors see as wasted time between shots is a key moment of the production process. It is a genuine moment of conception. This is often when actors learn dance steps and action sequences on the spot. In other words, less time spent on preparation prior to shooting means more time for conception between shots. Elsewhere, we have given several examples of how actors arrive at the right gesture during a choreographed dance, the so-called *filmi* gesture in the foreground that captures the viewer's attention, which is slightly out of sync with, or of a different nature to, the moves of the dancers in the background.[13] The search for the right gesture is the primary motivation behind the clever system of reflecting human mirrors around actors that guide their performances on the set. In dance scenes, directors often even go as far as including these human mirrors in the frame of the image itself: the dancers appear in the background and reproduce the star's gestures. Viewers might see this as a joke or as an amusing device but it is the very method used to produce the images they are watching. Many actors arrive on the set with apparently little knowledge of the dances they are asked to perform. However, by surrounding them with other dancers and with the help of a team of assistants, the director always manages to teach them the proper steps at the last minute. If the actors were required to perform involuntary gestures or have unexpected reactions, it would be better to work differently. One cannot really switch to another gesture production method without adopting a completely different kind of organization.

Pavlovian Stimulation

The system of reflecting human mirrors appears subordinate to the production of a controlled, calculated gesture. The irregular dance steps and the winks that work so well in a choreographed *filmi* set piece are always meticulously planned. It is always by means of carefully studied micro-expressions that the choreographer succeeds in capturing our attention. Actor direction methods want to achieve the opposite result: involuntary reactions. Little is known about the many systems that have been developed in Hollywood to get emotional reactions from actors, such as the use of machines. These systems depend on an entirely other gesture economy. For example, when Peter Jackson filmed his remake of King Kong, he chose a typically Hollywood method. He used several pre-visualization systems (script, storyboard, computer animation) to minimize uncertainty and reduce the shoot to mere execution. He also had to rely on some unusual stimulation devices to get the actors into character and get the most out of them during filming. These devices were different to the human mirrors previously mentioned. When his actress arrived on the set to shoot a scene in which she struggles between the hands of the great ape, she was lifted onto a motorized pedestal before taking her place in a large mechanical hand. In front of her, an actor dressed as King Kong did everything he could to frighten the actress who screamed in fear as the cameras rolled. As she was not imitating the actor in front of her, there was no mirror effect here. However, everything was done to stimulate a reaction and capture intensity without the actors necessarily needing to feel immersed in their characters. Anyone placed in that machine would probably have reacted with similar agitation. The camera is not there to capture a "performance" in the traditional sense of the word but rather a physical or nervous reaction that cuts through the ordinary process of mental representation. Systems of this kind can be found on sets throughout the world, especially on horror and fantasy films. The scenes can be filmed with accessories suggestive enough to spare actors the need for several hours of character assimilation. With Pavlovian filming machines, we are just as far from the "mirror technique" widely prevalent in Mumbai as from Fellini's manipulation method, in which actors give themselves over to the director, who becomes the sole judge of the quality of their expressions. In such a setting, what is sought is a natural reaction to stimulus but no image of it is produced in the form of a mirror; one tries to provoke it directly without the actor having to imagine it.

The Indirective Method

Other directors have gone even further in experimenting with alternative methods of gesture production. These will help us understand how the reflecting mirror system as practiced in the Bombay studios is unique and its psychological and organizational implications. In his remake of Don Quixote, *Honour of the Knights (Quixotic)* (2006), for example, Catalan filmmaker Albert Serra oscillates between very directive moments reminiscent of Fellini, when he dictates the dialogue to his nonprofessional actors, and methods similar to Pavlovian machines, when he tries

to provoke reactions by throwing his actors conversation topics. "Talk to Sancho about your dog!" he says to Don Quixote during one shot. The low cost of digital filming allows him to practice a kind of improvisation that no longer only takes place before production (like Cassavetes) but within the shot itself. He even goes as far as filming moments when the actors are not in character and uses these incidentally captured expressions to devise other scenes. To better explain what he had in mind when he comments his own production in his book, Serra quotes Salvador Dalí on comic actor Harry Langdon:

> It is still well above music that Harry Langdon can excite me today, above all else by his unintentional life, like that of a drop of water. Harry Langdon is a small thing that moves with greater thoughtlessness than little animals. When he opens his mouth to smile, when he has already smiled, he still doesn't know it, nor will he ever know any better. Harry is the elemental life, what is purely organic, and he lives further beyond the existence of his own gestures than Miró's own small animals—his face all wrinkled, all of a sudden he moves, all of a sudden sits down—total absence of will! He moves the way the bean plant moves when it opens its leaves. Next to him, Keaton is a mystic and Chaplin is a putrid one. The best thing about Chaplin is his primitive mechanism, not his transcendental sentimentalism for the usage of artists. Harry Langdon is one of the purest flowers of the cinema and, even, of our civilization.[14]

Serra seeks unintentional life and chooses to plunge the actors into an atmosphere conducive to this. He takes them into a deserted area, where he films them taking a long stroll in the open air and pays attention to the smallest sign of life on their faces and in their posture. This atmosphere is supposed to create the right conditions for unintentional life to flow from the actors. Serra's films worship details and micro-movements just as Fellini paid careful attention to his actors' smallest gestures and just as Phalke and even Chaplin did, but in a different way. Because what varies among the great directors of actors is not so much attention to gestures but how these gestures are produced, how much they are controlled, and how they are used. When he was making Don Quixote, Serra never touched his actors' bodies nor did he try and produce a gesture conceived in advance, something that would have forced him to maintain a "proximal distance" similar to Phalke's—not too close but not too far from his actors. In fact he stands quite far back behind the camera as though he does not want to influence whatever might occur. When he dictates dialogue to the actors, it is always from a distance and he remains out of sight. There is no method more antithetical to the "mirror technique." Without dictating any specific gesture to the actor, the director influences him or her through the conditioning of the location. The shot captures the actor's response to the environment the director has created.

It is always very tempting to consider that film production is only torn between two options: the script on one side and improvisation on the other. However, when one examines the different actor direction methods, one notices that the landscape is much more varied and complex. Let us look at the different approaches explored in this article as a chart, shown in Figure 4.1.
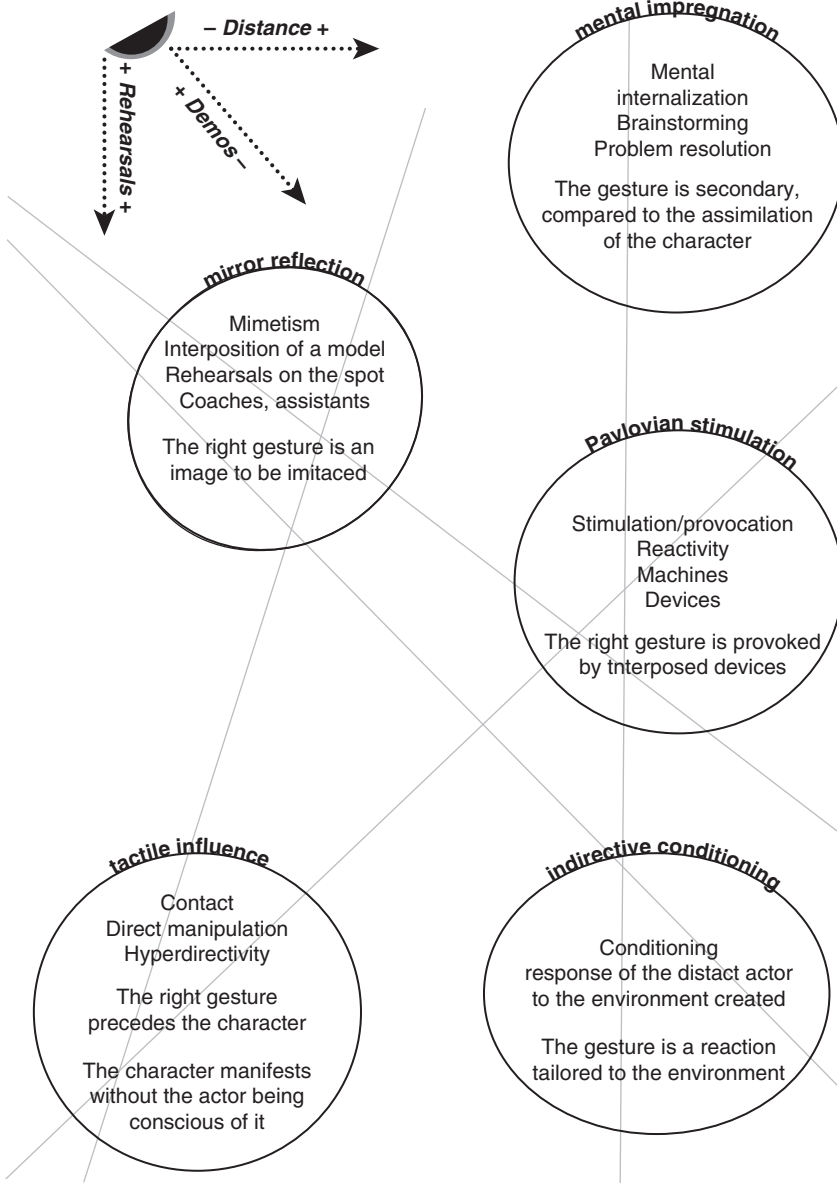
Figure 4.1 Film sets—direction methods.

This chart is obviously incomplete since it is based on a few examples, but it is already transversal enough to show many possibilities of "collaborative imaging" that have been tested in the history of cinema. Many filmmakers oscillate between several methods or are much closer to one method than another and some even combine them. Between these modes, many personal methodologies

have been and could be experimented depending on the situation. For example, we saw that Chaplin used the mimetic method but also made incursions into the tactile method, and a filmmaker like Fellini, who was closer to the latter method, was still able to resort to the mimetic method and also attempt the Pavlovian method. As for Serra, he is always in indirective mode but at certain moments he does not hesitate to use the mirror technique. This chart can also be read according to the following parameters: amount of rehearsal, number of demonstrations, and distance (between the director and the actors). From left to right, the distance varies from the shortest (in the touch-centered method) to the longest (in the indirective method). From the mimetic mode to the indirective mode, the required number of demonstrations or gesticulations decreases. As for the amount of rehearsal prior to production, it is much less in the tactile and indirective modes than in the psychological mode. One cannot appreciate the optimal simplicity of the "mirror method" without keeping this range of actor direction possibilities in the back of one's mind. More case studies based on "making ofs" and investigations with ethnographic methods of observation would obviously help us to go further and shed light on the variety of collaborative modes of imaging experimented on film sets in general. Filmmakers have tried many of these devices but they still need to be documented. Other scenarios of collective emergence take place every day on film sets throughout the world, which makes the area a fertile field of investigation for film historians, ethnographers of film production, and anthropologists of creative processes.

Notes

1. Interview by Gideon Bachman, in *Ciao Federico*! (Film, 1971, remastered version, Carlotta Films, 2003).
2. See Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Charles Goodwin, "Pointing as Situated Practice," in *Pointing: Where Language, Culture and Cognition Meet*, ed. Sotaro Kita (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2003), 217–241. It would be too long to quote all the works that have investigated the role of gestures in communication studies, anthropology, and semiotics over the past 50 years. Many researchers who have considered video to be the ideal tool for "gesture studies" have tried to elucidate its role in everyday interactions, but seldom within the context of creative processes. See Erwing Goffman, *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961); Ray Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and Context. Essays on Body Motion Communication* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970); Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Charles Goodwin, "Professional Vision," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (1994): 606–633; Ch. Goodwin, "Co-constructing Meaning in Conversations with an Aphasic Man," *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 28, no. 3 (1995): 233–260; Ch. Goodwin, "Transparent Vision," in *Interaction and Grammar*, eds Elinor Ochs, Emmanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 370–404; David McNeill, *Hand and Mind. What Gestures Reveal about Thought* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992); D. McNeill, *Gesture and Thought* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005).

3. See Emmanuel Grimaud, "The Film in Hand. Modes of Coordination and Assisted Virtuosity in the Bombay Film Studios," *Qualitative Sociology* 3, no. 3 (2007): 59–77. This previous study was based on extensive video footage filmed between 1996 and 2001 in the Mumbai studios where I worked as an assistant director; for a detailed ethnographic account of filmmaking processes in Mumbai, see *Bollywood Film Studio* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2004). In this footage, actors, directors, and assistants interact at different moments of the take. The scenes I could collect as an ethnographer displayed various degrees of organizational complexity including stunts, machinery, and choreography dance steps.

4. See Lev Vygotsky, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

5. On the economy and organizational aspects of the Hollywood "script system," see Janet Staiger, ed., *The Studio System* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995). On the shifting identity of the notion of script throughout film history, see Steven Maras, *Screenwriting: History, Theory, and Practice* (London: Wallflower Press, 2009).

6. See Grimaud, *Bollywood Film Studio*; Grimaud, "Les dérives du scénario: script, logiciels d'écriture et modèles de conception aléatoires au cinéma", in *Du corps au texte, approches comparatives*, eds Brigitte Baptandier and Giordana Charuty (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 2008).

7. Grimaud, "The Film in Hand"; Grimaud, "L'envers de la prise de vue. Acteurs, Doublures et échafaudages gestuels dans les studios de Bombay," in *Purushartha*, 29 (2011), pp. 263–290; Grimaud, "Les coulisses du sublime. Cascades de cinéma, machineries, effets spéciaux," *Ateliers d'Anthropologie* 35 (2011), accessed May 20, 2013, http://ateliers.revues.org.

8. Dadasaheb Phalke, *How Films Are Prepared* (Poona: National Film Archives of India, 1912). See also Paresh Mokashi's Marathi film *Harischandrachi Factory* (2009), which sheds an interesting light on Phalke's working methods in retrospect.

9. The difference between analog and digital has been widely discussed in semiotics, the theory of communication, and nonverbal interaction. For an interesting discussion on digital as a "language of things" and analog as a "language of relations," see Gregory Bateson on cetacean communication in his *Steps to an Ecology of Mind* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972), and also Deleuze's comment on Bateson's theory on dolphins in Gilles Deleuze, *Cours sur la peinture* (May 5, 1981), Université Paris VIII-Vincennes, accessed December 2, 2012, http://www2.univ-paris8.fr/deleuze/article.php3?id_article=83.

10. Charles Chaplin, *How to Make Movies* (1918), in Kevin Brownlow and David Gill, *Unknown Chaplin* (Television series, Thames Television, 1983).

11. See the making of *Satyricon* and interviews with Fellini conducted by Gideon Bachman in *Ciao Federico*! (Film, 1971).

12. John Cassavetes and Raymond Carney, *Cassavetes on Cassavetes* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001), 68.

13. See Grimaud, "The Film in Hand"; Grimaud, *Johar and Mehmood in Bollywood, a Film in Search of Itself* (Lyon: Asiexpo, 2010).

14. Salvador Dalí and Haim Finkelstein, eds, *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dalí* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998): 70.

Film Production as a Palimpsest

Sylvie Lindeperg

I coined the term "palimpsest" in my book *Les Écrans de l'ombre* on cinematic uses of the Resistance. In order to grasp the issues that have crystallized around representations of the past, I believed it was necessary to go back to the creative process, enter the "black box" of the "film under construction," and unearth its layers of writing.[1] This first task was centered on several predefined phases of the genesis of films such as the commission, funding, and screenplay writing. I elaborated this method more systematically in 2007 in a book about *Night and Fog* that examines all the mysteries surrounding its production from the perspective of micro-history.[2] Tracking each stage of the production of Alain Resnais's film raised unprecedented questions and problems: which method and sources should be used to track the history of filming, identify the challenges surrounding the iconographic research, gather the crew's opinions of the images of the camps, study the multiple references of the musical score, and enter the film editing room? These problems had to be solved with time. As well as the archives I was used to analyzing—contracts, budgets, various stages of screenplay development, correspondence—I also had to analyze new and sometimes tenuous traces: bills, orders for equipment, script supervisors' notes, film laboratory worksheets, unused rushes from the various changes made to the short film, and production stills. Just as Walter Benjamin praised Siegfried Kracauer as a "ragpicker," I used my stick to pick up tattered papers and film fragments that I put in my cart along the way.[3]

Such information gleaning followed further the process of production to compose the second part of the book, which examined views on *Night and Fog*, how they vary within different national contexts and how they shift over time. In this case, the clues that had been gathered did not relate to traces of the film's desquamation but rather the layers of meaning and successive interpretations that have superimposed a *palimpsest of views* on the work over time. Since the longevity of *Night and Fog* and its wide international distribution have turned it into a "portable site of memory"[4] in the strongest sense of the word, many issues are at stake: the ambivalent handling of the past in France and in the FRG, the diplomatic battle in Cannes, Cold War quarrels in the East, dramatic changes in American

public discourse on the victims of Nazism, the unearthing of the film in Israel as part of the Eichmann trial, generational conflicts in Germany during the "Years of Lead," etc.

These uses of *Night and Fog* can be studied from written sources as well as from the very material of the short film as it was distributed in certain countries: deleted scenes, erased musical phrasing, deliberately erroneous translations, and disjointedness between the editing of the images and the soundtrack that created new links. Rereadings of *Night and Fog* can finally be revealed by the use of fragments of the film, its *mise en abyme* in fiction, and its compilation in another documentary. I tried to gather the remainder of this intense fragmentation of *Night and Fog*, its recycling as a film archive, and the shots that were taken from it and used elsewhere to fuel new imaginary works. Because, even if they often go against the work's line of thought, these uses and misuses also form part of its history. They shed light on the arrangement of memory, on how views evolve, and on the symbolic and social demands placed on images that have undergone fundamental changes over the past half-century.

These are the two instances of the genesis of the film and its shifts in space and time that I want to examine here by highlighting the main findings of my research and its underlying methodological issues.[5]

In the Black Box of *Night and Fog*

Birth of the Project: Between Art, Memory, and History

Olga Wormser and Henri Michel, the Secretary-General of the Committee on History of the Second World War (Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale), announced the project of a film about the concentration camp system in 1954. The two historians made their announcement on the radio during the inauguration of the "Resistance, Liberation, Deportation" exhibition in Paris to mark the tenth anniversary of the Liberation of France. This exhibition played a pivotal role in the genesis of *Night and Fog*, which used it as a resource document.

My first discovery had to do with the part an organization played in launching the project. As it remained discreet, its role was underestimated. The initiative for the film came from the Réseau du Souvenir, a group of former deportees from the Resistance, created in 1952 for the purpose of promoting the memory of the Deportation. During the 1950s, the Réseau du Souvenir launched many initiatives: setting up the "National Day of Memory of the Deportation," the decision to erect the Shoah Memorial on Île de la Cité in Paris, and the publication of *Tragédie de la Déportation* (*Tragedy of the Deportation*), an anthology of eyewitness accounts by former deportees put together by Henri Michel and Olga Wormser.[6] In 1954, the Réseau du Souvenir's priority was to reach young people who had not lived under the Occupation and therefore seemed unaware of

the facts. Cinema was the ideal medium to convey this story; the members of the association logically approached the French Ministry for National Education to part-fund it and distribute the film.

Discovering the major part played by the Réseau du Souvenir makes it possible to understand the challenges involved. The film project came into being within a very sensitive context of historical considerations and memorial demands that were sometimes hard to reconcile. Moreover, as the documentary's provisional title—"Résistance et Déportation" ("Resistance and Deportation")—indicates, the definition of Deportation advocated by the Réseau du Souvenir focused on the hegemony of the deportee patriot-resistance fighter figure. Lastly, the monumental commemorative notion of art underlying the project did not chime with Alain Resnais's work.

To successfully implement the project, Olga Wormser and Henri Michel contacted Anatole Dauman, the coproducer of Argos Films. Such a decisive move allowed the project to become art. Indeed, Dauman asserted that the film would not touch audiences if it did not harbor high artistic and formal ambitions. As director Nicole Vedrès had turned down his offer, the producer got in touch with Alain Resnais. After much hesitation, the young director agreed on the sole condition that he would be able work with the poet and former Mauthausen deportee Jean Cayrol.

Alain Resnais's contract signed in May 1955 is vital to understanding the film.[7] It recommended three filmmaking techniques: "an iconographic part created from documents, illustrated by animated diagrams or objects that are genuine mementos of the Deportation," some editing of photographs and shots from film libraries in France and abroad, and a third part created from shots taken on Deportation sites.

The first two techniques were part of a well-established model for historical films. The reference to "mementos" can be explained by the intention to take advantage of the resources gathered for the "Resistance, Liberation, Deportation" exhibition in Paris; it confirmed the reliquary aspect of the commission by the Réseau du Souvenir. However, the *in situ* filming was what made the project original, and Alain Resnais maximized it by suggesting to Dauman that the sequences filmed in the camps should be in color. As early as February 1954, Henri Michel had indicated the likely sites to members of the Réseau du Souvenir: Struthof, Mauthausen, Auschwitz-Birkenau, and Majdanek. But filming in the last two camps would require significant funding from Poland. It was obtained after long negotiations. Argos's budgets and financial documents show that, in the end, Poland covered almost half of *Night and Fog*'s costs. However, as the coproduction had been disguised as an advance on the distribution rights in Eastern European countries, this considerable support went unnoticed. Poland's help was as instrumental for documentation as it was for filming, which, contrary to initial plans, took place entirely in Auschwitz-Birkenau and Majdanek.[8]

This move toward Eastern Europe that changed the film's center of gravity can be found in the writing of the screenplay.

One Text, Several Writers

Henri Michel and Olga Wormser wrote the first synopsis in February 1955 before Alain Resnais was involved in the project.[9] They were set apart from the table of contents in *Tragédie de la deportation*, an anthology that charts each stage of a French deportee's ordeal and favors survivors' eyewitness accounts and views. In keeping with the order, the concentration camp model and the figure of the deportee-resistance fighter dominated in these rough drafts.

In July 1955, Resnais worked closely with Olga Wormser[10] on a screenplay based on the synopsis. This new text introduced the camera perspective and laid out the form of the future film; there was also more emphasis on its historical ambition. It was no longer a mere question of recording an experience but also a matter of explaining how the concentration camp system functioned and tracing its history. The deportee's successive trials were now punctuated by chronological references about the origin and evolution of concentration camps. The screenplay starts in 1933 as the first camps are being built in Nazi Germany; the account then shifts east to Auschwitz-Birkenau. The text, inspired by an article by Olga Wormser published in 1954, clearly highlights the change in 1942 that marked a new stage in the way concentration camps functioned: the deportees would now serve, as slave labor, the war economy. This step also had significant consequences for the way in which the "Destruction of the European Jews"[11] developed. The implementation of the "selection" process meant that deported Jews who were deemed "fit for work" now also had to work for the Third Reich, whilst the other Jewish deportees deemed "unfit" were immediately gassed. Thus, in 1942, the hitherto-disconnected worlds of concentration camps and killing centers met in one place: Auschwitz-Birkenau. Both are mentioned in a paragraph of the screenplay devoted to Himmler's two visits to the camp in July: first, he inspected the IG Farben site in Monowitz, and then he attended the gassing of Dutch Jews in Birkenau. In the section of the screenplay where this visit is mentioned, explicit references are made to the extermination of "inferior races" and the "final solution of the Jewish question."

Nevertheless, this important screenplay development was thwarted by Jean Cayrol's commentary, which vaguely alludes to this very sequence without mentioning the Jewish identity of the victims or the explicit reference to the "final solution." Such variations within the screenplay put us at the heart of what Michel de Certeau calls the historiographical operation.[12] It shows that Olga Wormser's discoveries and hypotheses were written into the film even if they came up against persistent confusion and "fog." In this sense, the *Night and Fog* screenplay can be considered as a draft as well as the first overview of an unfolding story that Olga Wormser was to conclude in 1968 when she defended her thesis on the concentration camp system. Alain Resnais's film therefore reveals a historiographical stage; it is the point where two operations—the film being made and the long-term historical production that bears its traces—crystallize and come together.

The effective marginal place that the screenplay creates for the account of the Destruction of European Jews was reinforced by documentary research and a trip to Poland.

The Move to the East

From spring 1955, archives from the exhibition catalogue, photographs and films from associations of former deportees, French newsreels, and the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation[13] were gathered. The team also watched film sequences at the French army's Cinematographic Services but they were eventually not allowed to use them, probably because of Alain Resnais's controversial reputation. The director made the film *Statues Also Die* with Chris Marker, which was banned in 1954 by French censorship bodies for its undertones of anticolonial propaganda. The search for archives continued at the Imperial War Museum in London, where also they were refused access. Alain Resnais, Henri Michel, and Olga Wormser then went to the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation in Amsterdam, where they found film sequences filmed by the British during the liberation of Bergen-Belsen, which were used for most of the shots in the last part of the film. They particularly discovered the sequences filmed in the Westerbork transit camp in Holland on May 19, 1944, as a group of Jews and gypsies boarded a train and were sent to Auschwitz. To this day, these exceptional images are the only known shots that show Jews from Western Europe being deported to the extermination centers. More images of the Deportation and genocide for the film were sought in Poland, and this profoundly changed the film's bearing.

The director and the two historians arrived in Warsaw in September 1955. They viewed photographs at the Jewish Historical Institute, where they found a few photographs of executions by the *Einsatzgruppen*, the now iconic picture of the Jewish child with his hands raised in the Warsaw ghetto and a photograph of the "selection" taken as a train of Hungarian Jews arrived in Birkenau in May 1944.[14] They watched Soviet and Polish films about the opening of the camps at the Documentary Film Studio. These shots were preselected by the director Wanda Jakubowska, a former Auschwitz detainee who made *The Last Stage*, the first fiction filmed in Birkenau in 1947. Resnais used two shots from this film in *Night and Fog*. The documentary research ended with the collections of camp museums: especially Auschwitz, where they found a series of photographs of Himmler's visit in July 1942 and the four pictures taken secretly by members of Birkenau's *Sonderkommando* in August 1944. The trip to Poland was therefore key to the increased presentation of shots and photographs relating to the extermination of European Jews in the film.

Filming started on September 28 in Auschwitz and continued in Majdanek from October 7 to 10; it made things very clear for the director, who discovered the location without having looked around beforehand due to lack of time and money. The main phases of the process can be identified through Argos's correspondence, production documents, eyewitness accounts from members of the production team, and assistant director André Heinrich's shooting notes. The differences between the shots filmed in Poland and the July scenario based on the idea of the interchangeability of Nazi camps make it possible to assess the importance of discovering the site.

On site, Resnais noticed the differences between the Auschwitz I camp museum with its perfectly maintained rows of brick buildings and the devastated expanse

of Birkenau, an abandoned landscape overgrown with tall grass, strewn with disturbing rusted objects. As a result, the director changed the screenplay and the filming schedule: he particularly decided to film the entire epilogue in Birkenau in order to make it a live metaphor of oblivion. In the screenplay, there was a final series of shots in which the camera dollies out of the camps. In *Night and Fog*, the camera remains in Birkenau, as close as possible to the ruins of the crematorium; in doing so, it also holds the viewer there. This choice was perfectly in keeping with the spirit of Jean Cayrol's commentary, which invited his contemporaries to look around and hear the "endless cry" of the victims under all regimes all over the world. Indeed, the director and the poet agreed on the film's function as a "warning siren"[15] to make people aware of present events, especially their fellow countrymen who seemed indifferent to the war in Algeria and the suffering of the colonized population. The Birkenau landscape thus allowed Resnais to find a form: tracking shots without a subject at walking pace within and around the old camps. The appearance of Auschwitz I led him to make another choice that for a long time went unnoticed by the film's spectators.

It was by going to the site that I was able to confirm my intuition that Resnais had also filmed the sequences in the camp museum blocks in black and white. These shots include the panoramic shot of the kapo's room, the vertical shot of a Hitler puppet, and the slow and terrible ascent of the mountain of women's hair kept in block 4.

These shots—which were considered archival documents for a long time—make it easier to grasp what issues were at stake for the director and his desire to redirect the order. The Réseau du Souvenir had entrusted the artist with the task of "turning the remembrance into a monument, the memory into a memorial":[16] by filming the objects and the relics in black and white, thereby setting them in the past, Resnais was expressing his refusal of a museographic approach to art and history, an attitude that he placed in a *mise en abyme* a few years later in the opening sequences of *Hiroshima, mon amour*. Thanks to highly masterful editing, these black-and-white shots faded into the mass of archives.

Assemble and Connect, Comment and Add Sound

The very rigorous posture of the director-editor did indeed help bring together these disparate elements and collate the gathered mass of "archives of the past" in the eyes of its first spectators.

Analyzing this essential stage of the work was an opportunity to shed light on the solutions Resnais adopted to reduce the heterogeneity of his raw materials: the heterogeneity of the photos and the filmed shots; the heterogeneity of several generations of archives (those relating to the Nazi period and those relating to the Liberation); the heterogeneity of the different types of images (archival documents, shots filmed in black and white in the camp museum, fictional shots borrowed from Jakubowska). By choosing to intensify the chromatic variation of color shots and black-and-white shots with a marked rhythmic

variation, editing made it possible to assemble them and evenly assign them to an insurmountable past.

For this chapter of the book, I used the unedited rushes as well as a precious document: the editing log, in which a caption, consultation venue, and, often, a description of the image[17] were recorded for each shot of the film. Apart from the fact that it made it possible to trace the origin of the edited shots, this document showed what was known about images of concentration camps at the time; it revealed how the production team considered the shots and photographs that were gathered. It also made it possible to understand the questions they asked—and those they did not ask but that we ask today.[18]

The editing was undertaken together with the writing of the commentary. The latter came up against Jean Cayrol's inability to face the images of the camps. He had to leave the editing room. Jean Cayrol was disturbed by the viewing and set to work in a state of latent depression. He wrote a very powerful text but as it was not in sync with the images, it could not be used in its present form. Chris Marker then contributed by rewriting the poet's commentary and adjusting it to the shots in the film. This intermediary version acted as Perseus's mirror for Cayrol and he was able to go back into the editing room. The final commentary of *Night and Fog* bears the trace of this dual authorship; the words and thoughts are Cayrol's but the structure and some "protrusions" are Marker's.

Hanns Eisler went into the editing room a little after Cayrol and was profoundly distressed by the traces of the crimes committed by his fellow Germans. As he composed the soundtrack, the master from Berlin remained faithful to the principles of distance, asymmetry, counterpoint, and discord that guided his cinema compositions. He also gave the film the expression of a painful German conscience revealed by certain fine details within the score. Thus, the film's musical signature, the famous prelude for strings in *Night and Fog*, is not an original piece. It was composed by Eisler in 1954 for the *Winterschlacht*, a play by the East German playwright Johannes Becher. And yet, as Albrecht Dümling[19] has established, this prelude was written by the composer in reference to Horatio's monologue in *Hamlet*. This precision is all the more revealing because in his book on how Nazism is remembered in Germany, Michael Schneider also refers to Hamlet's melancholy in his analysis of the conflict between generations that appeared in the FRG at the end of the 1960s.[20] Significantly, this musical theme, which German spectators now associate with *Night and Fog*, is also at the beginning of *Die Patriotin* (1979). This film by Alexander Kluge creates a counter-history of Germany through the protagonist, a young history professor who wants to uncover obscured episodes of Germany's past with the help a metaphorical shovel.

This German voice of Eisler's music that calls into question the Nazi past and the issue of German guilt can be found in another part of the score of *Night and Fog* used on the Westerbork sequences. The composer uses a pastiche of the German national anthem for the shots of the deportees boarding the train. He deliberately breaks the melodic line of the "*Lied der Deutschen*" by removing the string accompaniment and only keeping its rhythmic movements.

Eisler thus offered an explicit caricature of this song banned by the Allied Occupation Forces in 1945, which again became the national anthem of West Germany.

This pastiche could refer to the song perverted by the Nazis as well as to the FRG's anthem in which economic requirements for the reconstruction prevailed over the political demands of denazification. The Bonn authorities did not approve of the East German composer's hijacking the "*Lied der Deutschen*" quote: indeed, in the West German copies of *Night and Fog* distributed by the Bundeszentrale für Heimatdienst, the musical passage that opens the Westerbork sequence was removed, giving way to silence. This musical pastiche was all the more unpopular in the West because Eisler had composed the music for the GDR national anthem based on a text by Johannes Becher. The conflict between the two Germanys brings us to the second part of the book, which focuses on the uses, shifts, and reinterpretations of Alain Resnais's work.

A Palimpsest of Perspectives

A Policeman's Honor

Resnais had barely finished his film when the first signs of controversy surfaced in France. It began in front of the French censorship board, referred to as classification, on December 30, 1955. The French national defense representative then demanded "the removal of an image of an officer guarding the Pithiviers internment camp."[21] This photograph taken from the lookout post shows a French police officer guarding a prison camp (which was actually the one in Beaune La Rolande[22]). It was therefore a symbolic image of how the French government collaborated with the Nazi occupier to arrest and imprison Jews before they were deported to the East.

The members of the board held a plenary meeting on February 22 and decided to contact Alain Resnais for him to remove the contentious shot. The director's response was final: he would only consider this possibility if the board expressly requested it. Resnais may have forced the censors to face up to their responsibilities, but Henri Michel took a more conciliatory approach in a letter to the board that was read during the February 29 session. After reminding those present of the "historical facts" regarding the collaboration, the historian declared that he could provide "a photograph of markedly equivalent historical interest which could, without damaging the film, be used to replace the one causing the controversy."

If it is accepted that in history, documents tell *some* truth rather than *the* truth, there is no intrinsic link between a photograph and its "historical interest"; it is inevitably a variable property with a value linked to the question asked and its underlying general plot. In fact, at the time, the two historical advisors were less concerned about the French police being stigmatized than they were about establishing the existence of internment camps in France, thus marking the national territory as the first leg of a tragic journey. Within this context, Henri Michel could consider that another picture of the Loiret internment camps that showed only the prisoners was "markedly equivalent." Even so, this ploy that saved the honor of the French police also helped conceal one of the most shameful aspects of the French government's collaboration.

The censorship board approved Henri Michel's proposal (14 votes in favor to five against, one abstention) by asking for "the shot of the French police officer to be replaced by a photograph of *equivalent historical interest* that will not give rise to any controversy" (emphasis added). The board used the historical adviser's wording and removed the adverb "markedly," which made the formulation quite risky. However, instead of the demanded replacement, the production crew chose to alter the controversial photograph and obscured the French officer's kepi with a dark banner similar to those on obituary notices.

In 1956, journalists were aware of this story but it did not create a scandal in the French press. Some critics like Jacques Doniol-Valcroze did mention that the photograph had been doctored. He made the following ironic comment in *France-Observateur*: "it is well known that for four years, no French police officer was involved in any way whatsoever in any operation that resulted in people being deported."[23] Even so, the intervention of censorship itself did not cause public outcry. There was a radical change from the 1970s during the "broken mirror" phase,[24] that began with the turbulent release of *The Sorrow and the Pity* (Marcel Ophuls, 1969–1971). In December 1979, film director René Vautier, who was a fierce and tireless opponent of censorship, brought up the kepi affair in a *Le Monde* column;[25] the information was taken up by the French weekly satirical *Le Canard enchaîné*. From the 1980s, the photograph of the French police officer received impressive editorial coverage: it was printed on many occasions to illustrate articles and books about the French government's collaboration. It was preferred above all others, less for what it showed and more for its additional spirit that allowed taboos of officialdom to be revisited. Its "historical interest" was now indexed to the story of its cinematic misfortune.

The censorship concerning the French police officer's picture may have received limited attention in 1956 France, but the Cannes festival afforded the French press an opportunity to pick up on the story.

Germany, at Heart

Night and Fog was chosen to represent France in the short film category; but on April 7, it disappeared from the official selection after intense secret negotiations and the intervention of the West German embassy. This decision triggered a political media scandal that put the Federal Republic in the hot seat and saw it being accused of encouraging the Nazi past to be forgotten. The controversy only died down when the final compromise was announced: *Night and Fog* would be shown out of competition at the Cannes festival on the National Day of Deportation.[26] The affair was also extensively covered in the West German press. It was taken up by Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD) MPs, who took the case to the Bundestag on April 18, 1956. Paradoxically, the events in Cannes sped up the screening of the short film in the FRG.[27]

Jean Cayrol's commentary was translated by Paul Celan. To translate the text into German, the poet carried out several changes: he made some slight additions to denounce the incomplete denazification in the FRG, refused to reuse certain expressions from the Third Reich in his translation, and, lastly,

discretely reintroduced the genocide of the Jews, which had been erased in Cayrol's commentary, especially by turning the "old concentration camp monster" into *Rassenwahn* ("racial madness").

In 1958, the GDR decided to distribute *Night and Fog* but it refused to use the West German version. The VEB DEFA commissioned its own translation, which was entrusted to the playwright Henryk Keisch. This new commentary contained a few erroneous translations, the most obvious of which can be found in the epilogue. Cayrol's last lines warning his contemporaries about the arrival of new executioners and the "endless cry" of the victims were replaced by the following sentence: "in one part of the world [implying the Eastern bloc] the dead have ceased crying out because the chaff has been uprooted."[28] This deliberate mistranslation made it possible to detract attention away from Soviet camps and to dwell on the cold war between the two Germanys by presenting the GDR as the legitimate heir of the antifascist struggle. But the VEB DEFA had to back down under pressure from Argos Films. It had its revenge in 1974 in a clandestine remake of *Night and Fog* for East German television. This time, Cayrol's text was translated by Evelin Matschke.[29] It was a vague plagiary and a very short summary of the original text, which notably reproduced the mistranslation in the epilogue, which is translated as "9 million dead wander in this landscape; their cries will escape oblivion."

At the same moment in the FRG, *Night and Fog* was important in helping to denounce the amnesic silence of Adenauer's Germany. For many German teachers who started working in the post-68 context, the film was an opportunity to critically examine with their students the Nazi past they had not been able to study in their own youth. It is therefore no coincidence that Margarethe von Trotta instigates a *mise en abyme* of Resnais's documentary in *Marianne and Juliane* (*Die bleierne Zeit*, 1981)[30] inspired by the lives of Gudrun and Christiane Ensslin. In a key scene, the two sisters attend a screening of *Night and Fog* with other teenagers. Margarethe von Trotta thus presents Resnais's film as the element that awakens young Gudrun's historical consciousness. She goes on to join the Red Army Faction.

In the 1960s, the East Germans were not the only ones distributing *Night and Fog* and using it as propaganda.

The Americans' Distorting Prism

In 1959, Argos Films came up against the polite refusal of American distributors, who were reluctant to distribute *Night and Fog* across the Atlantic. The stakes changed in May 1960, after Ben Gourion announced that Eichmann had been captured; in the months that followed, Dauman received proposals from several distributors in New York. At the same moment, *Night and Fog* was reedited in snippets in a strange television program directed by Arnee Nocks for the Metropolitan Broadcasting Corporation. This hybrid program about the atrocities committed in Nazi camps aired on July 18, 1960, under the title *Remember US*.

This program clearly shows the change of status of the different images that make up *Night and Fog*. It is made up of a triple system of "set," archive editing, and eyewitness accounts. In the first part of the program, Arnee Nocks edited four extracts of *Night and Fog* to "illustrate" the commentary and the witness's accounts. He abundantly recycled Eisler's soundtrack in a redundant fashion that is totally unfaithful to the spirit in which the composer worked. The second part of the program, which lasted 20 minutes only, featured reedited shots of *Night and Fog* with a commentary by journalist Quentin Reynolds, who reproduced entire passages of Cayrol's text. The latter was not mentioned in the credits and neither were Resnais and Eisler. At the end of the program, the reedited original film is just used as filler: the director haphazardly put together all the leftover shots from *Night and Fog* that he had for the final credits.

As disastrous as the recycling of Alain Resnais's film was, it tells us something about how his images were used. The illustrative documentary process did not grant the visual documents and the context in which they were recorded any real existence in themselves; it therefore confirmed the loss of their historical quality. Indeed, Arnee Nocks draws elements from *Night and Fog* as he would from archival sources even though the extracts were already edited from shots and photographs of various origins and assembled on the basis of precise formal choices that *tertiarize* their relationship to the archive. The American director suppressed this act and gave the snippets of *Night and Fog* the status of primary sources, which could therefore be recycled as such in his own cut. Such uniformization also affects Resnais's color shots, which were reproduced in black and white in the program. This change moves the pictures through time; they change status and become generic "archive images." Arnee Nocks's documentary approach mixes the period documents and the tracking shots from 1955 that Resnais had dialectically opposed in a common visible regime. By making up for the time gap between the images in this way, each part of the film becomes an archive; the layers of the original film are reduced to a sole function and to a univocal status. At around the same time, the *Night and Fog* sequences had also started becoming archives in the FRG. In March 1960, a production company in Cologne (Brevis-Film), which was working on a documentary about "Crystal Night," contacted Dauman to negotiate the rights for four sequences from *Night and Fog*. The order was already focused on Resnais's archives and color tracking shots without any distinction. From the 1960s, in both Germany and France, *Night and Fog* would be used as a "catalog of shots" for television and cinema productions. For several decades, Alain Resnais's film thereby helped to firmly set an imaginary and a state of documentary research on the Deportation.

Another betrayal in *Remember Us* lies in the transformation of this disturbing fragile work into a propaganda film sending out messages and absolute certainties. Just as the East Germans had feared, the *Night and Fog* epilogue was used as an indictment against the USSR. In the name of the fight against totalitarianism, Nazi crimes were equated with Communist crimes and the Gulags with the Third Reich concentration camps.

Lastly, contrarily to *Night and Fog*, the American television program mainly focused on the Jewish genocide. It is within this context based on the persecution

and extermination of the Jews that Arnee Nocks reedited *Night and Fog* and translated the commentary loosely. The treatment of the sequence about the anni-hilation and the turning point in 1942 is most telling: the American text is inspired by Cayrol's text that alludes to the killings in the gas chambers with no mention of the victims' Jewish identity.[31] However, Nocks and Reynolds complete the poet's text by adding an extract of Rudolf Höss's confessions, which changed the ref-erent. On the photographs of the *Einsatzgruppen* taken in the USSR during the liquidation of the ghettos, the narrator reads the famous passage in which the former Auschwitz commander describes the Jewish women and children being killed in the camp's installations. The American text thus removed the veil Cayrol placed over the manner in which the images were put together: it reestablished and extended the original intentions of the screenplay, but it also sanctioned the misuse of photographs that showed the *Einsatzgruppen* shooting people to death, which the new alliance between the text and the editing turned into images of the gateway to the gas chamber.

This reintroduction of the Jewish genocide leads us to one last example of a shift in the film precisely during the Eichmann trial that started in Jerusalem in April 1961.

The Executioner's Eye

Night and Fog was again used in fragments, without its soundtrack but with the subtitles of the American version in the edited film that was shown in Jerusalem during the hearing on June 8, 1961. Before this session, Eichmann was shown *Night and Fog* from beginning to end during a prescreening at the request of his attorney, Dr Servatius. American documentary-maker Leo Hurwitz, who was responsible for recording the whole of the Jerusalem trial on video,[32] also filmed this screening, which took place outside court proceedings.

This document's configuration shows what was at stake for the American direc-tor. It was recorded as a "shot/edit," which sets it within the same temporal continuity. From his editing room, Hurwitz favored the shot/reverse shot tech-nique, which made the different parties face each other through a balancing act: the Nazi criminals (the imaginary face-to-face meeting between Himmler and Eichmann) as well as the victims and the executioner when Hurwitz confronts the sad look of the little girl in Westerbork and the wide-eyed deportee in Vai-hingen with a tight shot of the accused's face. It is also a question of linking two eras of the trial when the director cuts back to Eichmann just after the images of those who were accused in 1945, each claiming in turn: "I am not respon-sible." The rhythm and camera changes also show Hurwitz' wish to pay tribute to Resnais by filming certain sequences on the screen at length and refusing to cut the images. This is why I suggested that this recording could be consid-ered as a new version of *Night and Fog*: a 31-minute documentary in black and white that is once again silent with sporadic subtitles based on the American version that includes the executioner's perspective under the look of a second filmmaker.

I will end this journey through the layers of meaning of *Night and Fog* with a third director's perspective. In 2008, shortly after my book was published, Chris Marker asked me to send him Hurwitz' recording from Jerusalem, which had piqued his curiosity. A few weeks later, I received the DVD of a film entitled *Henchman Glance*, which Marker presented as an "upgrade."[33] The director had made two changes to the original document. Marker replaced Hurwitz' full-screen image of *Night and Fog* with shots of the original copy, which made it possible to reestablish the color of the 1955 sequences. This enriched the archive: it gained new depth and regained the poetic force of Resnais's short film. This change also allowed Marker to facetiously reintroduce the two versions of the famous photograph of the French police officer: the censored version with the concealed kepi filmed by Hurwitz in 1961 and the original photograph that Resnais reinserted in 1997 in the new copies of *Night and Fog*. The second change was the reintroduction of the soundtrack onto the silent document: it was thus possible to use images from Resnais's film on Eichmann's shots, imagine what he was seeing, and create new meaning effects that were not in the silent version. Chris Marker was thus inviting spectators to pursue their reflection on the function of Hurwitz' edits during the trial; the American director who was strongly influenced by the Soviet school tested the Kuleshov effect—neutralized by the defendant's total apathy—to its limits. Indeed, it seemed that nothing could be read or projected on his blank face. *Henchman Glance* thus played on interlocking perspectives and completed the logic mapped out by Hurwitz. Forty years later, Marker in turn offered a new version of *Night and Fog*, once again with sound, enhanced with chromatic alternations in which the executioner's point of view was shown from both directors' perspectives: Marker looking at Hurwitz filming Resnais's work and giving it meaning in the present.

