Sapienza University - ROME (July 5-8 2022)
Pre-Conference workshop (July 4 2022)

The HoMER 2022 annual conference is organized in collaboration with the Sapienza University of Rome and the UK/AHRC funded European Cinema Audiences project (ECA).
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HoMER 2022 Conference Committee members are Romana Ando, Valerio Coladonato, Pierluigi Ercole, Talitha Ferraz, Damiano Garofalo, Dalila Missero, Clara Pafort-Overduin, Kata Szita, and Daniela Treveri Gennari; Local organizing committee, Samuel Antichi and Luana Fedele; Illustrations and artwork: Lies Van De Vijver; Website/social networks support: Daniel Wilkes, Özge Özyilmaz; Denis Condon
The golden age of audiences in Latin America. Peripheral national cinemas beyond frontiers.

The broad international circulation of Mexican cinema of the Golden Age through movie theatres in Ibero-America, the United States and some European countries — developed between the 1930s and 1950s of the twentieth century — created a transnational cinematographic matrix with a set of exchanges that allowed Mexican cinema to connect with diverse cultural traditions, to represent not only a national perspective but the Ibero-American region as a whole, and to produce a fortunate encounter between films and their diverse audiences. It was an intermedial process due to the constant feedback between the cinematographic media and several countries' radio, record, spectacle, editorial and news industries. Although this transnationalization process eventually decayed in cinema theatres, other screens like television, cinema clubs, film festivals and piracy extended its temporal and spatial influence. In recent years, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Tik Tok users, as well as members of the feminist and sexual diversity movements, have propelled a new era in the relationship with the visual, musical and narrative universe of the Golden Age movies and, even though they distance themselves from its implicit values, the fascination and rapport are renovated. The conference is centered on audiences and explores the different keys that allowed for the recognition, identification and appropriation by the audiences of the Mexican filmic offer.

Creative responses from ARTISTS-IN-RESIDENCE commissioned by the research project, Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive

Four artists working across a range of media were appointed artists-in-residence as part of the project, Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive (PI: Richard Rushton, Lancaster University), with a remit to produce work inspired by materials gathered during the 1990s for Cinema Culture in 1930s Britain (PI: Annette Kuhn). The work premiered in April 2022 at the Conference 'From Cinema Culture to Cinema Memory' and we are delighted that the artists are participating at the HoMER 2022 conference to share their work with the Homer-network.

La Scala, Sauchiehall Street (short story)
Louise Welsh, Author/Professor of Creative Writing, University of Glasgow

Louise Welsh is the award-winning author of nine novels, most recently The Second Cut (Canongate Books); and has a ten-year practice in opera with composer Stuart MacRae. In the 1980s she was an usherette at Glasgow’s Salon Cinema. The text La Scala Sauchiehall Street is inspired by Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive, notably by the interviews given in the 1990s by Sheila McWhinnie, who worked as an usherette in various Glasgow cinemas during the 1930s. La Scala Sauchiehall Street weaves together these actual memories with a Hollywood noir dreamscape, flitting through time and through the lens.

Judging Judy: Cinema Memories of Judy Garland (audio work)
Liz Greene, Sound artist/Senior Visiting Research Fellow, University of Reading

Liz Greene’s creative practice and research centre on sound and the audiovisual essay. In addition to this she is currently completing a feature-length documentary film on the subject of eyebrows and embarking on new archival research on the Wizard of Oz universe. Her 28-minute sound piece, Judging Judy: Cinema Memories of Judy Garland, explores archival recordings from Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive to consider the place and significance of Judy Garland in
cinema memory.

**Thomas McGoran (film)**

Marissa Keating, Artist and filmmaker

Marissa Keating is a Glasgow-based filmmaker, and lens-based editor specialising in creative documentary and museum installation films. She has a specialism in and a passion for film, photography, and audio archives. Her short film for Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive is about Glaswegian artist and projectionist Thomas McGoran, who took part in the original Cinema Culture in 1930s Britain project in the 1990s, and is inspired by audio recordings of his interviews with CCINTB Research Fellow Valentina Bold. The film focuses on Thomas making detailed artworks of former cinemas in Glasgow and his reflections on his working life in cinema as a boy of fourteen in the 1930s.

**Cinematic Organisms: Memories and Memorialisation (videographic essay)**

Catherine Grant, Film scholar and video maker, Birkbeck, University of London/University of Reading

Catherine Grant is Honorary Research Fellow at Birkbeck, University of London, and Senior Research Fellow at the University of Reading, UK. She carries out her film and moving image studies research mostly in the form of remix-based video essays. Her short film for the Cinema Memory and the Digital Archive, *CINEMATIC ORGANISMS: Memories and Memorialisation*, is the first part of a three-part videographic study of the figure of the cinematic organist. It uses excerpts evoking that figure from oral history interviews conducted in the mid 1990s as part of the Cinema Culture in 1930s Britain project and aims at extending the findings of the original research through its own creative and interdisciplinary memory work, historiographic, and videographic methods.