This last example highlights the permanence of *Night and Fog*, which, together with its scope as a work, has not stopped traveling through time. Resnais's film is a "portable site of memory" that also resembles what former deportee Ruth Klüger calls a *Zeitschaft*, timescape, which is constantly reinvested by new stakes.[34] The thread of *Night and Fog* that has unraveled over several decades thus brings perfectly to light what Walter Benjamin calls "the historical index" of the images, the historicity written within the time of their recording and their legibility, the "critical moment on which all reading is founded."[35]

Notes

1. For the "black box" method borrowed from Bruno Latour and the concept of a "palimpsest film" ("*film palimpseste*"), see S. Lindeperg, *Les Écrans de l'ombre. La Seconde Guerre dans le cinéma français (1944–1969)* ("Shadows on the Screen: The Second World War in French Cinema") (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997).
2. Sylvie Lindeperg, *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007).
3. Walter Benjamin, "Un marginal sort de l'ombre. À propos des *Employés* de S. Kracauer," in *Œuvre II*, trans. Maurice de Gandillac, Rainer Rochlitz, and Pierre Rusch (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), 188.

4. Pierre Nora, ed., about Tablets of Stone in "Entre Mémoire et Histoire," in *Les Lieux de mémoire. I. La République* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), XL.

5. This article presents the main findings from my book *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire*, to which the reader can refer. It also includes some of the developments presented in my article "*Night and Fog*. A History of Gazes," in *Concentrationary Cinema. Aesthetics as Political Resistance in Alain Resnais's Night and Fog*, eds Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 55–70. For the genesis of the film, see the long interview with Alain Resnais in Richard Raskin, *"Nuit et brouillard" by Alain Resnais. On the Making, Reception and Functions of a Major Documentary Film* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1987). On the DVD of the French version of the film by Arte video (2003), there is the excellent radio program "*Nuit et Brouillard*, film d'Alain Resnais: 1954–1994," conceived by André Heinrich and Nicole Vuillaume and broadcast on France Culture in 1994, which includes an interview with Alain Resnais.

6. Olga Wormser and Henri Michel (texts chosen and presented by), *Tragédie de la Déportation. 1940–1945. Témoignages de survivants des camps de concentration allemands* ("Testimonies of Survivors of German Concentration Camps") (Paris: Hachette, 1954).

7. This contract signed on May 24, 1955, can be consulted in the Argos Films archives at the Institut Lumière in Lyon. The *Night and Fog* collection is kept in five unmarked boxes.

8. Institut Lumière archives.

9. Two versions of the synopsis were sent to the approval committee in June 1955. National Archives, Centre des archives contemporaines in Fontainebleau, 19890538 art. 945. A more developed synopsis is reproduced without the original reference in the appendix of Christian Delage and Vincent Guigueno's book, *L'Historien et le film* (Paris: Gallimard/Folio histoire, 2004), 218–224. This book also contains an analysis of the stages of screenplay development (see Lindeperg, *Nuit et Brouillard*, chapter 4).

10. This screenplay can be consulted at the Institut Mémoires de l'édition contemporaine (IMEC) in the Jean Cayrol collection.

11. The expression refers to the famous book by Raul Hilberg, but in French it is common as such ("*Destruction des Juifs d'Europe*") (Editors' note).

12. Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975).

13. This phase of the documentary research can be traced thanks to the Institut Lumière archives: official reports; correspondence; editing document that gives a shot-by-shot description of the images edited in the film (see *infra*). This document is reproduced in Raskin, *"Nuit et brouillard" by Alain Resnais*.

14. This photograph came from a photo-report by two SS officers from the identification service on the Auschwitz ramp: it has gone down in history as the "Auschwitz album".

15. Jean Cayrol, *Les Lettres françaises*, February 9, 1956.

16. Statement by Jean Cassou during the Réseau du Souvenir General Assembly, December 19, 1953 (National Archives, 72AJ2147).

17. Kept at the Institut Lumière.

18. See my analysis in *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire*, chapter 6, pp. 102–119, and the article "*Night and Fog*: A history of Gazes," 60–63.

19. Albrecht Dümling, "Musikalischer Kontrapunkt zur filmischen Darstellung des Schreckens. Hanns Eislers Musik zu 'Nuit et Brouillard ' von Alain Resnais," in *Kunst und Literatur nach Auschwitz*, ed. Manuel Köppen (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1993), 113–123.

20. Michael Schneider, *Den Kopf verkehrt aufgesetzt oder die melancholische Linke* (Darmstadt, Germany: Luchterhand, 1981).

21. The film's censorship records can be consulted at the CNC.

22. The Cercil d'Orléans recently made this discovery thanks to a collection of photographs from Jacques Sigot. I want to thank Nathalie Grenon and Catherine Thion from the Cercil for this information.

23. *France-Observateur*, April 12, 1956.

24. According to Henry Rousso's expression in *The Vichy Syndrome*: *History and Memory in France since 1944*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994).

25. *Le Monde*, December 19, 1979.

26. For details about this affair, see Lindeperg, *Nuit et Brouillard. Un film dans l'histoire*, chapter 10.

27. For the international distribution of *Nuit et Brouillard*, see also Ewout van der Knaap, ed., *Uncovering the Holocaust. The International Reception of* Night and Fog (London: Wallflower Press, 2006). For the analysis of the German translations: Jörg Frieß, "Das Blut ist geronnen. Die Münder sind verstummt? Die zwei deutschen Synchronfassungen von *Nuit et Brouillard*," *Filmblatt* 10, 28 (fall 2005): 40–57.

28. Argos Films archives, Institut Lumière.

29. Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv archives—DRA—in Babelsberg.

30. The German original and the French translation of the title, *Les Années de plomb* ("the leaden times" or "years of lead"), refer to Hölderlin's poem "Der Gang aufs Land" and to the 1950s decade in Germany, characterized by repression of guilt over Nazism (Editors' note).

31. The introductory sentence of the American text is inspired by Cayrol's "These shots were taken a moment before an extermination."

32. For the filming of the trial, see Sylvie Lindeperg and Annette Wieviorka, "The Two Scenes of the Eichmann Trial," *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 63, no. 6 (November–December 2008): 1249–1274; Sylvie Lindeperg and Annette Wieviorka, *Univers concentrationnaire et génocide. Voir, savoir, comprendre* (Paris: Fayard/Mille et Une nuits, 2008).

33. With the consent of Florence Dauman and Chris Marker, I presented *Henchman Glance* in March 2011 at the "Cinéma du Réel" at Beaubourg, as part of the Hurwitz retrospective.

34. Ruth Klüger, *Weiter Leben* (Göttingen Wallstein Verlag, 1992).

35. Walter Benjamin, *Paris, the Capital of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 463.

Part II

Modes of Production

6

Stress Aesthetics and Deprivation Payroll Systems

John T. Caldwell

The working conditions and production cultures of Hollywood are tightly and interactively woven together with film and television working conditions in many other parts of the world. In *Production Culture*, I argued that the *de facto* mission of Hollywood production's "race to the bottom" in the new millennium and the age of user-generated content has been "to acquire content for little or nothing and to get everyone to work for free."[1] Consider how this mantra resonates with the following recent disclosure by an Indian worker, who describes current working conditions for VFX "artists" in South Asia:

> There is a disturbing trend in India for the past couple years . . . where VFX artists are forced to work for "experience" or "goodwill" . . . in "apprentice" or "training" positions. These apprenticeships usually last for a period ranging between 3–9 months and are generally unpaid. Some companies at the end of the term of these apprenticeships cut loose the interns stating reasons of "insufficient quality" or the more popular "We just don't have any projects going on right now . . . We'll call you." OR They might consider extending your training to an extra three months or more, if you choose to remain unpaid for the duration . . . You will have to repeat the whole process when you join another studio, because experience certificates and references are non-existent here (unless the studio exec is your close personal friend/relation). It appears that cheap labor isn't good enough, now the labor is required to be free . . . The end result being that the companies, get an almost inexhaustible pool of FREE Labor, allowing them to turn essentially a profit without Cost of production overhead in terms of labor.

When unpaid production workers (or their families) are required to cover all of their living expenses, they are in effect subsidizing their corporate employers for the "privilege" of working for them for free. This odd self-subsidizing arrangement with labor guarantees that production work—in Hollywood, Europe, or anywhere, for that matter—will continue to migrate endlessly across national borders in attempts to find new pools of lower-cost labor aspirants. What sort of

production worker can compete or bid against this sort of implicit indentured servitude? Notably, the high-tech professional writing the above prescient online account of his company's shift from "cheap" labor to "free" (or self-subsidized) labor works in India for the transnational media firm Prime Focus. Prime Focus is a company that distributes and harvests creative work transnationally. It does this by segmenting and delegating various components of its larger big-budget VFX projects (conceptual art, design, animation, texture mapping, rendering, etc.) across the company's network of international operations, from its headquarters in London and Los Angeles.[2] These transnational media companies do not limit their new *de facto* "no pay for creative work" policy to a few locales either, since the exploitation practices described above take place in various locations.[3]

While a political-economic critique of corporate conglomeration certainly fits the bleak scenario outlined above, I want in this chapter to push beyond such a macro-critique in order to understand the local conditions and cultural scenarios that enable, facilitate, and legitimize our increasing shift to blackmailed or unpaid creative work. Knowing that such work practices are bad fails to explain why such practices persist. Closely mining the local work practices and cultural economies that prop these schemes up reveals a great deal about something more counterintuitive: how and why participants in these exploitative environments facilitate and fuel their own economic self-exploitation.

I argue in this chapter that creating and working for free results from three interrelated broad-based circumstances: first, the perpetuation of underfunding and deprivation as commonplace production conditions; second, the increasing articulation of "stress aesthetics" to demonstrate exceptionalism, a posture adopted to justify production deprivation within difficult circumstances; and third, the shift from financial payroll systems to complex cultural and symbolic payroll systems (something I refer to as "deprivation pay" and "compensatory production"), which effectively prop up and give substance and credibility to claims that stressed conditions are artistically exceptional. In some ways, this chapter attempts to "map" such trends across three connected levels: the industrial, the cultural, and the economic. Industrially and internationally, deprivation and stress are ever present in production due to claims of underfunding. Even beyond DIY, "low-," or "no-budget" filmmaking, blockbuster films regularly exceed their budgets and run deficits, making trade accounts of on-set activities sometimes read like corporate soap operas. Culturally, production communities respond to this industrial condition in one of three ways: either they accept stressed conditions without labor resistance or critical meta-commentary, or they critique stressed conditions through para-textual meta-commentary or worker push-back, or they rationalize and justify production stress—not as a debility—but as a profitable catalyst and resource for innovation. After describing these three interconnected levels in the sections that follow, I will return at the end to consider some more fundamental questions about how determining the connections are between the economic and the aesthetic. Much attention has been directed toward "precarious" creative labor in recent years. Yet much less attention has been directed toward the cultural apparatus that props up these conditions, and that rationalize stress aesthetics as a profitable "value-added" economic condition. That is the focus in this chapter.

First Level: Industrial Conditions (Production Deprivation as Commonplace)

Current public justifications for stressed conditions in mainstream Hollywood and high-end Indian VFX work (usually blamed on stiff competition, risky capitalization, and technical obsolescence) are common in large European transnational coproduction discourses. Yet these mainstream discourses share some counterintuitive affinities with various supposedly more "independent" or "local" contemporary film production practices in both Europe and the Americas as well. These latter affinities include odd parallels with the suffering, "against-all-odds" rhetoric of various "counter-cinemas," including Espinosa's "imperfect cinema" championed in Third World filmmaking, the manifesto-based Dogme 95 movement in Denmark, and its extension, the "Advance Party" film production initiative in Scotland.[4] Mette Hjort has shown how and why Dogme 95 and the Advance Party have succeeded or failed by converting and individuating their "vows of chastity" and "small cinema" aesthetic principles into global marketing initiatives.[5] But Hjort also finds production constraints fundamental to the artistic success of many "small-nations cinemas." Petr Szczepanik explains, in practical *unexceptional* terms, that production austerity held true for many European cinemas, "from their beginnings and especially after the coming-of-sound when studio rentals sky-rocketed." To illustrate, he underscores that "the average studio shooting of a feature film in Czechoslovakia in the 1930s lasted only 8–10 days (imagine how many shots they did per day)!"[6] While many of my American fieldwork informants complain of alienation when facing similar deprivation strategies and stressful constraints on creativity while working in mainstream "professional" production worlds today, others, from "lower-caste" production genres (infomercials, reality videos, and soft-core production), simply acknowledge low budgets with resignation as a kind of predictable, inevitable natural law. No director or editor ever seems to have enough time or money to finish a film or series properly. Yet above this general industrial malaise, however, some producers and firms market their production austerity to the trades not just as an index of profitability, but as a marker of cultural distinction. It is the latter practice—the promotion of "stress aesthetics" as an exceptional accomplishment that fuels innovative screen content—that lies at the heart of my research in this chapter. In the pages that follow, after mapping how stress aesthetics works in one work sector of mainstream production (some of which aligns well with European production, while some of it does not), I will return at the end of this chapter to a more general appraisal of the institutional and cultural implications of stress aesthetics in media production.

One Emmy-winning editor, Scott Willingham, clearly invokes the impoverished, desperate world of outsider "indie" production in his genealogy of where quality A-List post-production comes from:

> As I moved up, I found myself working on a lot of documentaries—and a lot of very low budget ones at that—where the footage was so minimal, where we had to create sequences from was so minimal that we had to break a lot of rules just to make the scene work . . . It was good training for what I'm doing now. We had to scrape and

scratch to make things happen. Because of that . . . you try a lot of things . . . and the rules go out the window.[7]

Accordingly, innovation comes from breaking the rules, which is an almost obligatory part of most underfunded documentaries. Rule-breaking is especially necessary when directors fail to film from enough different angles and provide enough traditional shot "coverage" to enable the editor to cover over technical problems and continuity errors.

A worker from yet another production craft, cinematography, DP Scott Palazzo, describes his boot-camp genesis in music video production as quintessentially chaotic and without any form of systematic intention:

> Because of the tightness of budgets . . . we were more innovative, trying to do a TV show with no preproduction, no scripting, no blocking, so the camera movement and crossing the line and not shooting traditionally really lent well to the need to get the work done and in the time frame that we were asked to do it in. They gave us plenty of creativity and license and . . . it was hard to do something wrong.[8]

Although these retrospective explanations create a picture of managed, forced sloppiness, the anecdotal posturing of deprivation, early-career suffering, and dues-paying in play here also enables workers to legitimize their craft's long struggle to achieve institutional cultural recognition.

Digital technologies and computerized efficiency and speed in postproduction have also ramped up the *pace of filming and work speed* on a set. As long as production's workflow was tied to 35mm film, DPs and directors advanced their careers by mastering low shooting ratios using fewer shots. This efficiency allowed for formulaic coverage on the set and predictable cutting in post. Computerized AVIDs and then FCP systems, however, allowed the same-size team of editors to view, process, and manage far more, *huge amounts*, of raw footage. Traditional Moviola, Steenbeck, and KEM film editors simply could not manage material of this scale and complexity. This volume capability on the back end of a production simultaneously encouraged directors and DPs to shoot and experiment more on the set. It is no coincidence that the shift to largely hand-held, multi-camera shooting took center stage in primetime dramas like *NYPD Blue*, *Homicide*, *24*, *The Shield*, and *Friday Night Lights* at the same time that editing became fully computerized. Switching away from cameras locked down on tripods or dollies (and the rigid shot lists that went with them) to documentary-style "over-shooting" would normally be suspect, however, for budgetary reasons.[9] This new, shortened-and-accelerated improvisational mode only works however if directors are willing to distribute or delegate more framing decisions to handheld operators and more shot choices to editors. Two factors make this new frantic mode possible: editing's computerized sophistication combined with recessionary pressures to reduce physical production costs and shorten shooting schedules. Producers, directors, and viewers get more art for their buck, but economic pressures to create ever more screen content using fewer shooting days and dollars also stress creative professionals in acute ways.

Beyond accelerated work speed, producers and executives have exploited blurred and *collapsed workflows* to realize the economic benefits of stress aesthetics.[10] Traditional workflows between production and postproduction involved a linear, serial sequence of discrete tasks and progress benchmarks. Shooting followed set-building and lighting, logging followed recording or filming, fine-cutting followed rough-cutting, effects were added late in post, etc. Digital confuses this sequencing by allowing post activities to bleed into earlier production phases, and production activities to seep into traditional postproduction environments. Now, visual effects supervisors commonly meet and plan with a producer and director at the earliest stages of a project's script development. With this preemptive invasion of *post* functions into *pre*-production, who now can claim to be responsible "for the overall look of a production"? Traditionally this role was standardized and claimed (in different ways) by two long-standing crafts: the DP (director of photography) and the production designer (or art director). Adding the VFX supervisor to preproduction, however, means that there are now frequently three cooks in the kitchen wrestling over the stylistic recipe. Budget-tightening producers typically respond to comparable "too-many-cooks-in-the-kitchen" labor redundancies in the below-the-line crafts, by cutting out one or more of the competing craft worker functions.[11] Nasty inter-craft conflict typically ensues.

Finally, digital technologies create greater industry pressures to *expand "workscope,"* sometimes referred to as production *multitasking.* As postproduction and effects work shrank to computer "workstation" scale, and digital filming and dailies morphed into data management, individuals using the new equipment face a set of options unheard of under the old labor agreements. As they have always done, *unions* continue their push to segregate and distribute tasks among postproduction workers, so that rough-cutters cut, sound designers do sound, effects artists make effects, timers time, and online editors finish program masters. Yet, recently, a countervailing force has pushed back in the opposite direction. Hardware and software companies have loaded each computer workstation and software package with a mind-numbing assortment of options and once-segregated tasks.[12]

Admittedly, *A-list* production still *distributes* graphics, effects, sound, and timing tasks out to contracted specialists in those areas. But producers in middle- and low-budget production inevitably create pressures on their workers to use and incorporate the bells and whistles, even if they lie outside of the worker's specializations. To wit, reality TV and dating shows are largely created in postproduction by interns and production assistants using FCP and Adobe Premiere. Again, the shortcut. As in any sector, multitasking stresses workers and undercuts control and focused fine-tuning. In addition, the boundary-crossing inherent in multitasking creates *inter-craft* contention. This inter-craft strife combines with disruptive changes in economy and technology to impact what viewers see on screen.

While the popularization of Lars von Trier's Dogme 95 deprivation-celebrating manifesto quickly found devotees and disciples among likeminded European filmmakers, film school students everywhere, and underfunded film aspirants

struggling to break into the transnational film scene, the celebration of deprivation proved a much tougher sell to workers in the American industrial context. In Hollywood, as one might expect, a large gap exists between the theorists and apologists of stress aesthetics at the top of the production food chain (producers, directors, DPs, and department heads, few of whom posture like Von Trier), and the craftspersons that work for them. One of the best examples that reveals a fuller, darker, countervailing picture of the outcomes and implications of stress aesthetics was the "12 On/12 Off" job safety campaign being waged throughout the industry in Los Angeles in the mid-2000s by below-the-line workers.[13] Sobering tales of loyal production workers (with many years' "working up the AC ladder") who died "after 19-hour work day(s)" set the stage.[14] Alarming anecdotes about worker death circulated on-set and online among below-the-line workers. For above-the-line executives, however, the campaign buffered its confrontational posture by making more measured suggestions about how workers might deal diplomatically (rather than confrontationally) with network and studio executives and reactionary producers. The implicit "soft-resistance" logic: agitate under the radar but remain user friendly in the quasi-public sphere of the producer's set.[15] The gaffers, grips, and electricians behind 12 On/12 Off rightly recognized the dangers of pushing too hard against the studios and networks, which could easily find substitutes to replace them.

Other worker complaints pushed back online against the implementation and popularization of stress aesthetics. This worker blowback underscored the physical risks from equipment that workers and operators face, and complained that producers exacerbated such risks through the accelerated work speed inherent in stressful production environments. These physiological downsides ranged from "common slips and falls," and "ruptured disks" and "spinal injuries," to electrocution.[16] The online blowback also demonstrated solidarity across crafts, as when camera operators complained about how and why "hearing loss" and deafness is a job risk for the sound recordist.[17] Such debilitating consequences may in some ways be inevitable, since film/video location production involves physically demanding work for many crew members. But stress aesthetics—implemented through collapsed workflows, accelerated work speed, and expanded work scope—simply ramps up the incidence of these physiological disabilities. Mental health stressors accompany the physical traumas described above. The cramped quarters and long hours of the digital sweatshop, for example, cultivate emotional stress and psychological anxiety among below-the-line workers. Such bleak conditions and job-related pathologies persist in large measure because of constant cultural rationalizations at a higher level, which I examine in the next section of my model.

Second Level: Cultural Justifications (Rationalizing Deprivation as "Stress Aesthetics")

One of the oddest recurring themes I have confronted in my fieldwork over the last decade has been the penchant of various managers and producers to voluntarily

cut budgets and shooting days even when they have bigger budgets and longer shooting schedule at their disposal. One would think that producers would deploy the greatest amount of resources and time at their disposal in order to put the most quality production value up on the screen, at least in amply budgeted A-List Hollywood. Yet this is not regularly the case. One producer/director brags about his frantic scheduling: "We shoot 'em in 7 days. We're reckless. We light fast. We shoot fast . . . We'll find a way to capture it . . . We just shoot like crazy. And that's our whole M.O." Although this remark smacks of callous capitalism, further explanation betrays it as a managerial spur used to kick-start an innovative aesthetic in workers:

> We had the opportunity to do 8-day shows . . . Don't spread it around. But we didn't want to [give the crew an extra day for shooting]. Because the energy you get from desperate filmmaking . . . It's completely creative . . . You become ingenious because you have to. And the cast knows it . . . They bring an energy to the set, knowing that we are going to shoot 8-plus pages a day. There's something visceral about that. So the choice was made, "no, we'll suffer." And we'll shoot fast and desperate and hopefully that will get on screen.[18]

Another award-winning producer/director confessed that he voluntarily speeded up work in his filmed series as well, and mocked the stale results of lazy, big-budget features:

> We could have shot everything [they] did there in a month in the equivalent of two days [here on *24*]. And it would have been better. [In television] you're under the gun all the time. And it's harder for us . . . it's a very long season. We come up against it because of the air-dates. It gets really tight . . . It's really high energy. You have to come in, you have to move quick. I think [the rapid shooting pace] helps the show. I really do.[19]

According to these accounts, stylistic and narrative innovation result from induced stress, something that big-budget widescreen "cinema" fails to achieve. Here, the director takes great pleasure in underscoring the lazy, unproductive results of amply scheduled big-budget filmmaking, which he contrasts to the frantic but committed production process and sophisticated stylistic results of "quality" primetime television filmmaking. Not unlike Dogme 95 and the Advance Party, this proud tale of "asceticism" mocks big-screen cinema and cultivates the sense that the best work takes place "outside" the sluggish big-screen studio factories, where stressed production somehow *logically* leads to artistic breakthroughs, awards, and critical distinction.

This basic narrative premise—that low budgets, long hours, and frantic working are "the mother of invention"—circulates broadly among mainstream production personnel. Music video production and independent, no-budget documentary regularly serve as the vocational sites in which successful artists first learned this secret to stress as artistry. Many camera operators and editors, for example, talk of learning their craft in the largely nonunion world of very low-budget independent documentaries when they began their careers.

The Spartan-like conditions of these "artists' boot camps" allowed for (a) the time needed to learn, make mistakes, and master the rigorous skills of the craft; and (b) the experience of constant "rule-breaking" due to poor preproduction planning, small shooting ratios, and, typically, woefully inadequate camera coverage.

Despite such ample evidence of the medical and physiological downsides of creative work stress, ostensible "advocates" for film and TV production workers in the United States also invoke *academic* critical theory to justify their interventions and habits. The veteran producer and author of one widely used compendium detailing union rules and signatory agreements for production makes a counterintuitive argument. Apparently fearful that producers might resist the illogical wisdom of scheduling and shooting over *fewer* days, he argues: "[Scheduling fewer shooting days] removes some of the creative flexibility in their minds. But we know from aesthetics philosophers that limitation is a great impetus for the creation of art. So if we give them good guidelines, the quality of the product might very well improve."[20] This industrial theorist invokes and underscores the paradigm that physical imitations create the very conditions for innovation, even as it enhances corporate profits for producers as well. Ironically, this *business* theory (i.e., that hardships create efficiencies and profits) proves to be very congruent with the against-all-odds *practitioner* genres and the war stories that production workers tell to the trades and each other to create solidarity. Yet aesthetic talk and cultural rationalizations by themselves at this second level—no matter how concerted or determined—cannot prop up the bleak physical conditions of production indefinitely. A bigger, deeper cultural-economic system at a third, or higher, level must return some real or tangible gratifications to self-subjugated creative workers. It is to this third level that my analysis now turns.

Third Level: Deprivation Pay (Symbolic Payroll Systems That Prop Up Stress Aesthetics)

If the labor of film/television production is as alienating and stressful as many of the professionals described above claim, then why do those same workers continue to grow in number and flood the mediascape with vast amounts of new content, much of it impressively realized? After all, no one is holding a gun to their heads, forcing alienated production artists to work long hours against their will. Answering this question requires rethinking what media economics may mean, and forces upon us another question: how are these workers actually "paid" in forms other than economic capital (traditionally thought of as hourly wages, overtime, contracted fees, health benefits, retirement accounts, etc.)? Here is where one of the more interesting distinctions between Dogme 95 deprivation and Hollywood deprivation plays out. As I hope to show in the section that follows, commercial recognition stands as the ultimate public payoff for the Dogme 95 art-as-deprivation model. By contrast, artistic recognition stands as the ultimate, largely private payoff for Hollywood's economic deprivation model. In the Euro model, production austerity from the start poses as self-conscious artistic capital

(the best of alternatives, quality cinema), but this posture can be converted to commercial capital *if* branded and marketed effectively. In the American model, by comparison, frantic work poses as a logistical cul-de-sac and economic imperative (the worst of alternatives and production conditions), but this hopelessness can be converted into artistic capital if workers tirelessly accept such conditions and willingly "team" with management. Another way of saying this is that utopianism is institutionally prebuilt into the Dogme 95 deprivation model from the start. By contrast, utopian aspirations appear as the unlikely by-product presupposed by tireless suffering in the dystopia of Hollywood deprivation model. Interestingly, "long-odds" probabilities rule *both* forms of production asceticism: the Euro variant frames itself as a collective long shot (a local or national cinema concocted around a transportable cultural auteur); while the Hollywood variant appears as a vocational long shot for individual workers (precarious, non-transportable careers where rote lip service to craft authorship is inevitably overwhelmed by the collective industrial grind).

In my research, I categorize the production schemes described in the section that follows as forms of "compensatory production," a term I have adapted from Mark Andrejevic's concept of "compensatory consumption."[21] Unlike the "don't worry, be happy" ethos in "creative industries," apologists like Florida, scholars like Andrejevic and Carr ask questions about the relative alienation that occurs when consumers become hybrid "prosumers" or "prod-users" between production and consumption in a corporate social mediascape.[22] For some time, my research has focused on the *flip side* of this question: what happens when film/media professionals from the other side (the industry) slide into the same techno-social quagmire that mixes production and consumption?[23] While the film/media workers I interviewed would never self-identify as "prosumers," they do increasingly interact and overlap with prosumer turf (through social media, Twitter, underemployment, the obliteration of work and leisure distinctions, constant re-skilling, etc.).

In the second half of the chapter, I will sketch out the parameters of compensatory production—the systematic ways that cultural distinction is disbursed as surrogate pay forms to professionals—by describing what might be called the invisible or "erased artistic economies of production." With this I take a modest systems approach to understanding how the socio-professional conventions, reflexive cultural expressions, and habitual routines of production work have become *de facto* valuable parts of film and television production's labor payment system. A range of general economic and labor practices comprise the "symbolic payroll system" that I am postulating here. All of these factors are allied in that they provide surplus resources to productions that producers and executives never acknowledge as economic resources. I examine a more complete list of these cultural practices in more detail elsewhere, but want to highlight several features of the symbolic payroll economy here, which function to buffer and mitigate the downsides of stress aesthetics.[24]

The symbolic payroll system I am postulating must be understood in the context of the *oversupply of qualified labor and aspirants* seeking to enter and gain work in the film and television industries. This condition now accurately describes

and characterizes production cultures in India, London, and Toronto as much as it does Hollywood. Such an oversupply does not just pressure successful practitioners to lower wages and bids in order to win contract work. This vast, anxious worker pool has also fueled the development of a comparably huge film/TV meta-industry or "shadow industry" adept at financially mining the zealous, overcrowded aspirant pool. I regularly joke that there are more people making livings writing "how-to" books on screenwriting and "making it" in Los Angeles than there are professional screenwriters actually making it. There are more "experts" selling desperate aspirants on production-related products (services, events, publications, memberships, workshops, DVDs) promising to "reveal" the hidden aesthetic and technological tricks of new digital production tools, than professionals actually making respectable incomes using those same tools. Although lots of money changes hands, nothing is actually produced in this shadow industry—other than endless, churning critical and theoretical reflections on the nature of technologies, breakthrough performance, how to get representation, or how to create stylish, Sundance-capable first features with "no budgets."

What is the apparent law of this shadow industry? As the availability of creative work drops, the symbolism and talk about creative work increases. After all, workers with job security have little need to justify or constantly theorize about what they are doing and why, or to claim that they are artists or "authors." Yet underemployed workers and unemployed aspirants are stuck with the unenviable task of constantly convincing others about how and why they are artists, why their skills are exceptional even though they are not working, why they bring creative distinction and deserve employment. Without actual work, that is, the well-oiled shadow industry stimulates—for a fee—the vast aspirant pool to master rhetorical justifications, imaginary productions, and personal authorial "brands." More than just crude hustling and self-promotion, vocational artistic self-crediting lies at the heart of this now-obligatory rule, that everyone in production should develop a "personal brand" to survive.

Although aspirants and the underemployed struggle in these ways to assign themselves credit in order to make it out of Hollywood's "shadow industry" into the "real industry," even successful over-employed or overworked professionals must now increasingly bankroll cultural capital by claiming artistic credit as well. Specifically, the practice of *contract labor and outsourcing* FX and CGI work to nonunion digital and postproduction "boutiques" has changed the traditional balance between craft work and the rhetorical justifications that work in these sectors is artistic. Many CGI, animation, and FX artists and editors have accepted high daily rates as a consequence of working within transnational Hollywood's nonunion "off-worlds." These "boutiques" are increasingly viewed as "sweatshops," as I have detailed elsewhere, in part because there are few protections about long working hours and stressful conditions.[25] Because this huge nonunion workforce is largely invisible, sequestered away in scores of subcontracting firms, those same firms have resorted to a range of innovative management initiatives that constantly intend to counter anonymity and alienation by underscoring that these workers are "artists" and not "laborers." These aesthetic-managerial socio-professional rituals provide a kind of symbolic payment intended to convince the

firm's work "talent" to stay "on the team." These forms of *symbolic payment and cultural credit* include free time on firm workstations to "experiment," contests between workers to produce non-sponsored spec projects, mini-film festivals and shootouts, and sabbatical leaves to allow "burned-out" 26-year-old digital workers to rediscover their inner vision as artists.[26] Much as antiunion Disney symbolically offered his workers "artist" status in exchange for low pay in the classical era, contemporary outsourced subcontractors cultivate their often amply paid but overworked employees as "authentic" noncommercial artists defined by personal vision. The apparent management logic in this stressed sector: the more anonymous the work being churned out, the more essential it is to "pay" workers for their alienating overtime with the marks and individual distinctions of artistry and authorship. In this cultural "overtime" scheme, payment in "authorial capital" substitutes for or augments payroll in economic capital.

In these configurations, communal *corporate attributions of artistry and cultural significance* compensate for the underpayment schemes inherent in stress aesthetics. Other below-the-line labor practices involve *personal self-crediting of artistry and cultural significance*. Self-attribution and self-crediting both function as potential forms of symbolic or cultural capital. Consider in this regard the corollary dynamic that percolates with even more anxiety and futility to the lowest rung in the production food chain. Cadres of "tape loggers" in reality TV now labor invisibly in windowless off-world bunkers for one of TV's cheapest, and thus most lucrative (for management), genres. Unlike their entry-level historical predecessors in the industry (nonpaid interns and low-paid PAs), reality tape loggers will never rise up out of these actual sweatshops and "make it" in the industry, even after many years of work. By contrast, at least entry-level PAs traditionally worked in physical proximity to "real" producers and directors. Thus, they could potentially learn the trade by observation, and if successful and lucky enough to be recognized or anointed by a mentor, embark on an industry career themselves. Reality tape loggers have neither this close physical proximity nor any connection with legitimate "insiders." Yet, true to form, the resolute physical isolation and alienation of reality tape loggers does not stop these college grads and just-off-the-bus aspirants from writing "spec" scripts, plotting to make no-budget features, and attending costly how-to-make-it workshops in Hollywood's largely symbolic and virtual shadow industry. Perhaps as a form of compensating survival therapy, vocational hopelessness and dead-end industry sectors like this are in fact fertile breeding grounds that spur the often-desperate development—and public performance—of personal artistic self-crediting. Exercises in virtual or imagined artistic credit of this sort—a form of therapeutic semiotic compensation—may be necessary for psychological survival among Hollywood's "untouchables" in the lowest caste of the industry: reality TV production.

Four other industrial conditions help spur cultural assertions of artistic creditworthiness, and these can all be usefully understood under the broader framework of *production's invisible economies*. Without question, the budget numbers and math reported in the trades about the costs of a production seldom represent reality. And this factor goes beyond the term "Hollywood accounting," which cynically presupposes the habitual ways that studios hide and charge their long-term

(non-project-specific) infrastructure costs in the guise of line-item costs on project-specific production budgets. I refer instead here to all the unnamed forms of "social capital" (value from social networks, organization, and interpersonal relations) and "cultural capital" (value from marks of cultural distinction, class origins, and educational pedigree) that producers leverage to make a film or television series economically viable today. Executives, producers, and their accountants *never* quantify these invisible social and cultural economies in public—nor do they admit they exist. Yet they do.

Barter-and-trade labor practices provide one form of invisible capital to a wide range of productions. Because of the overpopulated and desperate job market, and the importance of cultivating informal hiring networks, many workers volunteer or donate their work or expertise to productions that have the potential (1) to give them higher marks of cultural distinction (such as a low-budget art feature intended for Sundance, or a social issue documentary with award potential); or (2) to implicitly require the recipients of their donated labor to reciprocate by giving production labor or expertise back to themselves (thus preemptively obligating the recipient to future "payback"). Both the "shadow industry" described earlier, and the "real industry" are flooded by "spec" projects (written or produced without funding) and free labor (given to projects, sometimes in exchange for food and credits, or to simply add to one's CV or filmography). Accountants do not ever convert this value—derived from social relations and cultural interactions—into economic capital, even though social and cultural capital clearly allow producers to realize increased levels of production value. Another work-world practice, *dues paying*, also produces excess value that can be gleaned and used to enhance production. The career premise behind it: grovel and suffer endlessly now for the chance to score big later. Deferred gratification, therefore, is not just a psychodynamic characteristic of certain viewers (such as first-generation immigrant parents, or those within communities informed by the "Protestant work ethic"). Deferred gratification among production workers also provides lots of worker capital to producers who monetize it even if they do not have to pay for it.

Latent, informal, or off-book funders represent another type of invisible production economy. Tens of thousands of individual aspirants in Los Angeles, from their twenties through middle age, are only able to survive and pursue deferred career gratification because they are secretly supported by unacknowledged patrons. Beyond "trust funders," and "kept" individuals, this category includes the adult children of wishful parents, stage mothers (and fathers), and the partners of girlfriends, boyfriends, and working spouses. The very availability of this large labor force to production companies results from the ubiquitous infusion of unacknowledged off-book capital that production accounts never itemize. Another variant of production's invisible economies and symbolic payroll system comes in the form of *erased familial capital*, where privilege is frequently embedded in production budgets, not always with camouflage, as a result of nepotism.[27]

These various economic and sociocultural practices all suggest that the below-the-line work sector functions figuratively as a kind of "artistic credit brokerage." Following this paradigm, producers pursue "value" (economic capital) by leveraging (1) cultural capital (marks of individual distinction, crediting, and scarcity)

and (2) social capital (informal networks based on patronage, payback, and the reciprocal "gifting" of labor). This "tactical" world of micro-artistic economics can also be usefully seen in the context of the broader system in which it works, that is, as a countervailing set of actions that undercut and fight back against the incessant blurring and strategic *erasure* by above-the-line executives of individual artistic below-the-line contributions, credit, or craft signatures in the system as a whole.

Even the collective psycho-dynamics of a production crew—whether in a soundstage, on location, or in postproduction—can be understood as part of this "substitute" microeconomic artistic payroll system. For example, everyone on set and in a production firm believes they are working way below his or her "skill set" and at unfair wage levels. Lots of NYU alums and Harvard grads, for example, are "still getting coffee" and working as poorly paid assistants long after their career road maps projected they would be moving up. This results in pervasive forms of individual dissatisfaction and resentment—which in turn creates an undercurrent of often unspoken adversarial pressures during a production. Like flack, these tactical artistic crediting/discrediting pressures can covertly obscure or undercut upper-level control schemes and top-down authorial fantasies. In the microeconomic terms of my model, these tactical worker credit/discredit schemes can either add (as a positive externality), or subtract (as a negative externality), economic value from the production enterprise as a whole.

The Bigger Picture? (Exploitation, Alienation, and the "Control Society")

For every once-employed production worker who complains today that Hollywood majors are outsourcing work transnationally to cheap sweatshops that make their entering employees pay the employers for the privilege of working,[28] there is a higher-level industry figure that tries to justify the practice, to calm the agitated production worker herd down by convincing them that agitation, confrontation, and stress are not only the historical norm but also the very key to film and television's artistic accomplishment: "Artistic activity is totally ruthless. Everything is sacrificed to get the shot. Or making the picture. Or making a point."[29] Churning underneath this top-down labor-aesthetic argument, however, is a vast labor pool of outsourced workers who vigorously reject the *prescriptive* nature of stress aesthetics. Recent examples of this push-back include the Visual Effects Society (VES), which publicly announced its earnest but wishful "VES Bill of Rights" in earshot of the studios and networks that continue to contract and arguably "exploit" them. These posted demands include "[the right to] An appropriate and certifiable credit" and "[the right to] Show their work after the project is commercially released for the purpose of securing more work." By no logic or measure whatsoever can either of these modest claimed "rights" (an on-screen credit and a complimentary personal video copy) be viewed as unreasonable requests! Yet, amazingly, American studios and networks currently refuse to grant *either* of these symbolic rights as a rule to the highly skilled, profitable, and proven VES workers they currently "hire" by contract. The fact that so many workers are still

willing to rationalize their stress predicament as long as they are eventually "paid" overtime with some kind of symbolic form of capital (comparable to a meager on-screen credit and clips for a personal demo reel) proves that the industry's symbolic payroll system is still very much intact. Such a system provides the perverse terms under which anonymity, underpayment, and stress are daily exchanged and justified in recognition of artistic attribution, symbolic credit, and cultural capital.

Shifting from macroeconomic speculation about media industries to fieldwork within the local craft communities that actually produce the texts that we puzzle over makes one thing perfectly clear: artistic crediting and (substitute) cultural payment schemes are fundamental, systematized parts of the industry as a whole. In practice, such arrangements and symbolic attributions help buffer the excesses, mitigate the problems, and legitimize the management schemes that fuel stress aesthetics today. I began by questioning whether the stress aesthetic practices evident in my Hollywood production fieldwork are transportable or comparable to deprivation and stress aesthetic practices in other parts of the world—in India, Denmark, and Scotland. Although the explanations and rationales for deprivation and compensatory production may differ geographically, as discussed above, intense pressure to produce innovatively with ever-lower budgets and smaller crews is a growing transnational trend. To facilitate this trend, production workers in various parts of the world are *paid* in symbolic and cultural credit precisely because they are *underpaid* in financial or "real" capital. While I described this as an outgrowth of "hive-sourcing" and "outsourcing," something Carr characterizes as "unsourcing" or "sharecropping," others justify it as a helpful mutual exploitation akin to the value one adds to oneself through "business socializing" in other settings.[30] In concluding this chapter, I will consider the more general question of whether the "leveling down" I have described is fundamentally alienating and exploitative.

Whether or not the aspiration/deprivation/displacement cycle involved in stress aesthetics is good or not depends upon the stakeholder asking that question. Regardless, it seems increasingly true that ostensibly "good" and "bad" versions of "stress aesthetics" exist simultaneously not just in the United States, but in Denmark, Scotland, and India as well—since outsourcing, deprivation, and stressing are displacing older film/TV professionals in those contexts as well. While some optimistically see this as "leveling up," other media scholars like Vicki Mayer and Matthew Stahl characterize the current "erasure" of labor in the digital era as fundamentally alienating and exploitative.[31] My own North American fieldwork on precarious below-the-line production cultures, compensatory production, artistic payroll schemes, and off-the-job online worker–generated content strongly evokes Deleuze's theorization of the "control society."[32] Deleuze underscores two fundamental changes in the shift away from the "disciplinary society," which was based on *confinement*, to a society based on looser forms of *continuous control*: first, lifelong education involving constant monitoring, and, second, ubiquitous "instant communication."[33] The cultural and artistic payroll schemes, industrial reflexivity, and compensatory production outlined above fit Deleuze's first trait of endless self-education and monitoring. The "industrial promotional surround" and the online social media blowback and "worker-generated snark" (WGS as opposed

to UGC, or "user-generated content") I have researched elsewhere align closely with Deleuze's second control trait: instant communication.[34] Thus, both industrial practices, and the apparent overabundance of what Deleuze would dismiss as "meaningless" production worker expression in the mediascape seem to support the control theory, which Ulises Mejias summarizes as "an 'empowering' media that provides increased opportunities for communication, education and online participation, but which at the same time further isolates individuals and aggregates them into masses—more prone to control, and by extension more prone to discipline."[35] This is a dark picture of the new stressed world of production indeed.

This "control" theory fits *some* parts of stress aesthetics and compensatory production, and many self-disclosures and explanations by stressed production workers confirm this view. Yet control certainly does not fit or explain every instance of "productive" stress. This ill fit is due either to the universalizing ambitions of Deleuze's theory in general, or to the overapplication by scholars of Deleuze as a comprehensive or totalizing framework for interpretation. Rather than approach things through the philosophical, macroscopic scale of Deleuze's *epochal strategies*, I think it far better to build a production studies analytics that is more sensitive to the series of smaller-scale, more provisional, *institutional tactics* that surround and pervade production. This array of tactical perspectives can also include "control," but as one of many diverse and competing logics capable of explaining stress aesthetics on a more evidence-based, context-sensitive, culture-specific basis.

Scanning other contemporary theories suggests that control and exploitation appear clearly in the eye of the beholder. First, for some cultural institutions and bureaucracies—film festivals, film critics, scholars, creative economies' policy-makers, national cinemas' proponents, and artists—deprivation and stress aesthetics pose as novel, resistant, and enabling cultural strategies. Second, for many corporate players—executives, producers, bottom-feeding indie companies, reality TV productions, viral marketers, and opportunistic harvesters of user-generated content—deprivation and stress aesthetics serve as cost-effective content development and business strategies in a nasty Darwinian market world. Finally, a third set of stakeholders—increasingly underemployed union professionals, outsourced effects workers, volunteer production workers, unpaid production assistants and interns—experience deprivation and stress aesthetics very differently, as a demoralizing even if addictive, vocational nightmare.

Conclusion

I am arguing that scholars take an institutional approach to acknowledging and understanding these wide and disparate views and manifestations of stress aesthetics. Instead of explaining stress aesthetics with a one-size-fits-all category or general explanation, I propose that stress aesthetics functions not as an "open" or "floating signifier" but as an open or "floating cultural regime" that can be legitimized, justified, moved, institutionalized, and customized for many different social, political, and economic purposes. Approaching the problem this way

allows us to more clearly distinguish between coexistent but divergent interests. One coexistent variant includes those on the outside trying to "break in" to film and media, including the resource-less younger artists enrolled in both Danish and US film schools (like USC, NYU, UCLA), executives and officials branding and marketing "new" national cinemas in Denmark and elsewhere, Scottish cultural policy-makers funding Advance Party film productions to revive a cultural economy, and proponents of other "small nations cinemas" by local and marginalized groups. Another group includes the managerial class from "old media" that opportunistically hijacks art-world deprivation aesthetics to justify their flexible, exploitative labor management practices. The third and final group includes once-established working professionals displaced by the new peer production and outsourcing who betray no ambivalence in critiquing the deleterious human impact of stress aesthetics. All of these views actually coexist in the reflexive digital media and online chatter that now surrounds contemporary media production.

The three-level model I have described above—comprised of *industrial conditions* (deprivation as symptomatic), *cultural rationalizations* (stress as exceptional), and *symbolic-economic infrastructure* (propping up via deprivation "pay" and exchanges of cultural capital)—follows from my view that stress aesthetics functions as a complex, integrated system. Yet this very interconnectedness between levels raises questions of causality and determination, specifically whether stress aesthetics would be possible without free or unpaid labor, or whether the economics are a necessary condition of the aesthetics. The unfortunate brilliance of the stress aesthetic apparatus is that it functions as a relatively open system of exchange. And this is perhaps a key to its current popularity (and insidiousness). That is, it provides user-friendly terms and benign tropes that even competing or antagonistic parties can agree upon and appropriate for very different or divergent ends: production labor and management, Hollywood and small nations cinemas, mainstream and counter-media. While the sobering facts of economics, disparities of wages and incomes, and the limitations of physical work worlds and accelerated workflows can be unavoidably brutal and resolute, "art," by contrast, is a soft, "slippery," adaptable, and malleable discourse indeed. The questions should not necessarily be "who is sticking it to the workers with these aesthetic lies," or whether aspiring media-makers and the unpaid interns that Perlin describes are using Disney to get ahead in their careers or being used by the cold conglomerate to increase Disney's profit margins.[36] Both of these motives and many other dynamics are usually involved in these relationships. This is why this chapter has not tried to nail down the culprit behind precarious labor, in definitive, final terms. Rather, my research attempts to better understand something far more important yet provisional: why we as creative subjects and cultural workers continue to *voluntarily* participate in our own apparent subjugation within the new, flexible, neoliberal economies. Arguably, the only way this question can be credibly answered is by deconstructing and better understanding the symbolic economy and exchanges of cultural capital that allow us our genuine personal gratifications—real benefits that increasingly come to us alongside less enabling forms of deferred economic gratification, to which they now seem inextricably linked.

In some ways the net effect and logic of stress aesthetics all boils down to whether one self-identifies as an "artist" (who endures stress and defers gratification to achieve a longer-term personal vision), a "worker" (who endures stress and provides a service but for an immediate wage), or an "entrepreneur" (who endures stress and defers gratification as part of a speculative investment and long-term financial payoff). Making something creative from nothing, against all odds with few resources, has long been a defining principle and badge of honor in modernist art-making, cubist collage, Dadaist assemblage, neorealism, avant-garde film, "imperfect cinema," "Third Cinema," and indigenous media-making long before either Dogme 95 or the Hollywood executive hacks, who now use it to keep well-trained legions of the production precariat on a very short employment leash. I hope to have added something basic to the discussion. That is, the idea that while stress aesthetics may have been preemptively fabricated as an artistic practice capable of branding a national or Third Cinema in Latin America, Denmark, and Scotland for subsequent distribution in transnational media environments, stress aesthetics in other production cultures (like Hollywood and Mumbai) appears as a retrospective justification for cost-cutting pure and simple. Sadly, the major transnational corporate conglomerates are as good at *rationally monetizing* stress aesthetics for economic reasons as film festivals, critics, and auteurs are at *critically rationalizing* it for cultural reasons.

Notes

1. For extended discussion of these principles, see John Caldwell, "Hive-sourcing Is the New Out-sourcing: Studying Old (Industrial) Labor Habits in New (Consumer) Labor Clothes," *Cinema Journal* 49, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 160–167; for a different context, see also my chapter "Conclusion," in *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2008).
2. This segmentation and distribution of VFX work into international subunits aligns perfectly with Toby Miller et al.'s model of NICL (or "new international cultural division of labor") as outlined in *Global Hollywood* (London: BFI, 2001).
3. These locations include Mumbai, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Chandigarh, and Chennai in India, and Florida in the United States. This assertion is taken from an online discussion by an anonymous (cited as "redacted" to protect identity from backlash) Indian VFX artist posted at http://www.cgtantra.com/forums/showthread.php?t=12993, accessed November 26, 2011.
4. For an example of a deprivation aesthetics championed by radical academic critics, see Julio Espinosa, "For an Imperfect Cinema," trans. Julianne Burton, *Jump Cut*, no. 20 (1979): 24–26. For a later iteration of this against-all-odds deprivation stance (production ascetics, but without the Marxist politics), see Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, eds, *Purity and Provocation: Dogma 95* (London: BFI Publishing 2003).
5. On this point, see especially Mette Hjort, *Small Nation, Global Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); and Mette Hjort, "The Conditions under Which Small Cinemas Thrive," *Mediascape* (Winter 2012), accessed October 9, 2012, http://www.tft.ucla.edu/mediascape/Winter2011_SmallCinemas.html.

6. From personal communications with the author, January 20, 2013. I thank Petr for generously suggesting how the stress aesthetics I researched in contemporary mainstream Hollywood aligns with certain film practices elsewhere in Europe.

7. This interview with Scott Willingham (*X-Files*, *24*) was conducted at Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS), Los Angeles, CA, on October 30, 2003.

8. Interview conducted at Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS), Los Angeles, CA, on October 30, 2003.

9. That is, shooting more typically costs more. Since producers habitually push for ever-greater cost savings, some counter-saving was needed to make up for the over-shooting. The solution involved an odd combination: actors and cameras interacted more improvisationally on the set, during much longer, multi-camera documentary takes. But this continuous shooting enabled crews to use far fewer camera and lighting setups, which have always been the costliest slowdown factors in production budgeting. This accelerated shooting mode fits the new ensemble dramas as well, where multiple character arcs and subplots are now always in motion alongside of each other. The result, ironically, has been that drama production has become more like *improvisational theater*, shot in a *documentary* mode acclaimed by television critics for its edgy *cinematic* qualities.

10. For a more detailed discussion of this, see my article from which the next two paragraphs were adapted: "Breaking Ranks: Backdoor Workforces, Messy Workflows, and Craft Disaggregation," *Journal of Popular Communication* 8, no. 3 (2010): 221–226.

11. For example, as Hollywood TV shifts from film mags and videotape recording to removable digital hard drives and solid-state computer cards as recording devices on the set, who now handles and organizes the footage in preparation for post? The traditional AC/loader, the video-assist operator, or the newly defined "data wranglers" or "DITs"? Production now feels more like digital "IT management" than traditional "photography," and this unsettles many workers. In both of these workflow examples, a single new digital function threatens two existing job descriptions.

12. To take but one example, no longer limited to their original editing task, Avid, Final Cut Pro, and Adobe Premiere software now boast capabilities in almost every area of production *and* postproduction, save actual shooting. Adobe and Avid devote huge segments of their software to the once discrete tasks of: sound design, digitizing and transfer, logging, CGI and digital effects work, 2D and 3D animation, title graphics, rough-cutting, online cutting, ADR, colorizing and timing, standards conversion, camera and deck control, encoding for online web applications and mobile media, and DVD design, authoring, and burning. This represents an overwhelming set of competing user tasks that once were jobbed out to separate specialists or production companies. Additionally, most Avid/Adobe users probably use less than 3 percent of the software's capabilities at any given time, and those who want to master all of Avid/Adobe face months and years of formal training to do so. This makes the software a far cry from the hardware that it obsoletes. Any apprentice editor could learn to operate an upright Moviola in a week or two. "Real editors" once dismissed this extra digital stuff as useless "bells and whistles" and pretentious "eye candy." Yet computer software now makes each bundled capability as sophisticated—and state of the art—as any of the others.

13. 12 On/12 Off was a grassroots practitioner movement aimed at compelling studios, producers, and unit production managers (UPMs) to limit workdays to 12 hours maximum, with 12 hours off, for turnaround, and no more than 6 hours of work before or between meals. The goal of the campaign was to reduce workplace dangers that come from unrealistic managerial and scheduling demands intended as production "shortcuts." The campaign involved wearing cautionary T-shirts during shoots with the "12

On/12 Off" message, websites with instructions to workers about how and how not to wear and use the shirts on sets and on locations, and compilations of stories compiled to underscore the hostile conditions that workers face across the industry.

14. The full quote from the campaign read:

> The length of . . . production days has been a hot topic . . . since the March 6, 1997 death of assistant cameraman (AC) Brent Hershman. Hershman (35) was killed when he fell asleep at the wheel and hit a utility pole driving home after a 19-hour work day on "Pleasantville," a New Line Film . . . (Hershman started out as a camera loader in 1991 and was working up the AC ladder.)

See Marsha Scarbrough, "Eight Hours for Hollywood," posted on http://members.cox.net/12on12off.eight_hours_for_Hollywood.htm.

15. One reason the 12 On/12 Off campaign functioned more as a form of "soft resistance" was because the conservative IATSE union structure refused to officially back or support the 12 On/12 Off campaign—in order not to jeopardize its cozy relations with the studios—even though 12 On/12 Off was mounted by its own (IATSE) workers.

16. One worker explains:

> In recent years, some camera operators have turned to alternative medicine as well as mainstream medicine for relief of work-related injuries. After years of holding a camera on his shoulders, Lee's back problems became so severe that one day in 1997 he woke in agonizing pain that was impossible to ignore. With a ruptured disk pressing up against his spinal cord, he could hardly sleep, let alone work.

This quote describes camera operator David Lee, in Kerry Madden, "The Right Spot," *Blue Print for Health*, accessed July 21, 2003, http://blueprint.bluecrossmn.com/topic/camera.

17. Camera operator Jim Lunsford reports on his sound colleague's predicament: "Hearing loss may develop from the constant drone in their headsets. In one ear I can hear people talking in the background, but with the other ear, I need people to talk right into the microphone." See Kerry Madden, "The Right Spot," *Blue Print for Health*, accessed July 21, 2003, http://blueprint.bluecrossmn.com/topic/camera.

18. This statement from producer/director Scott Brazil, and the excerpts that follow from producer/director Jon Cassar, editor Scott Willingham, and cinematographer Scott Palazzo are excerpted from interviews I conducted at the Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS), located in North Hollywood, CA, as part of a project entitled "The Normal Rules Do Not Apply: The Impact of MTV on Primetime Television," on October 30, 2003.

19. This quote is from producer/director Jon Cassar, as he paraphrased actor Kiefer Sutherland's experience shooting a feature film. Interview conducted at Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (ATAS), Los Angeles, CA, on October 30, 2003.

20. Veteran Hollywood and *Murphy Brown* producer Bob Jeffords authored what is seen as a definitive industry volume entitled *Jeffords Rules and Regulations*, sections of which are reprinted in Marsha Scarbrough, "Eight Hours for Hollywood," accessed August 1, 2006, http://members.cox.net/12on12off.eight_hours_for_Hollywood.htm.

21. See Mark Andrejevic, "Estrangement 2.0", *World Picture 6* (winter 2011), accessed October 9, 2012, http://www.worldpicturejournal.com/WP_6/Andrejevic.html#_ednref50.

22. In addition to the Andrejevic article cited above, see also Nicholas Carr, *The Shallows: What the Internet Is Doing to Our Brains* (London and New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011); and Carr's website: http://www.nicholasgcarr.com, accessed October 9,

2012. For a discussion of "prosumption" and "prosumerism," see George Ritzer and Nathan Jurgenson, "Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the Age of the Digital 'Prosumer,'" *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10, no. 1 (March 2010), 13–36, and Axel Bruns, *Blogs, Wikipedia, Second life, and Beyond: From Production to Produsage* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

23. See my "Hive-sourcing Is the New Out-sourcing."

24. See in particular my chapter "Authorship Below-the-line," in *Companion to Media Authorship*, eds Jonathan Gray and Derek Johnson (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 349–369.

25. See my chapter "Industrial Geography Lessons: Socio-professional Rituals and the Borderlands of Production Culture," in *Media/Space: Place, Scale, and Culture in a Media Age*, eds Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy (London: Routledge, 2004), 163–189.

26. The four paragraphs that follow in this section are adapted and summarized from a longer and more extensive study in my chapter "Authorship Below-the-line."

27. Although nepotism is a standard Hollywood trope for above-the-line figures, family connections also regularly benefit aspirants to below-the-line jobs, giving them an edge in a highly contested and overcrowded craft and union job markets, if for no other reason than greater proximity to rapidly changing job opportunities.

28. Find such an assertion below, taken from an online discussion of Indian VFX artist posted at http://www.cgtantra.com/forums/showthread.php?t=12993, accessed November 26, 2011: ". . . [Companies] can do anything . . . They take money from new employees??? They want people to pay to work there? Haha, that'll be the day . . . VFX at its best in India it really sucks . . . . . for award winning films of Hollywood . . ."

29. Production designer Jackson De Govia makes this statement in an interview in a retrospective documentary produced in the United States for the Art Directors Guild (the ADG), entitled *The Hidden Art of Hollywood* (Timeline Films, 2002).

30. See my 2009 essay "Hive-sourcing." Carr discusses "leveling up," "unsourcing," and "sharecropping" in "Workers of the World, Level Up," *Rough Type*, May 28, 2012, 1–8. Chris Webb promotes the idea that these practices are merely a form of "business socializing" in the same online Carr article. The Webb and Carr quotes can be found at http://roughtype.com/?p=1607, accessed October 14, 2012.

31. While Carr uses the benign term "leveling up" in his essay "Workers of the World, Level Up," Vicki Mayer and Stahl deliver withering critiques of the erasure of labor under transnational capitalism in the digital era in Vicki Mayer, *Below the Line* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011) and Matt Stahl, *Unfree Masters: Recording Artists and the Politics of Work* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

32. For fuller treatment of this, see my two chapters "The Industrial Promotional Surround," in *Ephemeral Media*, ed. Paul Grainge (London: BFI Press, 2011) and "Worker Blowback: User-Generated, Worker Generated, and Producer-Generated Content within Collapsing Workflows," in *Television as Digital Media*, eds James Bennett and Nikki Strange (Durham, NC, and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 283–311. I am especially thankful to Thomas Elsaesser for suggesting that my research on the media worker's industrial promotional surround aligns very closely with Deleuze's theory of the "control society."

33. See Gilles Deleuze, *Negotiations, 1972–1990* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 174; and Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control," *October* 59 (Winter 1992): 3–7.

34. On "worker-generated snark," see my two chapters "The Industrial Promotional Surround" (2011) and "Worker Blowback" (2011).

35. This quote and summary of Deleuze's "control society" theory is from Ulises Mejias, "Confinement, Education and the Control Society," last modified August 25, 2006, accessed October 9, 2012, http://blog.ulisesmejias.com/2006/08/25/confinement-education-and-the-control-society.
36. See Ross Perlin, *Intern Nation: How to Earn Nothing and Learn Little in the Brave New Economy* (London: Verso, 2012).

The State-socialist Mode of Production and the Political History of Production Culture

Petr Szczepanik

Recent studies of media industries, production cultures, and creative labor mainly approach contemporary Anglophone examples in a manner that suggests they provide universally applicable models. These studies therefore tend to disregard earlier historical precedents and alternative modes of production. One such alternative is provided by the screen industries of East-Central Europe. This region's production systems were influenced heavily by the state-socialist regimes that held power in the region after World War II and by the Cold War. In fact, they continue to be affected by cultural and economic policies that were implemented under state socialism. The media industries of East-Central Europe are still struggling to respond to the dissolution of the state-controlled economy and its organizational structures, and to their marginal geopolitical position, and have been unable to develop internationally competitive strategies. At the same time, Czech films and Polish films have attracted sizable audiences in their respective domestic markets, and production facilities located in the Czech Republic and Hungary have become important destinations for the runaway productions of American, Western European, and even Asian companies. Among the most prominent issues discussed in relation to the long and painful transformation of the film and television industries of East-Central Europe have been their failure to efficiently manage creative work and design medium- to long-term production strategies related to developing screenplays, establishing collaborative networks, and determining the roles that producers are expected to play. To gain a deeper understanding of these issues, it is necessary to reconsider state-socialist production systems, and to examine the consequences of their dissolution.[1]

This chapter therefore aims to offer a model with which to compare the historical character of the various nationalized cinemas of East-Central Europe.

The example of Barrandov Studios in the Czech capital of Prague provides my case study. The chapter pays particular attention to the manner in which day-to-day creative activities were managed within a system that designated the state the sole official producer, and to organizational solutions that were introduced in an effort to strike a balance between centralized control and creative freedom. I also focus on the ways in which such a mode of production operated within the historical realities of this production community, and on how its activities responded to institutional interests. I begin by sketching what I call the "State-socialist Mode of Film Production"[2]—which comprises management hierarchies, the division of labor, and work practices—through the example of Czechoslovak cinema from 1945 to 1990,[3] and the systemic variations that it exhibited to other film industries in the region. There follows a description of "dramaturgy": a system of screenplay development and creative supervision that was typical of both the Czech and East German production systems, and which serves to highlight the revisionist dimensions of my model. A further three sections reveal some important aspects of the "production culture," which is to say a set of lived realities as they were experienced by workers throughout the professional hierarchy.[4] The combination of these two approaches—one organizational in perspective (top-down), the other cultural (bottom-up)—enables us to read official production documents against the grain and to show that they offer limited accounts of what actually took place. Consequently, this chapter is able to shed new light on how production communities "internalized and acted upon" regulatory environments and institutional interests.[5]

To date, English-language studies of the history of the East-Central European screen industries are low in number and have tended to employ approaches that perpetuate rather than challenge standard thinking. Scholars have for example concentrated on the shift from Stalinist centralization to post-Stalinist "limited autonomy" that nurtured the art cinema movements of the late 1950s and 1960s. In so doing, they have focused primarily on the changing relationships between the Communist authorities and prominent filmmakers: uneasy relationships that were not just shaped by directives, censorship, and control, but also by sophisticated negotiations of power that themselves involved rewards, punishment, paternalism, and corruption. Both historians and filmmakers have noted that in spite of their oppressive aspects, the nationalized film industries of East-Central Europe provided unprecedented material and professional support for those involved in the production of art cinema.[6] In this respect, I would agree with Dina Iordanova that standard approaches to the topic have tended to overemphasize Cold War propaganda battles, censorship, and the pressure placed on creative personnel to conform to Party ideals,[7] therefore leaving rather overlooked such important matters as popular culture, cultural policy institutions, and the geopolitical dimensions of media production. In addition to those issues raised by Iordanova, I would propose that the most important of these blind spots concern the day-to-day practices of production, distribution, and consumption. In particular, it needs stressing that little is known about the production practices and creative collaborations that occurred in state-socialist systems of production.

**The State-socialist Mode of Production: Its Genesis
and Transnational Roots**

The state-socialist production systems of East-Central Europe were products of
the centralization and nationalization that took place after 1945. They were super-
vised by a central administrative body, were the subject of Communist Party
control, state censorship, and bureaucratic production plans and norms, and were
required to issue permanent, as opposed to short-term, contracts of employment.
At the same time, they were recipients of the material and symbolic benefits of
modernization, which included the establishment of new studios, laboratories,
distribution networks, film schools, clubs, and film festivals.

From an economic perspective, the state-socialist film industry of postwar
Czechoslovakia was an integrated, partly self-supporting system, with produc-
tion financed primarily by revenue generated from the domestic distribution of
imported Western products. The studios operated according to long-term plans
and fixed budgets; production personnel were strictly divided and received fixed
salaries that did not hinge on the commercial or critical success of their films.
Film production was organized to a top-down administrative model of manage-
ment, wherein tasks were assigned to individual sectors based for the most part
on quantitative indicators derived from levels of output, projected cost, and pro-
jected returns, and not based on demand or the market value of the product.
Nevertheless, film production, domestic distribution, and exportation were the
subjects of fairly strict control, which scrutinized screenplays and completed films.
This bureaucratic model made it quite impossible to initiate flexible approaches
to product differentiation, hampering the development of a full-fledged com-
mercial cinema that might have coexisted with more propagandistic and artistic
productions, and leading to what audiences saw as a perpetual product shortage.[8]

By drawing on an analytical model that was developed by Janet Staiger we can
say that the strategic management of the Czechoslovak film industry—its equiva-
lent to the major Hollywood studio heads and owners—was monopolized by the
state, on account of the influence wielded in the state-owned studios by Com-
munist Party and state representatives serving as general managers, as deputies,
and on supervisory boards. The state was therefore responsible for drawing up
a general strategy, as it determined the organizational structure and production
directives to which the studios operated. As the sole producer of Czechoslovak
films, the state controlled the flow of capital, the production infrastructure, the
labor force, and long-term planning.

The first issue relating to tactical management that distinguishes the State-
socialist Mode of Production from that of classical Hollywood concerns con-
ception and execution. In East-Central European film industries, screenplay
development was not separated from shooting and postproduction, as it was in
Hollywood. Although the state-socialist studios followed Soviet-style directives
and norms in an effort to ensure a strict division of labor, they actually afforded
directors remarkable levels of authority and flexibility.[9] However, the prominent
managerial role enjoyed by the directors of East-Central European films, which
extended to scripting and editing, was not restricted to this region. It was in

fact representative of an established continental European tradition,[10] and what is more, this practice, which approximates what Staiger described as the director-unit system, was employed by the various small companies that comprised the Czechoslovak film industry during the interwar years.

After World War II, East-Central European film industries not only inherited the interwar models of their European counterparts and of their predecessors, but they also borrowed a number of organizational elements from Hollywood, on account of their radical versions of integration, centralization, and monopolization. The State-socialist Mode of Production was therefore a rather peculiar hybrid of local, regional, and global models. Czechoslovakia, for example, drew upon the cultural and economic politics of Nazi Germany. Whereas the centralized "*Dramaturgie*" facilitated ideological control, industrial centralization and Aryanization made postwar nationalization "easier." After 1945, and especially after the Communist Party seized power in 1948, the Czechoslovak industry continued to develop according to local and international models. For example, local influences came from the Bata shoe factory, which was itself inspired by American notions of scientific management. International influences came from the Soviet studio system, which itself had in part been inspired by the structure of Hollywood. In terms of the mode of production and the work culture, these three organizational traditions—local, German, and Soviet—coexisted within the Czechoslovak state monopoly until 1990.

The bureaucratic centralization that characterized the state-socialist production systems was also the cause of quite specific shortcomings. After the Communist Party had strengthened its position across East-Central Europe in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Soviet-bloc countries suffered from an acute shortage of new screenplays. In the absence of standardized procedures and organizational bodies designed to support the efficient development of scripts, Party ideologues were left ruing a paucity of what they deemed high-quality screenplays. Unlike the Hollywood story departments, which employed dozens of anonymous screenwriters to develop hundreds of screenplays each year, the state-socialist studios relied on freelancers who were supposed to deliver treatments or screenplays, which would then require the intervention of directors in order to ensure that they met basic structural and technical standards. All said: directors were not only contributing to most shooting scripts but also to the vast majority of screenplays—a figure of 45 percent before 1945 would rise to over 70 percent between 1945 and 1980.[11] Directors also tended to be the best-paid crew members, and boasted political connections to the upper echelons of the Party. As Maria Belodubrovskaya has suggested, the Soviet production system was not able to reconcile itself with the ideology of artistic individuality, especially in the case of directors and writers, who, despite the various oppressive measures they encountered, were able to maintain their elevated social standing and were ultimately unwilling to fully subjugate themselves to the industrial and ideological demands.[12] The paradoxical status of these "masters," as they were called, endured in other state-socialist systems, albeit in diminished form.

This system of screenplay development proved to be unreliable and risky. Many of the screenplays that were written by freelancers failed to pass the multi-leveled system of approval, and even when they did, they were often altered by

dissatisfied directors, or would meet with the disapproval of management and Communist Party "apparatchiks." But the bureaucratic strategic management could not control the everyday operations of screenplay development, shooting, and postproduction, because it could neither fully grasp the nature of this practice nor establish a way of regulating it. The studios needed to pay for hundreds of abandoned treatments and screenplays. Production plans required drastic streamlining. These circumstances precipitated a near-total collapse of production in the early 1950s, when centralization, pre-censorship, and ideological dogmatism reached a new peak, leaving the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Poland each producing a handful of films each year, compared to the hundreds that were being made annually by American companies.

By the mid- to late 1950s, the East-Central European film industries of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany were undergoing a series of political and economic reforms that would soon spread to Hungary when a crackdown in that country ended. These developments led to the introduction or reintroduction into these countries' systems of production of some forms of decentralization, including so-called creative, production, or dramaturgical units, groups, collectives, and associations. These bodies were expected to bridge the gap between lower and upper management, and to insure the steady supply of professional-quality screenplays.

Units as a New Middle Management: A Comparative Model

The few studies that have touched upon the film production systems of East-Central Europe usually mention "units"—semi-autonomous groups of writers, directors, production managers, and sometimes other personnel. These units were responsible for project development, managing creative labor, and nurturing new talent. Although scholars and filmmakers have emphasized the emancipatory roles of the units, they have stopped short of explaining their political functions, internal organizational principles, transnational dimensions, and historical variations. Indeed, even on those rare occasions that scholars have devoted significant attention to the units, they tended to reduce them to retreats from top-down political control, and to breeding grounds for the art film movements that swept across East-Central Europe after a trail had been blazed by the "Polish school" of the 1950s.[13] As Dorota Ostrowska suggests in an otherwise informative overview of the Polish unit system, the units were "centered on a figure of an auteur filmmaker who was able to realize his or her artistic vision within ideological limits maintained through the complex system of bureaucratic checks and balances."[14] The most common misconceptions about the region's units remain the claims that they were derived from the Polish model, and that they were overseen by a well-established director whose charges of junior directors and other personnel "shar[ed] an artistic vision."[15]

The Polish units, which emerged as a part of the wholesale postwar reconstruction of the country's film production infrastructure, were actually quite unique, and therefore different from the units of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and East Germany. For instance, in each of these countries, some units were not headed

by directors. Moreover, Czechoslovak units did not include junior directors or other crew members. The genealogies of the respective state-socialist production systems are also quite varied. Where the USSR boasted a history of avant-garde workshops that had flourished in the 1920s before being disbanded, Czechoslovak "production units" dated back to 1945 and Yugoslavia introduced its own form of decentralization in the early 1950s by way of workers' self-management schemes. What is more, post-Stalinist units were established in Czechoslovakia in 1954, in Poland in 1955, in the GDR and the USSR in the late 1950s, in Hungary and Bulgaria in the 1960s, and in Romania in the 1970s. Crucially, these systems each went through distinct forms of internal development. Historical evidence shows that the state-socialist mode of production was not homogeneous: it demonstrated systemic national and temporal variations, and the units were not mere products of the post-Stalinist thaw. Rather, their emergence was a product of a combination of external factors, historical traditions, and nationalized film industries' individual struggles to balance the control of production with regimes of innovation and product differentiation.

The units did not simply represent the state's way of supporting art cinema and auteur filmmakers; they were first and foremost management structures that were integrated into the centralized organization in order to serve Party politics. The romantic or even utopian[16] depiction of units as liberal seedbeds of autonomous creativity and communality must be balanced with a full recognition of their more pragmatic aspects. In this respect, they also provided a means by which to implement decentralized control, and to encourage pre- and self-censorship. This disciplinary logic of units, which was especially prominent during political crackdowns, has been all but ignored, as historians celebrate the contributions that they made to the "golden eras" of various national cinemas. An exception is Christina Stoianova, who notes in her unpublished PhD dissertation that the units "were a method of careful socialisation of the unruly, a breeding ground for conformism." Stoianova goes on to argue that the units offered a softer yet ultimately more efficient way of ensuring that "the creative process was regulated from within, and by one's most respected colleagues, not from an outside anonymous (and antagonistic) power as before."[17]

Rather than being descended from artistic groups like the Soviet avant-garde workshops or the Polish START group,[18] the early Czech units, which were founded between 1945 and 1948, were directly inspired by the pre-1945 local production companies, and by German production units or "*Herstellungsgruppen*". The latter operated in the German-owned Prague company Prag-Film (1942–1945), where many Czech filmmakers had worked during World War II, and earlier in UFA, Terra, and the other 1930s' German studios that had adapted the producer-unit system.[19] The historical continuity between Nazi Germany's studios and its state-controlled "*Dramaturgie,*" on the one hand, and the state-socialist mode of production, on the other, demands further examination.[20]

Although the state-owned film industries of the former socialist countries resembled classical Hollywood studios in terms of their centralization and vertical integration, they lacked true producers in the Hollywood sense of the term. The

units were the closest equivalent to producers, although they lacked comparable financial and marketing clout. Apart from short periods of radical centralization in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the units were considered to be the most efficient way of ensuring that the green-lighting and execution of film projects reflected official Party ideology. During periods of political liberalization, units not only oversaw screenplay development, but were also responsible for recruiting casts and crews, shooting films, and supervising postproduction, and on occasion they even controlled the distribution of their films.

Finally, the units played important political and cultural roles insomuch as they acted as power brokers, networkers, and intermediaries, or interfaces of the production culture. In these roles, they mediated between writers, professional screenwriters, and directors, and between the studios, the political establishment, and broader cultural trends, thereby making possible informal social networks, artistic innovation, and limited acts of political subversion. After the collapse of the Communist regimes in East-Central Europe, the virtual disappearance of the units was identified as a key factor in a general production crisis that itself was marked by the lack of either the systematic development of screenplays or semi-permanent collaborative networks.

The nationally specific versions of units that sprang up throughout the Soviet bloc nevertheless did share a set of common characteristics. Their respective development often overlapped as a result of political shifts emanating from the USSR. These included the isolationist and dogmatic Zhdanovism,[21] the post-Stalinist thaw, the reprisals of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and mid-1980s perestroika. In contrast to periods of tighter political control, liberalization allowed for longer permanency and greater autonomy vis-à-vis central administration. The units typically acted as if they were the studio's clients insomuch as they would book soundstages and borrow crew members. They would also be allocated a fixed budget, an office that might also serve as a social hub, and a permanent staff that could be supplemented by an advisory board composed of other filmmakers and intellectuals. A unit might also be extended a significant amount of autonomy when selecting and developing story ideas, recruiting crews, and supervising the production. The units created a collaborative environment and a sense of community derived from informal relationships developing within a bureaucratic organization. Literary advisors (called "dramaturgs" in Czechoslovakia and the GDR) attracted prominent writers and put them in touch with directors, while new talent gathered around mentors—usually a head of a unit. Some units even cultivated specific creative approaches or genres, thereby generating a measure of interunit competition. As a result, they were able to increase the number of screenplays that reached the screen, and in so doing contributed to cultural renaissances such as the Polish school and the Czech New Wave, examples of which were screened at international film festivals and on screens around the world. At the same time, the units helped to guide the careers of potentially unruly creative talents, by assigning them apposite projects and by determining how long they would work as assistants before being promoted to positions of greater responsibility, and by fulfilling the pre-censorship function of circumventing potentially subversive material. They also acted as mediators of changing Party politics, serving

for example as conduits through which the state flexed its muscles against the filmmaking community.

Numerous criteria must be taken into account if we are to compare the individual production systems of East-Central Europe. The units differed in terms of the degree of autonomy they were afforded, and their range of responsibilities, with some restricted to story development and others operating effectively as production companies. Internal operations also differed from unit to unit; some were highly bureaucratic, whereas others offered more informal working conditions and styles of leadership. In terms of their professional and generational composition, some units consisted of only a production manager, four to six dramaturgs, and a loose network of external partners; others, such as those in Poland, boasted dozens of in-house employees. The historical trajectories of the units also differed. Continuity characterized the wartime and interwar cinemas of Czechoslovakia and the GDR, but a radical break characterized Polish cinema during this period.

The basic difference between the units' statuses as management bodies derives from their relationships to the central administration and to film crews. By respecting the Czech-language terminology of the day, it is possible to distinguish three types of unit:

1. Dramaturgical units operated with the lowest degree of autonomy and the fewest responsibilities, and were restricted mainly to the development of screenplays. According to Edward Zajiček, a renowned Polish production manager who worked for a number of units, they "administratively extracted screenplays from the integral production process."[22] Dramaturgical units were commonplace during draconian periods such as in the Czechoslovakia, Poland, and GDR of the late 1940s, early 1950s, late 1960s, and early 1970s. In these periods, the ideological content of films provoked more interest than style and form.

2. Creative units employed a comparatively broad range of personnel that included production managers, writers, and, sometimes, as in the case of Poland, directors and other professions as well. This type of unit was responsible for not only developing screenplays, but also other aspects of production such as the recruitment of casts and crews. They therefore came closest to the socialist utopian concept of a collective creativity and communality among artists, and to the Romantic notion of the units as incubators of art cinema movements and auteurs. Creative units were typically established during less draconian periods such as the Khrushchev thaw of the mid-1950s to mid-1960s and the glasnost years of the mid- to late 1980s.

3. Production units were highly autonomous, pragmatic entities that were similar to small independent production companies in the sense that they were responsible for an entire production, even though they were officially answerable to the central administration. Units of this sort emerged in Czechoslovakia in 1945 as part of the nationalization of production, and also sprang up after 1989 during the privatization of the Hungarian and Polish film industries (Tables 7.1 and 7.2).

Table 7.1   Historical typology of units in Czech feature-film production, 1945–1990

Years active	Unit numbers and type	Description
1945–1948	2–6 Production groups	Similar to small production companies; operating semi-independently within state-owned studios; high levels of creative autonomy; headed by production chiefs or directors
1948–1951	8–11 Creative collectives	Restricted "dramaturgical-"type units; dramaturgs and writers isolated from production and crews; staffed with dozens of inexperienced but politically loyal writers who were expected to reform film production
1951–1954	Central Collective Board with internal screenwriting department	Highly centralized dramaturgical body; supposedly collective decision-making yet often dominated by several strong personalities; modeled on Soviet studios' screenplay departments and on the central Screenplay Studio
1954–1970	4–6 Creative groups	Decentralized system of dramaturgy; consisted of dramaturgs, production managers, and screenwriters who supervised the whole production process; informal and efficient management of creative teamwork
1970–1982	6–7 Dramaturgical groups	Re-centralized, restricted "dramaturgical" type; dramaturgs coordinating screenplay development; largely isolated from production; answerable to the Central Dramaturg
1982–1990	6 Dramaturgical-production groups	Partial autonomy and reconnection of dramaturgs and production process: units including dramaturgs and production managers
1990	Plans for 6 creative groups	Mostly directors appointed as unit heads; not fully realized

Note: The Slovak development was similar to that which took place in the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. Koliba Studios in Bratislava operated semi-independently from Prague, running two to three creative units from 1956, and two to four dramaturgical units between 1972 and 1990. See Václav Macek and Jelena Paštéková, *Dejiny slovenskej kinematografie* (Martin, Slovakia: Osveta, 1997).

The following overview of the units in selected Soviet-bloc countries shows common points of both development and differences. All of the countries went through periods of extreme centralization, when units were not operative and central dramaturgical boards acted as the principal supervisors of project development: in Czechoslovakia from 1951 to 1954, in Poland from 1951 to 1955, and in Hungary from 1948 to 1957. Dramaturgs and writers were the key players in the dramaturgical-type units that operated in Czechoslovakia from 1948 to 1951 and from 1970 to 1982, in Poland from 1949 to 1951 and from 1968 and 1972, and

Table 7.2 Other national types of unit in East-Central Europe

Country	Name of unit	Years active
USSR	Creative associations (*tvorcheskie ob'edineniia*)	1959–1990
GDR	*Künstlerische Arbeitsgruppen* (KAG)	1959–1966
	Dramaturgengruppen	1966–1990
Poland	Dramaturgical units (*zespoły dramaturgiczne*)	1949–1951
	Film units (*zespoły filmowe*)	1955–1968
	Dramaturgical units	1968–1972
	Renewed film units	1972–1989
Hungary	Units (*stúdiócsoport*)	1962–1963
	Studio units (*stúdiócsoport/stúdió*)	1964–1971
	"Studios" (*stúdió*)	1971–1987

Note: I have added the USSR to this list as a common reference point. For basic information on units in the GDR, Poland, Hungary, and the USSR, see Mariana Ivanova, "DEFA and East European Cinemas: Co-productions, Transnational Exchange and Artistic Collaborations," PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2011; Ina-Lyn Reif, *Die Entstehung und Rezeption des DEFA-Spielfilms* "*Der verlorene Engel*" (Hamburg: Diplomica, 2009), 29–30; Zajiček, *Poza ekranem*; Balázs Varga, "Co-operation: The Organization of Studio Units in the Hungarian Film Industry of the 1950s and the 1960s," in *Film Units*, 313–338; Anna Lawton, *Before the Fall: Soviet Cinema in the Gorbachev Years*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2007), 77–78.

in the GDR from 1966 to 1990. By contrast, directors and production managers usually led creative units and production units, which enjoyed greater economic and creative freedom and often forged individual identities through the development of in-house styles, genres, and topics, as well as through the generational affiliations of their members and international coproductions. While production units and creative units were more typical of Hungary and Poland, dramaturgical units proved to be more enduring in Czechoslovakia and GDR, for historically specific reasons that are detailed below.

Dramaturgy: The Practical Aesthetics and Politics of Filmmaking

The issue of dramaturgy allows us to compare the production systems of individual East-Central European nations, in terms of the dramaturgs' roles in the system, the periods in which they held sway, and the extent of their influence. Dramaturgy is neither a neutral nor a monolithic concept. Rather, its referential meanings and political significance change between media, between regions, and across historical periods. What is more, it is not even a universally recognized discipline in the culture industry from which it emerged: legitimate theater. Theatrical dramaturgy boasts a long tradition in Germany, several East-Central European countries, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands, where, since the eighteenth century, dramaturgs were powerful yet largely anonymous figures. Serving as "critical and practical experts working in partnerships with directors and/or writers," dramaturgs were the "primary thinkers about the political and social objectives of the theatre."[23] Dramaturgy has traditionally suggested a close relationship between politics, theory, and creative practice. It is based on "working models that insist on a dynamic relationship between critical reflection and artistic practice," and is

responsible for the most political aspects of cultural production, the selection of source material and authors.[24]

While the term derives from Greek, and can be traced back to Bertolt Brecht, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and Aristotle, dramaturgy in the context of cinema developed in the 1930s. It was a product of nationalist cultural politics, including Joseph Goebbels' policy of "*Vorzensur*." This policy was institutionalized in 1934 when the Propaganda Minister himself anointed the critic and Nazi Party member Willi Krause as Germany's *Reichsfilmdramaturg*. The similar role of the chef-dramaturg was introduced in Czechoslovakia in 1949 and in the GDR in the early 1950s.[25] Dramaturgy became the most hotly debated issue relating to the postwar nationalization of the Czechoslovak film industry, because it was seen as an emblem of a new era of centrally planned, ideologically controlled film production. The nation's film press repeatedly discussed a dearth of appropriate screenplays, issues related to dramaturgical planning, and dramaturgical mistakes of the past. Dramaturgy was soon structured hierarchically into three levels: ministerial and Party-controlled bureaucratic dramaturgy, corporate central dramaturgy, and the practical dramaturgy of individual units. From the mid-1950s to the late 1960s, the two upper levels of the dramaturgical hierarchy were gradually weakened or even dissolved, only to see their powers reinstated when the Central Dramaturg was reformed in 1969 following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak and German film dramaturgs were quite different from Hollywood script editors and script doctors, and Soviet "*politredaktors*," insomuch as their powers were much broader, encompassing:

1. Planning the unit, studio, or even national production in line with certain political and cultural agenda ("thematic plans," "dramaturgical plans"); providing ideological and aesthetic supervision to all or part of the production process; explaining and implementing directives for an individual production, a unit, or the entire studio.
2. Practical management of creative work at the units and to a limited extent film crews: searching for story material, scouting for authors, networking between writers and directors, and mediating conflicts between filmmakers and bureaucrats, studios and coproduction partners, and the production community and the general public.
3. Screenplay development: editing, reviewing, and approval.

By acknowledging the mediating and networking roles of dramaturgs, we are reminded of the more mundane and ambivalent aspects of the units' conduct that have been neglected by previous studies of East-Central European cinema. Even during Czechoslovak cinema's international high water mark of 1963–1969, the nation's unit heads were largely anonymous. Whereas cinephiles likely knew the names of their Polish counterparts—Kawalerowicz, Wajda, Zanussi—few would have heard of leading Czechoslovak dramaturgs and unit heads like Vladimír Bor, Ladislav Fikar, Jan Procházka, and Ota Hofman.

After 1948, dramaturgy served primarily as a channel through which the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party attempted to impose its ideological and aesthetic programs onto cinema. It is for this reason that

dramaturgy remained a prominent matter during high-level political disputes or when top-down political reorganization was taking place. Through dramaturgy, general proclamations and directives were interpreted and transformed into buzzwords that were used to classify, judge, or punish screenwriters and directors, and their projects. Such processes allowed Communist Party ideology to filter down from Central Committee meetings to writers' offices, film sets, and approval screenings. However, this was the same dramaturgy that facilitated the translation of post-Stalinist liberalization and modernist aesthetics into screenwriting, and which paired the Czech New Wave directors with progressive writers. It was also the same dramaturgy that became a principal object and instrument of reprisal following the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, as the Central Dramaturg and restructured dramaturgical units drove the neo-Stalinist aesthetics and ideology that dominated Czechoslovak cinema across the 1970s. In the late 1950s and 1960s, dramaturgs enjoyed the broadest range of responsibilities and a prominent position within the production community. While they consistently enjoyed autonomy as gatekeepers, networkers, brokers, and negotiators, that autonomy did tend to diminish during the restrictive, isolated, bureaucratic dramaturgy of earlier and later periods.

The position of Czechoslovak dramaturgs was very different from that of the auteurs who headed units in Poland and Hungary. Czechoslovak dramaturgs often came to the film studios from other sectors of cultural production such as journalism, theater, music, radio, and later from television. Since dramaturgy was at the center of state and Party attention, it is unsurprising that some novice dramaturgs were close associates of Communist Party heavyweights. These newcomers were initially seen by veteran filmmakers as opportunistic interlopers, out-of-touch intellectuals, censors, or simply dilettantes; trust was built slowly. Dramaturgs, on the other hand, struggled to comprehend the world of professional filmmaking, and often expressed a mixture of fascination and disdain at some of the community's habits and values—phenomena that long-term insiders might have been too close to recognize.[26] Dramaturgy was the modus operandi of the Czech production system, as well as its officially sanctioned industrial reflexivity: dramaturgical boards prepared 1–5-year thematic and dramaturgical plans that described ideological preferences and outlined the main "ideas" of individual genres and source material. Dramaturgs were also required to write endless series of ideologically loaded exposés, reviews, and inspection protocols. But at unit level, dramaturgical practice also enabled the professional community to express its own political and cultural interests, albeit only at certain moments and in a limited way.

A History of a Production Culture under State Socialism: A Multi-temporal Model

The character of the individual unit systems of the State-socialist Mode of Production was not just a product of general political settings and corporate reflexivity (i.e., dramaturgy); they also resulted from their being embedded in micro-social worlds of specific professional communities and in what Caldwell

has called "worker reflexivity."[27] These production cultures did not lie outside institutionalized industrial practice. Rather, they were expressions of social groups that helped the production system to function, and of those social groups' attempts to make sense of their own experiences within that system. They were characterized by their own internal political dynamics and historical trajectories, factors that shape any instances of top-down reorganization. With these issues in mind, I would now like to sketch two key points that my recent research has uncovered, points that illustrate the tactics that workers employed to reinforce their sense of identity as they negotiated the institutional interests and organizational patterns that were outlined above.

When studying cinema as a historically specific, multilayered economic and cultural system, it is essential that we keep its individual "registers" in critical dialogue—in the sense of Caldwell's "integrated cultural industrial analysis."[28] It is also crucial that we distinguish between the different historical rhythms of these registers, especially the slower rate at which production communities develop in a sociocultural sense, and the faster rate at which they show the signs of economic, technological, and political change. When drawing such a distinction, we can make use of the Annales school's multi-temporal and multidimensional model of historiography. Michèle Lagny has argued that Fernand Braudel's concept of the *longue durée*—loosely translated as the long term—provides the most instructive temporal framework with which to approach reception and the "mentalities" of audience groups. This position is transferable to examinations of production communities if we approach them as social groups.[29] Although Braudel's concept cannot be applied to film history in its original meaning—an almost motionless "geographical time" in which historical change is practically imperceptible—the concept of the *longue durée* is nonetheless a useful analogy with which to suggest that the collective mentalities of film workers develop at a significantly slower rate than the rapidly changing "history of events" that affect cinema as it intersects over time with the political.[30]

After the rapid transformation that saw small-scale private production metamorphosize into a centralized and integrated state enterprise between 1945 and 1948, industrial reflexivity repeatedly concentrated on the mismatch between the mind-sets of veteran filmmakers and the demands of the new social order. Many editors, sound mixers, cameramen, and production managers enjoyed long careers lasting 20 or 30 years from the 1930s to the 1960s, without seeing their daily routines change in a significant way, despite the radical changes to institutional logic taking place around them. However, the mind-set of higher-level professions such as directors, screenwriters, and unit heads—those which in Hollywood parlance would be called "above-the-line talent"—changed quite quickly as the time they spent in a single position tended to be rather short, thereby making their careers comparatively unstable. The most abrupt changes, which match the rhythm of political events, occurred among studio executives, who were periodically replaced to conform to the twists and turns of the state and of Party politics.[31] Temporal disjunctions and delays were also evident in creative practices and the films that emerged from these structures. For example, the lengthy and unpredictable process of screenplay development provoked repeated

frustration among bureaucrats, who called for swift changes in ideology, tone, themes, and style, and who criticized what Michèle Lagny dubbed the "sclerosis" of cinematic forms, which is to say the perceived temporal delay between the articulation of official ideology and its emergences as implicit ideology in filmic texts.[32] It is, however, not enough to say that the daily routines and mentalities of the filmmaking community changed at a slower pace than politics. To fully understand production culture in terms of its political and historical development, we need to consider not just the historicity of the production community as a whole, but also the changing interrelations of subgroups; subgroups that boast distinct historical trajectories, and which adapt to new political regimes at different speeds.

The Micro-politics of Production Communities

The production community not only reacted to, and was affected by, the field of politics; it was also a political field in and of itself. By micro-politics of production communities, I mean the power relations within basic groups, such as those that take place between literary writers, directors, screenwriters, and dramaturgs during screenplay development, or between subgroups of film crews during shooting and postproduction. While everyday conflicts, fluctuating careers, and shifting positions within the professional hierarchy were interconnected with macro-politics, they also differed significantly from macro-political struggles.[33] Accordingly, it is imperative that we consider the manner in which the internal power dynamics that are a part of micro-systems of collective creative work influence institutional interests and goals, and how they precondition creative decisions and affect the audiovisual texts produced.

After 1948, official political life inside the film studios was organized into "basic Party cells" by the Communist Party, which amounted to grouping and regrouping workers according to their professional affiliations. Once active, professional guilds and unions became centralized and subject to Party politics. It was only in the mid-1960s that filmmakers temporarily regained their independent professional association: FITES (Svaz československých filmových a televizních umělců). Although the basic Party cells oversaw key hiring decisions, periodic political screenings, and evaluations of individual workers, they largely failed to represent workers' interests vis-à-vis studio management and state and Party institutions. As a result, behind this seemingly transparent bureaucratic arrangement, informal coalitions, cliques, and allegiances flourished. From an historical perspective, micro-politics can be studied in terms of varying levels of compliance or resistance. In this respect, the field of film production was losing some of its autonomy to outside political forces[34] during periods of political repression, especially during Zhdanovism (1948–1953), when powerful political officials attempted directly to influence hiring and creative decision-making. The field regained some of its autonomy during periods of liberalization. This was especially so in the 1960s. During this time, the field's own prioritization of issues such as informal professional reputation, securing large audiences, and success at international festivals superseded politically sanctioned rewards and political coercion. These dynamics

are illustrated by the case of a long-forgotten filmmaker whose professional history exemplifies important micro-political changes that occurred in the filmmaking community between 1945 and 1958.

The young Communist director Vladimír Vlček, nicknamed ironically "Volodya" (a Russianism that spotlighted his pro-Soviet stance), worked as an assistant for several German production companies during World War II, before relocating to Moscow soon after Czechoslovakia's liberation, where he is said to have befriended a number of prominent Soviet filmmakers. After returning to Prague, Vlček was expected to implement Soviet methods of filmmaking and propaganda to Czechoslovak films. He was the first Czech filmmaker to be awarded the Soviet Stalin Prize for his directorial collaboration on the documentary *The New Czechoslovakia* (codir. Vasili Belayev, 1949), and in 1950 he was appointed as head of a special production unit that was assigned to collaborate with the Soviets. Vlček then started to shoot his own propagandistic features including *Tomorrow, People Will Be Dancing Everywhere* (1952), for which he won the Czechoslovak State Prize. Five years later, he codirected the first postwar Czechoslovak–Western co-production, *La Liberté surveillée* (1957), starring Marina Vlady. At this time, Vlček was dismissed by many of his colleagues as a careerist hack, who had exploited his connections to top Soviets, to the Czechoslovak Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture, and even to the Czechoslovak President. Vlček was indeed asking these figures to pressurize studio management to approve his projects, his festival visits, and his French and Soviet coproductions, and to generally afford him preferential treatment. In so doing, this director was able to bend official rules, secure the backing of his superiors, and gain a competitive advantage over his peers. Vlček's reputation was built on a combination of social and symbolic capital that he had accrued outside the field of film production. It would provide less leverage after Stalin died.

In 1958, at the height of the first wave of post-Stalinist political and cultural liberalization, studio leadership finally lost patience with the unruly and unpopular Vlček. A special committee was formed to subject the filmmaker to a thorough, seven-hour-long cross-examination. As studio head Eduard Hofman explained, "The position of the Party in the studios is now a different one than it was before." "Today, the situation is that the Minister of Culture and the Central Committee are asking for our opinion when you try to win their support," added the general manager of the state enterprise, Jiří Marek. Vlček was denounced and ultimately fired not for his immorality and Machiavellian tendencies *per se*, but for using his political connections to push his own agenda at the studio through such tactics as having his powerful associates make threatening phone calls to studio executives. "There are 35 directors in the Barrandov studios, but only comrade Vlček is pushing his projects through such interventions," noted Hofman, "Why don't the others do that? . . . There are dozens of more skilled and talented filmmakers but they behave well."[35] Vlček's attempts later that year to secure job on a documentary proved unsuccessful, as he was rejected amid fears that he would "literary corrode the workers' collective."[36] In 1960, Vladimír "Volodya" Vlček was expelled from the Communist Party and could be found in exile in France.

The 60-page minutes of Vlček's hearing show the field of film production reclaiming its autonomy from the field of political power.[37] The interference of

politicians was anathematic to the micro-political dynamics of post-Stalinist units, where informal reputation and trust trumped official endorsements and awards.

Disdain, Distinction, and Boundary Work: Guardians of Professionalism

Against the backdrop of the abruptly changing political and social conditions that characterized East-Central Europe from 1938 to 1990, the community of filmmakers quite understandably developed protective measures to safeguard its internal value systems. As a social group, filmmakers did not directly oppose political regimes, but their protectionist conduct could occasionally take on a subversive quality. To account for the changing social status of filmmakers in the context of political history, I will draw on three interrelated sociological concepts of disdain, distinction, and boundary work, which were adopted by Tejaswini Ganti in her ethnographic work on Bollywood. While Ganti showed how Mumbai-based filmmakers struggled to earn recognition from the state and society, the Czechoslovak professional community faced a different problem: it found itself at the epicenter of Communist cultural politics and was pushed to defend its residual autonomy.[38]

The question of who was and who was not a legitimate filmmaker became more complex when the state monopoly was established in 1945, and certain groups of professionals, such as capitalists, Germans, and alleged Nazi collaborators, could legally be excluded from the community. During the first wave of Stalinist political purges that took place three years later, other groups of "internal enemies" were expelled, including alleged anti-Communists, members of the bourgeoisie, and cosmopolites. A highly formalized system of compulsory permanent employment, qualification/wage categories, training and reeducation facilities, periodic political screenings, and state prizes was introduced after 1948 to fortify borders and distinctions within this professional world. Ideologically, this strategy grew out of a deep-rooted suspicion of and disdain for filmmakers, who were seen as a politically unreliable group with dubious class origins: a phenomena known locally as the "film jungle." These sentiments were shared not only by the Communist apparatchiks, but also by some filmmakers who sought to distinguish themselves from the reputations of their peers and their profession. In a confidential report on creative workers that was commissioned by the Central Committee before the coup of February 1948 in order to secretly infiltrate the film industry, the Communist director Vladimír Borský wrote:

> Due to difficult living conditions, an unsecure future, and scarce working opportunities, film workers were permanently engaged in a struggle to survive, in jealousy, slander, and demeaning behavior while searching for jobs. There followed a necessary betrayal of moral values, which resulted in a constant sense of inferiority and an absolute loss of artistic and human self-confidence. These were the things that corrupted film artists.[39]

If Borský, as an insider, blamed external conditions, the Communist leaders ascribed the supposed immorality of the "film jungle" to filmmakers themselves, especially to veteran practitioners.

After the coup of 1948, the new management implemented a range of measures to infiltrate dozens of young Communist "cadres" in the professional community, so as to reform the community from within. Between 1948 and 1950, approximately 100 young and often inexperienced writers and journalists, some of whom boasted connections to the political elite, were recruited to become members of a new generation of dramaturgical units (11 units in Prague, another 12 in the provinces), and to reform the system of screenplay development so that it might better reflect the aesthetics and ideology of socialist realism. The experiment ended in disaster when the groups were unable to deliver a steady supply of filmable screenplays on account of their purely dramaturgical units being wholly disconnected from production. Behind this top-down personnel politics, more informal practices of demarcation and distinction survived within individual professional groups. In a backlash against the new units, the influential "veteran" director Otakar Vávra and his allies accused these "dilettantes" of conspiracy, and in 1952 fired most of them. In the course of their campaign, the veterans summoned notions of traditional artistic mastery and of the sovereignty of directors over writers and dramaturgs, and emphasized that the specificities of filmmaking made it impossible to master this profession in a short space of time.[40]

In addition to the young Communist intellectuals, in 1950 and 1951, dozens of laborers including metalworkers were placed on a year-long crash course to facilitate their entry into directing, photography, production management, and other positions. Each of the "students" was assigned a "patron," usually a studio veteran, who was supposed to introduce them to the job and the film community. As shown in special reports compiled in 1953 and 1954, the students generated a sense of disillusionment in the community, with patrons usually neglecting their unwanted apprentices. The veteran professionals looked upon these newcomers with a deep sense of suspicion, especially after the novices became informants who would report on them. One of the dissatisfied students recalled that director Otakar Vávra had "claimed at a meeting that he couldn't stand people in his workplace who don't speak his language . . . and comrade Krejčík [veteran director Jiří Krejčík] declared that we are not good enough even for the position of the second assistant." Another novice complained: "Barrandov seems like Babylon to me, I have never seen such an enterprise before."[41] Rejecting workers with political leverage on the basis that they did "not speak the language" would have been dangerous only one or two years earlier, but in 1953 it was possible to make such claims as the first steps were being taken to rebuild the relative autonomy of the field of film production, and the ideology of professionalism, aesthetic specificity, and artistry that had been suppressed under Zhdanov were once again becoming acceptable.

"Babylon" was an inertial production culture, operating at a slower pace than politics. It survived the Stalinist years and became a breeding ground for the renewed units that were established a year later, and which were headed by the same veteran managers and directors who from 1945 to 1948 had led the pre-Communist production units, and who were the most important producers and directors before 1945.

Conclusion

The first part of this chapter outlined the State-socialist Mode of Production, which was based on the units that were responsible for tactical management of creative labor. National variations of the mode established units with varying degrees of authority in order to mediate between top-down cultural policy and everyday creative practice. At the same time, the units became sites of energetic informal networking and artistic innovation, often bordering on subversion. Despite this model of seemingly absolute top-down control and rationalized division of labor, many habitual practices survived under the state-socialist mode, among them the dominant position of film directors.

Dramaturgy can be understood as a sanctioned industrial theory, and dramaturgs as cultural mediators and networkers who played a vital yet paradoxical role in the processes of top-down ideological control and in the bottom-up subversive tactics that were developed in the units. The figure of the dramaturg problematizes existing historical account of the units, which have cast prominent auteurs as unit heads, and which have focused on the production of art cinema. A different kind of informal or "worker reflexivity" emerged out of the various micro-political conflicts that highlighted internal divisions within the production community, and their interrelations with macro-political developments. Like Ganti's work on Bollywood, I hope that this account of the state-socialist systems' cultural logic points to the ways in which film production generally, including that associated with Hollywood, is a historically and politically situated phenomenon.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. For the first book-length treatment of these subjects, see Marcin Adamczak, Piotr Marecki, and Marcin Malatyński, eds, *Film Units: Restart* (Kraków: Ha!art, 2012).
2. The complex Marxian concept of the "mode of production" has already been applied to state socialism in economic and social theories. Here I draw primarily on the compressed version developed by Janet Staiger, who focused on organizing film production, especially the division of labor. See David Bordwell, Janet Staiger, and Kristin Thompson, *The Classical Hollywood Cinema: Film Style & Mode of Production to 1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); see also Ben Singer, "Mode of Production: Issues and Debates," in *Encyclopedia of Early Cinema*, ed. Richard Abel (New York: Routledge, 2005), 633–635.
3. Although I refer to the whole history of the state-owned film industry (1945–1990), my primary focus here is on the period between the Communist putsch in 1948 and

the ebbing of the so-called Czech New Wave in the aftermath of the Soviet-led invasion of 1968.

4. My perspective on production culture is limited in scope by working with archival documents and oral history instead of conducting ethnographic research. See John Thornton Caldwell, *Production Culture. Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

5. See Timothy Havens, Amanda Lotz, and Serra Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies: A Research Approach," *Communication, Culture and Critique* 2 (2009): 247.

6. See, for example, Mira Liehm and Antonín J. Liehm, *The Most Important Art: Soviet and Eastern European Film after 1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); David W. Paul, ed., *Politics, Art, and Commitment in the East European Cinema* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1983); see interviews with Czech filmmakers in Antonín J. Liehm, ed., *Closely Watched Films: The Czechoslovak Experience* (White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1974); Billy Budd Vermillion, "Art Cinema in Eastern Europe, 1956–1981," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011.

7. Dina Iordanova, *Cinema of the Other Europe: The Industry and Artistry of East Central Europe* (London: Wallflower Press, 2003), 20.

8. For a political-economic theory of shortage as a systemic principle of the centrally planned economies of the Eastern Bloc countries, see János Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). For a contemporaneous discussion of the state-socialist film economy, see, for example, Radoslav Selucký, *Poznámky k návrhu na novou ekonomickou organizaci Československého filmu* (Prague: ČSF, 1966).

9. For the prominent role directors played in the USSR, see Maria Belodubrovskaya, "Politically Incorrect: Filmmaking under Stalin and the Failure of Power," PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2011.

10. See Kristin Thompson, "Early Alternatives to the Hollywood Mode of Production: Implications for Europe's Avant-Gardes," *Film History* 5 (1993): 386–404.

11. See Petr Szczepanik, "Wie viele Schritte bis zur Drehfassung? Eine politische Historiographie des Drehbuchs," *Montage AV* 22, no. 1 (2013): 99–132.

12. Belodubrovskaya, "Politically Incorrect."

13. See, for example, Liehm and Liehm, *The Most Important Art*, 293; Vermillion, *Art Cinema in Eastern Europe*, 80–85. This situation has begun to change; see Adamczak, Marecki, and Malatyński, *Film Units*.

14. Dorota Ostrowska, "An Alternative Model of Film Production: Film Units in Poland after World War Two," in *A Companion to Eastern European Cinemas*, ed. Aniko Imre (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 461.

15. Iordanova, *Cinema of the Other Europe*, 23. This claim is repeated in numerous studies.

16. For an analysis of the notion that this utopian fantasy is rooted in Polish filmmakers' nostalgic claims about the state socialism, see Marcin Adamczak, "Film Units in the People's Republic of Poland," in *Film Units*, 252–267.

17. Christina Stoianova, "The Eastern European Crisis of Self-knowledge (1948–1989): The Relationship between State and Society as Reflected in Eastern European Film—A Genre Approach," PhD dissertation, Concordia University, 1999, 358.

18. The 1930s' Society for the Promotion of Film Art was referred to by several film historians as a model for the Polish units. See, for example, Marek Haltof, *Historical Dictionary of Polish Cinema* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 54.

19. Staiger's account of the emergence of the producer-unit system in the early 1930s was criticized by Matthew Bernstein, who located the origins of what he calls unit production in the mid-1920s and claimed that it was linked historically to independent

producers. See Matthew Bernstein, "Hollywood's Semi-independent Production," *Cinema Journal* 32, no. 3 (1993): 41–54. For a discussion of the links between Hollywood and Ufa, especially of the Ufa producer Erich Pommer, who, before returning to Germany, worked for Paramount at exactly the time when the studio introduced the unit production (according to Bernstein), see Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 170.

20. For an elaboration on these historical continuities, see Petr Szczepanik, "Between Units and Producers: Organization of Creative Work in Czechoslovak State Cinema, 1945–1990," in *Film Units*, 271–312.

21. The term "Zhdanovism" relates to the period between 1948 and 1953 and is derived from the name of Andrei Zhdanov, the USSR Central Committee member responsible for Soviet cultural policy.

22. Zajiček, *Poza ekranem*, 120.

23. On the other hand, dramaturgy was not institutionalized in British and American theater and film until the 1970s, when it tended to be called "literary management." See Mary Luckhurst, *Dramaturgy: A Revolution in Theatre* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

24. Luckhurst, *Dramaturgy*.

25. David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933–1945* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 14.

26. Narratives of difficult integration into the production community are often present in the recollections of dramaturgs. Here, I draw on research that I conducted at the Collection of Oral History, National Film Archive (NFA), Prague.

27. For the conceptual dichotomy of corporate versus worker reflexivity, see Caldwell, *Production Culture.*

28. The registers or research modes include "textual analysis of trade and worker artifacts," interviews with workers, ethnographic observation taken on production sites, and economic/industrial analysis. See Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 4.

29. Michèle Lagny, *De l'histoire du cinéma: Méthode historique et histoire du cinéma* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992), 34, 181–236.

30. Braudel regarded the history of events as the most superficial aspect of historical change, describing them as "surface disturbances, crests of foam that the tides of history carry on their strong backs." He encouraged the social sciences to adopt the concept of the *longue durée* as a common methodological ground that promised to reveal the multi-temporality of their subjects and enable comparisons to be drawn between their conclusions. See Fernand Braudel, "History and the Social Sciences: The *Longue Durée*," in *On History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 21.

31. My sources include the minutes of political screenings and examples of recorded oral history, both of which are housed at the NFA.

32. See Lagny, *De l'histoire du cinéma*, 113.

33. In current ethnographically informed political science scholarship, micro-politics refers to the inner workings of politics, which is to say the everyday practices of decision-making that underpin political organizations. Micro-political studies focus on the organizational context and organizational culture that determine both the possibilities and the constraints of such decision-making at the level of smallest units of action, and on the ways in which they allow for groups to reach a consensus on, and to deviate from, formal rules and officially set goals. See Roland Willner, "Micropolitics: An Underestimated Field of Qualitative Research in Political Science," *German Policy Studies* 7, 3 (2011): 155–185. Political anthropologists have examined relatively

autonomous micro-political processes in concrete local settings and the ways in which they "not only reflect larger political processes and national-level conflicts, but may contribute to them." See John Gledhill, *Power and Its Disguises: Anthropological Perspectives on Politics*, 2nd ed. (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 128. For an example of ethnography of power struggles in the art world, see Maruška Svašek, "Styles, Struggles, and Careers: An Ethnography of the Czech Art World, 1948–1992," PhD dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 1996.

34. I am referring here to Bourdieu's sociological theory of the relative and changing autonomy of the field of cultural production vis-à-vis the field of power; see Pierre Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

35. NFA, ÚŘ ČSF, k. R10/A1/3P/7K.

36. NFA, ÚŘ ČSF, k. R9/B2/5P/6K.

37. Ironically, both Marek and Hofman were themselves dismissed after a new political backlash from the Culture Minister and the Central Committee, which punished filmmakers for making overly critical films. It took two more years before the field of film production had regained its relative autonomy again, thereby paving the way for the Czech New Wave.

38. Ganti used these concepts to explain the cultural processes of modernization, globalization, and gentrification in the Hindi film industry of the 1990s and 2000s. See Tejaswini Ganti, *Producing Bollywood*: *Inside the Contemporary Hindi Film Industry* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

39. National Archives, ÚV KSČ, f. 19/7.

40. See Petr Szczepanik, " 'Veterans' and 'Dilettantes': Film Production Culture vis-à-vis Top-down Political Changes, 1945–1962," in *Sovietisation and Planning in the Film Industries of Soviet Bloc Countries: A Comparative Perspective on East Germany and Czechoslovakia, 1945–1960*, eds Pavel Skopal and Lars Karl (Berghahn Books, forthcoming 2013).

41. NFA, f. ČSF, k. R4/A1/1P/7K.

8

A Flexible Mode of Production: Internationalizing Hollywood Filmmaking in Postwar Europe

Daniel Steinhart

I n May of 1961, director Vincente Minnelli was preparing the production of *Two Weeks in Another Town*, part of which he planned to shoot in Rome. Hollywood filmmaker Jean Negulesco wrote to Minnelli, offering some advice on working in Italy, where Negulesco had made portions of *Three Coins in the Fountain* and *Boy on a Dolphin*, and was at the time producing his next film, *Jessica*. Negulesco wrote:

> I would say that the most difficult and the most important condition of making a picture in Italy is to adapt yourself to their spirit, to their way of life, to their way of working. A small example: This happened to me on location. As I arrive on the set and everything is ready to be done at 9 o'clock—the people are having coffee. Now, your assistant also is having coffee—and if you are foolish enough to start to shout and saying you want to work, right away you'll have an unhappy crew and not the cooperation needed for the picture. But if you have coffee with them, they will work for you with no time limit or no extra expense.[1]

Negulesco's letter raises some key issues about postwar Hollywood production. By the early 1960s, production had for over a decade been shifting away from the Hollywood studio and Hollywood the place. Due to a confluence of economic, industrial, and aesthetic reasons, foreign productions—or "runaway" productions as unions in the United States named them in the late 1940s—were a significant contribution to this phenomenon. Negulesco's advice also points out the lessons that Hollywood filmmakers learned overseas when confronted with different working hours, production practices, and cultural customs. Rather than resisting these differences, the director recommends a modicum of adaptability in order to elicit the hard work and unregulated long hours expected by certain Hollywood filmmakers operating overseas.

In what follows, I explore the experience of Hollywood workers and companies that produced films in postwar Europe by addressing several related questions.

First, how was Hollywood able to move some of its filmmaking activities from the studios of the greater Los Angeles area to Europe? Second, what happened to the Hollywood mode of production as it interacted with European industries? Finally, what was the effect of Hollywood production on these film industries? In line with Negulesco's advice to adapt to local circumstances, I suggest that Hollywood's postwar foreign productions resulted in a more flexible mode of production as filmmakers continued film practices established in the studio system and adjusted to the features of foreign industries and locations.

This shift toward increased production flexibility reflected a larger industrial trend that some analysts have described as a "post-Fordist phase of flexible specialization" that began in postwar Hollywood and intensified through the latter quarter of the twentieth century. This new system was characterized by the vertical disintegration of the studios, an increase in the number of companies that performed specialized services, and a "package-unit" system of production in which the entire industry rather than the individual studio became the source for labor and materials on a project-by-project basis.[2] My own characterization of production flexibility aims to shed light on how Hollywood's foreign productions contributed to these industry changes while also offering a specific account of how Hollywood filmmakers and technicians had to become more versatile when shooting abroad.

This essay is a historical inquiry into transnational production cultures. Recent scholarship on production cultures has generated rich insights into the practices and interactions of contemporary media practitioners and how production work is itself a cultural activity.[3] By taking these concerns and using a historical approach to production, I suggest that postwar international production—with its mixing of labor, languages, filmmaking methods, and customs—was very much a transcultural activity. Drawing from the industrial and craft discourse in the US film trade press and studio correspondence, and supplemented by interviews with production personnel who worked in this era, this study takes a Hollywood perspective by investigating how Hollywood filmmakers executed production within a European context. However, the features of European production cultures will come into relief by illustrating the ways that Hollywood filmmakers interacted with these features, both reshaping them and being shaped by them. This exchange was not always mutually beneficial in equal measures. Hollywood certainly reaped the rewards of European financial incentives and cheap labor, but the evidence also suggests that European unions, skills, and infrastructures influenced Hollywood production in advantageous ways. After all, it was the dictates of European policies that initially impelled Hollywood companies to invest their frozen foreign earnings in overseas production.

In order to pursue this inquiry, I use as a case study Paramount Pictures' productions in Great Britain, Italy, and France from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s. The studio was by no means the most active major in overseas production. Compared with MGM, Warner Bros., and Twentieth Century-Fox, Paramount was slow to invest its frozen foreign earnings in production abroad, with studio president Barney Balaban arguing that foreign filmmaking was too costly.[4] In time, though, the studio turned out a series of commercially and critically successful foreign productions. I draw from six of these: *September Affair* (1951 US release), shot

in Hollywood and Italy; *Little Boy Lost* (1953), filmed in Hollywood and Paris; *Roman Holiday* (1953), made entirely in Rome; *To Catch a Thief* (1955), shot in Hollywood and on location in the south of France; *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1956), filmed in Marrakesh, London, and Hollywood; and *Funny Face* (1957), shot in Hollywood and Paris. Together, these productions reveal the challenges that not only Paramount faced, but many Hollywood studios and independent producers encountered as they explored new avenues of production during a period of industrial transition.

Assessing changes in postwar Hollywood filmmaking by focusing on a single studio, let alone invoking a totalizing framework like the Hollywood mode of production, risks overlooking a fragmentation in the standardization of how these films were financed and organized—an attribute of late studio-system-era production work. However, looking for patterns in how these films were planned and carried out can be fruitful. By doing so, we can see that foreign production work was to a degree standardized by adhering to proven methods developed in Hollywood and by adapting to the circumstances of working in Europe, which in turn coalesced into trade knowledge that future productions capitalized on.

So by using the Hollywood mode of production as a baseline and by taking an inductive approach to studying the industry's European productions, I aim to demonstrate that a series of salient features come to the fore that characterize Hollywood's system of international filmmaking. These factors include (1) the support of studio foreign offices; (2) the increased importance of location production management; (3) the infrastructure provided by foreign studios, laboratories, and equipment suppliers; (4) the intermixing of Hollywood and foreign personnel and production practices; (5) the dependency on contemporaneous overseas productions for labor and equipment; (6) the sharing of production knowledge; and (7) a degree of supervision of foreign productions by studio management based in Los Angeles. Each of these factors serves as a causal force that directly shaped the organization and execution of Hollywood filmmaking in Europe.

Foreign Studio Offices

Traditionally, a Hollywood company, whether working within the walls of a studio lot or on location in Southern California, would run its filmmaking operations from studio production offices. On European productions, however, the geographical distance from satellite film sites limited the role of the studio production office. Instead, certain studios looked to their network of overseas offices, which housed distribution operations, subsidiaries, and, in some cases, personnel in charge of scouting foreign story properties. The studio foreign office was vital to initiating the kind of preparatory work needed before a Hollywood unit could arrive to do principal photography. The reliance on the foreign office was especially crucial to Paramount, which did not have control of foreign production facilities, as MGM did in England. In London, Paramount split its operations between a production office on Jermyn Street, which also handled story properties and casting, and a distribution office on Wardour Street, where many of Hollywood's British branches were located. In Paris, productions were coordinated from a Paramount

distribution branch on Rue Meyerbeer, while in Rome, the studio relied on its distribution office on Via Leonida Bissolati.

These foreign offices received studio directives to scout locations, acquire foreign labor and equipment, and negotiate with local unions and authorities to secure shooting permits. For *September Affair*, one of Paramount's early postwar European productions, the studio's Rome office was charged with securing import and export licenses for equipment as well as entry permits and insurance for the crew coming from Hollywood.[5] Paramount also took advantage of its network of smaller distribution offices throughout Italy to aid with location surveys in Florence and Naples.[6] On *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, the London office scouted locations by taking photos of various locales and sending them back to personnel in Hollywood.[7] For the same production, Paramount benefited from France's colonial ties to French Morocco by working through its Paris office to organize permits, crew, and equipment and to address the cultural specificities of working in Marrakesh.[8]

In each of these offices, a multilingual production representative—typically local in origin—worked with the studio. For much of the 1950s in London, the Paramount production representative was Richard Mealand, while in Rome Luigi Zaccardi looked after productions in Italy. The representative in the Paris office was Edouard de Segonzac, a central figure in organizing preproduction for *Little Boy Lost*, *To Catch a Thief*, the Moroccan phase of *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, and *Funny Face*. These staff members were also familiar with the politics of local filmmaking. Because Hollywood was ensnared in communist witch-hunt trials in the 1950s, US companies working in Europe had to tread carefully in order not to align themselves too closely with communist unions for fear of political trouble back home with the House Un-American Activities Committee and red-baiting labor groups. When Paramount undertook the production of *Little Boy Lost*, communist and non-communist unions were locked in a conflict, and the studio turned to the Paris office to navigate the situation.[9] In the preparation of *To Catch a Thief*, the Paris office helped the studio understand that by shooting outside of Paris, the production would have an easier time securing non-communist union workers.[10]

In effect, the foreign office and its representatives functioned as in-the-field liaisons, who were essential to laying the groundwork for a studio unit to carry out production. These offices also reveal an added boon of Hollywood's international distribution network. In the mid-1910s, Hollywood studios had in part achieved global dominance by switching from sales agents in London to their own distribution offices around the world.[11] In the postwar era, these offices played an important role in Hollywood foreign production work by providing a needed support base to initiate a film operation.

Location Production Management

In the Hollywood studio system, the organization of individual productions was overseen by a unit manager, who took care of preproduction arrangements, and an assistant director, who supported the director during shooting.[12] For foreign

work, a unit production manager with enhanced authority and responsibility was typically sent to the filmmaking site to begin preproduction with the assistance of a foreign office or studio. This manager stayed in frequent contact with studio production supervisors via cables and letters to update them on frozen funds, foreign labor, equipment, transportation, lodging, and filming permits. Once shooting commenced, the production manager was responsible for ensuring that all of these arrangements functioned smoothly.

For *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, Paramount production manager C. O. "Doc" Erickson worked out of the studio's London office to organize the British and American crew and several French personnel, who would serve on the Marrakesh location shoot.[13] Once in Marrakesh, Erickson took over the general organization of location work. Through continual correspondence, he became the link between the production and Paramount executives in Los Angeles and New York, updating them on progress, delays, and costs.

At times, the duties of production management were carried out by other below-the-line workers, pointing to the more fluid roles of Hollywood personnel working overseas. In preparing for the Italian locations of *September Affair*, Richard McWhorter, an assistant director at Paramount, fulfilled the functions of a production manager by securing locations, permits, import and export licenses, and Italian labor, all while staying in contact with the studio back home.[14] In other instances, a studio hired a freelance production manager, who moved from one European production to another. One of the most fabled was Henry Henigson, a former Universal studio manager and MGM's European production manager, who was a major force in organizing Hollywood films in Europe, especially in Italy. He coordinated MGM's *Quo Vadis* at Rome's Cinecittà studios, working under the title of business manager. From correspondence, Henigson comes off as an exacting, budget-minded organizer, who saw to it that a production could run smoothly away from the support of a Hollywood studio while ensuring that the same studio had a responsible representative on the ground.

For *Roman Holiday*, Paramount appointed Henigson under the title of general manager to set up the production base at Cinecittà. He brought with him an international network of contacts and production experience from previous location films. He ensured that the film dailies process on *Roman Holiday* followed the one used on MGM's German production of *The Devil Makes Three*, in which the rushes were developed in a European lab and flown to Hollywood for Paramount executives to view.[15] Like the other production managers that Paramount sent overseas, Henigson's managerial skills helped promote a continuation of Hollywood practices in Europe.

While Hollywood often sent over a production manager, certain film units also recruited foreign personnel to organize filmmaking matters. For shoots in Britain, the production manager was most often British, since labor restrictions dictated that only a small percentage of the crew could be foreign. On *Little Boy Lost* in accord with French union regulations, the US unit manager Bill Mull was balanced by a French manager named Michel Rittener. Both were in charge of securing equipment, locations, and permits.[16] Eventually, as Hollywood producers became more familiar with European casts and crews, they began to depend

increasingly on foreign production managers, such as Julien Derode and Christian Ferry, who brought with them local crew members that often worked together from film to film.

Foreign Studios

One of the challenges of making films overseas for Hollywood companies was mounting a production away from Los Angeles, where for over three decades an infrastructure of studios, filmmaking services, and labor had supported production work. Economic geographer Allen J. Scott attributes the rise and growth of the Hollywood infrastructure in Southern California to industrial agglomeration: a dense cluster of individual production firms in one location, which is surrounded by a more dispersed collection of laboratories and equipment houses.[17] But what happened to this clustering pattern when Hollywood films went on location to foreign countries?

On the one hand, the agglomeration structure in Los Angeles became somewhat fragmented as certain Hollywood studios looked beyond the local support system to foreign regions. On the other hand, these productions moved to new filmmaking agglomerations in the metropolitan areas of London, Paris, and Rome, where clusters of studios, associated firms, and skilled workers could support Hollywood projects. While the production hubs in European cities may not have been as dense as Los Angeles, the clustering was significant enough to maintain both Hollywood and local production over the course of the 1950s and into the 1960s.

The area outside of London offered the greatest concentration of film studios in Western Europe. Those Hollywood companies that already owned local studios were in a good position to ramp up British production after World War II, especially when the British Board of Trade threatened to ban any purchase of British studios with the frozen foreign earnings of Hollywood companies.[18] In the late 1940s, MGM led production in Britain by converting its recently purchased Amalgamated Studios in Borehamwood outside of London into one of the most modern studios in the country. Warner Bros. rebuilt its bombed-out Teddington Studios, which it hoped to rent out to independent productions, while carrying out its own studio work at Associated British Picture Corporation, in which it held partial ownership. Twentieth Century-Fox owned Wembley Studios, which it had bought in 1934 to turn out "quota quickies." The Hollywood studio planned to renovate Wembley following its bombing during the war, but after signing deals with British producers, Fox used the facilities of these producers instead.[19] Without its own British studios, Paramount tended to carry out location shooting in Britain, as was the case on *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, while reserving soundstage work for its facilities in Hollywood.

In France, the use of studios by Hollywood in the late 1940s and early 1950s was limited, partly owing to soaring production costs.[20] In addition, unlike many of the British studios, French facilities were not heavily equipped with modern equipment and they were staffed with few contracted workers in order to maintain low overhead.[21] So most Hollywood productions in France opted to exploit

picturesque French locations while shooting the interiors in Hollywood, as was the situation on Paramount's *Little Boy Lost* and *Funny Face*. However, a handful of Hollywood films, such as the independent production *The Man on the Eiffel Tower*, Billy Wilder's *Love in the Afternoon*, and Darryl F. Zanuck's *The Longest Day*, took advantage of France's studios. In Paris, the principal studios included Studios de Billancourt, Studios de Boulogne, Studios de Neuilly, Studios Éclair, and Franstudio, which encompassed the studios Saint-Maurice and Joinville.[22] Studios located in the south of France consisted of Studios La Victorine and Studios de Marseille.

In Italy, Hollywood production concentrated around Roman film facilities, including Scalera Studios, Titanus Studios, the Centro Sperimentale, and, above all, Cinecittà. Opened in 1937, Cinecittà fell into disuse at the end of World War II, when it served as a munitions store and then a refugee camp.[23] Film production resumed in 1947, and a year later Fox's *The Prince of Foxes* was shot there. That same year, MGM used blocked lire to invest in modernizing the studio to sustain its mega-production of *Quo Vadis*. By 1952, Cinecittà could support both the production and postproduction work of *Roman Holiday*. For that film, Henry Henigson continued to implement a strategy of bringing Cinecittà in line with Hollywood departmental organization and practices, based on his experience of managing *Quo Vadis*.

In the long run, the production centers of London, Rome, and, to a lesser extent, Paris profited from Hollywood's postwar investment in shooting facilities. These infrastructures would not only attract future Hollywood productions, but also support local productions. By the mid-1950s, production in Europe had increased considerably, leading to much competition for stage space and crews.[24] However, Hollywood's investment in these production centers met some resistance. Italian director Roberto Rossellini complained that production costs in the already troubled Italian industry were being driven up by Hollywood companies, which were inflating prices for studios, production materials, and labor.[25] Nevertheless, Hollywood companies' investment in foreign studios was a boost to the industries of Britain, Italy, and France, which, for the most part, welcomed some economic support after the wartime slowdown in production.

Foreign Labs

Undertaking productions far away from the many laboratories in the Los Angeles area proved a challenge to the processing of exposed footage. Some studios opted to fly footage all the way back to New York and Hollywood, which led to delays. Even with quicker air service from Europe, the shipping time still resulted in a holdup in viewing dailies. For the production of *Little Boy Lost*, shot footage was sent from French locations back to Los Angeles for development, where Paramount personnel viewed the rushes and reported their assessment to the unit in France. However, because of unpredictable weather conditions on location, the production unit needed to shoot daily tests, which were developed closer at GTC Labs in Paris, providing the crew with more immediate photographic results.[26]

A contribution to the facilitation of Hollywood's foreign activities was the already established presence of US-owned laboratories in Europe, which gave Hollywood productions the security of familiar processing procedures. In 1949, US firm Cinecolor opened a lab in London, where Hollywood companies could expend frozen funds to develop prints.[27] Probably the most pivotal facilities were the Technicolor labs in London, Rome, and Paris, which were installed to support European production, but were able to supply Hollywood's European shoots with equipment and enabled these productions to develop dailies closer to shooting sites. However, Hollywood companies faced the possibility of being squeezed out of lab time at Technicolor when local productions overbooked.[28]

Hollywood productions also made use of local foreign labs, some of which viewed the Technicolor facilities as a threat to their business.[29] For *Roman Holiday*, director William Wyler and his editing staff worked with the Luce laboratory in Rome. Despite the fact that it ruined a couple of scenes as well as the retakes of those scenes, Wyler described the lab as "modern and well-equipped."[30] But aside from *Roman Holiday*, most of the postproduction of Hollywood's foreign work was done in Los Angeles, so US companies would usually use European labs only for the processing of dailies and Hollywood labs to develop prints for post-work.

Equipment

At the beginning of 1950, *Daily Variety* reported that Hollywood companies had shipped over the course of a few months more than $1,000,000 worth of sound and electrical equipment to locations around the world.[31] Over time, however, import and export taxes and shipping costs discouraged transferring a lot of equipment from the United States. To secure lighting, grip, sound, and camera equipment, Hollywood companies formulated a global assemblage approach, shipping essential equipment from Hollywood and obtaining the rest from European rental houses and studios and other Hollywood productions shooting on the continent. On *Little Boy Lost*, Paramount used a Parisian company for grip and electrical equipment, generators, and trucks. This equipment was balanced by Mitchell cameras from Hollywood.[32] Many Paramount foreign productions used the shipping agency Frank P. Dow Co. to coordinate the actual exportation of filming materials from the United States. Then, in Europe, the studio employed foreign shipping brokers, such as Cipolli & Zannetti in Italy and Michaux and Co. in France, to clear the equipment through customs and send materials back to the United States.[33]

Just as US labs operated branches in Europe, Hollywood lighting company Mole-Richardson had a production plant in London and supply shops in Rome and Paris—the latter provided lighting and electrical equipment for *To Catch a Thief* and *Funny Face*. In fact, in 1949, company head Peter Mole spent three-and-a-half months traveling through Europe to establish business ties and pave the way for supplying equipment to various film industries.[34] Similarly, a representative of lighting manufacturer Bardwell & McAlister traveled through Europe to survey business prospects.[35] With these US equipment manufacturers having secured a

foothold in Europe, Hollywood productions could count on the technology that they were accustomed to.

As Hollywood production was going global in the postwar era, US labs and equipment companies had already been expanding internationally by setting up shop in Europe to export Hollywood-based technologies, methods, and attendant film styles to foreign industries. The introduction of equipment developed in the United States either through the foreign branches of US suppliers or via shipping from studios contributed to introducing European industries to new sound and grip equipment and wide-screen systems. The exchange of equipment worked both ways, however, with some Hollywood productions utilizing foreign-made equipment, such as the Debrie Super Parvo camera, the lightweight Caméflex camera, and new dolly systems, which in certain instances proved more advantageous than US equipment.[36] In sum, the exchange of equipment permitted a transnational flow of production practices and filmmaking techniques.

Mixing Hollywood and European Personnel and Production Practices

Debates over how many Hollywood personnel to employ on foreign productions arose in the United States and Europe. Some Hollywood filmmakers made a case for bringing over a high number of US crew members trained in industry methods to insure better production efficiency even if it might result in higher costs.[37] Likewise, US film unions, which waged numerous campaigns against "runaway" productions throughout the 1950s, lobbied producers to take large Hollywood crews on foreign location treks.[38] Nonetheless, Hollywood companies capped the number of personnel they brought to Europe not only because of their ability to hire local skilled labor that was cheaper, but also because European unions limited the importation of US workers.

In Great Britain, unions were alarmed at the potential influx of Hollywood technicians as US majors started shooting in their London studios. At first, US and British labor groups attempted reciprocity agreements, in which Hollywood workers could go overseas in exchange for British workers coming to Hollywood.[39] However, the reciprocity agreements came up against labor protectionist measures on both sides of the Atlantic and were never fully realized. In time, British unions granted foreign work permits usually to one or two lead actors and the producer or director, but in practice, Hollywood firms and British unions arbitrated on a case-by-case basis.[40]

In France, because of the strong influence of communism in the film unions and a strain of anti-Americanism that arose in the late 1940s in reaction to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Marshall Plan, there were some objections to the potential influx of Hollywood productions.[41] To regulate, French unions required that any worker brought from Hollywood would have to be matched with a local worker of the same position.[42] Again, in practice, the French unions were open to negotiating the balance of Hollywood and French personnel, although they were more sensitive to protecting the employment of French cameramen. Eventually, as Hollywood companies realized the strength of French

technicians, they reduced the number of US crew members to avoid the costs associated with featherbedding.[43]

In Italy in 1949, the Association of Technical Cinematographers threatened to ban technicians coming from Hollywood for fear of being inundated with US workers.[44] Over time, though, the Italian foreign labor restrictions were nominal.[45] Italian cinematographer Sergio Salvati recalled that Hollywood personnel were welcome in Italy given the epic size of the productions and the resulting employment opportunities for Italian workers, even when a relatively high number of Hollywood technicians were used, as was the case on the 1959 remake of *Ben-Hur*.[46]

Overall, the below-the-line crew on continental shoots was heavily European, but by assigning Hollywood personnel to the role of department heads, the arrangement attempted to bring the ranks of each department in line with Hollywood production practices.[47] Furthermore, the technical demands of Hollywood production required film companies to bring along crew members with specialized skills, such as special effects workers and camera personnel. For example, the VistaVision shooting of *To Catch a Thief*, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, and *Funny Face* called for largely Hollywood camera units. However, as wide-screen filmmaking grew in Europe over the course of the 1950s, studios could look to European technicians, often in London, who had experience with wide-screen formats. Additionally, as studios became more familiar with European talent over time, established cinematographers, such as Giuseppe Rotunno and Jack Cardiff, and art directors, such as Alexandre Trauner, served as department heads.

One of the attractions of operating out of London, Rome, and Paris for Hollywood companies was that, in general, a film shoot's division of labor was similar in Hollywood and the British, Italian, and French industries.[48] However, a notable exception was the position of the gaffer.[49] In these European craft traditions, the gaffer did not exist, which meant that the director of photography had to light, or "rough in," the set. This change in work routine prompted Hollywood cinematographer Joseph Ruttenberg, who shot MGM's British production *The Miniver Story*, to write in the pages of *American Cinematographer*, "Certain technicians in Hollywood would blush to see me swinging a lamp in place or moving cables, gobos and barn doors, as I frequently did on this picture." Ruttenberg seems to offset this supposed demotion by reasserting his authority when he explains that he reorganized British "working procedures to more nearly conform with those followed in Hollywood."[50]

While the organization of foreign units along Hollywood methods aimed to increase production efficiency, the different languages of international crews complicated this process. Interpreters could ease communication, but their insertion in the workflow slowed down production, risked mistranslation, and added to the location budget. Though not the norm, overseas productions could also use multilingual personnel from Hollywood. Usually, European-born directors, such as Billy Wilder, Jean Negulesco, and Anatole Litvak, were among the few Hollywood members who could speak multiple languages. The hiring of multilingual European workers proved the most efficient and cost-effective solution to facilitating communication between the Hollywood and local crews, especially for jobs

involved in production organization, such as assistant directors and production managers. Ultimately, the means of communication varied not only from film to film, but also from individual to individual. Considering the fluid nature of language, communication across nationalities, like the production work itself, was a matter of adaptability.

Production Piggybacking

In Hollywood, film productions could draw on a readily available pool of workers and film materials from the Los Angeles area. However, with quality equipment and skilled workers at a premium overseas, studios turned to various Hollywood foreign units as a production supply source. The sharing of personnel with specific technical skills was especially beneficial. Dewey Wrigley, a Paramount cameraman who specialized in shooting rear-projection plates, was enlisted by Fox for *Under My Skin* to assist with location work in France and Italy. After that production, Paramount assigned him to travel around Europe compiling location shots for its stock backgrounds collection, before he moved on to the Italian sequences for *September Affair*.[51]

Experienced and bilingual European workers were also in demand, and some of the most reputed were passed around Hollywood productions. In assembling its team for *Little Boy Lost*, Paramount contracted Michel Rittener, a French production manager, who at the time was working as an assistant director and unit manager on John Huston's *Moulin Rouge*, which was then shooting in Paris and London. Rittener eventually took over much of *Little Boy Lost*'s preproduction work that the Paramount Paris office initiated. Pleased with his work, Paramount rehired him on *To Catch a Thief*. As one of the few English-speaking "script girls" in France, Sylvette Baudrot was another foreign national guaranteed steady employment on Hollywood productions. Born and raised in Egypt before moving to France, Baudrot spoke French, Arabic, Italian, and English—all languages that would benefit her during the growth of international production in the postwar era. After working for Hitchcock on *To Catch a Thief*, her reputation grew, and she went on to assist directors Richard Thorpe, Vincente Minnelli, and Stanley Donen, among many others on locations around Europe. As the careers of Baudrot and Rittener demonstrate, the sharing of talent became an integral way for location units to maintain some continuity from film to film.

Throughout the 1950s, as Hollywood companies increased their overseas production output and as European industries began to rebuild, competition for personnel and equipment intensified. With equipment in short supply in Europe, some foreign productions also shared craft materials, which divided up shipping costs. The *Roman Holiday* production worked out an agreement with MGM to use office equipment from *Quo Vadis* and camera dollies that had been left behind in Italy by the shoot for *When in Rome*.[52] Anatole Litvak's Franco-American independent production of *Act of Love* used Paramount's transparency cameraman and equipment, which had been brought over for *Little Boy Lost*.[53] In these

new frontiers of production, competing film units showed an unusual amount of cooperation.

Production Knowledge

As John Caldwell has pointed out, in the union-backed studio system, "trade knowledge" circulated through craft training and apprenticeships down a "vertical hierarchy" of rank.[54] For postwar foreign productions, vital production knowledge developed to reflect the ecosystem of new filmmaking environments. Hollywood personnel's experience with European working conditions, local bureaucratic protocols, and foreign studios, equipment, and labor all consolidated into valued knowledge that would be shared within studio production departments and among competing companies.

For early overseas productions, film firms did not have the luxury of relying on their own previous productions to learn the procedure for making movies abroad, so studios turned to other units shooting in Europe and even rival film companies. Paramount's production of *September Affair* looked to Fox's *The Prince of Foxes*, whose assistant director wrote to Paramount Studios to share his Italian contacts, explain union contracts, and describe how to avoid overpaying Italian workers in order not to inflate labor costs for the Italian industry.[55] Production manager C. O. Erickson recollected that for location surveys, he solicited production personnel who had worked abroad or local contacts for information on the regions.[56] By the late 1950s, the Unit Production Managers Guild formalized the distribution of overseas production knowledge by compiling data on producing films in various regions around the world, including findings on facilities, equipment, skilled labor, and locations. This information was made available to guild members and producers preparing to work overseas.[57]

Over time, though, producers and studios depended on their own past experience to organize their films. While each new foreign production encountered unique challenges that demanded creative solutions, this situation was far from a total breakdown of standardized procedure. In many cases, producers appealed to solutions that had worked in the past. This kind of practical knowledge was in a sense formalized in detailed studio correspondence, which future personnel could access. When French location work on *Little Boy Lost* wrapped, unit manager Bill Mull wrote a lengthy explanation of strategies for operating in Paris that other productions could draw from.[58] Subsequently, in preparation for French location shooting on *To Catch a Thief*, C. O. Erickson studied the correspondence from *Little Boy Lost* to gain insight into the process of acquiring shooting permits, accessing blocked francs, and dealing with French unions.[59] In fact, Erickson makes the case that *Little Boy Lost* functioned as a test run to orient future Paramount staff members who would go on foreign shoots in the coming years.[60]

The gathering of trade knowledge, however, was not just about collecting information on methods discovered while overseas; it also functioned the other way, applying Hollywood know-how to foreign production work. On *Roman Holiday*, Henry Henigson wanted to implement the production protocols established at

Paramount. So a Paramount production manager wrote to Henigson to explain how to use call sheets, daily production reports, script clerk's notes, and camera reports.[61] More specialized technical knowledge was passed on through correspondence by various studio department heads to illustrate the techniques for recording "wild tracks" and using background projectors.[62] Here, Henigson's intention to follow Hollywood practices and the studio's dissemination of this knowledge point to a valuable way the Hollywood mode of production could be exported to a foreign location shoot.

Studio Supervision

Did US filmmakers operating overseas have more freedom than their counterparts who worked within Hollywood studios? To be sure, film units in London, Rome, and Paris or in far-flung locations around the globe could escape the watchful eye of studio executives and managers. At its best, this kind of freedom could result in technical experimentation, such as the bold Technicolor cinematography in John Huston's *Moulin Rouge*. At its worst, production costs could spiral out of control without the careful supervision of budget-minded executives, as was the case on MGM's *Mutiny on the Bounty* and Fox's *Cleopatra*. But while a studio's moment-to-moment vigilance of logistical and creative decisions was weakened on foreign productions, studios nevertheless used a number of methods to oversee their film units abroad.

One means of keeping an eye on production was to develop footage shot overseas back in Hollywood, where executives and editors could monitor filming progress and quality. With the introduction of new wide-screen technologies, the studios were particularly concerned with the appropriate use of these formats. During the filming of *To Catch of Thief*, which was shot in VistaVision, Paramount sent numerous cables and letters to the production in France with advice on how to compose shots for the new aspect ratio.[63] During the French location filming of *Funny Face*, also shot in VistaVision, Paramount studio personnel viewed the dailies and reported to the French unit with their comments and criticism of the photographic work.[64]

Another method of supervision was trips by studio executives to foreign locations, as was the case with the visits of Paramount president Barney Balaban and supervisor Don Hartman to the production of *Roman Holiday*. Later, in 1960, Paramount production heads traveled to London, Rome, and Paris to check in with producers and directors working on studio films.[65] Additionally, a studio could keep tabs on production through their foreign offices, where production reps served as company proxies, briefing their employer on the latest filming developments.

Finally, the very act of communication via letter, progress report, cable, and telephone kept studio managers informed of filming progress. Correspondence ensured that the studio was kept up to date on issues of hiring, delays, and, most importantly, spending. During the preproduction of *To Catch a Thief* in France, C. O. Erickson sought to appease studio executives by writing, "I hope we are

keeping you sufficiently informed of our operational plans and progress and that you are getting all the information you desire. If not, please let me know and we'll try to do better."[66] Subsequently, Paramount asked Erickson to cable the studio at least every other day once the first unit shooting began.[67]

In the end, production costs rather than the details of creative decisions were the studios' greatest concern on foreign shoots. Nevertheless, despite the reduced supervision, Hollywood filmmakers working overseas still adhered to the aesthetic norms of their domestic industry, even if certain stylistic features, namely location shooting, became more salient on these productions. Whether they were established masters such as Wyler and Hitchcock or journeymen such as *Little Boy Lost* director George Seaton, these filmmakers fell back on the creative methods and solutions they had employed for decades, especially in the face of the challenges and vicissitudes of European production work.

Conclusion

While Hollywood had long thought globally in terms of its distribution reach, Hollywood's postwar foreign film activity points to the intensification of a more global approach to production. Because of economic incentives, production infrastructures, and skilled labor pools, Europe became a key staging ground for Hollywood's move into international filmmaking. Many of the changes to production taking place back in the United States were amplified in these new sites: altering the centers of productions, recasting work duties in response to new environments, reconfiguring the flow of materials, and drawing from a more international labor pool. It was through Hollywood's ability to manage these changes and continue certain established filmmaking practices that the industry was able to rely on international production as a strategy for navigating the changing industrial, cultural, and political climate of the postwar era.

These productions also ushered in changes to European film industries by bringing them into contact with Hollywood firms and financing, creating opportunities for coproduction deals, and eliciting the rebuilding of an infrastructure that had suffered during the war. Ironically, by helping to build up the industries of Britain, Italy, and France, Hollywood inadvertently strengthened its own competition. While conflict and resistance were part of the experience for both Hollywood and European workers on these productions, the collaboration persisted throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, heralding many of the practices and patterns of contemporary global production work. Although the specific economic and geopolitical mechanisms of today's globalization may differ from postwar internationalism, unpacking Hollywood's foreign productions in the 1950s can let us better understand the transnational exchange of craft practices, work routines, filmmaking materials, and labor of an interconnected world.

Notes

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5. Henry Anderson to Pilade Levi, May 11, 1949; Jack Saper to Russell Holman, May 24, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

6. Richard McWhorter to Richard Blaydon, July 5 and 11, 1949, *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

7. Herbert Coleman to Richard Mealand, January 31, 1955; Kathleen Selby to Herbert Coleman, March 29, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Location 1954–1955), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

8. Edouard de Segonzac to Alfred Hitchcock, February 5, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Location 1954–1955), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

9. Richard Mealand to Russell Holman, March 27, 1952, *Little Boy Lost* (Production 1952), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

10. Russell Holman to Y. Frank Freeman, February 25, 1954, *To Catch a Thief* (Preproduction Location 1953–1954), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

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12. Staiger, "The Producer-unit System: Management by Specialization after 1931," *Classical Hollywood Cinema*, 324.

13. C. O. Erickson to Herbert Coleman, April 30, 1955, *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (Herbie Coleman), Alfred Hitchcock Papers, AMPAS Library.

14. Various correspondence in *September Affair* (Production Department Files), Paramount Pictures Production Records, AMPAS Library.

15. Henry Henigson to Jack Karp, July 3, 1952, *Roman Holiday* (Henry Henigson), William Wyler Papers, AMPAS Library.

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A European Take on the Showrunner? Danish Television Drama Production

Eva Novrup Redvall

TV series produced by the Danish Broadcasting Corporation DR for Sunday evenings on the national screens have been remarkably successful in the past ten years. They have continuously had large domestic audiences and they have won four Emmy awards for best international drama since 2002. Since the 2010s, international audiences have also tuned in, despite the traditional fear of subtitled content and the local nature of the stories and settings. British audiences enjoyed crime series *Forbrydelsen*/*The Killing* (2007–2012) to the extent that the knitting pattern of the female detective Sarah Lund's notorious sweater has circulated in newspapers, and books on how to be Danish "from Lego to Lund" have been published.[1] Following *The Killing*, the series *Borgen* (2010–2013) about a female politician becoming the first prime minister of Denmark also found audiences in the UK, and in 2012 *The Independent* sent a reporter to Copenhagen on a mission to discover the secrets of "the Danish TV hit factory."[2] In the meantime, American audiences have watched an American remake of *The Killing* (2011–2013) on AMC, and a *Borgen* remake is in the works.

The degree of international interest is quite unique for a small production industry used to targeting a population of 5.6 million Danes, and industry talk of a certain "Danish model" has suddenly emerged. In 2012, a European TV Drama Series Lab was organized to deal with some of the current challenges within the industry and particularly explore what the European industry could learn from successful American showrunners.[3] A recurring point in discussions during the lab was how DR has successfully implemented work practices from the American industry and managed to integrate them into a public service mind-set and local production culture.

This chapter analyzes the concept of "one vision," which has been regarded as central in DR's production culture since the late 1990s and is continually used to explain the recent success of Danish series. The principle of one vision, which

emphasizes that series need to be driven by the vision of one head writer, shares many similarities with the US notion of the showrunner, which singles out one person, namely the writer or rather the writer–producer, as crucial to the production framework. The scale and scope of a small production industry like Denmark's is of course dramatically different to that of major US networks, but DR has deliberately tried to copy successful production models from American series while highlighting certain public service values at the core of production. Since 2003, the idea of one vision has been institutionalized by the formulation of 15 so-called "dogmas" for production. The first dogma defines the concept of one vision before moving on to other fundamental concepts within the current production framework such as "double storytelling" (referring to the importance of telling stories with entertaining plots that also have a "public service layer" with ethical and social connotations) and "crossover" of talent between the film and television industries.

The dogmas were originally an in-house mission statement designed to put tacit knowledge within the DR Fiction department into words. However, with the heightened interest in DR's series, the ideas of the dogmas and the idea of one vision, especially, moved into the public sphere.[4] The first part of this article will investigate the birth and development of the idea of one vision at DR and explore how the concept is understood among executives, producers, and writers. The second part of the article will then offer an analysis of the writing of one episode in the third season of *Borgen* (2013) to gain a better understanding of "one vision at work" and see whether the situated practices can be said to mirror the ideas presented in strategy papers and in the press. The article thus focuses on one vision on paper and in practice with the firm conviction that talking to practitioners and observing creative work in action is crucial if one wants to achieve a detailed understanding of the complex nature of a specific production culture.

John Thornton Caldwell has highlighted how current production cultures are marked by a substantial amount of what he describes as "corporate scripts."[5] As demonstrated in his seminal work, much can be learned from analyzing this kind of corporate storytelling and an "industry's own self-representation, self-critique, and self-reflection."[6] There is great value in exploring corporate scripts but also in trying to move beyond the official versions of what is being done to study what actually goes on during production. Doing this requires not only asking practitioners how they describe and interpret their practice but also having the opportunity to study their work. Spending time among practitioners going about their work makes it possible to nuance the corporate script, which in DR's case is quite strong and has repeatedly been put forward by executives and producers in recent years in the national public sphere. Moreover, it has been extensively discussed in Nordic trade discussions, where the DR model has been commended as the best form of practice in the industry.[7]

This chapter aims to nuance the concept of one vision by investigating both its background and an example of its implementation. It is one thing to put a concept down on paper in the official in-house dogmas of a public service drama department and present it to the world as crucial to the department's corporate

storytelling, but how this concept influences production and the extent to which it can be considered to be implemented by practitioners is quite another.

Television and Ideas of "One Vision"

Whereas film is normally regarded as the director's medium, television has traditionally been discussed as the producer's medium, and classical studies of television production have focused on the producer's work.[8] However, in the wake of discussions about "quality television" that normally take series from cable channels such as HBO, Showtime, and AMC as starting points, a new focus on the role of the showrunner has emerged.[9] Sometimes successful showrunners are even called "TV auteurs" in reference to the film term growing out of the French *nouvelle vague*.[10] This can seem ironic since—as commented by Jon Kraszewski—television studies has in many ways been trying to position itself against the auteurist discussions of film studies.[11]

The term showrunner is normally used to describe the role of one individual who has the overall responsibility for a show. In a recent competency analysis of showrunners, a showrunner is defined as "the chief custodian of the creative vision of a television series. The Showrunner's primary responsibility is to communicate the creative vision of that series—often from pilot episode through to finale."[12] The report concludes that, usually, showrunners are successful writers who have risen through the ranks and thus gained the necessary skills to be in charge of a television series. "How-to books" on television writing and production often define the showrunner as the executive producer.[13] Pamela Douglas describes how the showrunner "defines the course of a show and supervises all aspects."[14] Robert Del Valle stresses how the showrunner is "the creative force behind a series."[15] His definition considers the showrunner to be the creator of the series and explicitly links the job to the writing staff as well as many other responsibilities linked to production.

Alisa Perren has traced the use of the label showrunner back to the industry trade publication *Variety* in 1990, and it was first used in *The New York Times* in 1995. However, she points to how the position rather than the label has a much longer history, highlighting how classic studies of producers' roles have sometimes come to the conclusion that producers exercise artistic agency in the industrial structures of television production.[16] Perren suggests that showrunners should be seen as "intermediaries" who engage with a wide variety of professions during the course of making and marketing a series.[17] This intermediary function can have wide-ranging implications, as discussed in the work of Denise Mann in relation to showrunners for major shows like *Lost* (2004–2010). Mann found that in "today's blockbuster-style television production circumstances" in the United States, the showrunner is not just in charge of running the writers' room but also responsible for managing a series as a multi-platform trans-media franchise.[18] She mentions one insider talking about a shift away from the single showrunner to "a six-pack of executive producers" and constructively discusses how allocating authorship is difficult with the many different "authors" involved on a show like *Lost*.[19]

The use of the term showrunner in relation to writers, producers, or creators is not common in the European television industry but the term is gaining more ground. Christine Cornea has discussed the gradual introduction of the term in the UK in relation to series like *Doctor Who* (2005–2008), where she regards "the assigning of an American-style showrunner role to Russell T. Davies" as a "signifier of the BBC's intended 'quality' status for the series."[20] Since then, successful American showrunners have been imported for major European productions like *Borgia* (Canal Plus, 2011–, Tom Fontana) and *Hunted* (BBC, 2012–, Frank Spotnitz). However, as Frank Spotnitz has pointed out, having a showrunner only really makes sense when one has many hours of fiction to produce.[21] Often, the rather small-scale production in many European countries makes the need for a showrunner's creative control over the entire production obsolete. European drama series production has traditionally been based on an individual writer working on his/her own, with script editors adding their comments later on in the process, not on a showrunner supervising the writers' rooms that create material during production.

As argued by social anthropologist Georgina Born when discussing the idea of the "single authorial voice" in her study of the BBC, there has for instance been widespread skepticism toward team writing in the UK.[22] The lack of team writing has also been brought up by industry analysts who have complained about the marginalization of European screenwriters in the wake of the auteur theory.[23] This gradually seems to be changing in some European production cultures. A collaborative structure of a head writer working with several episode writers on high-profile drama series was introduced in the Danish framework in the mid-1990s, when the decision was made to focus on long-running character-driven drama series based on original content and one writer's vision. In the last part of this article, the concept of one vision will be compared to the role of the showrunner, since many of the main ideas in the DR production framework including the idea of one vision are considered to have been inspired by American work ways.

However, the imported ideas have to be understood within a small nation, a public service context, and a certain tradition where, for instance, the use of writers' rooms is on a very different scale to the United States.

A Production Study of "One Vision"

The following is based on an extensive study of the production practices behind the making of television drama series at DR.[24] The complete study approaches production from a Screen Idea System point of view and analyzes individual productions and the overall DR framework as well as the impact of other aspects beyond the specific production context such as the nature of talent training at the National Film School of Denmark.[25] Understanding the concept of one vision has however been critical to the research project, which grew out of previous studies of collaborations between directors and screenwriters in the Danish film and television industries.[26] In spite of screenwriters gaining more ground in Danish filmmaking since the late 1990s, the director is still regarded as the artist with the vision

or the auteur in the process and the writer is seen as the craftsperson helping to put the director's vision down on paper in the right way. There is no strong *spec script* tradition of screenplays originating from writers in the Danish film industry, but the research indicated that the national and international acclaim of domestic television series challenged the traditional roles. In television, these roles are often quite different; writers initiate and drive projects, while directors "visit" their vision by directing individual episodes. Accordingly, one of the primary ambitions of the research was to investigate the creative collaborations behind the making of successful television series at DR, with particular focus on the collaboration between head writers, episode writers, and directors as well as creative vision and authorship issues.

My study builds on the recent rise of media industry studies investigating production issues across a wide range of disciplines and from local and regional as well as transnational perspectives.[27] The research in this article is based on interviews that track the historical developments and current conceptions of practices and observational studies of practitioners working in writers' rooms, at meetings, and at readings. As Horace Newcomb and Amanda Lotz summarize, production analysis can range from macro to micro levels and from political economy to professional routines.[28] Most production analysis operates simultaneously on several levels of analysis to capture the complexity of the production process, and, as Newcomb has noted, most production studies try to make sense of cultural industries and the many problems related to "creativity and constraint in industrial settings."[29] The question is of course how the many negotiations that take place during production, when practitioners are making choices based on their assessment of different parameters in specific situations, should be studied. This article emphasizes the value of specificity and particularity while embracing larger points about major institutional developments at DR that can be said to influence the nature of the work processes studied at a more micro level of analysis.

My research is thus driven by the question of how to understand one vision in the DR framework based on a triangulation of interviews with key players, observational studies, and document analysis of different drafts of projects under development as well as other texts or correspondence linked to production.[30] As Caldwell argues, much can be learned from theorizing from the ground up and investigating the interpretative nature of practices; "looking over the shoulder" of practitioners can offer more complex insights than direct talk.[31] In her study on the BBC, Georgina Born argued that one of the strengths of fieldwork is to identify not only unifying features but also possible divisions, boundaries, and conflicts.[32] Fieldwork is an opportunity to explore whether there are differences between principles and practice, but it is also a fundamental way of gaining detailed knowledge about the routines and spaces for production as well as the more tacit knowledge of a specific work environment. There is great value in being able to study the actual work if one is constantly wary of one's own position as a researcher in the process.

Many of the more commercial changes in the approach to public service television discussed by Born in relation to the BBC that introduce a new set of terms such as "marketing", "branding," and "audience research" can also be said to have

taken place in the Danish television industry over the past 20 years and moved it from a state of monopoly to a competitive television landscape. The same goes for other national production cultures trying to maintain certain principles of public service television in an increasingly commercialized industry.[33] However, these changes can of course be approached in different ways. The approach of the DR Drama department, DR Fiction, seems to have been to try and incorporate what Born has described as "the maxim of wanting both ratings and profile" into the production framework.[34]

The Coming of "One Vision"

The concept of one vision at DR can be traced back to major changes within the production framework in the 1990s. Until TV 2 appeared in 1988, DR was the only broadcaster producing national content for Danish audiences. The new competitive situation led to more emphasis on the popularity of individual programs, and in the mid-1990s, two consecutive Heads of Drama, film directors Ole Bornedal (1993–1994) and Rumle Hammerich (1994–1999), decided to focus on long-running, character-driven drama series as the best way to brand DR Fiction. At the time, drama series by DR were not as popular as they are today, and even though a miniseries like Lars von Trier's *Riget*/*The Kingdom* (1994) had shown new generations of filmmakers that television could be an interesting medium, there was little collaboration between the film and television industries.

This changed dramatically when Bornedal and Hammerich brought their experience from the film industry to DR with their ambitions of producing entertaining drama for the new millennium. Hammerich wanted to create what he describes as "quality genre television" and saw the American shows at the time as a source of inspiration. On the production level, Hammerich insisted on good communication as the basis for creating quality product and created so-called "production hotels," which brought all those working on the same production together in the same location. Another major initiative was building studios. This facilitated the logistics of production and gave DR Fiction a sense of self-confidence. Instead of being guests in studios owned by others, DR was now in charge. Building studios also sent a strong message to the industry about DR's focus on producing quality fiction.

Through the building of studios and the creation of production hotels in the 1990s, production spaces underwent major changes as did the approach to production. To find new inspiration for content as well as production strategies, producer Sven Clausen traveled to Sweden, England, and the United States to study the work ways in other production cultures. The production of *NYPD Blue* (1993–2005) became an important source of inspiration for organizing and shooting new series.[35] On the practical side of production, the approach to studio lighting and a two-camera setup were imported for the series *Taxa* (1997–1999). A production "relay model" was created in which production could be made more efficient by shooting blocks of two or three episodes, thus saving time by shooting all scenes for several episodes in a particular location together. The idea was to have a different

director for each block, which is now a common practice in many production cultures.

However, a model where directors come and go naturally leads to the issue of who has the vision for the entire series in a traditionally director-driven national film culture. Clausen highlights the research trip to the United States as the moment when the concept of one vision was established in the Danish production framework, thus creating a clear sense of the different roles in production.[36] In the US series that were admired at the time, the head writer was perceived as the person with the sole vision for the series and the one making major decisions. This idea was imported as the concept of "one vision," which put the head writer at the center of production and involved him or her in all parts of the process from writing and developing the visual concept to casting and decision-making in the editing room. Clausen describes the use of one vision as both expensive and time consuming even if it is the best way to produce prime-time quality drama series.[37]

DR's "Dogmas" for Television Drama

In 2003, the concept of one vision was put down on paper as the first of 15 so-called dogmas for production. The dogmas were formulated by Head of Drama Ingolf Gabold (1999–2012) and his staff after they won their first Emmy for the crime series *Rejseholdet/Unit One* (2000–2004). According to Gabold, the aim was to capture the tacit knowledge within the department and create a shared mission statement.[38] The dogmas have changed a little over the years but the fundamentals are the same. The first dogmas introduce four central concepts, which are still part of ongoing conversations and practices in the drama department: the concepts of "one vision," "double storytelling," "producer's choice," and "crossover."

The first dogma states that authors are the pre-requirement for the existence of the drama department. An author's vision should drive the fiction in relation to a specific project based on the concept of one vision. He or she develops his or her screenplays in close collaboration with the drama department so that the development expertise in the department can clearly be seen in the final product. Furthermore, it is stated that the department has a number of in-house screenwriters who can be hired to develop new series between ongoing productions.

The second dogma specifies that DR's public service status means that the plots of drama productions must have ethical/social connotations besides being based on " a good story." Productions should thus be based on something called "double storytelling."[39] According to the former Head of Drama Rumle Hammerich, this has been a fundamental principle since his time at DR, but he uses the term "philosophical layer" while others like screenwriter Maya Ilsøe and producer Christian Rank describe it as the "public service layer." When discussing the current DR "formula" from a management point of view, Head of Drama and producer of *The Killing* Piv Bernth described its public service dimension as "the extra touch that we can give our audience."[40]

The third and fourth dogmas about the mode of production state that there should be crossover between DR writers and directors and the industry as well as crossover amongst other professions in the crew. It may seem obvious but the idea of crossover marked a move away from working primarily with the same in-house staff in favor of "producer's choice," where producers hire a freelance crew for each series. Over the past few years, the crossover of film directors who can practice their craft and gain on-set experience without having to worry about the overall vision of a project has been regarded as an important aspect of the success of Danish film.[41] In DR's case, being able to attract talent from the industry has been influential in terms of giving the series a more cinematic look.

In spite of the fact that the production concepts in the dogmas were developed in the late 1990s and set down on paper in 2003, the concepts described above are often hailed as important to the current success of DR series and still seen as the main guidelines for production.[42] As stated in the dogmas, one vision means making the writer the center of attention, but he or she should work in close collaboration with the drama department. Some producers are in favor of being included in the concept, thus expanding it to a writer–producer "twin vision," since most series by DR since *Taxa* have been based on steady writer–producer collaborations.[43] Screenwriter Maya Ilsøe found that one vision refers to a close collaboration between a screenwriter and a producer but she stressed that they are working on an original idea by the writer and this fact needs to be respected. Head of Drama Piv Bernth has described how "writers are where it all starts" and stressed that DR intends to stick to the current set up for the foreseeable future.[44] DR's cultural director Morten Hesseldahl has stated that "One Vision means that you believe in the author and their vision of the story . . . so they don't have to be manipulated by management or by directors."[45] One vision is an established concept, which is presented as critical by writers and producers as well as executives.

Whereas people from DR Fiction generally agree that the principle of one vision is for the common good, it is obvious from interviews and observations of their work that one vision and the writing and development of series comes in many different shapes and forms.[46] The following is an analysis of how the concept of one vision can be understood in relation to one specific production: an episode for the third season of *Borgen*.[47]

One Vision in Practice: The Making of *Borgen*

Borgen was created by Adam Price, a former episode writer for DR who developed the original idea for *Nikolaj og Julie/Nikolaj and Julie* (2002–2003), which won an Emmy with Søren Sveistrup as head writer in 2003. When Price first suggested a series on the political life to DR, it was considered too elitist to interest the 1.3 million viewers a successful Sunday night series is now expected to draw. However, he stuck with the idea, and when he pitched it as a series with a female politician in charge and the tagline "Can you hold on to the power and still hold on to yourself?" in the spring of 2007, DR decided to develop the series. The first season about

female politician Birgitte Nyborg's rise to power that combined the political arena with the life of the spin doctors and journalists surrounding it aired in 2010. The second season was shown in 2012.[48]

Adam Price and producer Camilla Hammerich worked together for several years at TV 2 before pitching *Borgen* to DR. Hammerich had previously worked at DR and was asked to return and produce the drama series *Sommer* (2008), to which young writers Tobias Lindholm and Jeppe Gjervig Gram were attached. When they received the green light to develop *Borgen*, Price and Hammerich asked the two writers to join the team. The writers were originally planning to develop their own series but they found *Borgen* so intriguing that they accepted the offer.

Gram has described how they made "a musketeer oath" with Price from the very beginning defining that Price was the creator and head writer of the series, but that the writers' room needed to be "democratic" in that all writers would have to agree on an idea before they could move on; if one person was against a suggestion, they would have to come up with something better. According to Gram, this has marked the work in the writers' room all along, and both Lindholm and Gram are acknowledged as crucial to the making of *Borgen* at DR Fiction. The writing of *Borgen* has been based on a writers' room. For the first two seasons, it consisted of Price, Lindholm, and Gram. The writing of the third season was marked by the fact that Lindholm stepped out of the room to write and direct feature films, thus creating an opening for new writers like Maja Jul Larsen, who wrote episode 25.

At the end of the second season, Birgitte Nyborg withdraws from politics. During the summer of 2011, the writers met to discuss where to take the third season from there. The main purpose was to create a new arc for Birgitte Nyborg's journey and some general turning points for the next ten episodes. Once there was a general sense of where to take the main character and some of the other characters over the entire season, the fall was spent developing concrete story lines and drafts. For this process, all three writers spent two weeks together in the writers' room and developed all the beats of an episode. On episode 25, the writers basically started from scratch in the knowledge that it would be a more procedural episode based on a particular political issue: whether or not prostitution should be legalized.

The process to develop episode 25 was very collaborative; all three writers made major contributions and were active in the discussions about which direction the material should take. Price did most of the writing on the whiteboard while they were developing the beats during the first week of story-lining, and the episode writer put everything down on paper once they started "weaving" the beats together in the second week. The episode writer also made a verbal pitch of the entire episode to the producer and researcher during a meeting that lasted several hours at the end of the second week. However, comments on the pitch were usually addressed by Price, and all through the process, he was the one expected to explain the material in detail and make the final calls.

After the note meeting, the episode writer had a week to produce a treatment. This was followed by a new note meeting, and he then had two weeks to produce a first draft. There was then another note meeting, again with all three writers, the producer, and the researcher. Based on the notes, the episode writer had another two weeks to produce a second draft, after which Price did all the later rewrites.

According to Hammerich, there were normally seven drafts during the first two seasons but there were five during the last. The later drafts were based on notes by the producer and the Head of Drama as well as the main actors and the episode director, but the broadcaster ordering the series from the in-house drama department was not involved. From the moment the series received the green light, DR Fiction ran the show, and even though Price invited comments from many people, he seemed to have complete freedom of choice.

Hammerich describes the process as everyone supporting Price's vision but also continuously challenging it. She regards the making of *Borgen* as a definite example of one vision, but it is a vision where several contributors "carry wood to the fire," as she puts it, especially the episode writers and Hammerich herself as the producer. In her opinion, the main challenge in this process is making episode directors feel part of the team and take ownership. Writers Jeppe Gjervig Gram and Maja Jul Larsen both agree that Price is the one with the overall vision as well as the overall responsibility but they find that one of his major qualities is that he genuinely seems to appreciate their input and the dialogue in the writers' room. Larsen describes how some head writers always speak in terms of "I" rather than "we," and how one sometimes gets the sense that instead of being open to difficult discussions about challenges in a text, they will just change things to their liking in subsequent drafts. Hammerich finds that Price has a talent for giving others a sense of ownership and that the *Borgen* writers' room was "dynamic," "generous," and "egoless" as well as being marked by a sense of "confidence" and of feeling "safe." There was room for bad ideas and disagreement, and she enjoyed taking part in the reading and being able to make comments in the editing room further along in the process.

Observation showed that there was time and space for constructive disagreements and creative detours as well as lots of personal talk in the room. Gram and Larsen found that their role in the process was often to be what Larsen describes as "the devil's advocate." Hammerich, Gram, and Larsen all mention how Price is constantly coming up with many ideas. It is a great personality trait for getting conversations started, but there is sometimes the danger of settling on an idea too quickly and moving on to the next. In the case of episode 25, the producer was worried that certain points on prostitution in the material might be too controversial for a prime-time Sunday night series. She voiced her concern during note meetings but always left the decision to the writers. As Price commented at one point during a note meeting: "If you can't do controversial content in the third season of a successful show, then when can you?" Price has stated that "[T]he great thing about DR is that they really understand the necessity of artistic freedom," and the writers did seem free to make their own choices when Price was in charge.[49] As the text progressed, quite a few things were changed, but the main storylines and points from the room were maintained. It was more a process of telling the story more efficiently, taking out dialogue and making some scenes come together as one rather than making major changes to the structure or content.

As it was on its third season, there was already an existing machine for production and a conception of best practice. This facilitated many processes, and the development and writing seemed to run smoothly. In-house, the *Borgen*

framework was often highlighted as a well-functioning production process whereas the third season of *The Killing* for instance appeared to have been marked by the late delivery of screenplays. Other observations of early development and writing stages of a first-time Sunday night series head writer at DR showed how these processes can be much more stressful and there were numerous changes in the approaches used as well as the people involved. Moreover, the concept of one vision was under much more pressure due to strong talent becoming attached to the project as directors, cast, and crew and because of the uncertainty as to whether the talented head writer could go the distance. According to sociologist Sara Malou Strandvad's analysis, auteur expectations from oneself as well as from the surroundings can be overwhelming for first-time directors.[50] Similarly, it could be argued that new head writers drowning in deadlines and decisions are inherent to the concept of one vision.

Conclusion

The concept of one vision outlined in the dogmas does seem to be treated with respect in productions at DR but, as Camilla Hammerich states, all writers and producers implement the concept in different ways. When one compares the process described above to major US productions, there are of course remarkable differences in size, scope, and speed. The writers' room only consists of three people, which DR Fiction writers and producers believe is "the magic number."[51] Based on the experience of four people occasionally working together on the story-lining of later episodes in the third season, episode writers Gram and Larsen explained that the process just did not work when there were more people in the room. Larsen found that the balance of the room was thrown; with three people, one has the impression that one can speak whenever one likes but one can also remain silent since others are speaking.

It seemed hard for practitioners to explain why three is the magic number but the consensus about the number was striking, and observations of the three-way development process of *Borgen* showed that always having a third party listening and then being the one to naturally comment created a good balance. However, the small rooms can of course only exist because DR has a more leisurely schedule to produce ten one-hour episodes than the US production framework, which calls for more material to be produced in a shorter time span. This also allows the head writer to actually get involved in several stages of production at once. As argued by producer Sven Clausen in the above, the concept of one vision is costly and time consuming, but people on both the production and creative sides seem to agree that it is better to structure processes around one person with a vision than try and speed things up by producing with more people or several teams.

The head writer in the DR framework can in many ways be regarded as a showrunner: he or she has the vision for a series, oversees the writers' room, and is involved in all major decisions regarding production. He or she outlines and writes new episodes while production is up and running. Even though he or she is not physically present at the shoot, he or she is constantly on standby in case changes

are needed or there are any questions, and he or she is also an integrated part of postproduction. The main writer is thus involved in each stage of the process and rewrites all the episode writers' drafts to make the material consistent in voice and vision.

Apparently, this way of working is different to the structures at the main competing channel TV 2. A report by the Danish Writers Guild published in 2011 criticized the development processes at TV 2 for changing the concept of what series should be along the way and displaying a serious lack of trust in the main writers attached to projects.[52] While TV 2 has developed several series that compete to go into production at the same time, DR has focused on allowing a few writers to develop their personal ideas over a longer period of time with all the in-house facilities at their disposal. As stated in the first dogma, some writers are almost considered in-house talent even though they are all working on a freelance basis, and writers like Peter and Stig Thorsboe, Søren Sveistrup, Adam Price, and Maya Ilsøe are paid a retainer in between productions to come up with ideas for new series based on the conviction that material needs to grow out of a writer's desire to say something.

Borgen is an example of the way in which many DR productions build on very steady collaborations and people growing up in the system. This is especially true of writers, since all recent head writers started as episode writers on other DR series. As described in research on US writing teams, there is a lot of politics at play in writers' rooms and there is a classic food chain when it comes to moving from "baby writer" to showrunner.[53] In larger production cultures, there are more opportunities to gain different experiences at various broadcasters, but, as stated by screenwriter Hanna Lundblad, there are many advantages of learning how a system works from within and honing one's craft by observing the work of one's more experienced peers. If one takes a close look at the list of people who have produced prime-time series for DR in recent years, a pattern of established collaborations between specific writers and producers emerges. In the case of *Borgen*, Hammerich compares her working relationship with Price to "an old marriage" since they have been working together for around 15 years. Similarly, Piv Bernth, now Head of Drama, has produced the work of Søren Sveistrup for all three seasons of *The Killing*, and Sven Clausen has regularly produced series by writers Peter Thorsboe and Mai Brostrøm like *Unit One* (2000–2004), *Ørnen/The Eagle* (2004–2006), and *Livvagterne/The Protectors* (2009–2010). While there is now crossover and freelancers are used among directors and the crew, the producers are among the around 35 full-time employees at DR Fiction and most of them have been working with the same writers for a number of years. DR's success has been kept in the family, so to speak, and lately, critical voices have denounced the lack of opportunities for new talent and the focus on mainstream genres like crime series instead of spending public service budgets on experimenting with less commercial content that is not likely to be produced by other broadcasters.[54]

The concept of one vision is thus based on quite steady writer–producer collaborations with the writer running the writers' room and the producer overseeing the rest of production. However, the head writer is constantly involved when major decisions about a series are made and he or she is singled out as the creator.

Former Head of Drama Rumle Hammerich has stated that no writers or producers in Denmark have the long experience as well as the combination of writing *and* producing skills that could earn them the title of showrunner.[55] However, as foregrounded by events like the European TV Drama Series Lab, there is currently much fuss about the showrunner's role and what the European television industry can learn from US production structures.[56] As mentioned, some have argued that what is at play at DR is more of a "twin vision," since producers are crucial to making the writer's vision come alive as steady collaborators all the way, from the original idea to the finished series.

Despite these crucial collaborations, the research shows that writers have been granted authorial designation and creative control. So far the word showrunner has not been used in the DR framework, but in a research interview, when discussing how he might have taken one vision to the extreme with *The Killing*, head writer Søren Sveistrup noted that he liked the "active" sound of the word; while someone sits around with a vision, there is more action in the term "showrunner." With US players approaching DR about possible coproductions for the first time due to the appeal of *Borgen* and *The Killing*, it will be interesting to see how the concept of one vision will work on a larger scale of production and whether the showrunner's role will appear in DR's production vocabulary.

It is worth exploring the fundamental concepts for production and different notions of professional roles since they are likely to be much more ambiguous in practice than they might sound on paper. In the wake of the many debates in the Norwegian film and television industries about how to potentially copy the Danish production framework, Rumle Hammerich has warned against simplifying concepts like one vision. He argues that many people misleadingly believe the concept to imply that all power should be given to only one person but it would be fatal to pursue such a strategy.[57] As exemplified in the case study, even though one vision refers to the singular vision of the writer, it is a vision that is facilitated, developed, and produced within a highly collaborative process. In the DR framework, this process has been refined over several years by people who have learnt by doing within the system. Several writers have pointed to the initial troubles of creating the right structure for this process since head writers were initially not used to acting as work leaders, and episode writers were uncomfortable about having their work rewritten and entering someone else's vision. One cannot easily export the idea of one vision without the right framework to support a writer's vision just like Europe cannot simply fly in successful US showrunners and expect the emergence of new quality series overnight.

The popular series by DR in recent years build on numerous changes in the production framework since the 1990s. The series are of course the result of strong ideas from gifted talent but they are also the result of major organizational changes and new creative regimes within DR, new approaches to educating talent, as well as the overall change of attitude toward television production in the industry. Compared to the role of the showrunner, one can argue that what is at play in the DR context is a model that copies the principle of making one main author the center of attention and granting him or her "one vision" while insisting that the said

vision be developed in close collaboration with a producer and draw on the long development expertise within the department. When a new series has been given the green light based on quality parameters such as whether it has an interesting potential for "double storytelling," time and trust are central to the process. As a public service broadcaster, DR has so far had the money to allow the processes to take time and give talent the room to explore many different paths before settling on final ideas.

The new focus on one vision, showrunners, and TV auteurs also carries a potential danger: it could bring the romanticism of singular authorship back to television production. Production studies can help create a more nuanced understanding of the crucial collaborations behind the scenes and how influential concepts and production strategies can gradually evolve over time and be implemented in different ways. In today's world of extensive corporate scripts, it seems more important than ever to try and move beyond the official story of what is being done and study practitioners' perceptions of their work and situated practices. The European TV Drama Series Lab exemplified how not just European but also American broadcasters and producers are seeking new modes of production because of "broken business models" following the increased competition from new players and platforms.[58] It makes sense to study what might be learned from practices in various production cultures, not just from an industry point of view but also to further academic discussions on television production, creativity, and authorship.

Notes

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3. Eva N. Redvall, *European TV Drama Series Lab: Summary of Module 1* (Berlin: Erich Pommer Institut, 2012).
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5. John T. Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 3.
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30. The following draws on interviews by the author with Sven Clausen, August 23, 2010; Ingolf Gabold, July 21, 2010, and March 17, 2011; Jeppe Gjervig Gram, November 9, 2012; Camilla Hammerich, November 9, 2012; Rumle Hammerich, June 7, 2012; Maya Ilsøe, November 13, 2012; Maja Jul Larsen, November 8, 2012; Hanna Lundblad, September 3, 2012; Adam Price, July 17, 2010, and December 20, 2012; Christian Rank, November 22, 2012; Nadia Kløvedal Reich, November 6, 2012; Søren Sveistrup, November 6, 2012; Stig Thorsboe, September 3, 2012; and Rikke Tørholm Kofoed, November 9, 2012. When people are mentioned as the source of statements in the text, these interviews are the ones being referred to unless otherwise stated.

31. Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 27.

32. Born, *Uncertain Vision*, 15.

33. For example, in New Zealand as analyzed in Trisha Dunleavy, "New Zealand Television and the Struggle for 'Public Service,'" *Media, Culture and Society* 30 (2008): 795–811; Dunleavy, "New Zealand on Air, Public Service Television, and TV Drama," in *Reinventing Public Service Communication: European Broadcasters and Beyond*, ed. Petros Iosifidis (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 298–310.

34. Born, *Uncertain Vision*, 327.

35. As discussed by Sven Clausen, Rumle Hammerich, and screenwriter Stig Thorsboe in the interviews by the author.

36. Clausen in Pernille Nordstrøm, *Fra Riget til Bella* (Copenhagen: DR Multimedie, 2004), 55.

37. Ibid.

38. In the interview by the author with Gabold, 2011.

39. This is my translation of the Danish term. Others have used the translation "double dimension narration," which can be found in Annika Pham, "DR's Queens of Drama Give the Ingredients to Their Winning Recipe," News from Nordisk Film and TV Fond, May 11, 2012, accessed November 7, 2012, http://www.nordiskfilmogtvfond.com/news_story.php?cid=3356&sid=10&ptid=4.

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42. As discussed by Head of DR Fiction Nadia Kløvedal Reich in the interview by the author, 2012.

43. Clausen mentions "twin vision" in the interview by the author, 2010.

44. Bernth in Pham, "DR's Queens of Drama."

45. Hesseldahl in Gilbert, "How Does Danish TV Company DR Keep Churning Out the Hits?"

46. As analyzed in Redvall (forthcoming 2013).

47. I am grateful to all the *Borgen* practitioners who allowed me to follow their work and found time for interviews. A special thanks goes to researcher Rikke Tørholm Kofoed for continuously providing information on meetings and developments.

48. This article focuses on the development of episode 25 for the third season from the two weeks of story-lining the main lines of action in the writers' room in December 2011 through to different drafts and note meetings until the reading in June 2012. The following is based on observational studies and interviews with producer Camilla Hammerich, head writer Adam Price, episode writers Jeppe Gjervig Gram and Maja Jul Larsen, researcher Rikke Tørholm Kofoed, and Head of DR Fiction Nadia Kløvedal Reich conducted in November and December 2012. Previous interviews

related to *Borgen* had been conducted with Price and former Head of Drama Ingolf Gabold.

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50. Sara M. Strandvad, "Inspirations for a New Sociology of Art: A Sociomaterial Study of Development Processes in the Danish Film Industry," PhD dissertation, Copenhagen Business School, 2008.

51. For a more detailed analysis of writers' rooms and *Borgen*, see Redvall, *Writing and Producing* (forthcoming 2013).

52. The Danish Writers Guild, "Medlemsundersøgelsen 2011," *Replikker*, January 2011, accessed November 9, 2012, http://www.dramatiker.dk/userfiles/files/replikker21.pdf.

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      For more on writers' rooms as thought communities and television writing as different forms of collaborations, see Redvall *Writing and Producing* (forthcoming 2013).

55. Interview with Hammerich by the author, 2012.

56. For example, Eva N. Redvall, *European TV Drama Series Lab: Summary of Module 2* (Berlin: Erich Pommer Institut, 2013).

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Exporting Nollywood: Nigerian Video Filmmaking in Europe

Alessandro Jedlowski

When Kenneth Nnebue, a Nigerian electronics dealer, produced the film *Living in Bondage* in 1992, he probably had no idea of what its release would represent 20 years later. But today, among Africans of all nationalities, the title of this film is synonymous with the birth of the largest entertainment industry in Africa.[1] The Nigerian video film industry, commonly referred to as Nollywood, is indeed considered to be one of the largest film industries in the world.[2] The films produced there circulate all over Africa and throughout the African diaspora in Europe and elsewhere.[3] To many, the emergence of the Nigerian video industry represents the most important event in the recent history of African media. The video industry has managed to develop autonomously without any support from the government. It created independent and informal systems of production, distribution, and exhibition, which enabled the production of low-budget films that were released straight to video and watched in most cases at home or in informal neighborhood screening venues.[4]

As the Nigerian journalist Steve Ayorinde has underlined, Nigerian videos have circulated among Nigerian and sub-Saharan African people in Europe and North America since the industry's early days.[5] As is often the case with the consumption of indigenous media in diasporic contexts, Nigerian videos became the vector through which people managed to create and maintain multiple forms of connection with their homeland. Videos participated in the construction of an Afrocentric transnational and diasporic mediascape that still appeals to people of African descent throughout the world today. As I have explained elsewhere,[6] for a long time, videos circulated through informal and pirated networks, but the industry has progressively realized the economic potential of the diasporic market and it is now trying to formalize it. However, besides this recent development, the diaspora has played an influential role in the industry's general economy almost since the video phenomenon began.

First of all, the diaspora has been used by Nigerian directors and producers as both a setting and a narrative device. As Jonathan Haynes discusses,[7] films that

thematize the experience of living abroad that are partially or entirely set outside Nigeria and Africa have almost become a genre in their own right. The production of films of this kind has witnessed a remarkable increase following the great popular success of two Nigerian films set in Europe, *Osuofia in London* (2003) and *Dangerous Twins* (2004). The success of these films gave Nigerian producers an idea of the commercial potential of such stories, and countless diaspora-centered films were released.

While some Nigerian producers used foreign settings as a narrative device, the diaspora also became an autonomous site of production. The success of Nigerian videos among diasporic Africans encouraged some Nigerian entrepreneurs based in Europe and North America to set up autonomous ventures. Production companies of this kind emerged in many European countries (Holland, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom) as well as in the United States and Canada. There are numerous interesting aspects to this phenomenon that seems to constitute a rather original development in the recent history of diasporic and migrant filmmaking.[8] While the emergence of diasporic and migrant cinema in both Europe and North America is indeed a long-term, widely documented phenomenon, the creation of independent production companies that intend to reproduce the format and structure of an indigenous popular culture industry within the diaspora is a subject that has rarely been focused on.[9]

The central aim of this chapter is therefore to describe this phenomenon and try and define its main features. In doing so, this article will try to address an area of analysis that is often left at the margins of both production studies and diasporic cinema studies, namely the analysis and interpretation of the production strategies developed within the diasporic context. On the one hand, as I will discuss in more detail in the first section of this chapter, most of the work that has focused on diasporic and migrant filmmaking has focused on the film's "text" rather than on the economic and entrepreneurial strategies developed to produce the film itself.[10] On the other hand, most of the work in production studies has mainly dealt with Western production practices, and when, for example, in the remarkable study of the Bollywood industry by Tejaswini Ganti, it has focused on non-Western film industries, the analysis of diasporic production practices has been left at its margins.[11] By applying the ethnographic methodology that defines much of scholarly production studies to diasporic and migrant filmmaking in this context, this chapter will place emphasis on the emergence and progressive consolidation of a range of production strategies that might acquire particular relevance in the definition of filmmaking practices in Europe and elsewhere in years to come.

The data presented and analyzed in this chapter were gathered during the ethnographic studies I conducted between 2009 and 2011 in Nigeria, Italy, and England as part of a research project about the transnationalization of the Nigerian video industry's economy. Using anthropological methodology, I engaged in participative observation on film sets and distribution venues, interviewed industry insiders in Nigeria and abroad, and raised issues relating to the production and consumption of video films by audiences in Nigeria and Europe.[12]

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section I will outline the theoretical context within which the analysis of the emergence of Nigerian

diasporic filmmaking can be set. In the second, I will present the history of the emergence of Nollywood production companies in various European countries from a comparative perspective. I will outline the specificities of the modes of production and distribution that these companies have developed and discuss their interrelations with production and distribution infrastructures in both Europe and Nigeria in the third section.

Migrant and Diasporic Filmmaking in Europe: Theories and Practices

Migrant and diasporic filmmaking began in Europe as early as the mid-twentieth century, when significant waves of migration from southern European and extra-European countries began to modify the continent's demographic structure. The first occurrences of this kind emerged in the most industrialized European countries: the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The first academic attempts to conceptualize migrant and diasporic cinema were thus formulated in relation to the film productions that appeared in these countries. As Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg have shown, the way these forms of filmmaking have been theorized varies in relation to the principle used to differentiate them from mainstream cinema production. Migrant and diasporic films have indeed been analyzed through multiple prisms such as "social categorization (*Migrantenkino*), racial or ethno-national emphases (*Cinéma du métissage*, black and Asian British film, French *beur* cinema), linguistic or spatial concepts (accented cinema, *banlieu* films, cinema of double occupancy) and transnational approaches (Third cinema, black films, cinema of the South Asian diaspora)."[13] As I suggested earlier, however, it must be noted that within this context, very little scholarship has directly focused on the analysis of the production strategies that emerged in relation to diasporic and migrant filmmaking in Europe. On the contrary, most of the attention has been directed toward the analysis of the narrative and aesthetic specificities of the films produced within such contexts, and the methodology applied has generally been closer to text analysis than ethnographic investigation.

Nevertheless, even though such scholarly studies propose a theoretical approach to the study of diasporic filmmaking that is significantly different from the one this article intends to posit, they can shed light on the present analysis by offering a number of useful conceptual tools that can help us to understand the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural conditions that define the experience of the diasporic subject's everyday life. This influences the economic and entrepreneurial strategies developed within the diasporic context. As Vicki Mayer underlined, there is a close relationship between the micro (the individual) and macro (the society) stories that interweave during the production process. "As a field of study"—Mayer emphasizes—

> "production study" captures . . . the ways that power operates locally through media production to reproduce social hierarchies and inequalities at the level of daily interaction. In other words, production studies "ground" social theories by showing us how specific production sites, actors or activities teach us larger lessons

about workers, their practices and their roles in relation to politics, economics and culture.[14]

In this sense, as this chapter will highlight, there is a strong interconnection between the position that the diasporic subject inhabits within the social fabric of the host country, the way diasporic film productions are organized, and the place diasporic filmmaking occupies within the larger framework defined by European and national cinema policies and infrastructures.

Even though they have focused on different case studies, most of the authors that analyzed diasporic and migrant cinema have agreed that this production has a high level of political engagement. Within this framework, diaspora and migration are seen as phenomena that inhabit a "third space" within the social architecture of a country's population, a place that is both within and beyond the sphere of the nation.[15] The existence of this space and the subjects in it implicitly and inevitably challenge the integrity of the nation-state and its homogeneity as an "imagined community."[16] Indeed, in Abdelmalek Sayad's analysis, the experience of migration is characterized by a "double absence," an existential condition created by the fact that one is neither completely "here" nor completely "there" and somehow foreign everywhere.[17] In Thomas Elsaesser's words, this kind of condition generates a cinema of "double occupancy," cinema that narrates the experience of living in one place while constantly referring to the fact of belonging somewhere else.[18] In relation to this condition, films produced in the diaspora can be defined, as suggested by Hamid Naficy, as "accented"; they are characterized by a specific narrative and aesthetic nuance that is a reminder of their connection to a specific geographical (cultural, economic, and political) elsewhere.[19] In this sense, these films can be labeled as "interstitial," because they occupy a position of radical in-betweenness. According to Naficy, "accented films are interstitial because they are created astride and in the interstices of social formation and cinematic practices. Consequently they are simultaneously local and global, and they resonate against the prevailing cinematic production practices, at the same time that they benefit from them."[20]

Naficy's remarks allow us to move from the socioeconomic condition of the diasporic subject to the specificities of the film production strategies the subject develops. Indeed, as he exists in a space of social and existential interstitiality, the migrant filmmaker has to play with its "double occupancy" and multiple identities strategically. He therefore has to experiment with transnational and unconventional funding strategies. By using them, he places his work both at the periphery of national cinema infrastructures and at the centre of transnational and global interactions. This intrinsically fragile and fluid position means that migrant and diasporic cinema's modes of production are often informal and based on mutual solidarity and cooperation rather than on contractual forms of collaboration. As Mariagiulia Grassilli has emphasized, within this framework

> film-makers very often . . . perform multiple functions (film-maker, director, editor, scriptwriter, et cetera) and personally invest in their films, directly financing a share of the budget, either through personal funds or in-kind by waving the fee for

scriptwriting and directing, and by involving families and friends in the production or as actors to keep the costs down. [21]

The limited budgets that tend to define these films push migrant and diasporic directors to constantly experiment with new, more affordable technologies. Furthermore, the specificity of these technologies, which are mostly digital, portable, and economically accessible, plays an important part in enabling the circulation of migrant and diasporic films, even among largely fragmented and dispersed audiences. This circulation rarely goes through the conventional distribution channels. While the most successful films might manage to circulate in film festivals and thematic retrospectives, a large part of migrant and diasporic films is distributed informally through the rhizomatic networks traced by what Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih have defined as "minor transnationalism."[22]

Besides the theoretical framework defined by the corpus of academic studies on migrant and diasporic cinema, the research on the growing influence of nonresident Indian (NRI) films within the economy of the Indian film industry is also useful for this analysis.[23] Even though there are numerous differences between this phenomenon and the case analyzed here, it raises a number of important points that are relevant to this discussion. As I stated above, in most cases, migrant and diasporic cinema have been looked at through the prism of a Third Cinema–inspired theory, which emphasizes the political importance of this kind of film production, its intrinsic value as an act of resistance, and its potential to subvert the nation-state's official discourse. However, research on NRI films highlights the role of popular culture in processes of identity transformation and re-articulation within the diaspora. It therefore gives us useful elements to analyze the contents and structure of diasporic popular culture and focuses on the connection between these cultural formations and the industrial economy of cultural production in the homeland. As Aswin Punathambekar has underlined, Indian people within the diaspora have watched Indian films collectively since the 1960s/1970s in order to get together and reassert their connection with the homeland as well as their existence as a community.[24] Since the mid-1990s, however, due to a number of changes that affected the economy of the film industry in India and pushed its organization toward higher levels of formalization, the role of diasporic audiences has become more significant economically, accounting for almost 30 percent of the industry's earnings by 2004.[25] This produced a number of significant changes in the content of Bollywood films and in the industry's economic organization. It also opened new avenues of circulation for the Indian film industry within the global cinema arena. As many scholars have emphasized,[26] the massive consumption of Bollywood films in the diaspora and the progressive transformation of the narrative and aesthetic features of Indian films to cater for the tastes of diasporic audiences acted as a bridge that introduced Bollywood into the global cinema arena and made it familiar to Western audiences.

Many of the specificities of migrant and diasporic "auteur" filmmaking and NRI Bollywood productions can also be identified in the emergence of Nigerian video production companies in Europe. As I suggested earlier, contrary to the diasporic and migrant films analyzed in the scholarly studies discussed above, Nigerian

production companies based in Europe focus on entertainment-oriented production rather than artistic and politically engaged production. They produce, as in the case of NRI Bollywood ventures, entertainment films aimed at diasporic audiences but they also do so from within the diaspora itself. They are thus dissociated from the industry in Nigeria and eventually enter into ambiguous competition with it. As a result, even if the analytical concepts that I have just discussed are useful and inspiring, they are not enough to describe the complexity of the phenomenon that I intend to analyze. One could say, for instance, that the emergence of Nigerian production companies in Europe can fall between the production of migrant and diasporic cinema and the progressive transformation of the role of NRI films in the Bollywood economy. However, such a generic statement needs to be further developed, in part through the analysis of the historical evolution of Nigerian diasporic production companies.

Nollywood Abroad: Nigerian Video Filmmaking in Europe

Double "A" Entertainment created by Tony Dele Akynyemi and Leonard Ajayi-Odekhiran in Eindhoven, in the Netherlands, around 1998 was the first Nigerian production company to appear in Europe. As reported by Sophie Samyn, the two Nigerians met soon after arriving in Holland at the beginning of the 1990s.[27] They were both partly involved in the entertainment industry before leaving Nigeria (Akynyemi used to work for a local television station and Ajayi-Odekhiran was a dancer and singer), but when they left the country the local video film industry had not yet emerged. As they explain in the interview that Samyn conducted with them,[28] they learnt about Nollywood in Europe and they became enthusiastic fans. They drew inspiration from the Nigerian video films they had watched over the years, decided to set up their own production company, and in 1998, they produced their first video, *Under Pressure*. The video shot with few means recounts the biographical experiences of the two producers and tells the story of a young Nigerian who moves to Holland and struggles to settle down and build a new life for himself. The video managed to circulate widely through informal networks among diasporic audiences but it did not cover its production costs. However, its success with diasporic audiences gave the two producers enough motivation to continue their venture and produce three other videos over the next few years: *Dapo Junior* (2000), *Holland Heat* (2002), and *From Amsterdam with Love* (2003).

While Akynyemi and Ajayi-Odekhiran's work can be seen as the avant-garde of Nigerian video production in Europe, in the early 2000s there was a boom in the creation of diasporic production companies. It is around this period that, as I suggested at the beginning of this chapter, a number of videos set in Europe but produced by companies based in Nigeria (such as *Osuofia in London* and *Dangerous Twins*) achieved astonishing commercial success both in Nigeria and within the diaspora. Their success attracted the interest of numerous Nigerians living in Europe, and new production companies began to spring up in numerous European countries.

In the United Kingdom, Obi Emelonye, a young Nigerian living in London since the early 1990s, created the company Basic Input and released his first video, *Good Friends* (2000). Following a short stay in Nigeria, he returned to the UK, and created a new production company called The Nollywood Factory. With this new company, Emelonye went on to produce several films, such as *Echoes of War* (2003), *The London Successor* (2006), *Lucky Joe* (2006), *The Mirror Boy* (2010), and *Last Flight to Abuja* (2012), some of which were released in mainstream cinemas all over the United Kingdom.

Isaac Izoya, a Nigerian journalist based in Berlin since the end of the 1990s, created Ehizoya Golden Entertainment in Germany in 2003. The production company has released three videos: *Zero Your Mind* (2003), *Love in Berlin . . . The Meeting Point* (2007), and *Run But Can't Hide I & II* (2008). Izoya's videos were successful both in Nigeria and within the Nigerian diaspora in Europe thanks to the specific production and distribution strategies he introduced; these included hiring successful Nollywood filmmakers to direct the videos and organizing promotional tours in Europe with well-known Nollywood actors and stand-up comedians. I will discuss these strategies in more detail below but one can argue that thanks to these strategies Izoya is probably the most famous diasporic producer in Nigeria and the one who, together with Emelonye, has managed to reach the largest audience, both in Nigeria and in the diaspora.

Two production companies emerged in Italy in the mid-2000s: IGB Film and Music Industry, created in Brescia by Prince Frank Abieyuwa Osharhenoguwu in 2001, and GVK, created in Turin by Vincent Omoigui and Rose Okoh in 2006. The two companies developed different production and distribution strategies.[29] Osharhenoguwu was involved in the video industry before leaving Nigeria and had already produced three video films before arriving in Italy. Since he created IGB, the company has released four new titles (*Kiki Marriage* [2003], *Abroad Wahala* [2005], *The Only Way after Home but It's Risky* [2007], and *The Hard Nut to Crack* [2008]), which have mainly circulated among Nigerian diasporic audiences in Italy and within the regional market in Edo State, the Nigerian region where the producer is from. The creators of GVK had no prior experience of filmmaking and film production before moving to Italy. After the release of their first video film, *Efe-Obomwan*, in 2006, they decided to change their venture to target both Nigerian and Italian audiences. They therefore started collaborating with an Italian filmmaker, Simone Sandretti, and worked on four film projects: *Uwado* (2008), *Akpegi Boyz* (2009), "We Are Not Slaves" (not completed), and "Blinded Devil" (not completed).[30] The videos had rather limited circulation, mainly through small film festivals and privately organized screenings but they garnered good support from the local press and local institutions.

The last Nigerian production company to be created was the Association of Nigerian Actors and Actresses in Belgium (ANAABEL), founded in Antwerp, Belgium, by John Osas Omoregie in 2003. Like Vincent Omoigui and Rose Okoh, Omoregie did not have any experience of filmmaking before moving to Europe but, as Samyn has showed,[31] while in Belgium he became familiar with Tony Dele Akynyemi, Leonard Ajayi-Odekhiran, and Isaac Izoya's works and was inspired by them. He set up his own production company and has since released five

videos: *Igho Evbue Ebo* (2003), *Desperate Heart* (2007), *Mama Why Me? I & II* (2008), *The Immigrant Eyes* (2010), and *Amazing World* (2010). After an initial period of economic hardship due to a number of personal problems, Omoregie's work received an important boost thanks to *Nollywood Abroad* (2008), the documentary Belgian documentary filmmaker Saartje Geerts made about him.[32]

Production Strategies in a Comparative Perspective

The overview of the history of these production companies that I have just given allows for a comparative evaluation of the production and distribution strategies that they have developed. Like other experiences of migrant and diasporic cinema, these production companies exist in a space of social and cultural in-betweenness. However, if they are compared to the instances of migrant and diasporic cinema I discussed above (those defined by artistic and politically engaged orientation), their in-betweenness is radicalized by a number of factors. On the one hand, as they were based on the model of the Nigerian video industry, a popular culture industry with commercial rather than artistic orientation, these production companies could not find space in the European funding system. This system promotes cultural diversity while also setting specific aesthetic and narrative standards aimed at author-cinema rather than popular entertainment.[33] On the other hand, by trying to make commercial films from a peripheral position, these companies faced unfair competition from both European national film industries and Nollywood. These companies at the margin of these industries hardly managed to compete on the same level as mainstream commercial film productions of both traditions. Since their budgets were generally lower than that of mainstream productions, the narrative and aesthetic language was more hybrid, and their access to established networks of distribution in both regions (West Africa and Europe) was limited, these production companies had to elaborate original solutions that could give them access to larger economic resources.

The strategies applied by each production company were very different, and they had different and sometimes even contradicting goals. While some companies tried to change their modes of operation to target cinema festivals and international black diasporic audiences, others tried to create links with the video industry in Nigeria and thereby gain access to its market. While some managed to achieve their goal, many others remained stuck in their position of in-betweenness, barely surviving in very critical economic conditions. As Toni Abulu, who is himself a Nigerian diasporic filmmaker, has emphasized when referring to Nigerian diasporic productions in the United States, "[they] are lost in between! They didn't manage to do mainstream American movies and they didn't build a niche market for themselves [in the United States]. But they still don't have a strong market [in Nigeria]. They are lost in the middle of two worlds!"[34] Abulu's remark also applies to diasporic production companies based in Europe. Some examples will help to further develop this discussion.

As I mentioned above, the two most successful diasporic production companies are, at least in my view, Isaac Izoya's Ehizoya Golden Entertainment and Obi

Emelonye's The Nollywood Factory. An analysis of the opposing production and distribution strategies they developed will help to identify the main tendencies within the landscape of Nigerian diasporic filmmaking in Europe. As it is a popular culture industry, Nollywood is based upon a well-consolidated star system.[35] Video sales depend more on the "faces" printed on VCD and DVD sleeves rather than on solid film plots and narrative structure. Diasporic filmmakers inevitably had to come to terms with this reality to position their work in the market.

Isaac Izoya is probably the diasporic director who adhered most explicitly to this system. To compete with mainstream Nollywood releases, he hired a very successful Nigerian filmmaker, Lancelot Oduwa Imasuen, to direct most of his productions, and the casts often featured well-known Nigerian stars.[36] Tony Dele Akynyemi and Leonard Ajayi-Odekhiran had already applied this strategy a few years before Izoya when they brought Nigerian stars Saint Obi and Liz Benson to Holland to shoot *Dapo Junior*. But the production costs that this initiative required (the actors' fees, travel and accommodation expenses, and visa fees) were hard to recover, and the participation of these actors was not enough to make the film economically profitable. To avoid similar problems, Izoya organized parallel entertainment events during which fans could meet the stars. The first event of this kind was organized in Germany in 2003 and, due to its success, it was repeated a few times over the following years. Each time, new European countries were added to the promotional tours.[37] Often, the stars brought to Europe for these kinds of events were also featuring in a new production, thus cutting the costs of travel, accommodation, and visa procedures and increasing profits. Furthermore, by applying this strategy, Izoya made a name for himself as a Nigerian cultural ambassador and was often portrayed by the Nigerian press as a man who will be remembered for helping to bring Nollywood to world attention. This gave him solid connections within Nollywood and made it easier to market his films in Nigeria.

Obi Emelonye adopted a very different strategy. As he underlined in a recent interview, since the beginning of his career as a filmmaker, he has wanted to differentiate his work from Nollywood mainstream productions. He therefore oriented himself toward higher-budget films that would allow Nollywood to enter the global arena. "Once I started making films in Nollywood I told myself that . . . I wasn't going to use the so called stars. I wanted to create my brand, up to the level that my name carries the film as opposite to have a star to sell it."[38] To do this, Emelonye got involved in transnational coproductions (i.e., UK/Nigeria/Sierra Leone for *Echoes of War* and UK/Nigeria/Gambia for *The Mirror Boy*), used expensive recording equipment, and targeted cinema audiences. With these production and distribution strategies, he became the first Nollywood director whose films were released in Odeon cinemas all over the UK. Together with a number of other diasporic Nigerian artists in 2010, he promoted an initiative at the British Film Institute in London to sanction the birth of "New Nigerian cinema," a movement that intends to promote higher production values for Nollywood films while targeting the global film market. By applying this strategy, Emelonye aligned himself with a number of Nigerian diasporic directors operating in the United States and Canada who have decided to produce higher-budget

films to target international cinema audiences.[39] While the work of these directors is giving Nigerian cinema and Nollywood a new position within the world cinema landscape, their films are introducing important aesthetic and narrative transformations that are progressively moving these films away from Nigerian popular audiences. To achieve wider recognition, these directors had to move toward more standardized narrative and aesthetic formats that could easily be accepted by international audiences.

While Izoya's production strategies try to reduce the distance between mainstream Nollywood films and diasporic productions by accepting the rules of the Nigerian video market, Emelonye's are oriented toward the creation of a space for the emergence of high-production-value films within Nollywood to reposition it within the global cinema arena. Using the recent transnational development of the Bollywood industry as a model, the directors and producers who, like Emelonye, are making this strategic move tend to target worldwide African diasporic audiences rather than local Nigerian audiences. As a result, their films access theatrical distribution in Nigeria and are watched in cinemas in the suburbs of London, New York, and Huston (to name but a few). But they are hardly available on DVD and VCD in the countless open-air street markets that characterize the West African urban economy, where, on the contrary, cheap mainstream Nollywood productions are still dominant. Even if they maintain a rather entertainment-oriented style, these films tend to move toward narrative and aesthetic formats that reflect their new marketing orientation and transformed production strategies. These transformations are ultimately moving production companies like Emelonye's toward progressive "gentrification"[40] and alignment with European film production and distribution models.

The other Nigerian diasporic production companies that I mentioned above all fall between the opposite poles represented by Izoya's and Emelonye's solutions. Some of them, such as IGB in Italy and ANAABEL in Belgium, tend to reproduce the mainstream Nollywood formula but they suffer from their lack of connections to key economic players in the Nigerian industry. The works they produce hardly circulate outside the diasporic networks. For this reason, they are not economically self-sufficient and survive thanks to the constant dedication of their creators and the support of local diasporic communities. Other companies such as GVK in Italy tried to move beyond the boundaries of the Nigerian and African diaspora. However, even though their attempts to create an intercultural film language that could appeal to both African and European audiences have been well received, they are in an ambiguous position. The films they produce are not "Nollywood style" enough to captivate Nigerian popular audiences but they are not "European" enough to be distributed in cinemas in the West.

An example from my ethnographic experience will make this point clearer and draw this chapter to a close. While following the work of GVK in Turin, I observed the difficulties that the directors, Vincent Omoigui and Simone Sandretti, and the producer, Rose Okoh, faced as a consequence of their ambiguous position between Nigerian and Italian film industries and production practices. They repeatedly tried to get funding from local agencies in Italy such as the Piedmont Film Commission based in Turin, but when they finally got some support for the film

project "Blinded Devil," it turned out to be a film school scholarship for Omoigui. Omoigui accepted the scholarship but he could not help but take the offer as proof that Italian funding agencies could not accept the kind of cinema he wanted to produce (entertainment-oriented cinema based on an Afrocentric rather than Eurocentric narrative and aesthetic canon). To garner support, the film project had to be scrutinized by Italian cinema experts and was eventually altered to adhere to the narrative and aesthetic models that Italian funding agencies would expect to find in a migrant film. When they tried to distribute their third video film (*Akpegi Boyz*) in Nigeria, Omoigui and Okoh faced countless difficulties because they lived in Italy and could therefore not undertake the distribution process in Nigeria personally.[41] In order to be released, the film had to be certified by the Nigerian censors board and a number of industry associations. Each process entailed fees that were often increased by opportunist intermediaries because Omoigui and Okoh knew very little about the specifics of bureaucratic regulations.[42] As a result, the couple wasted lot of money, and in the end, the film was not released on the Nigerian market.

Conclusion: Diasporic Production Companies and "Parallel" Cinema Practices

As the above anecdote shows, the diasporic production companies that did not manage to align themselves closely with the Nigerian or European production models, as Izoya and Emelonye tried to do, fell into an in-between space that reflects the radically vulnerable position occupied by migrant and diasporic filmmakers. This shows how production and distribution practices, in Europe as well as in Nigeria, are based on complex processes of social, economic, and cultural inclusion and exclusion. But the activity of diasporic Nigerian production companies also draws our attention to the emergence and consolidation of production and distribution practices at the margins of consolidated film industries' field of action. Contrary to popular belief, these spaces are highly dynamic and productive. I am not referring to amateur film practices or experimental artistic productions like those that Laura Marks has analyzed in depth,[43] which are both extremely dynamic in their own terms. I am referring to the activity of production companies that conceptualize themselves as part of the mainstream, intend to produce commercial cinema, and are therefore eager to accept any compromise that will make them commercially successful. These companies inhabit a highly complex space in which the fulfillment of high ambitions is impeded by very limited resources, and multiple systems of legitimization are forced to collide in a bid to access the larger set of possible economic options (in terms of funding, production facilities, access to audiences, and so on).

The contrast that exists between the way these production companies and those working for them conceptualize their own work (as part of the Nollywood phenomenon and therefore part of a transnational and highly commercial film industry), and the actual position these ventures occupy within the cinema production landscape of the countries in which they operate tells us something about how

film production is changing in Europe. The emergence and consolidation of powerful media industries in the Global South have led to an increase in the number of centers that authorize and legitimize different filmmaking practices. They have also made the circuits that produce these films travel and become economically successful. To borrow Brian Larkin's notion of "parallel" modernities[44]—that is, modernities that are made of a range of South–South connections and interrelations that often escape the attention of analysts based in the "West"—the existence and work of the production companies analyzed in this chapter draw our attention to a world of "parallel" cinema practices[45] that cannot be conceptualized as (or solely as) a set of practices at the margins of European film production. These production practices are doubly peripheral (in relation to European film industries on the one hand, and Nollywood on the other) but they are also central in defining new ways of conceiving cinema *in* Europe as opposed to European cinema. These practices make Europe peripheral to an elsewhere (in this case Nigeria and the Nigerian video film industry)[46] and create a space where Europe (and European film practices) can interact with the (one-time) "peripheries" of Euro-American cultural and economic power, in new, meaningful, and unexpected ways.

Notes

1. *Living in Bondage* was not the first video film released in Nigeria. After the collapse of the local celluloid film industry in the mid-1980s, a number of video films were produced, particularly in Yoruba. Nnebue's film, however, was the first to achieve widespread commercial success and it marked the beginning of what would later become the Nollywood video industry. See Jonathan Haynes, ed., *Nigerian Video Films* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000).
2. UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), *Analysis of the UIS International Survey on Feature Film Statistics* (Montreal: UIS, 2009), accessed April 8, 2013, www.uis.unesco.org. The term Nollywood was introduced ten years after the beginning of the video phenomenon by a *New York Times* article. It was initially rejected but local fans and media gradually adopted it. It is often used to refer to the entire Nigerian video phenomenon but many critics now prefer to limit its use. They therefore only use the term to refer to Nigerian videos in English or pidgin (creolized English) that are produced in southern Nigeria and differentiate them from the local language production that takes place in other parts of Nigeria. See Norimitsu Onishi, "Step Aside, L.A. and Bombay, for Nollywood," *New York Times*, September 16, 2002.
3. Pierre Barrot, ed., *Nollywood: Le phénomène video au Nigeria* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2005); Haynes, *Nigerian Video Films*; Jonathan Haynes, "The Nollywood Diaspora. A Nigerian Video Genre," in *Global Nollywood: Transnational Dimensions of an African Video Film Industry*, eds Matthias Krings and Onookome Okome (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2013), 73–99.
4. Brian Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure and Urban Culture in Northern Nigeria* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Ramon Lobato, *Shadow Economies of Cinema: Mapping Informal Film Distribution* (London: British Film Institute, 2012); Onookome Okome, "Nollywood: Spectatorship, Audience and the Sites of Consumption," *Postcolonial Text* 3, no. 2 (2007), accessed April 8, 2013, http://journals.sfu.ca/pocol/index.php/pct/article/view/763/425.

5. Steve Ayorinde, "Video and Celluloid . . . a Homeboy Shoots Up Abroad," *Guardian Nigeria*, January 28, 1999.

6. Alessandro Jedlowski, "From Nollywood to Nollyworld. Processes of Transnationalization in the Nigerian Video Industry," in *Global Nollywood: Transnational Dimensions of an African Video Film Industry*, eds Matthias Krings and Onookome Okome (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 25–45.

7. Jonathan Haynes, "Africans Abroad: A Theme in Film and Video," *Africa & Mediterraneo* 45 (2003): 22–29; see also Haynes, "The Nollywood Diaspora."

8. According to Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, the terms "diasporic" and "migrant" are used to define forms of film production that emerged from different experiences of mobility but share a number of important aspects. In Berghahn and Sternberg's words,

> "migrant" ("first-generation") film-makers have themselves been part of a migratory movement and departed from a place of birth or residence in search of better economic conditions or a more secure and stable socio-political environment. "Diasporic" film-makers are typically of the second, third or a later generation. They were born or raised in a disaporic setting and have no, or only a very remote, first-hand experience of migration.

See Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, eds, "Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema in Contemporary Europe," in *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 16. Most of the directors and producers whose work is discussed in this chapter belong to the "migrant" category. However, I used the term "diasporic Nigerian production" to refer, in Homi Bhabha's terms, to diaspora as a "third space," a space of hybridity within which the encounter between different articulations of identity and culture generates original solutions. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

9. Daniela Berghahn and Claudia Sternberg, eds, *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe* (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Eva Rüschmann, ed., *Moving Pictures, Migrating Identities* (Jackson: University of Mississippi, 2003).

   For an in-depth analysis and definition of the concept of popular culture within the sub-Saharan African context, see Karin Barber, "Popular Arts in Africa," *African Studies Review* 30, no. 3 (1987): 1–78. A discussion about the applicability of this concept to the analysis of the Nigerian video film industry can be found in Haynes, *Nigerian Video Films.*

10. Berghahn and Sternberg, *European Cinema in Motion*; Laura Marks, *The Skin of the Film. Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment, and the Senses* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema. Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

11. See, for instance, Vicki Mayer, "Bringing the Social Back In: Studies of Production Cultures and Social Theory," in *Production Studies: Cultural Studies of Media Industries*, eds Vicki Mayer, Miranda Banks, and John T. Caldwell (New York: Routledge, 2009), 15–24; see the entire aforementioned collection, and also Toby Miller, Nitin Govill, John McMurria, and Richard Maxwell, *Global Hollywood* (London: British Film Institute, 2001) and Tejaswinti Ganti, *Producing Bollywood. Inside the Contemporary Hindi Film Industry* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

12. Besides on the data collected during my research, this article is based on interviews collected by Sophie Samyn during the fieldwork she undertook in Holland, Belgium, and

Germany as part of the MA in Theatre, Performance and Media Studies at the University of Ghent (Belgium). I am particularly grateful to her for her kind and extremely useful collaboration.

13. Berghahn and Sternberg, "Locating Migrant and Diasporic Cinema," 12.
14. Mayer, "Bringing the Social Back In."
15. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture.*
16. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).
17. Abdelmalek Sayad, *La double absence: des illusions de l'émigré aux souffrances de l'immigré* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1999).
18. Thomas Elsaesser, *European Cinema: Face to Face with Hollywood* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 118.
19. Naficy, *An Accented Cinema.*
20. Ibid., 4.
21. Mariagiulia Grassilli, "Migrant Cinema: Transnational and Guerrilla Practices of Film Production and Representation," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34 no. 8 (2008): 1244.
22. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, eds, *Minor Transnationalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Moradewun Adejunmobi, "Nigerian Video Film As Minor Transnational Practice," *Postcolonial Text* 3, no. 2, accessed April 8, 2013, http://journals.sfu.ca/pocol/index.php/pct/article/view/548/405.
23. Cf. Jigna Desai, *Beyond Bollywood: The Cultural Politics of South Asian Diasporic Film* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
24. Aswin Punathambekar, "Bollywood in the Indian-American Diaspora. Mediating a Transitive Logic of Cultural Citizenship," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): 151–173.
25. Ganti, *Producing Bollywood*; Daya K. Thussu, "The Globalization of 'Bollywood': The Hype and the Hope," in *Global Bollywood*, eds Anandam P. Kavoori and Aswin Punathambekar (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 97–116.
26. Desai, *Beyond Bollywood*; Kavoori and Punathambekar, eds, *Global Bollywood.*
27. Sophie Samyn, "Nollywood in the Diaspora: An Exploratory Study on Transnational Aesthetics," MA Thesis, University of Ghent, 2010.
28. Interview with Tony Dele Akynyemi and Leonard Ajayi-Odekhiran, conducted by Sophie Samyn in Eindhoven, April 24, 2010.
29. Alessandro Jedlowski, "On the Periphery of Nollywood: Nigerian Video Filmmaking in Italy and the Emergence of an Intercultural Aesthetics," in *Postcolonial Italy: Colonial Past in Contemporary Culture*, eds Cristina Lombardi-Diop and Caterina Romeo (New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 239–252.
30. Toward the end of my research fieldwork (in mid-2011), GVK interrupted its activity because of lack of funding and other internal problems. The two films that I have tagged as "not completed" are at an advanced stage of the production process but have not yet been released. Because of the difficulties the production company is facing, it is not clear if and when they will be put on the market. Some parts of "Blinded Devil" have been released as a miniseries on the Internet site www.blindedevil.tv (now extinguished) and can be watched on YouTube.
31. Sophie Samyn, "Nollywood in the Diaspora," 47.
32. Besides the production companies that I have listed, there are few more ventures that should be mentioned here, even if I do not have the data needed to analyze their work in depth. These production companies are Andy Amadi Okoroafor's Clam Films based in France, Andy Omoregbe's Zenith Entertainment based in Spain, and Kennedy Uyi

Oviahon's Komic Relief Pictures based in Italy (which recently ceased activity because of Oviahon's death).

33. Mariagiulia Grassilli, "Migrant Cinema."
34. Personal communication, Lagos, December 16, 2010.
35. Haynes, *Nigerian Video Films*.
36. Izoya was able to achieve this for a number of reasons. Imasuen, for instance, was particularly keen to take part in diasporic productions, because, thanks to Izoya's invitation, he could obtain a Schengen visa and thus spend some additional time in Europe and shoot footage for other film projects produced by his own production company (*Sinners in the House* and *Ebuwa*, for example). Furthermore, as I better discuss below, Izoya produced his videos at the margins of larger entrepreneurial projects involving a number of shows with well-known Nigerian stars. In most cases, these events generated remarkable box-office results and became the main source of capital that was later invested in film production.
37. The tours included shows in Germany, Holland, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Belgium. Something similar had already been done in the UK since the mid-1990s with the organization of the "Afro-Hollywood" award ceremony, in which Nollywood stars were invited to meet their diasporic fans and receive special audience awards. However, these kinds of events were not related to the activity of diasporic production companies. See F. Odjegba, "Nigerian Film Stars Storm London," *Thisday*, October 11, 1996.
38. Personal communication, London, December 9, 2009.
39. I am referring to Nigerian diasporic directors and producers such as Tony Abulu (United States) and Lonzo Nzekwe and Onyekachi (Lucky) Ejim (Canada). The work of these filmmakers is paralleled, in Nigeria, by a similar movement toward high-value productions and international cinema distribution. Within this new wave, the names of Tunde Kelani, Kunle Afolayan, Jeta Amata, Mahmood Ali-Balogun, and Chineze Anyaene are probably the best known. See Jedlowski, "From Nollywood to Nollyworld."
40. Ganti, *Producing Bollywood*.
41. At the time of my ethnographic research, Omoigui had a number of issues with his Italian visa and could not leave Italy to travel to Nigeria. He thus had to rely on his sister (based in Benin City, Nigeria) to organize the distribution of the film in his home country.
42. For a description of the relationship between corruption, politics, economics, and citizenship in Nigeria, see D. J. Smith, *A Culture of Corruption: Everyday Deception and Popular Discontent in Nigeria* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
43. Marks, *The Skin of the Film*.
44. Brian Larkin, "Indian Films and Nigerian Lovers: Media and the Creation of Parallel Modernities," *Africa* 67, no. 3 (1997): 406–440.
45. I thank Ramon Lobato and Alice Burgin for highlighting the connections between Larkin's concept and the idea of "parallel" cinema practices, which were the object of the "Parallel Cinemas: Circuits of Cultural Exchange in the Global South" panel that we co-organized at the ACS Crossroads conference 2012 in Paris (July 2–6, University of Paris 3, "La Sorbonne Nouvelle").
46. Here, I am implicitly referring to Dipesh Chakrabarty's work and to the range of processes that it has helped to identify and interpret. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

Part III

The Politics of Creativity

Inequalities in Media Work

Rosalind Gill

We live in a world characterized by inequality and injustice. European societies remain profoundly stratified along lines of gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, disability, sexuality, and location. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that these inequalities are also evident in the cultural and media industries. Across film, broadcasting, advertising, and new media, women, minority ethnic groups, and people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are dramatically underrepresented, compared with men, white people, and the middle and upper classes. Older people and people with disabilities are often scarcely visible at all in key creative roles.

In this chapter I will examine contemporary evidence concerning inequalities in employment within the cultural field. The focus will be predominantly upon the United Kingdom, which has been at the epicenter of the celebratory discourse about the cultural and creative industries—indeed, Andrew Ross dubbed policy-making in this field a major British "export."[1] However, the arguments have relevance across a wide variety of contexts—Europe, Australasia, and North America among them. The chapter will identify what Kate Oakley has called "absentee workers," those people "lost" to employment in the cultural and media industries by dint of their gender, class, or ethnic origins.[2] Using an intersectional approach, but focusing in particular on gender, the chapter will examine in detail the reasons for this pervasive inequality, and its paradoxical quality in industries that are regarded—and what is more, regard themselves—as "cool, creative and egalitarian."[3]

In order to address the question of why such inequalities exist—and in some cases seem to be getting worse rather than better—I will examine both "getting in" and "getting on" in media fields. First, I will consider the distinctive nature of work in the media and other cultural and creative industries, and explore the features of the working culture, organization, and practices that may underpin rather than challenge inequalities. Second, I will move on to highlighting one specific aspect of work in this field—its informality. The chapter will look at the failure of existing laws and statutory instruments designed to promote equality of opportunity, suggesting that many media and cultural organizations, particularly small-scale ones, operate entirely outside these formal frameworks, presenting us with a situation of

"unmanageable inequalities,"[4] in which access to, and movement and promotion within, the industries operates largely without any transparency, in an informal milieu in which reputation is all important. Finally, in concluding, the chapter will argue gender inequality in the cultural and creative industries is at least partly accounted for by sexism. Arguing for a new, dynamic, and revitalized notion of sexism, I will suggest that it increasingly takes subtle and flexible forms that are both harder to recognize and more difficult to challenge. I will explore what I have dubbed the "postfeminist problem"—a constellation of ideas and beliefs about the "pastness"[5] of feminism, which stress that "all the battles have been won" and use an individualistic language of "choice" to account for any differences between men's and women's experiences. I will discuss my contention that, against this neoliberal, postfeminist backdrop, gender inequality is becoming not simply unmanageable but, more profoundly, *unspeakable*—a problem that is exacerbated by the myths of equality and diversity that circulate within media and creative fields, as well as by a more pervasive "gender fatigue."[6]

This chapter draws on my own empirical research over the past 20 years, concerned with working lives in the cultural and creative industries. It has ranged across disc jockeys, computer games designers, advertising creatives, Web designers, and people working in film and television postproduction. This research has explored multiple aspects of the experience of being a creative, and elsewhere I have considered questions about precariousness, low pay, exploitation, and the difficulty of planning or narrating a future within these fields.[7] All these topics are of key political and ethical significance. Focusing on inequality, however, brings another key issue to the debate. Not only are matters such as equal access to work, equal pay, and equal opportunities to rise and progress in one's career important in relation to basic questions of social justice and equity, but, significantly, when they relate to employment in media and creative fields, they are also issues of voice and representation. For these roles relate to the production of culture itself: the ideas, the representations, the images and meanings that saturate our everyday lives and furnish us with our understandings of the world and what it means to be human. In a world characterized by diversity, we need our storytellers, newsmakers, games creators, and other cultural producers to come from as broad a range of locations as possible—in relation to age, disability, health status, and sexuality, as well as gender, race, and class, and all the intersections between them. Perhaps more than any other sphere, inequality matters in cultural production, because it shapes the very thing we call culture. This does not mean that having more women will automatically produce better representations of women in media content. As I have argued elsewhere,[8] screen content whether in news, sitcoms, or computer games is the outcome of multiple mediated processes. However, diversity of the workforce is a necessary, if not sufficient, precursor for more plural representations.

Cool, Creative, and Egalitarian? Looking beyond the Myths

One of the most enduring and powerful images of creative organizations is that they are cool, hip, and informal. From the legendary environments of Google and Apple, through well-known games companies and Web design agencies,

all the way down to tiny start-ups, creative workplaces are held to be "funky," "Bohemian,"[9] and playful—a characterization that often extends to assumptions about their equality, tolerance of difference, and easygoing diversity. As Richard Florida famously put it, creative workers mistrust "rigid caste systems" and share a democratic and meritocratic impulse to overcome social divisions by "tapping the creativity of the many and thus ensuring that all are integrated into the creative economy."[10] Others have argued that the United Kingdom's cultural and creative industries policy was rooted in attempts to pluralize culture, focusing on "visible minorities."[11] As I have argued elsewhere, these associations are well established, and the now commonplace tropes for depicting creative businesses include a trendy warehouse setting, groups of people coded as unconventional, and a relaxed atmosphere in which it does not matter if you are male, female, black, white, gay, or straight, as long as you are "creative." Workers in the cultural and creative industries are among the most ardent subscribers to this idea, often citing the relaxed, multicultural, friendly, and egalitarian nature of working culture as significant attractions.[12]

The reality is somewhat at odds with this picture. The majority of fields remain dominated by people who are white, middle class, skewed toward a younger age group, and predominantly male. The class and ethnic composition of the workforce in creative media is far from representative of the wider population—let alone living up to aspirations about offering particular space to marginalized groups. The most recent Skillset labor force survey found that black and minority ethnic (BAME) representation had fallen from 7.4 percent to 6.7 percent, a figure that falls short of reflecting minority ethnic groups' presence in the British population as a whole.[13] However, given the concentration of media and cultural industries in London, a global city in which almost a third of the population (32 percent) is from an ethnic minority, these figures tell an even more depressing story. While nonwhite groups make up more than one in four of London's workforce, they represent fewer than one in ten of London's media and cultural workforce—a disparity that has led to accusations of "institutional racism" in the sector.[14]

The class profile of the cultural and creative industries is also highly skewed. The Sutton Trust has documented the steady increase within the field of journalism of people educated at private schools (54 percent, compared with 7 percent in the general population), while of those who went to university over half (56 percent) were educated at either Oxford or Cambridge—an elite bias also markedly visible within the BBC and other major cultural institutions.[15] The social and cultural capitals seemingly required to work in Britain's media are further increasingly underscored by the economic capital needed to support long periods without work or in unpaid internships. Questions have recently been raised about the connection between the socioeconomic profile of media workers and the virulently anti-working-class focus of much media output, in which working-class figures are mocked, demonized, or simply absent.[16]

It's a Man's, Man's, Man's World (with Apologies to James Brown)

In relation to gender the picture is more complicated. In some fields there are very few women at all. The computer games industry, for example, is dominated by

men, with women almost completely absent: representing only 5 percent of workers in offline multimedia, 6 percent in online content, and 4 percent in games.[17] In other fields, the picture is one of occupational segregation by gender. In the film industry, women are shockingly underrepresented in key creative roles such as screenwriter, director, and camera operator, but are overrepresented in wardrobe and makeup departments. The absence of women in roles such as director is highlighted with almost tedious regularity at the annual awards ceremonies: Katherine Bigelow's Oscar® win for Best Director in 2010 represented a milestone, but she was one of only four women ever to have been nominated in the Academy Awards history (out of a total of 400 directors)—and of course the first and only woman to win that coveted prize. Likewise, in 2012, a storm greeted the announcement of the Cannes Film Festival shortlist for best director: for the 63rd time in 65 years, it was comprised exclusively of men—which is to say that there have only been two years in which the shortlist has not been all male.[18] In the United States, the *Celluloid Ceiling Report*, which examines employment in the top 250 films each year, found that women represented only 5 percent of directors, 14 percent of screenwriters, and just 4 percent of cinematographers.[19] Depressingly, by far the greatest concentration of women in the film industry is found among the armies of predominantly migrant women who clean cinemas.

Other areas, such as television production, have an overall representation of women that is significantly better, yet inequalities are revealed as soon as one goes beyond simply counting the relative numbers of women to men, and instead examines questions of seniority, contractual status, and pay. Women are seriously underrepresented in the most senior roles in television—something that is seen right across the cultural and creative industries—in advertising, architecture, and museums as much as in broadcasting. The Equalities and Human Rights Commission's annual audit *Sex and Power* found that women's representation in senior and powerful positions in the field of media and culture was 15.1 percent.[20] As Chief Executives of media companies in the FTSE 350 Index, they represented just 6.7 percent. There has never been a female Director-General of the BBC. In 2012, two strong "older" female candidates were passed over in favor of the somewhat younger George Entwistle, a move that reignited discussions of the interaction between ageism and sexism, after a period in which the BBC had controversially replaced several older female presenters with younger models.

Women working in the media and cultural industries are significantly better qualified than their male counterparts, with a greater proportion being graduates and an even more significant difference in the numbers of women, compared to men, with higher degrees.[21] Moreover, women are significantly more likely to have undertaken industry-specific training. Nevertheless, women earn on average 15 percent less than their male colleagues and are much less likely to be promoted or to make it into senior positions (despite their superior qualifications, training, and the longer hours they work).[22] This marked pay inequality holds true even when other factors are adjusted (controlled for) such as the lower age profile of women in the workforce.

More complex patterns of intersectional inequality seem to be developing, in which gender effects are mediated by other factors—such as age (as noted above)

or parental status. In a debate by Women in Film and Television in 2010, Kate O'Connor noted that the TV industry was better at recruiting women than at keeping them, leading to a distorted age profile in which 70 percent of men in the TV industry are over 35, while the largest proportion of women is in the 25–34 age group.[23] One interpretation of this might be that a once male-dominated industry is now recruiting younger women, who have simply not yet had chance to work their way into the older age categories. However, this benign reading is unfortunately not borne out by the evidence, which notes the youthful and junior profile of female industry entrants, but does *not* see them progressing in line with their male peers. In fact, women are "haemorrhaging" from the industry in their late thirties and forties—a fact that is conventionally, and no doubt partly accurately, explained by their choice to have children.[24] As I discuss below, many features of work in the media and other cultural organizations make it extremely challenging to combine with parenting (e.g., insecurity and precariousness, long hours, stop-go patterns of working), yet it is striking how many more men are able to do this than women—something that points to the significance of other factors in explaining this, rather than being parent in itself. For if parenting is the issue, why are the costs so unequal? Indeed, women seem to be missing out in multiple ways—not only are they underrepresented, less likely to be senior, and more poorly paid, but they are also significantly less likely than men in the business to be able to combine being in a long-term intimate relationship or being a parent with their occupation.[25]

This rather bleak picture of gender inequality confounds the picture of meritocratic egalitarianism so beloved of policy gurus and "creatives" alike. It is also getting worse rather than better, despite a raft of initiatives to improve the employment of underrepresented groups. The global financial crisis has disproportionately impacted women in a variety of different ways, among them in terms of job losses.[26] The TV industry in the United Kingdom contracted dramatically between 2006 and 2009, leaving many in a vulnerable position. However, it is women who have borne the brunt of this, losing their jobs at a rate of *6 times that of men*,[27] making an already unequal cultural field even less representative of the population it reflects and representing a major talent drain in the media.

Why are there such profound inequalities? In what follows, I examine three broad groups of factors that together help to understand this depressing and seemingly paradoxical situation.

Working Cultures: Casualization, Precariousness, and the Bulimic Career

Although there are significant differences between industries, one of the shared experiences of growing numbers of people working in the cultural and creative field is of precariousness and job insecurity. Increasingly, cultural and media workers are freelancers or work on extremely short-term contracts. Processes of deregulation and casualization have speeded this up. In newspaper journalism, for example, it is now the norm to see a tiered workforce, in which a tiny minority of well-remunerated and relatively secure staff writers is supplemented by a

large army of freelancers, paid by the word, and competing for jobs, and to whom the newspaper has no obligations or responsibilities. As Bob Franklin has argued, what makes this especially poignant is the fact that among the ranks of freelancers are many journalists who would once have occupied stable, salaried positions, but who lost their jobs in the restructuring of the industry, only to be rehired on vastly less favorable terms.[28]

The transformation of journalism is one area where this can be seen very clearly, but it is also evident across the cultural sector. In television, people I interviewed from among the plethora of independent production companies that have taken center stage in this globalized, digital, deregulated moment were habitually working on short-term contracts that were counted in weeks rather than months. In the field of Web design, which I have researched extensively, freelancing was the norm. But even those who were apparently in employment rather than being self-employed had a wide variety of contradictory contractual statuses, at times regarding themselves as in secure tenure, yet having a "zero hours" clause, which meant that they could be fired with no notice. Others had traded security against shares or options or intellectual property rights. Researching in this field, I learned that the grandiosity of job titles, and in particular the liberal use of the epithet "executive," told one little about the actual power or security of the individuals involved.

In reality, for large numbers of people—though importantly not for everyone—in the cultural and creative industries, pervasive insecurity and precariousness are the norm, with individuals very often unsure how they will survive beyond the end of the next project, and living in a mode that requires constant attentiveness and vigilance to the possibility of future work. This has been well documented in recent years,[29] with cultural workers becoming the poster children of precarity,[30] iconic exemplars of a group that lives individualized, "risk biographies,"[31] in which all the uncertainties and costs are borne by them rather than by employers or the state.[32] Linking as it does the notion of a proletariat with an idea of entrenched and unending precariousness, precarity and the notion of a precariat has become both a way of speaking about the changed experiences of contemporary capitalism, and a way of forging common cause between otherwise disparate groups of workers, for example, janitors, cleaners, and cultural producers.[33]

Conditions of precarity have become completely normalized within many fields of cultural work, but have profound effects on the individuals living them. These were manifested in the interviews as expressions of anxiety about not finding work, or about becoming sick and thus not being able to work.[34] Frequently people reported not taking holidays because they could not afford to do so, but also because they feared that they might miss out on potential work if they were not available all the time. The absence of social security benefits to tide people over periods of unemployment, and the lack of sick pay or pension were major sources of anxiety. In most European countries, not being in employment also profoundly impacts on entitlements to maternity benefits, a factor that contributes to the underrepresentation of women, and particularly mothers, in fields, like media, where freelancing or extremely short contracts predominate. As one freelance scriptwriter, quoted by Skillset, put it, "I dream about having sick pay, never mind

maternity pay."[35] In my research with Web designers in Amsterdam, women who thought about having children spoke of "making it up as I go along" and of being in a situation where there was no support—financial or otherwise—and no role models. As one woman, working out of shared, rented studio space, put it, "There literally is nothing for women like me." She asked: "What will I do? Bring my baby to the studio? I have absolutely no idea."

More generally, work insecurity contributes to a situation in which people find it very difficult to imagine their future. In the DIY biographies of much media work, the intensity of the work, the competitiveness of the field, and the inherent precariousness of people's working lives contribute to a sense of not being able to look ahead and plan—or indeed even to project into the future.[36] I was struck by many of my interviewees' inability to answer a typical job interview question about where they hoped to be or what they hoped to be doing in five years' time. The responses—even within the same interview—veered between fantasies of "making it"—in which the accoutrements of wealth (Caribbean home, swimming pool, etc.) were conjured—and set against contrastingly bleak assessments of having given up and doing something else. This reflected not a lack of imagination on their part but a realization of the difficulty of creating "livable lives" within media, and the strains of the kinds of (entrepreneurial) subjectivity demanded.[37]

The precariousness of the field, then, can be seen to directly impact on gender inequality via lack of access to maternity benefits and the difficulties of planning a sustainable working future. It also arguably impacts in other ways. One of the effects of pervasive work insecurity among cultural workers is the prevalence of second-jobbing or indeed multi-jobbing—frequently in teaching or in the hospitality industries, with some people having two entirely different resumes that they used for positions in each. Generally speaking, freelancers in the media and creative fields lived by the aphorism that "you can't say no to a job." This in turn led to extremely long hours and to what Andy Pratt has termed "bulimic" patterns of working—feast or famine, stop-go, long periods with little or no work followed by intense periods of having to work all the time, in some cases barely stopping to sleep.[38] These characteristic working patterns have also been accompanied by a general marked intensification of work across the cultural and creative field, so that patterns that were once associated with crunch times—such as getting a game into production or finishing editing a film—are increasingly normalized.[39] All the time is "crunch time" now.

For all the talk of "flexible working," it seems, as Diane Perrons has argued, to be a "very flexible discourse of flexibility,"[40] designed around the needs of the project rather than the worker—a worker whose flexible hours, but perhaps more significantly whose commitment to the job, requires them to stay at work to finish the shoot, resolve the programming glitch, redesign the presentation, and so on—however long it takes. At heart of this is the unquestioned assumption that the work must come first, must be privileged.[41] For people in media and cultural industries who were parents or were contemplating becoming parents, this posed enormous challenges. As one female production manager explained, there is no child care for people who have to go to a shoot at four in the morning and won't

get home until midnight, day after day—even if they then have the next seven weeks off. A male Web designer told me:

> I have a relationship with somebody. She is also involved in this work. I don't know if we are going to have kids. It scares the living hell out of me, the whole idea. Because overwork is just the reality of what I am doing, like all people in new media. Horrifying overwork is the reality. Like how many hours a week? Oh man, the amount of hours I have to put in in a week or this job—it amounts to 2 full-time jobs easily. And I mean I am working with a very good planner and I'm having a hell of a time keeping the hours. That is what I'm most scared of in my personal life. The impact of having no time for a kid or . . . that is what I'm most scared of. If I had some kids, boy it would be a tough life.

In a recent book called *Work's Intimacy*, Melissa Gregg has argued that work is taking up a central position in our lives, threatening to displace our intimate relationships with partners, children, and others, as work is extensifying over time and place.[42] Gregg argues that technological developments from e-mail to wireless computing and smartphones are helping to create a culture in which workers are expected to be "always on," always available for work—something that increasing numbers of us can (and do) now do as well from bed or the beach as from offices, with the result that work and its imperatives colonize more and more of the spaces of everyday life. In (creative) business circles, this is sometimes called "the merge"—replacing older notions of "work–life balance." Autonomous Marxist theorists have written about this in terms of all of life becoming a "social factory"—wherever you go, whoever you meet represents a work opportunity.[43] As one of my interviewees put it, "life is a pitch."

Precariousness, long hours, bulimic patterns of working, and the constant need to "keep up"—stay literate and re-skill in fields that are rapidly changing both through fashion and technological innovation—can be experienced as very difficult to fit with other aspects of life, such as friendships, intimate relationships, or caring. Most jobs in media and other cultural industries also rely upon a demonstrable passion and commitment that prioritizes working until the job is done over all else—be that one's sleep, health, or caring for others. While this might be said to affect men and women equally, the cultural expectations that position women as more likely to care for children and elderly or infirm adults mean that it is often distinctly gendered. For this reason, experts in the field have concluded that "it has been impossible to avoid the hypothesis that women have been leaving the industry because of difficulty reconciling a career in the creative industries with raising a family."[44]

The very nature and organization of media and cultural work, then, seems in significant part responsible for some of the inequalities that are visible within its labor force. However, as noted earlier, it is important to be cautious about laying the responsibility entirely on women's choice to have children. For to take this position is to treat as natural and inevitable something that is culturally determined. As scholars we must tread a delicate position between seeing the realities of work in the media and creative fields, and its impact upon women (and men), but also being aware of the performative force of our arguments, which

risk reinforcing or reifying this continual association between women and children. Not only does this potentially cement a connection that is the outcome of cultural practices and *does not have to be this way*, but it also may work to let the industry off the hook—to see it as a matter of "lifestyle" and "choice," and not something in which they are implicated and to which they must respond. Yet, as I argue below, two other sets of factors also exert particular force in maintaining the male dominance of the media and cultural industries—as well as their whiteness and middle-upper-class profile. These relate to discriminatory practices in hiring/gaining or giving access to these desirable fields, and to the "unspeakability" of sexism (and racism) within industries whose self-promotion is at odds with their reality.

Informality, "Reputation," and Unmanageable Inequalities

If the nature and organization of work in the media and cultural industries contributes to the evident inequalities within these fields, then so too do the hiring practices and the favored means for the allocation and distribution of work—the vast majority of which are centered on informal networks. Indeed, it is difficult even to speak of a labor market in these fields. Getting a job in the media depends less and less on being able to display a formal record of skills and experience and more and more upon that elusive quality called reputation, which circulates informally by word of mouth and recommendation.

The informality of work in the media has many aspects. It can be seen in the "work as play," "club to company" atmosphere of many micro-businesses and start-up companies[45]—a "friends club that got out of hand" as one of my interviewees put it. But more than this, informality is the structuring principle on which many small and medium-sized new media companies seem to operate: finding work, recruiting staff, getting clients are all seemingly removed from the formal sphere governed by established procedures, equal opportunities legislation, or union agreements, and located in an arena based on informality, sociality, and "who you know."

All researchers looking at creative labor could supply multiple accounts of the way in which getting work is organized informally. Fundamentally, finding work in the media and other cultural industries—in whatever capacity or contractual status—seems to be based on an amalgam between two commonplaces that circulated through my interviews. These were the phrases "it's all down to who you know" and "you are only as good as your last job."[46] The two could sometimes be in tension, but often worked in concert—particularly in the absence of official accounts of workers' achievements, such as employer references or formal qualifications (in a context in which much learning is done informally or "on the job"). As the quotes above indicate, the entire economy of work opportunities operates through contacts—people you meet at conferences, parties, drinks evenings, friends of friends, ex-colleagues, and so on.

Informality propels networking to center stage in the lives of new media workers. As one of my respondents said: "It never hurts to network. That is true.

I am friends with a lot of companies who do the same and I have established that the more people I know who do the same as I do, the more work I have." Others told us that networking had become a necessity or obligation: "Monday night is the only night I don't have networking drinks" said one, somewhat exhausted, new media worker. The requirement to network and build contacts also brings other pressures, dubbed by Melissa Gregg the "compulsory sociality" of the neoliberal workplace, in which one can never really switch off or relax, and one is never totally away from work.[47] Indeed, in this sense, the entire self is an entrepreneurial work project that must be presented in all the right ways at all the right occasions.[48]

There is a dearth of research about how informal reputation economies such as those in film, television, advertising, and new media operate, but they are obviously based on recruitment via personal networks.[49] It is clear that "Hansard's law"[50] frequently operates—in which the clubbier and more informal the context, the more likely people are to appoint in their own image. Reputational decisions are not necessarily based on outright discrimination, but are more likely to be based in a web of largely tacit judgments about who is trustworthy, reliable, and good to work with. "He's a good bloke" or "He's a safe pair of hands"—and myriad other warm assessments like these—become a major conduit for the reproduction of the predominantly white, male, and middle-class social order. Women may be further disadvantaged in this process by a variety of other patterns highlighted in research—such as the tendency for women but not men to be taken as representatives of their gender, the finding that women are less likely than men to self-promote and aggressively market themselves, and the claim that women are disadvantaged by a double bind in which there seems to be an inverse relationship between their perceived competence and their "likability."

Access to these fields in the first place involves both economic and social capital. For increasing numbers of young people in what has become known as "intern nation"[51] or "Generation I," it requires sufficient financial support to be able to work for free, not just once but repeatedly in order to "get a foot in the door" or build up experience. One London-based young graduate I spoke to who wanted to work in the wardrobe department of a film production company told me about the grueling 16–20-hour days she did on a freelance basis, often finding herself *de facto* running the department, getting home and having four hours sleep, and then going back "on location"—all completely unpaid. The long hours meant that she was unable to take on any other work, and she was only able to continue by dint of financial support from her middle-class and well-off parents. The social exclusions perpetrated and/or perpetuated by unpaid internships are now well documented and subject to extensive campaigning.[52]

Such exclusions are not only economic, however. For many people both starting out and continuing in media and creative industries, social connections and contacts are crucial. In Thanki and Jefferys' study of black and minority ethnic groups leaving the media, respondents frequently mentioned the networking and contacts culture from which they felt excluded.[53] BAME interviewees noted that a lot of middle-class white people have links into the media that they can tap, leading to the reproduction of a "white monoculture." Thanki and Jefferys argue:

The particularly strong dependence upon informal networking and freelancing still present a number of specific obstacles and barriers to working class people and particularly those from minority ethnic backgrounds. Together these create a web of indirect racism that is dense enough to "push" many of these professionals to quit as the audio-visual industries are predominantly middle-class and their senior posts are still largely run by a largely white "old boy" Oxbridge network.[54]

Legislation designed to promote and protect gender (and race) equality has a long history in Britain. Equal Opportunity and Equal Pay legislation was passed in the 1970s and, as in many European countries, is backed up by various statutory instruments and bodies at the national as well as European level—most recently the establishment of the Equalities and Human Rights Commission. Yet it is a disturbing fact that this entire raft of legal measures fails almost entirely to impact upon employment in the media and other creative fields—it literally does not touch or engage with the real on-the-ground practices of recruitment, pay, and so on. One problem is that only the very largest organizations tend to have equal opportunities policies, while increasingly the media world is dominated by small production companies or temporary project-based enterprises in which everything is done informally—with little (and usually no) regard for the relevant legislation. Also, even when policies are in place, they rarely translate into practices. Reviewing this in the audiovisual industries, Jane Holgate and Sonia McKay note that even the fairly empty statements of "good intentions" such as "working toward equality" or "this organization welcomes applications from all sections of the community" have all but disappeared.[55] Is this an optimistic sign that they are no longer necessary—that sexism, racism, and discrimination against disabled people have disappeared? Or is it a cynical sign of the postfeminist, neoliberal times in which equality just does not count anymore?

Either way, in film, media, and other cultural and creative industries, people gain and lose jobs in a way that is largely outside the formal apparatuses put in place to protect equality of opportunity. Thus what we see in these fields are what Deborah Jones and Judith Pringle call "unmanageable inequalities"— unmanageable because they exist out with all the measures designed to deal with them.[56] Unmanageable too, it could be noted, because they are scarcely documented and therefore even more difficult to contest and resist. As research has consistently shown, a lack of transparency in appointing and promoting staff is the enemy of equality and diversity. In media fields, there is little or no transparency about who gets the jobs and why.

Conclusion: On Not Saying the "S" Word

In this chapter I have considered two broad sets of factors that help to understand the persistent inequalities in the media and cultural industries, despite their professed commitment to equality, diversity, and an open, meritocratic work culture. Examining both "getting in" to the industry and "getting on" in the industry, the chapter has set out multiple different ways in which exclusions operate and

a largely white, male, and middle-class labor force is reproduced—particularly at senior levels and in key creative positions.

However, these do not exhaust all the possible explanations for the continued inequalities within media and cultural fields. In particular, no account of contemporary gender inequality would be complete without paying attention to both new and pernicious forms of sexism that seem to be developing, and the postfeminist climate in which inequalities become increasingly unspeakable.

Over the past two decades, I have examined the changing forms that expressions of sexism take in the cultural field. Writing 20 years ago about the lack of female broadcasters on pop music radio in the United Kingdom, I coined the term "new sexism" to try to capture the apparently novel ways in which discrimination was practiced.[57] None of the producers or radio station bosses I interviewed argued that women were not good enough, or that their place was in the home— or any other traditional expression of sexism—but on the contrary they produced accounts that stressed their great admiration for women and their genuine desire to hire them. However, through subtle discursive moves, they also simultaneously put forward persuasive justifications for why they actually employed so few female DJs (in many cases not a single one): women did not apply; the audience preferred men; women who went into broadcasting wanted to be in news, not entertainment; and so on. What fascinated me about this pattern of accounting was how it quite literally "did" discrimination in new ways. Like "new racism,"[58] it appeared to be a *mutation* in the way that sexism was practiced—designed to seem to take on board feminist arguments and to anticipate and rebut potential accusations of sexism. Disclaimers were common—"I'm not being sexist but . . ."—as were expressions of great admiration for women: this was sexism with a pleasant, postfeminist face.

More recently, a plethora of research has contributed to an understanding of how inequalities in the cultural and creative industries are reproduced,[59] highlighting the dynamism, flexibility, and agility of sexism as a set of practices.[60] For example, Elisabeth Kelan's work in ICT companies showed how women are systematically discredited for displaying skills and expertise that are deemed to be feminine—in a way that had no parallels for men. Thus, men who were deemed good communicators received extensive credit and appreciation from colleagues and managers, while women with similarly good communication skills did not, since this was seen as a natural part of a feminine skill set. In such subtle ways, men's professional prowess was systematically enhanced, while women's was discredited.

As I have argued elsewhere,[61] the proliferation of new and more difficult to recognize (let alone resist) forms of sexism is occurring in parallel with a wider "postfeminization" of cultural life in which "all the battles" are assumed to have been fought and won, and in which sexism is no longer thought to be an issue meriting attention. This renders inequality as not only unmanageable but actually unspeakable, even for those most profoundly affected by it—and this seems to be particularly the case within creative and media work, where there is a significant investment in notions of meritocracy and egalitarianism. For some, it may be that not speaking about inequality is a strategic decision. One woman in new media

told me, "you don't talk about sexism if you want to get on." Similarly a black respondent in Thanki and Jefferys' study explained: "I left the industry because of psychological pressure . . . you are in a workplace or you are trying to get into the industry and you are being discriminated against and you cannot talk about it because if you do you get blacklisted or probably no one is going to believe you."[62] However, for many others, the (un)speakability of inequality seems to relate more profoundly to the disappearance of a critical vocabulary that *names* sexism (and to a lesser extent racism), and indeed to a profound desire to repudiate the existence of inequality.[63] In this way, the myth of media and cultural industries as cool, creative, and egalitarian becomes not simply paradoxical, but one of the key mechanisms by which gender and other inequalities are maintained. This highlights the complexity of understanding inequalities in media work and the challenges for those of us who want to resist and change them.[64]

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Subjects at Work: Investigating the Creative Labor of British Screenwriters

Bridget Conor

This chapter draws together theories of creative labor and the concerns of production studies along with empirical research to analyze how screenwriters are made as creative subjects, subjects who negotiate with commissioners and other filmmakers and creative workers, negotiate their relationships with Hollywood, and negotiate their rights and positions. The first section will begin to build a framework for analyzing screenwriting careers in London today, one that is attendant to the various paradigms for media industry analysis that have reemerged in the last two decades: creative labor, production studies, sociology of cultural production, critical media industry studies.[1] The following sections will incorporate elements of macro, meso, and micro levels of analysis, first considering some of the historical and structural forces and organizational dynamics that shape and coordinate the possibilities for screenwriting work in London. The chapter will then drill down into the daily working lives of a group of London-based screenwriters. Micro-level subjective experiences of this group of writers will be analyzed using the anchoring term disinvestment, which, I argue, signals a set of strategies and ways of being a screenwriter and doing screenwriting work in the context of macro- and meso-level market dynamics. Disinvestment is a material and subjective response to persistent concerns about the invisibility and marginalization of this form of creative work. But I also suggest that disinvestment may be a productive force, fostering professional confidence, collegiality, and possibilities for "good" work for those who call themselves screenwriters.

Creative Labor Studies

Media production work has been theorized across the traditions of political economy, cultural studies, and the sociology of cultural production[2] in the UK, Europe,

and the USA. Havens, Lotz, and Tinic argue that particularly in the last decade, an interest in this kind of industry-based research has reemerged in response to the widespread neglect of labor analysis within these traditions.[3] They express their consternation that "like-minded work" from across these traditions has not been connected or in conversation and that, instead, an "increasing and problematic array of monikers"[4] have sprung up including Caldwell's critical production studies, Hartley's creative industry studies, and Du Gay and Pryke's cultural economy studies.[5] To this list I would add Havens, Lotz, and Tinic's own moniker, "critical media industry studies." I would also add creative labor and cultural work studies, beginning with pioneering critical sociological and ethnographic investigations of industries and organizations[6] and now embodied in the work of Banks—cultural work—and Hesmondhalgh and Baker—creative labor.[7]

In this first section, I contribute to what I hope will be a much longer and more in-depth conversation, one that Havens, Lotz, and Tinic call for, drawing together these traditions and their concerns via an analysis of screenwriting work and workers in London. All of these fields, subfields, and traditions share an interest in connecting up macro and micro levels of industrial analysis via sophisticated empirical work. So, Havens, Lotz, and Tinic envision that critical media industry studies uses "grounded institutional case studies" to examine the relationship between macro-level "strategies" of large cultural institutions and the micro-level "tactics" of cultural workers.[8] Caldwell's "integrated cultural-industrial method of analysis"[9] seeks to bridge both macro-level analyses of economic processes with micro-social experiences of daily media production work in Los Angeles. Hesmondhalgh and Baker make a case for the productive use of such binaries and argue that in order to link up macro and micro in the study of creative labor, an intermediate or meso-level analysis that focuses on organization is important, that is, examining "how work in the cultural industries is managed, coordinated and divided."[10] These are obviously ambitious analytical goals—linking up macro and micro strategies and tactics—and any particular study will be constrained in this task by numerous factors: the type of institution or work being examined, the empirical data drawn upon (whether Caldwell's ten years of data gathering in Los Angeles or a smaller-scale study like my own), and the political investments made therein. The parameters of a production study are also negotiated via differing, often dualistic accounts of subjectivity and normativity at work.

Critical sociological accounts of creative labor to date have provided an incisive basis for an analysis of screenwriting work when combined with a neo-Foucauldian understanding of work and subjectivity.[11] Some of the most penetrating accounts of creative labor have illuminated trends in late-capitalist workplaces (toward increased individualization, self-reflexivity, and uncertainty)[12] while also offering sophisticated and situated critiques of claims to increased freedom and creativity in work. From much of the pioneering cultural studies scholarship on creative labor, it has been possible to examine how buzzwords such as freedom, flexibility, and innovation within contemporary creative industries in the UK represent, in Rose's words, "new languages and techniques to bind the worker into the productive life of society."[13] Thus, conclusions from this scholarship tend to foreground the notion of creative workers as self-exploitative subjects in the first

(or last) instance. Banks' even-handed examination of self-exploitation argues that the "seduction of autonomy" or expressions of love for one's creative labor are "strong enough for workers to deny the hardships of individualized work and to eclipse the feelings of exhaustion and despair"[14] that often result from working very long hours for little or no pay in a design studio or for an independent television production company, for example. The relationship between "subject and subjection" in the cultural sector and in the context of these hardships is, arguably, "more pronounced," Banks suggests, because "the emphasis [is] placed on entrepreneurial self application and on promoting the self-absorbed pursuit of creative fulfillment."[15]

Within their conception of "critical media industry studies," Havens, Lotz, and Tinic have called for a recuperation of Foucauldian discourse analysis along with a Gramscian conception of power relations that "does not lead to complete domination."[16] This approach offers "a potentially productive window into the ways that cultural workers maintain some degree of agency within the larger constraints imposed by the structural imperatives of the media industries, their owners, and regulators."[17] Banks argues that "the practical capacities of individualized cultural workers to counter corporate instrumentality" should be more central to studies of cultural work, studies that remain attuned to governmentality and subjectification.[18] And it is those studies that are attendant to the tensions inherent in production work—between "pleasure" and "pain," for example, or between the norms of "good" or "bad" work—that can offer fresh, sophisticated, and empirically grounded production studies.

Questions of Normativity

Hesmondhalgh and Baker have also identified a "normative vacuum" within much production and media industry studies that is partly a result of "a more general tendency towards effacing reasonable normativity in post-structuralist studies of work."[19] For these authors, studies of creative labor or media production that are premised on neo-Foucauldian accounts of subjectivity do not sufficiently establish normative frameworks for good and bad work, or they reject the possibilities for normativity altogether.[20] In their critical discussion of autonomist Marxism as it has been applied to creative labor, Gill and Pratt make implicit reference to the need for something akin to normativity when they ask for "principled criteria" that could be used to investigate the differences between forms of self-exploitation and experiences of genuine creative autonomy or "spontaneous communism."[21] Hesmondhalgh and Baker are politically invested both philosophically and practically[22] and they establish a model for the "good," autonomous work in both process and products based on these investments: fair pay, professional autonomy, self-esteem, interest and involvement, sociality, and self-realization; products that are "excellent" and "contribute to the common good."[23]

Applying this critique, we could examine Caldwell's discussion of "industrial auteur theory." Caldwell mainly analyzes the experiences of below-the-line workers in Los Angeles but he also discusses above-the-line writing practices relevant to

my own study, in which forms of "bad" work are clearly discernible. Practices of writing by committee in television writers' rooms lead to "idea theft,"[24] "anxiety and stress,"[25] "downward animosity among alienated workers on the set,"[26] and the all-encompassing term: "trade pain."[27] These are all real-world forms of "bad" work as Hesmondhalgh and Baker would term it,[28] some examples of which I also observed in ethnographic fieldwork in London's screenwriting milieu. However, there seems little possibility here for any exercise of individual or collective agency, autonomous micro tactics, or "good work," because no normative standards for good work have, by this rationale, been established.

Strandvad's socio-material perspective pushes back against the call to normativity, suggesting that this type of analysis is unproductive, leading to an unceasing dualistic analysis of creative work, work that is focused on creative individuals and their understandings of their work as *either* pleasure or pain.[29] Drawing on Hennion's earlier and influential work on producer agency and cultural production and mediation, she queries the analytical neglect of cultural materials and artifacts (tools, scripts, films themselves) at the expense of a focus on individuals and their "self-creation."[30] Instead, her use of actor-network theorists focuses on the mediations that occur as creative ideas are developed in a scriptwriting process for example. There is not the space to discuss socio-materialism more fully here but I also sympathize with Strandvad's critique—her insights into the "idea development" phase of a film production in which the "smallest amount of materials, equipment and people" are employed[31] are directly relevant for my own focus on screenwriters' work. But in the discussion that follows I seek to sidestep the ceaseless dualisms that much creative labor analysis seems doomed to rehearse. As I said above, at their best, neo-Foucauldian accounts of creative labor are important precisely because they highlight the tensions that are implicit in creative work of all kinds. Normativity is *also* useful because it can connect these dualisms in the daily lives of production workers—the celebratory accounts of creative labor as freedom and self-expression (forms of "good" work) and those accounts that presume self-exploitation ("bad" work). In the next section, I outline some macro- and meso-level industrial dynamics of the screenwriting market in London via my own study and the phenomenon of disinvestment in screenwriting work. I illustrate that disinvestment can be viewed simultaneously as both "bad" and "good," as self-exploitative and as potentially productive, although certainly still delimited and determined by the industrial dynamics I discuss below.

Disinvestment and Screenwriting Work

Processes and practices of disinvestment in screenwriting work were a principal finding from this broader study,[32] and disinvestment was experienced in relation to process *and* products. Those processes and practices took a number of forms. In interviews with screenwriters and screenwriting teachers, disinvestment was described and understood as a necessary process of "letting go" of a script, scene, character, or idea, the preparation for that script, scene, character, or idea to be changed or rewritten according to the will of others. Strandvad describes a

version of this within her socio-material perspective, noting in an example of a film production gone wrong that an unsatisfactory rewrite of a script "breaks up the screenwriter's relation to the project," that what was once passionate attachment becomes "aversion" and detachment.[33] Disinvestment in both process and product was viewed as an inherent but difficult part of screenwriting work. Disinvestment was also discernible within other sites of analysis: textual analysis of screenwriting manuals and fieldwork within pedagogical settings indicated how these texts and courses naturalized disinvestment as a "necessary" and "inevitable" part of the work.

First, what kinds of macro and meso dynamics are at play in the screen production industry in the UK today that foster the micro tactics of disinvestment I wish to highlight? Processes of historical and continued marginalization of industrial screenwriting labor[34] can be understood by linking up "particularist" histories of the profession[35] with contemporary labor market data from the USA and UK. I do not have the space here for an extensive historical discussion at this macro level but I will note that from the earliest days of industrial screenwriting within Hollywood, studios, corporate owners, and producers pioneered techniques—such as the separation of conception from execution in film production,[36] or the development of corporate as opposed to individual authorship and ownership strategies—to encourage, nay, demand, processes of disinvestment between screenwriters and their process and products. Evidence for the marginalization of screenwriting work could also be located in the rise of auteur theory in Europe and then North America, which has consistently worked (both directly and indirectly) to tie notions of creativity, innovation, and imagination in the production of screen works to the individual genius of the director.[37]

To telescope in somewhat on this macro plane, we could consider the specificities of the London labor market as it is enmeshed within Hollywood production dynamics. Caldwell in fact distinguishes creative labor scholarship from his own focus on Los Angeles–centric workers, noting:

> Unlike the creative industries in New York or London that Ross and McRobbie analyze ... film and TV production in Los Angeles continues to survive with less volatility and relatively more predictability than either dot-com or club cultures.[38]

The British industry is often referred to as a cottage industry (as most other national film industries are) and one that is elite, US-dominated in terms of production, distribution, and exhibition, small scale, and structurally fractured in numerous ways. For example, it is London centric,[39] and the workforce is well educated and is overwhelmingly dominated by older, white men.[40] Christopherson echoes this in her assessment of the Hollywood-centric system as increasingly unstable—bifurcated, de-professionalized, and deeply exclusionary.[41]

In the contemporary moment, these macro dynamics are arguably more intense than ever before because of a range of short- and longer-term changes. Examples include the proliferation of new online and networked platforms for the production and distribution of film and television, increasing casualisation and declining union membership in the UK and Europe,[42] and the wider recessionary economic climate in which cuts to the arts and cultural sectors are now widespread.[43]

Conversely, there is evidence of new and renewed forms of political collegiality for screenwriters in the USA, UK, and Europe—particular manifestations of this range from the high-profile 2007–2008 US Writers' Strike[44] to more modest interventions such as the 2006 European Screenwriters' Manifesto and the Writers Guild of Great Britain's (WGGB) "Writing for Film" guidelines.[45] These activities are all embedded in traditional forms of worker organization—guilds and unions—and all have asserted the need for "good" work practice for screenwriters at a time in which the future of the screen production industries is characterized as unstable and illegible. Screenwriting work now circulates across a range of media and increasingly via online platforms, and this raises a number of meso-level and politically volatile questions about, for example, new models of remuneration for screenwriting work. In the European context, the WGGB has expressed great concern over the possibility of a "single digital market" for European distribution of audiovisual products (this could lead to an American work-for-hire system, an "abomination" as the WGGB put it),[46] and progress has also been made—the Writers Digital Payments service with the BBC for example.[47]

What makes these macro- and meso-level dynamics all the more complex (and thus difficult for traditional worker organizations to grapple with) is that rapid industrial and political changes have facilitated the growth and multiplicity of new roles for screenwriters with varying access to power and resources.[48] As MacDonald notes, modalities of screenwriting work within the UK context are largely genre bound,[49] a result of the dominance of screen production by Hollywood finance and inherited ideas about screen storytelling conventions. This is a market in which writers juggle roles, shift from project to project in different mediums, and may operate at different points in their careers as both permanent employees and freelancers. And London-based screenwriters move *more* fluidly between film and television production than in the USA, largely because the industry is much smaller and the small pool of production money dictates it. For example, forms of role hybridization that correlate with generic categories or types of industrial production are developing in varying and sometimes conflicting directions: first, powerful writers/creators/showrunners are firmly entrenched in high-end television as they aggregate ideas and voices into particular texts;[50] a recent UK example would be the current *Doctor Who* showrunner Steven Moffat. In other genres, reality television for example, an "entrepreneurial, multi-skilled, hybrid workforce" is rapidly growing.[51] In this tier, professional categories that distinguish productive labor—writer, director, producer—are dissolving but in altogether more insidious ways. This is a hybrid workforce that is much more often nonunionized, isolated, and less able to predict and control their careers and income streams, let alone the on- and offline circulation of their works. They, perhaps, are most prone to the micro dynamics of disinvestment and to micro tactics of self-exploitation.

Disinvestment as Survival Mechanism

Moving from a macro- to a meso-level analysis, the motivations for an initiative such as the European Screenwriters' Manifesto (2006) seem clear and prescient:

professional marginalization, which is heightened via the increasing proliferation of writers' work online and the lack of fair remuneration and recognition for that work; increased polarization between occupational tiers; and diminishing opportunities for collective organization for writers. And the motivations for individual screenwriters to thus disinvest in their own work—in order to avoid disappointment, to better meet the demands of commissioners or producers, to be amenable and, thus, secure the next job or role—can be linked to subjective, everyday experiences of these macro- and meso-level dynamics.

Disinvestment was framed in interviews with a group of early- to mid-career London-based writers[52] in a number of ways that signal "bad" work or Caldwell's "trade pain"[53] in action. This tactic was often presented as simply part of the screenwriting game: "You can't be precious about your work, you have to accept that it's going to change, and enjoy that change to some extent," said Jane M., a writer and teacher. Dale T. spoke about the need for writers to "get over it" if they are exposed to bad working practices (as he was) and Todd D. was very quick to point out that "You just have to get over that"—that is, get over a sense of individual authorship and control over a script both as a process and as a final product. Todd D. went on: "With screenwriting, you have producers and commissioners chasing audiences and investing a huge amount in them and I think it's naive in the end to start going around and getting all depressed."

Disinvestment was also described as a "survival mechanism" by Sandra K.: "You have to let things go, certainly unless you're a writer/director then things are going to be taken out of your hands and they will make something else of it. If you're lucky you'll get consulted along the way but often you won't." Amenability and what Sandra K. termed "mental and emotional flexibility" were further tactics required within the daily working lives of professional writers to survive and prosper. "Always say yes" was a much-repeated epithet, and as Ed R., a writer and script editor put it, "always be amenable in a face-to-face meeting." Combative strategies were also highlighted—reactionary fighting metaphors were repeated across conversations and within manuals and screenwriting courses: "fight for your corner," "choose your fights carefully," "fight without seeming to fight too much." So, while disinvestment could here be analyzed as a carefully chosen tactic, one modulated and deployed alongside a fighting spirit, these tactics were regularly described and experienced as a reaction to already-established and routine processes of marginalization.

When solutions were offered to the negative effects of disinvestment and "bad" work, these were often framed as issues of personal responsibility: "Get over it," or, as Ben J. put it after facing a bad working experience on a feature film, "A lot of it comes down to naiveté on my part." As Todd D. explained pragmatically: "It's on the screenwriter to find those [good] relationships and if the screenwriter is forced because of the stage in their career [to enter destructive relationships] . . . that's just cutting your teeth." This signals the neo-Foucauldian "enterprising self" as Du Gay calls it,[54] those individualized selves who must be proactive, must seek out good work and professional autonomy, but always risk insecurity in the process. From this angle, disinvestment is "common sense," perhaps the ultimate form of self-exploitation, and involves the sacrifice of authorial control and its material and nonmaterial benefits—income, credits, reputation, and job satisfaction. Sam P.

summarized this subject position: "The key probably to being a happy collaborator is to be comfortable with the notion that as a screenwriter, you're the second most important person in the business. You need to pass the authorial baton to the director."

The specter of "destructive relationships" Todd D. raises above (linking this to "the [early] stage in your career") resonates across the macro and meso levels I discussed above. Destructive relationships between workaday writers and powerful producers or directors (within the psychic and material spaces of what is commonly termed "development hell" in the industry) litter the histories of screenwriting and anguished commentaries about the ways in which auteur theory has marginalized writers.[55] As Sandra K. explained when discussing the realities of the profession: "It's a historic problem, that writers started off as being studio hired hands." Thus, amenability, reactionary combat, and the ceding of authorial control signal particular kinds of micro tactics, forms of routine disinvestment for screenwriters.

Disinvestment as Professional Tool

Disinvestment as a necessary and reactionary tactic, as a "survival mechanism" in the screenwriting labor process for the British writers studied here, signals that "bad" work, as Hesmondhalgh and Baker would define it,[56] *is* the norm. However, I want to counter this largely pessimistic analysis of screenwriting work because, in the context of the daily lives of these writers, disinvestment also represents the prospects for and the pursuit of professional satisfaction and agency, and, more broadly, the particular appeals of the screenwriting profession.

Screenwriters I spoke to and observed were often working within clear generic categories as I said above, highlighting the genre-bound meso dynamics of an increasingly bifurcated industry. Those genres ranged from television soap opera, to horror film, to romantic comedy or period drama adaptation for example. These were categories that excited them (they offered "generic possibilities" as Born calls it)[57] in terms of both process and products. They were also routinely pursuing writing on multiple platforms—theater, film, television, radio, and online content for example. They supplemented their incomes by undertaking other forms of related work such as teaching screenwriting, script editing, running training seminars and workshops, and writing how-to manuals. Thus, they could spend time pursuing work in spaces *related to* the craft and creativity of screenwriting: sociality, respect, and professional autonomy engendered within a classroom or seminar, for example, or authorial control as the writer of a manual or textbook.[58]

From the selected accounts presented in the previous section, the sense is that writers are always in a position of inferiority in the development process, are always working at the behest of others, are self-exploiting as they smile and "say yes." Conversely, these expressions indicated that writers built up confidence and self-esteem and pursued collegial forms of work using disinvestment as a calculated, professional tool. Always saying "yes," for example, was a tactic used to placate the

multitude of voices weighing in on a project, a tactic that would enable a writer to continue to serve the script as they saw fit, maintaining control by seeming to give up that control. As Ed R. put it: "When a producer asks a writer to do something, the writer should say 'yes, ok, let's do it.' Whether you do it or not is an entirely different thing."

Disinvestment was recast by Todd D. during our conversation as a process of "confidently reappraising" one's own work in light of a set of notes. This tactic was viewed by Todd as a paramount skill, one that then bred further confidence in one's own professional abilities even in the context of "development hell." As I stated in the previous section, Sandra K. described screenwriting work as requiring "a special kind of mental and emotional flexibility," a finely tuned combination of creative autonomy and combativeness:

> You have to be simultaneously passionate and able to defend your point of view and to offer creative solutions all the time . . . and at the same time go ok, I don't think your way works, but I'm going to really try and make it work, and not just kind of go through the motions, but if this is the way we're going to do it, then it's got to be the best possible version of this way, so it does take . . . a special kind of mental and emotional flexibility you need, to deal with that.

And practical tactics were also presented to resist disinvestment, or resist it on the industry's terms, tactics to secure future work and preserve one's creative voice or the integrity of a script as product (the *materials* of the work that Strandvad's perspective is so attentive to): to produce "the best possible version" of a particular idea or scene according to Sandra K. Todd D. discussed what he would do with a very personally invested script, that is, use it as a sample script when new professional relationships were sought with agents or producers or directors. For him, this tactic of finding people who "love the voice" would reap rewards further down the career line and illustrates the pursuit of professional collegiality as a means to attain or maintain creative autonomy. Karen H. literally disinvested by forfeiting immediate payment for a particular script in order to establish good collaborative connections with producers and reinvest in her own position as a future writer-producer:

> So I said to them look, don't pay me . . . because they don't have any money, so I said, I'll invest the rights but I'll be a producer as well, so we'll split the deal and I thought, well, I know my script is commercial. I've given them the rights for a period, that's my investment as a producer, that's what I think a way to go as a writer is here.

In examining how and in what ways screenwriters talked about the complex tensions between the pleasures *and* pains of their work, disinvestment often led to insights about collaboration—that is, the ways in which screenwriting work itself resists an individual, subjective analysis: "Somebody else can spark you up," as Jane M. said, a comment that signals the broader appeals of this kind of writing and filmmaking. Screenwriting "is the most collaborative form of creative processes" according to Ed R., and this form of creative labor was appealing for these workers precisely because of its constraints—structure, narrative form, rules

and constrictions—and for the possibilities it offered for enriching collaborative relationships as opposed to individualistic authorial control. And because a sustainable career could be maintained via one or more of the processes and products previously listed—screenwriting, teaching, publishing, theater, radio, manuals, journalism, new media—variable creative investments and disinvestments across scripts, projects, and roles enabled a variety of individual and collective experiences of screenwriting work and the *sharing* of micro tactics between individuals, between occupational tiers, between workers and their materials.

Conclusion

As European production studies develop further, our own political and critical investments in this work need to be made clear. Undergirding my own creative labor studies research is the belief that screenwriting is uniquely placed to enjoy, foster, and reproduce a collaborative form of what Banks and Hesmondhalgh describe as "good" work: "the production of goods that are often primarily aimed at pleasing, informing and enlightening audiences and in some cases to the goals of social justice and equity."[59] By this rationale, disinvestment is a powerful micro tactic that enables writers to seek out, fight for, and protect those creative goods, even in the face of insecure and increasingly illegible production spaces. But screenwriting is also unstable, isolating, and exclusive; it is *also* uniquely placed to foster marginality, "trade pain," and self-exploitation par excellence. Disinvestment, then, is also a micro tactic that maintains this isolation and exclusion, ensuring that writers are always "on their own."

This case study, screenwriting as creative labor, thus contributes to a dialogue about European production studies, a dialogue that is now developing within and across a range of sectors and kinds of industry analysis. This is by no means an exhaustive account of a chosen production community. It has foregrounded a brief selection of macro and meso dynamics that cut across and within the UK production industry as it grapples with political and technological changes both within and outside its borders. It has also engaged with the broader theoretical dynamics of creative labor and production studies as these fields develop in the UK, Europe, and the USA. As an analytical theme, disinvestment highlights these tensions and dynamics as they have played out within my own case study, and I have connected these findings, where possible, to the much larger bodies of empirical work that have emerged in both the USA, and the UK and Europe. Primarily, this kind of "grounded institutional case study"[60] means one must be attendant to creative investments *and* disinvestments, to subjective tactics *and* industrial strategies, to the tensions inherent between varying accounts of creative labor as "bad" *and* "good" work.

Notes

1. See Timothy Havens, Amanda Lotz, and Serra Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies: A Research Approach," *Communication, Culture and Critique* 2 (2009): 234–253.

2. As well as in other related fields such as business, organizational, and management studies as Hesmondhalgh and Baker discuss; see David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker, *Creative Labour: Media Work in Three Cultural Industries* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge).

3. Havens, Lotz, and Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies," 244.

4. Ibid., 236.

5. See John Thornton Caldwell, *Production Culture: Industrial Reflexivity and Critical Practice in Film and Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Vicki Mayer, Miranda J. Banks, and John T. Caldwell, eds, *Production Studies: Cultural Studies of Media Industries* (New York: Routledge, 2009); John Hartley, ed., *Creative Industries* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005); Paul du Gay and Michael Pryke, eds, *Cultural Economy: Cultural Analysis and Commercial Life* (London: Sage, 2002).

6. See Angela McRobbie, *British Fashion Design: Rag Trade or Image Industry?* (London: Routledge, 1998); McRobbie, "From Holloway to Hollywood: Happiness at Work in the New Cultural Economy?," in Du Gay and Pryke, eds, *Cultural Economy*, 97–114; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies: Notes on the Decline of Political Culture in Speeded Up Creative Worlds," *Cultural Studies* 16, no. 4 (July 2002): 516–531; Gillian Ursell, "Television Production: Issues of Exploitation, Commodification and Subjectivity in UK Television Labor Markets," *Media, Culture and Society* 22, no. 6 (2000): 805–825; Andrew Ross, *No-collar: The Humane Workplace and Its Hidden Costs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005); Georgina Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (London: Vintage, 2005); Rosalind Gill, *Technobohemians or the New Cybertariat? New Media Work in Amsterdam a Decade after the Web* (Amsterdam: Institute of Network Cultures, 2007), accessed April 14, 2008, http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/genderInstitute/Amsterdam%20report2.pdf.

7. Mark Banks, *The Politics of Cultural Work* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour*.

8. Havens, Lotz, and Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies," 247.

9. Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 4.

10. Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour*, 77.

11. Drawing for example on Ursell, "Television Production"; Helen Blair, "'You're Only As Good As Your Last Job': The Labor Process and Labor Market in the British Film Industry," *Work, Employment and Society* 15, no. 1 (2001): 149–169; Blair, "Winning and Losing in Flexible Labor Markets: The Formation and Operation of Networks of Interdependence in the UK Film Industry," *Sociology* 37, no. 6 (2003): 677–694; McRobbie, "From Holloway to Hollywood"; McRobbie, "Clubs to Companies"; Banks, *The Politics of Cultural Work*; Gill, *Technobohemians or the New Cybertariat?*

12. See also Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992); Paul du Gay, *Consumption and Identity at Work* (Cambridge: Polity, 1996); Richard Sennett, *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (London: W. W. Norton, 1998); Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualized Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

13. Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (Routledge: London, 1990), 60.

14. Banks, *The Politics of Cultural Work*, 64.

15. Ibid.

16. Havens, Lotz, and Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies," 246.

17. Ibid., 247.

18. Banks, *The Politics of Cultural Work*, 67.

19. Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour*, 50.
20. See their critique of Damien O'Doherty and Hugh Wilmott for an expansion of this critique.
21. Rosalind Gill and Andy Pratt, "Precarity and Cultural Work in the Social Factory? Immaterial Labour, Precariousness and Cultural Work," *Theory, Culture & Society* 25, no. 7–8 (2008): 19.
22. They argue, for example, that collective organization remains key to good work, to the "countering of insecurity and intensity" of creative labor. See Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour*, 222.
23. Ibid., 36.
24. Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 207.
25. Ibid., 216.
26. Ibid., 220.
27. Ibid., 221.
28. Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour*.
29. Sara Malou Strandvad, "Creative Work beyond Self-creation: Filmmakers and Films in the Making," *STS Encounters: Research Papers from DSATS* 3, no. 1 (2010): 1–26; Strandvad, "Attached by the Product: A Socio-material Direction in the Sociology of Art," *Cultural Sociology* 6, no. 2 (2012): 163–176.
30. Strandvad, "Attached by the Product."
31. Strandvad, "Creative Work beyond Self-creation."
32. This was a qualitative research project involving labor market analysis, interviews, and observations of screenwriting as labor, practice, and pedagogy in the UK from 2007 to 2010. Seventeen interviews were conducted with writers, script editors, consultants, and screenwriting teachers and pedagogical analysis involving the close reading of how-to screenwriting manuals (32 in total) and course materials from masters-level screenwriting courses. The overall design of the project reflects what Ortner calls "interface ethnography." See Sherry Ortner, "Access: Reflections on Studying Up in Hollywood," *Ethnography*, 11, no. 2 (2010): 211–233.
33. Strandvad, "Attached by the Product," 173.
34. Note that here I am discussing mainstream, Anglocentric writing work that relies on hegemonic Hollywood standards of style and form. A number of other screenwriting traditions—independent, nonmainstream, avant-garde—have (and continue to have) purchase in North America, Europe, and beyond. A number of filmmakers have explicitly rejected the notion of the "sovereign" script (e.g., Jean-Luc Godard, a proponent of auteur theory in his writings and practice) or have pursued more wholly collaborative forms of filmmaking (see Murphy [2010] for discussion of the decentering of the screenplay in American independent filmmaking).
35. See Steven Maras, *Screenwriting: History, Theory and Practice* (London: Wallflower Press, 2009).
36. See Janet Staiger, "Dividing Labor for Production Control: Thomas Ince and the Rise of the Studio System," in *The American Movie Industry: The Business of Motion Pictures*, ed. Gorham Kindem (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 94–103.
37. See, for example, E. Buscombe, "Ideas of Authorship," *Screen* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1973): 75–85; Jim Hillier, ed., *Cahiers du Cinéma: The 1950s: Neo-realism, Hollywood, New Wave* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); and Robert Stam, *Film Theory: An Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).
38. Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 33.

39. Sixty-eight percent of all film companies were located in London and South East England in 2010 according to the BFI (2011), a point reflected in my own empirical work, in which the majority of my interviews were conducted in London.

40. See BFI, *BFI Statistical Yearbook* (BFI, 2011), accessed August 2, 2011, http://www.bfi.org.uk/filmtvinfo/stats/BFI-Statistical-Yearbook-2011.pdf; for the equivalent Hollywood statistics, see Writers Guild of America West, *Recession and Regression: The 2011 Hollywood Writers Report*, accessed August 2, 2011, http://www.wga.org/uploadedFiles/who_we_are/hwr11execsum.pdf.

41. Susan Christopherson, "Beyond the Self-expressive Creative Worker: An Industry Perspective on Entertainment Media," *Theory, Culture and Society* 25, no. 7–8 (2008): 85.

42. There is evidence for a steady decline in union and guild membership and a rise in freelancing and casual working conditions in the UK and Europe (see European Federations Representing Cultural and Creative Workers, "Collective Representation of Freelance Workers in the Media/Entertainment/Creative Sector: Trying to Shed Some Light on a Grey Area," 2010, accessed May 5, 2010, http://www.scenaristes.org/pdfs/freelance.pdf, for example) as well as in the USA (Christopherson 2008).

43. For an account of the closure of the UK Film Council, see, for example, Ben Child, "Fade Out from the UK Film Council . . . to the British Film Institute," *Guardian*, April 1, 2011, accessed November 25, 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2011/apr/01/uk-film-council-british-institute-bfi.

44. For key reportage on the 2007–2008 writers' strike, in which remuneration for the distribution of screenwriters' work on new media platforms was a key issue, see Dante Atkins, "The WGA Strike, the Internet and Media Decentralization," *Flow TV*, May 22, 2008, accessed February 3, 2010, http://flowtv.org?p=1390; M. Banks, "The Picket Line Online: Creative Labor, Digital Activism and the 2007–2008 Writers Guild of America Strike," *Popular Communication* 8, no. 1 (2010): 20–33; "The 100 Day Writers Strike—A Timeline," *New York Times*, February 12, 2008, accessed February 3, 2010, http://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/02/12/the-100-day-writers-strike-a-timeline.

45. See Writers Guild of Great Britain (WGGB), "Writing Film: A Good Practice Guide," accessed December 15, 2009, http://www.writersguild.org.uk/public/userimages/File/Guidelines/WG_film_Oct09_LR.pdf.

46. See WGGB, "Response to the European Commission's Green Paper: On the Online Distribution of Audiovisual Works in the European Union: Opportunities and Challenges for a Single Digital Market," accessed September 10, 2012, http://www.scenaristes.org/policy.htm.

47. See WGGB, "New BBC TV Agreements Now in Force," accessed September 10, 2012, http://www.writersguild.org.uk/news-a-features/tv/320-gnew-bbc-tv-agreements-now-in-force-.

48. Wayne E. Baker and Robert R. Faulkner, "Role As Resource in the Hollywood Film Industry," *American Journal of Sociology*, 97, no. 2 (1991): 199.

49. See Ian W. MacDonald, "The Presentation of the Screen Idea in Narrative Film-making." PhD thesis, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2004. Note that genre is a focus of Born's discussion of television studies and the sociology of culture. She argues that, in judging agency, reflexivity, and value in the production of culture, we could focus on how "generic possibilities" can be progressed (or not) within given social and structural conditions. See Georgina Born, "Inside Television: Television Studies and the Sociology of Culture," *Screen* 41, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 404–424.

50. See Caldwell, *Production Culture*, 212.

51. See Christopherson, "Beyond the Self-expressive Creative Worker," 88.

AQ1

52. All interviewees were anonymized for this project and full pseudonyms are used here.
53. Caldwell, *Production Culture.*
54. See Du Gay, *Consumption and Identity at Work.*
55. See, for example, Marc Norman, *What Happens Next: A History of American Screen-writing* (New York: Harmony Books, 2007).
56. See Hesmondhalgh and Baker, *Creative Labour.*
57. Born, "Inside Television," 2.
58. There is a counterargument to be made in relation to the writing of how-to manuals—that in producing textbooks or how-to seminars, screenwriters may perpet-uate bad working conditions for themselves and others by elevating expectations within industries and thus directly and indirectly feeding aspirants into the "bloated" bottom end of the occupational pyramid. This is an important critique, and although I do not have time to address it fully here, this is the subject of a forthcoming publication. I thank Anna Zoellner for drawing my attention to this point.
59. M. Banks and David Hesmondhalgh, "Looking for Work in Creative Industries Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 15, no. 4 (November 2009): 419.
60. Havens, Lotz, and Tinic, "Critical Media Industry Studies," 247.

QUERIES TO BE ANSWERED BY AUTHOR (SEE MARGINAL MARKS)

IMPORTANT NOTE: Please mark your corrections and answer to these queries directly onto the proof at the relevant place. Do NOT mark your corrections on this query sheet.

Chapter 12

Query No.	Page No.	Query
AQ1	219	Reference European Federations Representing Cultural and Creative Workers (2010) is not seen in the Bibliography; please check. Also, should the author name be "Federation of Screenwriters in Europe" instead of "European Federations representing Cultural and Creative Workers"?

Policy or Practice? Deconstructing the Creative Industries

Philip Drake

"When *I* use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master—that's all."[1]

This chapter examines the complex relationship between creative industries policy and creative practice in the UK film industries and the place the Scottish film industry occupies within this relationship. My aims are twofold. The first is to examine how specific conceptualizations of the "creative industries" and "creativity" have functioned as structuring discourses for policy approaches to the creative sector since the mid-1990s. The second is to consider the issues that arise when the rhetoric of creative industries policy meets creative practice within the Scottish film sector, through evidence gained from a number of interviews with practitioners.[2] Although my focus here is primarily on the film industries, creative industries policy formation cuts across many areas including substantial aspects of regional economic development and related sectors such as broadcasting and the visual and performing arts. In this chapter, I consider how creative industries policies might be positioned within studies of production cultures and influenced by policy subventions such as tax credits and urban planning. In my analysis, I want to suggest that policy discourses do not simply attempt to coordinate creative processes; they also help to shape, to support, and sometimes to limit ways of thinking about creativity and cultural production.

Mapping UK Creative Industries Discourse

As David Hesmondhalgh and Philip Schlesinger have noted, since the early days of the election of the UK's New Labour government in 1997, the creative industries

have been seen as pivotal in realigning the UK economy toward high-skilled knowledge and service industries following a prolonged period of postindustrial decline in manufacturing.[3] The "creative industries" became an important discursive vehicle for policy-makers and politicians to characterize a political break from the preceding 18 years of Conservative government, and to project a renewed sense of national cultural confidence and generational change embodied, in part, by the electoral victory of the youthful Tony Blair. The rise in national prominence of discourses around "creativity" and the rapid development of specific creative industries policy frameworks and institutions can, in retrospect, be seen as marking a shift away from earlier "culture as heritage" policies of the 1980s toward "cultural economy" policies underpinned by the belief that culture and the creative industries are key drivers of future economic prosperity. Indeed, the new government directly signaled this intention in 1997 by creating the UK's Department of Media, Culture and Sport (DCMS) from the former Department of National Heritage (DNH) and establishing the National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts (NESTA) in 1998. The publication of a book entitled *Creative Britain* by the then Culture Secretary, Chris Smith, in 1998 and the release the same year of an influential *Creative Industries Mapping Document* by the DCMS showed how rapidly ideas around the creative industries and knowledge economy gained traction and moved firmly into the mainstream of policy-making.

As these creative industries policy discourses took root alongside related technological discourses on the "digital age" and the "knowledge economy" generated by the growth of computing and the Internet, definitions of creativity and culture that had principally been associated with the high arts began to be rearticulated. Influential policy think tanks such as Comedia (and the work of Charles Landry) and creative industries gurus such as Charles Leadbeater, John Howkins, and Richard Florida began to publish books and briefings in which culture was conceived as a pluralist expansion of individual choice. Creative sectors (and creative cities) were seen as key drivers of economic renewal, with British culture championed as a competitive asset for export and attracting inward investment.[4] Creativity was assessed less in terms of artistic quality or preservation of heritage or tradition (values potentially at odds with New Labour's populist "Third Way" political agenda) but rather in terms of economic outreach, markets, value-added outputs, the "multiplier" and "spin-off" effects on the wider economy, and the creation of new knowledge workers. One significant effect of this was that cultural industries such as film, television, video games, and the music industries were seen by policy-makers as important—even critical—to regional economic development.

In an influential definition offered by the 1998 DCMS mapping document, the creative industries were considered to be "those activities that have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property."[5] In such policy formulations, the emphasis was on entrepreneurial individualism rather than collectivism, and on economic rather than social benefit or artistic quality. Creative industries policies rearticulated values shaped by a market economy rather than challenged them. The DCMS identified the following as the key

sectors of the creative industries: advertising, architecture, the art and antiques market, crafts, design, designer fashion, film, interactive leisure software, music, the performing arts, publishing, software, and television and radio. Through a series of articles dissecting creative industries policy discourse and doctrine, Philip Schlesinger notes how resistant this DCMS definition was even though the specific creative sectors were subject to debate.[6] The framework was widened to embrace the broader concept of the "creative economy," and, as Schlesinger states, the eventual shift from "creative industries" to the "creative economy" marked "the difference between considering selected industrial sectors as constituting special objects of a common policy and regarding 'creativity' as a fundamental shaping force for the entire economy."[7] As he argues, such policies became (and arguably remain) doctrinal in usage, and as a consequence almost identical creative industries policy prescriptions and frameworks were adopted—creative clusters, hubs, and so on—in regional and local economic development and cultural policy across the nations and regions of the UK.[8]

In many ways, the widespread adoption of the term "creative economy" marked a point at which the idea of creativity had spread across virtually all spheres of life. The meaning of creativity itself has become increasingly slippery with an almost unlimited potential for appropriation by markets. However, this ubiquity is also the source of the power in creative industries discourse. The acceptance and accommodation of such terms across different areas of policy-making rearticulates, in particular, ideological ways various forms of precarious labor through resituating creative workers within the perceived prestige of the creative sector. Hence below-the-line media laborers, often poorly remunerated and in peripatetic employment, become inscribed in a narrative of the "flexible" knowledge worker. And, an issue for reflection, the position of media educators and researchers is increasingly incorporated within the same powerful discursive formation. We might note in the UK the widespread relabeling of Media and Film Studies Departments as Schools of Creative Industries over the past decade, and the efforts of the media sector skills council Creative Skillset to accredit higher education programs for industry through Skillset media and screen academies.

The ubiquity of creative industries policy discourse not only rearticulates forms of labor as flexible and autonomous but also simultaneously limits how policies might conceptualize creativity, especially the kinds of creativity that are not valued by a market economy. It is striking, by comparison, to consider how formations of national cinema that resonate in many other European nations often appear quite alien in the UK policy arena. So whereas France addresses film policy as culture first and foremost, the UK treats film primarily as an industry that operates in a market requiring only minor state intervention.

Counting Creativity: From "Clusters" to the "Creative Class"

I now turn to a discussion of how creative industries approaches in the UK have been connected to urban policy and the consequences for UK nations and regions outside of London. As I have outlined, during most of the 2000s, the creative

industries were considered by policy-makers to be one of the key driving forces in the economy. As a result, an industry of policy think tanks, consultants, and creativity gurus flourished to advise policy-makers on how places could become more creative and attract creative industries and workers who could revitalize areas in the UK that had suffered from postindustrial decline, in particular those in Northern England, Wales, and Scotland—such as the cities and city regions of Manchester/Salford, Liverpool, Glasgow, Cardiff, Newcastle/Gateshead, Sheffield, and Leeds/Bradford.[9] Much of this was derived from earlier efforts at place marketing and city revitalization, such as Glasgow and Manchester's initiatives in the early 1990s. Those working in urban planning, such as Charles Landry, had long advocated the idea of the "creative city" as a blueprint for cities attempting to recover from postindustrial decline, and Landry (and his consultancy, Comedia) was, alongside Michael Porter and later Florida, influential in informing city development policies. One of Landry's notable examples was Glasgow, which underwent a creative makeover after extensive redevelopment for Glasgow's year as European City of Culture in 1990. Creativity is fostered in cities, Landry claimed, and influenced by such work, regional development agencies across the UK promoted policies that focused on urban development around creative industries and the rebranding of run-down areas as "cultural quarters." Developing city waterfronts with bars and cafes (Cardiff, Portsmouth, Liverpool, Newcastle) and efforts to attract artists and bohemians through cultural programs and amenities (Manchester, Glasgow, Liverpool, Edinburgh) alongside large-scale events (such as Manchester and Glasgow hosting the Commonwealth Games, Glasgow and Liverpool as European Cities or Capitals of Culture) might all be described as creative industries policies as well as urban development policies. London's hosting of the 2012 Olympic games was itself a determined attempt to regenerate an entire area of East London and create a high-amenity neighborhood as a long-term legacy of the games. These ideas significantly influenced urban and regional planning as cities were seen as "hubs of creativity," and the policy prescriptions that were dispensed were informed by resonant academic concepts, such as "industrial clusters" developed by Porter, Landry's work on "creative cities," and Florida's writing on the "creative class."[10]

While early theories of clustering or industry agglomeration focused on firms, this recent work placed more emphasis on people and their interaction within social networks. Contrary to arguments that suggested that the physical place was no longer important in the knowledge economy and that modern communications had removed the need for proximal locating, clusters theory posited that it was still important for creative industries to be located within a networked agglomeration (or "milieu"), a geographical area with clusters of organizations and links up and down the production chain.[11] This underlines the importance of trust in such networks, both between firms and between individuals, especially in knowledge-based industries, and the need for place-specific social relationships and networks around them, referred to as "embeddedness."[12]

Over the past few years, I have undertaken a number of interviews with creative practitioners and discussed the importance of social networks in circulating knowledge about work. One film director and writer told me that the main

difficulty of working hundreds of miles from London had little to do with access to technical facilities; he was not able to "bump into" media professionals as easily and thus have access to the word-of-mouth knowledge about current work circulating through casual meetings at social events. In many industries including the film industries, such social networks are often based on tacit conventions and informal meetings. These link practitioners to formal networks such as guilds and unions as well as to informal nodes—networking activities through which projects are often set up and packaged and knowledge about creative talent and reputation is circulated.

Urban policy frameworks therefore often place emphasis on the creative industries as a key driver of economic regeneration. Creative industries/clusters/hubs have sometimes been seen as a policy panacea for many other urban issues by encouraging young affluent workers to return to city centers to settle down and work and by gentrifying areas that have been abandoned by industry.[13] For example, the key economic development agency for Scotland, Scottish Enterprise, created a "creative clusters" team in the late 1990s and advocated policies that were directly informed by Porter, Landry, Florida, and others to develop areas such as the Creative Clyde/Pacific Quay Creative Quarter in Glasgow.[14] Much here is owed to often fuzzy notions of knowledge exchange, networks, and creative clusters. In this context, monikers such as "knowledge workers" can obscure the significant inequalities between workers with high levels of job autonomy and the larger number of jobs in service industries, where constraints on autonomous creativity are very real. In their examination of creative labor in the television industries, David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker draw on Arlie Hochschild's influential formulation of "emotional labor" to discuss how such jobs frequently exploit those who wish to enter these industries by offering the chance to build a career only through long hours, low pay, and a lack of job security.[15] Film industries offer many examples of such exploited labor, as there is an oversupply of individuals willing to accept below-par working conditions and low pay in order to break into the industries and to try to build a career. Rosalind Gill also notes how the informality of these networks not only leads to overworking and exploitation, but also to discrimination by gender and ethnicity.[16]

In discussing industry practices, it is perhaps understandable, due to the inside/outsider dynamics of the film industry labor market, that my interview subjects were divided on the merits of "flexible" working practices and the perception of exploitation of interns by the industry. One suggested such practices served as a career apprenticeship, while another strongly felt that it was a mistake for new entrants to conform to the social network rules of the community as it prevented discovery of their own creative voices. However, such reflective analyses, I believe, also usefully serve to deflate some of the grander claims around the creative industries.[17] While the direct benefits of creative industries such as employment and final output are potentially quantifiable, attempts to measure the value of cultural goods such as films, their so-called "intangible" qualities, as well as benefits not captured by markets ("externalities") are far more difficult. What is often left out from these approaches is a consideration of the qualities of the work produced, the pleasure audiences gain from it, its artistic value, and the long-term benefit to the

culture in which it circulates. For many workers in these industries, these are the key reasons for working in sectors such as film and television where employment is often precarious and peripatetic and career trajectories are very uncertain.[18] In my interviews conducted in Scotland it was particularly clear that some practitioners felt that they had taken an alternative and less market-driven career path by not relocating to London, in spite of any negative effects this might have on career opportunities. Often reasons such as family or higher quality of living were given for choosing not to follow a career path to London, but alongside it also was a certain sense of cultural difference, and the ability to produce different work in Scotland.

The powerful policy discourses of creative industries and the creative economy then have taken on a major role for UK national and regional economic development, and this has explicitly informed film industry policies which have tended to focus more on tax relief for large-scale productions than new talent development.[19] The language and terminology developed by the DCMS, for instance, was widely adopted by the UK's screen development agency, the UK Film Council (until its demise in 2010), and the body that took over its remit, the British Film Institute (BFI), as well as the UK's regional development agencies (RDAs). In Scotland, both the devolved economic development agency Scottish Enterprise the former Scottish film agency Scottish Screen, and its 2010 replacement, Creative Scotland, promulgated creative industries policies, and the Scottish Executive (and later Scottish Government) has shown little dissent from these dominant creative discourses, indeed widening them to award funding for creative places and people, as well as inflecting them through a Scottish national prism—with 2012 being promoted as "the Year of Creative Scotland."

Policy and Practice in the Scottish Film Industry

I now wish to consider the relationship between policy and practice in the Scottish film industry in more detail. During 2011 the Hollywood star Brad Pitt chased zombies across Glasgow, Scotland's largest city, which had been transformed to look like Philadelphia for the filming of the film *World War Z* (2013). Halle Berry filmed a section of a time travel movie in Glasgow called *Cloud Atlas*, released in 2012, where the city stood in for 1970s' San Francisco, and Scarlett Johansson travelled from Glasgow to Glencoe in her role as an alien body-snatcher in the 2013 film *Under the Skin.* All were much heralded examples of how Glasgow could attract large-scale Hollywood productions which, according to the Glasgow Film Office, brought in revenues of £20.15 million to the local economy in 2011. Of this £3.3 million was derived just from *World War Z*, amounting to a reported £150 million in location spend in Glasgow over the last decade. While Scottish-produced films such as David Mackenzie's *Perfect Sense* (2011) starring Ewan McGregor and Eva Green, and Peter Mullan's *Neds* (2010) were major recent indigenous film productions, inevitably the economic scale of Hollywood runaway productions such as *World War Z* dwarfs that of domestically produced films.

Measured by economic size, the UK film industry is strongly concentrated in London, which attracts substantial inward investment from Hollywood. According

to DCMS data, the total economic impact, including gross value added, was reported as £4.2 billion in 2011.[20] Around three quarters of the UK film industry is based in London or the South East of England, meaning that other regions have to compete with a very large industrial center which exerts an economic gravity effect.[21] By comparison, Scotland, according to a 2010 BFI report, has only 3.4 percent of all film companies compared to a total of over 68 percent in London and the South East of England. In terms of exhibition, the main film distributors in the UK are the Hollywood conglomerates, whose combined UK market share in 2010 was 80.1 percent from total box office revenues of around £1 billion.[22] Most of these were commercially produced Hollywood films, and of the domestic films that secured a UK theatrical release in 2010, 48 percent received funding from the Lottery, BBC Films, or Film4, indicative of the continued importance of state support for UK films in obtaining domestic theatrical distribution, as well as the continued market dominance by the Hollywood majors. The London-based facilities produce Hollywood runaway as well as major British films, and the industrial agglomerations based in or around London (including the clusters of service companies in Soho and the studio facilities at Pinewood Shepperton, Elstree, and Leavesden) greatly dominate UK film production, with London also being the main center for film distribution and, to a significant degree, major broadcasters such as the BBC and ITV.[23]

In Scotland the clustering of media companies in Glasgow's Pacific Quay and Creative Clyde developments, anchored by BBC Scotland (a £72 million headquarters opened in 2007) and Scottish Television (STV), has been important to maintaining a critical base of skills and talent in the media sector in Scotland. At Pacific Quay, alongside these large organizations, a new £3.5 million film studio development was completed in 2009 and called Film City Glasgow. Although small compared to the investments in television, or indeed the film stages in London (Film City Glasgow's soundstage is just over 4,000 square feet, less than a tenth the size of the large London soundstages), it represents a notable effort to build and maintain a permanent film studio facility in Scotland and to encourage film and service companies to cluster in Glasgow's "creative quarter."

This raises some interesting questions. Does it matter if Scotland's film industry is, in economic terms, comprised greatly of location shooting for Hollywood and films? Do such large productions enable lower-budget "indigenous" films to be made by keeping film industry workers in employment and offering skills training to new talent on their film sets? Does it even make sense to refer to indigenous films in an era of dispersed production and globalization? One of the complications here is due to competing narratives of what one understands as Scottish cinema and whether an inclusive or exclusive definition is used. It might be argued, for instance, that Bollywood films filmed in Scotland, or Hollywood films shot on location such as those listed earlier are products of Scottish cinema even if they might not appear to be Scottish films in terms of theme or cast.[24]

The creative industries policy frameworks I have discussed support the view that encouraging inward investment by Hollywood productions, partly through tax relief (subject to stipulations about budgetary spend), will also assist indigenous filmmaking and support a Scottish talent and skills base. One of the key issues faced by the film industry in Scotland has been providing enough employment to

allow skilled workers to remain in Scotland rather than relocating to London or elsewhere. One of my interview subjects, a film and television writer, was quite clear that this was a lifestyle rather than a career choice, stating that

> I feel terrible saying it, as I'm a patriotic Scot. But you maximise your chances as an individual by moving away . . . . There is no good economic and professional reason for being here. You give yourself an extra hurdle. However, as a collective we maximise our chances the opposite way, by keeping talent in Scotland.[25]

What is telling about this comment is both that career decisions are taken in conjunction with other life decisions (an obvious point, but one that is often not acknowledged) and that the practitioner feels an affinity with the Scottish industry and nation, even if, following Benedict Anderson's argument about the nation as an "imagined community," we might consider how this affinity itself works to culturally produce and reproduce an important sense of nationhood.[26]

Furthermore, in terms of national cinema-building, it is unclear whether the talent employed by larger-scale films is indigenous or if the technicians, assistants, and tradespeople who worked on films such as *World War Z* came from outside Scotland and, therefore, it is uncertain how many permanent jobs will be maintained when a large film production finishes shooting. There is also a lack of evidence to substantiate the claims that state and regional development support for large-scale productions has helped more films produced in Scotland to obtain funding and access distribution by keeping skills and talent in Scotland.

My interview subjects often highlighted the sense of dependency on London, which they sometimes found frustrating, although, overall, they were in favor of the development of Film City Glasgow. However, Scotland still depends on flight-prone inward investment that seeks inexpensive film locations and tax incentives. Over a decade ago, Duncan Petrie observed that "Scottish productions rely heavily on securing deals with British distributors . . . The new Scottish cinema is a distinct and meaningful identity but as yet its status should be understood in terms of a devolved British cinema rather than full independence."[27] Since this was written, Petrie, Jonathan Murray, and others have returned to the topic with a sense of disappointment about how the industry has progressed and charted the continued dependency culture in the Scottish film industry.[28] On the one hand, Scotland continues to produce a small number of indigenously produced films as well as talented actors, directors, producers, and other film workers. But on the other hand, overall output levels of indigenous feature film production stand at around five or six features a year, a level that is sometimes disparagingly referred to as a "cottage industry." What is not clear is whether small-scale production necessarily leads to creative dependency or compromise or whether it does the very opposite by allowing filmmakers greater creative freedom within restrictive budgetary constraints (as I go on to discuss, the Advance Party films co-produced with Denmark promote creative restrictions as a different approach to making films). However, it does mean that films with budgets substantially greater than £5 million are, as a consequence, rarely made entirely in Scotland

due to the lack of appropriate infrastructures. Low levels of production and poor distribution of Scottish films do not encourage audiences to seek out indigenous films or filmmakers to produce films that reflect the diversity of Scottish culture.

Robin MacPherson's analysis of comparative national data notes that even though Scotland produces around six locally originated films a year, it is at the bottom of the league table when compared to similar-sized Western European countries such as Ireland (11 films), Finland (20), and Denmark (42). He also states that Scottish investment in film as a percentage of GDP follows this trend, with Scotland investing only a fifth of what Ireland and a tenth of what Denmark invest. Irish films attract 5 percent of their home audience and Denmark's attract 27 percent compared to Scotland's 1 percent. In his analysis of the reasons, MacPherson argues that

> A plausible explanation . . . is that as higher volumes of production are consistently achieved positive feedback mechanisms begin to operate that improve the selective development and reward of both talent and acquired expertise, smoothing out the chaotic and unpredictable pattern of "youth" into a more predictable, in aggregate terms, "maturity."[29]

MacPherson suggests that around 20 films per year or more would probably need to be produced in Scotland in order to construct a sustainable film industry milieu and build a permanent talent base. In my interviews, filmmakers broadly agreed with this even though they thought it was unlikely given current infrastructure and funding. MacPherson also noted that cultivating audience appreciation might be an important aspect of film industry development, adding "[t]here may in addition be a further positive feedback mechanism in terms of the cultivation of audience demand as cinema-goers develop a greater appetite for indigenous product."[30]

For many years, it was widely argued that Scotland needed a film studio in order to build a film industry that would sustain creative talent. As mentioned earlier, the Film City Glasgow complex based at the old Govan Town Hall in Glasgow provides Glasgow with these facilities—albeit on a much smaller scale than studio facilities in London. Film City Glasgow offers an interesting and unusual example of indigenous bottom-up film industry development as the project was driven by Sigma Films, especially by its co-founder, producer Gillian Berrie, who worked with Glasgow City Council and Scottish Enterprise, rather than by national film policy. The studio complex was inspired by the Filmbyen studio facilities near Copenhagen run by Danish film director Lars von Trier and producer Peter Aalbæk Jensen, whose production company, Zentropa Productions, revitalized Danish film production in the 1990s through the critically acclaimed Dogme 95 films.[31] Following a number of fruitful coproductions with Zentropa, which included the relocation of the co-produced *Wilbur Wants to Kill Himself* (2002) from Copenhagen to Glasgow, Berrie wanted to develop a similar filmmaking complex and a filmmaking scheme for first-time directors in Scotland and Denmark that would be produced by Sigma Films and Zentropa. Like Dogme 95, this scheme was

designed by Von Trier and also had rules about budget, form, and characterization, but it was an explicitly low-budget transnational collaborative venture. It was called the "Advance Party" initiative and to date has generated two films shot in Scotland: Andrea Arnold's *Red Road* (2006) and Morag McKinnon's *Donkeys* (2010).[32]

There are many interesting transnational dimensions to this collaborative arrangement. Mette Hjort argues that the collaboration between Zentropa and Sigma is an example of what she calls "affinitive and milieu-building transnationalism."[33] She highlights the similarities between Denmark and Scotland—both small nations of approximately 5 million people—as well as the stark differences in the scale, scope, and funding of indigenous film production. Underlining the disparity in state support for film production, Denmark produces around 5–7 times more feature films with significantly higher budgets as compared to Scotland. But crucially, Danish films also command a much larger share of their domestic box office (between 25 and 33 percent) compared to Scottish films in Scotland (between 0.5 and 3 percent).[34]

Hjort makes two central claims: first, as mentioned, that the Advance Party initiative offers an example of "transnational milieu-building," and second, that it is designed to "transfer some of the positive features from an actually thriving film milieu to a milieu that is currently underappreciated and thus struggling."[35] From my perspective, the first claim seems like an overly optimistic view of the Advance Party initiative in the current climate. While the co-productions between Zentropa and Sigma have been beneficial to the production of films in both territories and to the development of Film City Glasgow, such an initiative with a small number of films and budgets capped at £1.2 million does not have the momentum or critical mass to build a film cluster as it is understood in creative industries terms, although it may help sustain Glasgow's relatively small-scale filmmaking facilities and, perhaps more importantly, make a contribution to Scottish film culture.

Her second claim is intriguing. The stark comparisons between filmmaking facilities in Glasgow and Copenhagen no doubt assisted in arguing for public funding toward Film City Glasgow, but it is too early to assess whether or not this momentum will be sustained. Certainly in terms of capacity-building, the Advance Party arrangement and other films produced by Sigma have made an impressive contribution to Scotland's film culture, with *Red Road* winning the 2006 Cannes Jury Prize, but, as David Martin-Jones has noted, other developments such as Highland Bollywood filmmaking and genre productions such as Scottish horror films also play a significant and so far insufficiently recognized part in understanding the global nature of Scottish cinema.[36]

The unpredictability of the financial and critical success of Scottish films coupled with the tiny number of films produced means that even though transnational collaboration might offer an important form of cultural exchange, the potential for film industry agglomeration capacity-building and job security for creative workers is quite limited unless it leads to higher levels of overall production. This does not mean that collaboration might or might not be important in other ways such as boosting cultural confidence, assisting in finance and

distribution, and offering more experimental and interesting examples of film-making. Indeed, the rationale for film industry development in Scotland could well be considered less in terms of economic justification and more as address-ing the lack of diversity of national cultural representation and in revitalizing Scottish film culture. Mark Cousins, a film writer, director, television presen-ter, and former Artistic Director of Edinburgh International Film Festival, has labeled Scotland, where he is based, as "pre-cinephilic." He argues that an appre-ciation of film needs to be encouraged in schools at an early age in order to develop a broader cine-literate audience that will actively seek out Scottish and non-Hollywood films.[37] In my view, the sustainability of a Scottish film creative milieu also depends on the wider media and creative industries with which it clusters, especially on BBC Scotland and Scottish Television (STV), and whether they keep recent promises to shift a greater proportion of television commissions to Scotland. This is not just a matter of buildings and facilities; it is also about people.

As we have established, film industries are characterized by fractional, often peripatetic forms of flexible employment, especially so in small nations, which have to adopt a "make-do" approach to film production. In such industries, the circulation of knowledge about skills is crucial to obtaining work, and creative workers are often dependent on the circulation of reputation and work through informal networks.

Creative talent needs to accumulate and manage what I have elsewhere called "reputational capital," drawing on Stephen Zafirau's study of reputation work, in order to attract, develop, and progress projects.[38] Reputation operates as a form of capital that fluctuates over time and depends on an individual's performance as well as their embeddedness within key industrial, institutional, and social net-works. It is clear that workers in the UK film and television industries are often required to build careers that rely on working across media, and this is even more so outside London, in Scotland (or Wales or the North West of England). Film City Glasgow's success as a Scottish film studio partly depends on encouraging creative talent to remain in Scotland. It is therefore connected to developments in the broader media sector based in the Creative Clyde/Pacific Quay cluster to which it belongs.

Less tangibly yet arguably more importantly, creative workers connect in mul-tiple ways with the wider arts population of Central Scotland and support its cultural activities (including festivals, theater, music, writing, and dance). They also engage in other forms of employment and cultural and career activities that are often unpaid and therefore unrecognized by economic surveys. A shadow cul-tural economy supports those who want to be creative workers but who are often primarily community-based workers and volunteers who participate in cultural production of various kinds. Definitions of the Scottish creative industries might therefore be dramatically extended to include a broad range of activities including festivals, events, and the like. This would shift definitions of Scottish cinema and production cultures away from market and nationally limited definitions of what constitutes a Scottish film toward a more inclusive participatory definition of pro-duction: participants in Scottish film culture. A recently released crowdsourced

film, *We Are Northern Lights* (2013), illustrates this "prosumer" or "prod-user" shift and uses material filmed by more than 100 members of the public (chosen out of over 1,500 submissions) who are all credited as co-directors.

"This Is Not about Money": Trust, Talent, and Creativity

I shall conclude my discussion of policy and practice by a brief assessment of the implications of Scotland's position as what David McCrone calls a "state-less nation" within the UK.[39] One issue that came up in my interviews with practitioners was the forthcoming referendum on Scottish independence from the UK taking place in 2014. This prompted lively discussions about how a potentially independent or more devolved Scotland might reconfigure some of the film policies currently reserved by the UK government, especially regarding tax breaks for film production (currently administered by the British Film Commission) and the greater devolution or independent allocation of National Lottery funding to support film. A key question for many of the film practitioners I interviewed was whether independence might enable Scotland to follow other European nations in developing more differentiated film policies (the examples of Ireland and Denmark were frequently mentioned) and what could be done to retain creative talent that often flows to London and beyond. The 2012 DCMS review of film policy, entitled "A Future for British Film. It Begins with the Audience...," conducted by the same (now Lord) Chris Smith who wrote *Creative Britain* (1998), acknowledges this by stating that a talent retention strategy is needed to "ensure diverse talent is found, supported and nurtured, outside of London. Ways should be found to help ensure that talented people can work, in a sustainable way, wherever they may wish to locate themselves in the UK."[40] Resolving issues such as these is clearly at the heart of discussions about the sustainability and development of Scottish film production.

In this chapter, I have examined the complex and negotiated relationships between creative industries policies (and policy-makers) and practice (and practitioners) as forms of discursive struggles over creativity. The matter of who can define and shape the meaning of creative policy discourses (the issue raised about meaning in my opening quote from Lewis Carroll) is ultimately a question of power, of who can determine what is a creative industry, a creative place, or a creative practice. In a discussion on national cinemas, Andrew Higson identifies what he calls the "limiting imagination of national cinema."[41] His analysis suggests that there are disjunctions between the forms of national imagining available to filmmakers and those articulated by policy frameworks, which often need to serve narrower and less inclusive (and sometimes protectionist) definitions of nationhood. We might develop this in considering the limiting imagination of national policy formation. In Volosinov/Bakhtin's terms, policy discourses become multi-accented and function as sites of struggle over meaning by practitioners and policy-makers.[42]

A recent example of a discursive struggle over creative industries discourse illustrates the problems of translating policy prescriptions into creative practice. In late

2012, such a struggle became the source of wider public debate about the Scottish creative industries. Creative Scotland, the public body responsible for overseeing arts and creative industries policy in Scotland, was thrown into a crisis when its Chief Executive and Board of Directors received an open letter signed by over 100 Scottish artists, writers, and filmmakers, which strongly criticized the use of creative industries and management terminology in its communications with practitioners. The letter stated:

> We observe an organisation with a confused and intrusive management style married to a corporate ethos that seems designed to set artist against artist and company against company in the search for resources.
>
> This letter is not about money. This letter is about management. The arts are one of Scotland's proudest assets and most successful exports. We believe existing resources are best managed in an atmosphere of trust between those who make art and those who fund it. At present, this trust is low and receding daily.[43]

This letter and the very public fallout that subsequently played out in the Scottish media led to the resignation of both the Creative Scotland Chief Executive and the Senior Creative Director as well as a promise of a program that would show a greater engagement with the views of artists. It shows how discursive battles over definitions of creativity can sometimes seem irreconcilable, like speaking different languages without translation. It also shows how these discursive struggles can open up public debates about the fit between business and artistic definitions of creative industries and practice, as well as more problematic, self-examining questions of nationhood and national identity. The relationship between perceived English policy-makers and Scottish arts and culture in the context of a forthcoming independence referendum was publicly raised by several commentators, most notably by the renowned writer and artist Alastair Gray, who referred to English "settlers" and "colonists" in the Scottish creative sphere in a controversial essay that sparked impassioned and ongoing public debates.[44] Such debates are about what kinds of national culture could, should, or might be imagined, who should be allowed to define and create culture in modern Scotland, and how policy and practice frameworks might support this. However, they also present an example of struggles over the power to determine meaning within a public policy space. By highlighting this recent example—an ostensible victory for the arts community in reclaiming creative industries discourse yet also a retrenchment into potentially monolithic concepts of nationhood and national identity— I have suggested how research from a critical industry studies perspective might draw on an engagement with policy and the discursive frameworks through which policy frameworks are produced, make sense, and are contested. It is important for film and media scholars to add their own voices to these debates. These policy discourses provide an important backdrop for the conditions through which cultural production may or may not be realized. As such they help to shape, but also to limit, the ways we understand, imagine, and are able to make sense of creativity in the creative industries.

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Notes

1. Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-glass* (Raleigh, NC: Hayes Barton Press, 1872), 72. Emphases in original.
2. Interviews were carried out with film practitioners in Scotland during 2010–2012. In addition, meetings were held with policy-makers from Creative Scotland, Scottish Enterprise, and the British Film Institute as well as a range of related organizations.
3. See DCMS, "Creative Industries Mapping Document" (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1998); Philip Schlesinger, "Creativity: From Discourse to Doctrine?," *Screen* 48, no. 3 (2007): 377–387; David Hesmondhalgh, *The Cultural Industries*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2007).
4. Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini, *The Creative City* (London: Comedia, 1995); Charles Landry, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (London: Earthscan, 2000); Charles Leadbeater, *Living on Thin Air: The New Economy* (London: Penguin, 1999); Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Richard Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
5. DCMS, "Creative Industries Mapping Document." See also DCMS, *Creative Britain, New Talents for the New Economy* (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2008).
6. Schlesinger, "Creativity: From Discourse to Doctrine?"; Schlesinger, "Creativity and the Experts: New Labour, Think Tanks, and the Policy Process," *International Journal of Press/Politics* 14, no. 1 (2009): 3–20. The initial inclusion of IT software and services, for instance, overestimated the size of the core UK creative industries.
7. Schlesinger, "Creativity and the Experts," 4.
8. Schlesinger, "Creativity: From Discourse to Doctrine?"; Phil Cooke and Luciana Lazzeretti, eds, *Creative Cities, Cultural Clusters, and Local Economic Development* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2007); Susan Galloway and Stuart Dunlop, "A Critique of Definitions of the Cultural and Creative Industries in Public Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 13, no. 1 (2007): 17–31. For a trenchant critique from a US perspective, see Chuck Kleinhans, "Creative Industries, Neoliberal Fantasies, and the Cold, Hard Facts of Global Recession: Some Basic Lessons," *Jump Cut* 53, accessed May 20, 2013, http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc53.2011/kleinhans-creatIndus/.
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10. Michael Porter, "Clusters and the New Economics of Competitiveness," *Harvard Business Review* 76 (1998): 77–90; Landry and Bianchini, *The Creative City*; Landry, *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*; Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*; Florida, *Cities and the Creative Class*.
11. Mark Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 91, no. 3 (1985): 481–510.
12. Ibid.

13. Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class*. London's Soho and Covent Garden areas and Glasgow's Merchant City are good examples of this.
14. Scottish Enterprise, *Creativity and Enterprise* (Glasgow: Scottish Enterprise, 1999).
15. David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker, "Creative Work and Emotional Labour in the Television Industry," *Theory, Culture and Society* 25, no. 7 (2008): 97–118. See also Hochschild's classic formulation of emotional labor in Arlie R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983). See also essays in Mark Deuze, ed., *Managing Media Work* (London: Sage, 2010).
16. Rosalind Gill, "Life Is a Pitch: Managing the Self in New Media Work," in *Managing Media Work*, ed. Mark Deuze (London: Sage, 2010), 249–262.
17. See also David Hesmondhalgh and Andy C. Pratt, "Cultural Industries and Cultural Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 1–13; Andy C. Pratt, "Cultural Industries and Public Policy: An Oxymoron?," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 11, no. 1 (2005): 31–44; and Ivan Turok, "Cities, Clusters, and Creative Industries: The Case of Film and TV in Scotland," *European Planning Studies* 11, no. 5 (2003): 549–565.
18. See Helen Blair. " 'You're Only As Good As Your Last Job': The Labour Process and Labour Market in the British Film Industry," *Work, Employment, and Society* 15, no. 1 (2001): 149–169; Blair, "Winning and Losing in Flexible Labour Markets: The Formation and Operation of Networks of Interdependence in the UK Film Industry," *Sociology* 37, no. 4 (November 2003): 677–694; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, "Creative Work and Emotional Labour in the Television Industry"; as well as other chapters in this volume.
19. Maggie Magor and Philip Schlesinger, " 'For This Relief Much Thanks.' Taxation, Film Policy and the UK Government," *Screen* 50, no. 3 (2009): 299–317.
20. DCMS, "A Future for British Film: It Begins with the Audience . . .," (London: Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2012).
21. Oxford Economics, *The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry* (2010), 24, accessed May 20, 2013, http://industry.bfi.org.uk/media/pdf/j/i/The_Economic_Impact_of_the_UK_Film_Industry_-_June_2010.pdf.
22. *BFI Statistical Yearbook* (2011), 77, accessed May 20, 2013, http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-statistical-yearbook-2011.pdf.
23. The gradual movement of key BBC departments to MediaCityUK at Salford and to a lesser degree Cardiff and Glasgow is slowly dissipating its centralization.
24. For a range of discussions, see Jonathan Murray, "Scotland," in *The Cinema of Small Nations*, eds Mette Hjort and Duncan Petrie (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007); David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009); and Sarah Neely, "Contemporary Scottish Cinema," in *The Media in Scotland*, eds Neil Blain and David Hutchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 151–165.
25. Film and television writer, interviewed by author.
26. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
27. Duncan Petrie, "The New Scottish Cinema," in *Cinema and Nation*, eds Mette Hjort and Scott Mackenzie (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 166. See also Duncan Petrie, *Screening Scotland* (London: BFI Publishing, 2000).
28. For more details, see chapters in Jonathan Murray, Fidelma Farley, and Rod Stoneman, eds, *Scottish Cinema Now* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009).

29. Robin MacPherson, "Is Bigger Better? Film Success in Small Countries: The Case of Scotland, Ireland and Denmark," Paper presented at the "16th International Conference of the Association for Cultural Economics International," Copenhagen, June 2010, 20–21.

30. MacPherson, "Is Bigger Better?," 21.

31. Mette Hjort and Scott MacKenzie, eds, *Purity and Provocation: Dogma 95* (London: BFI Publishing, 2003).

32. There were plans for the third film set to be directed by Mikkel Nørgaard, which would be made in Denmark, but it has yet to be produced. A follow-up venture was announced in 2009 entitled "Advance Party II" although at the time of writing no films had been made.

33. Mette Hjort, "Affinitive and Milieu-building Transnationalism: The Advance Party Initiative," in *Cinema at the Periphery*, eds Dina Iordanova, David Martin-Jones, and Belen Vidal (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2010), 46–66.

34. MacPherson, "Is Bigger Better?," 9.

35. Hjort, "Affinitive and Milieu-building Transnationalism," 59.

36. David Martin-Jones, *Scotland: Global Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009). For an industry take on this, see Nick Redfern, "Connecting the Regional and the Global in the UK Film Industry," *Transnational Cinemas* 1, no. 2 (2010): 145–160.

37. Mark Cousins in conversation with the author. His collaboration with Tilda Swinton on the Eight-and-a-Half Film Foundation, which encourages children to discover the diversity of cinema, is an interesting attempt to encourage early cinephilia. See http://www.eightandahalf.org, accessed May 20, 2013.

38. Stephen Zafirau, "Reputation Work in Selling Film and Television: Life in the Hollywood Talent Industry," *Qualitative Sociology* 31, no. 2 (2008): 99–127; Philip Drake, "Reputational Capital, Creative Conflict and Hollywood Independence: The Case of Hal Ashby," in *American Independent Cinema: Indie, Indiewood and Beyond*, eds Geoff King, Claire Molloy, and Yannis Tzioumakis (London: Routledge, 2012), 140–152.

39. David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

40. DCMS, "A Future for British Film," recommendation 44.

41. Andrew Higson, "The Limiting Imagination of National Cinema," in *Cinema and Nation*, 63–74.

42. Valentin Volosinov/Mikhail Bakhtin, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

43. Letter to Chief Executive of Creative Scotland, October 9, 2012.

44. Alastair Gray, "Settlers and Colonists," in *Unstated: Writers on Scottish Independence*, ed. Scott Hames (Edinburgh: Word Power Books, 2012).

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