**The Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia: school and archive. Strategies for cataloguing, conservation and dissemination of the national film heritage**

Chair: Daniela Treveri Gennari, Oxford Brookes University

Anna Maria Licciardello

Born in Catania in 1975, Anna Maria Licciardello got a PhD in Film Studies at the University of Roma Tre (Rome) in 2004. Her primary focus of interest is experimental and militant cinema. She has collaborated as programmer with several film festivals and has published articles and essays on film reviews and books. In 2009 she edited with Sergio Toffetti the book: *Paolo Gioli. Un cinema dell’impronta* (Paolo Gioli. Imprint Cinema), and in 2017 she published *Il cinema laboratorio di Alberto Grifi*. She is the head of access and programming at Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia.
WORKSHOPS

**Workshop 1. Turning Local Cinema Transnational: Making Your Project Part Of The Comparative Data Conversation**
Michael Aronson, Gabriele Hayden, Elizabeth Peterson

Data doesn't have to be scary or hard. As our subfield continues to mature, and as the range of historical exhibition projects grows and evolves, comparative and collaborative work is increasingly a priority of our shared agendas. But as our recent survey of online historical exhibition projects shows, it remains surprisingly difficult for researchers to know what projects exist for comparative work, and the range of methods, data structure and sources used. And while many of us have developed richly complex microhistories with the goal of sharing and comparing our resulting data, the goal, for various reasons, has continued to be out of reach. This opening workshop will introduce participants to simple, user-friendly practices for archiving and sharing data based on the FAIR data principles of Findability, Accessibility, Interoperability and Reuse of digital assets. This hands-on event will teach you how to structure and share data sets for re-use from your planned or existing historical exhibition projects. Ahead of the conference in July, HOMER will distribute a short survey to identify specific needs of interested attendees.

**Workshop Learning Outcomes:**

- Participants will be able to discuss the reasons why data sharing is important to our field
- Participants will recognize and know how to utilize FAIR data principles
- Participants will be able to identify common challenges with tabular data sets
- Participants will practice documenting data sets
- By the end of the workshop, participants will have either archived some of their own real data, or practiced the steps involved in archiving sample/practice data.

**Workshop 2. Linking Cinema Data. An interactive workshop on bridging multiple cinema datasets through Linked Open Data**
Julia Noordegraaf, Leon van Wissen and Ivan Kisjes from University of Amsterdam; Thunnis van Oort, Radboud University and Clara Pafort-Overduin, Utrecht University

In this interactive workshop we will bring together cinema datasets as Linked Open Data (LOD) and explore the research potential of this approach. The workshop consists of two parts. In the first, online, pre-conference part on Wednesday 8 June 3-5 pm CET, we will focus on the data preparation process and the data model. Participants can provide a description and small sample of their own datasets – in their current, non-LOD format – upon registration for the pre-conference workshop.

In the second part, which will take place at the HoMER conference on Wednesday 6th July 2022, 14.00-16.00, we will focus on working with the linked data and writing data stories that showcase the types of research questions that we can pose to combined data sets, such as Wikidata (e.g., for contextual information on cinemas and movies). Examples of questions we expect to investigate include: Which of the films screened during WWII are still shown in European cities in the early 1950s? Which German film stars kept on showing up on other Europeans screens?
During and/or after the workshop, we ask participants to write a brief data story about the datasets, the process of linking them and the research it allows us for, which will be published online as a lasting deliverable of the workshop.

Workshop 3. CINEMA HISTORIES. Connecting Stories Of Cinema-Going
Daniela Treveri Gennari, Lies Van De Vijver, Pierluigi Ercole, Mike Pidd, Matt Groves, Philippe Meers, Daniel Biltereyst, Åsa Jernudd and Jono Van Belle

Several digital projects have been developed over the last few years with the intention of providing researchers with searchable platforms for cinema data and consequently encouraging collaborations across projects that investigate diverse geographical and temporal dimensions. The European Cinema Audiences (ECA) digital archive is an example of such a platform, which – based on and inspired from the Cinema Context dataset and data model – aims to integrate programming, exhibition and oral history data of seven countries across Europe. The Cinema Belgica (CB) platform, which is also inspired by the Dutch Cinema Context’s data model, offers researchers detailed data on film exhibition places, programming, censorship and other types of information (e.g. box-office data on a selection of venues) in Belgium.

In collaboration with the Digital Humanities Institute at the University of Sheffield, the new Cinema Histories (www.cinemahistories.org) archive aims to act as a model for other New Cinema History current or future projects, who intend to compare any of their data with other datasets. The Cinema Histories archive is an online space where comparative analysis, visualization and investigation across different datasets is made possible.

In this workshop, we will present the model developed through both the European Cinema Audiences, and Cinema Belgica. We will explain how the data collection and upload has taken place, and give examples of analysis and visualizations across the data integrated in the new Cinema Histories archive. Furthermore, we will conduct an exercise where participants will be able to investigate specific research questions and explore the potential of comparative analysis and visualizations. We will make use of three datasets (ECA, Cinema Belgica and Swedish Cinema) in order to investigate programming patterns in different European cities across different periods of time.

BOOK PRESENTATIONS & CELEBRATIONS

Book presentation. Latin-American Focus
Ana Rosas Mantecón, Latin American Cinemas in circulation. In search of the lost audience.
Maria Luna, Pablo Mora y Daniela Samper- Territory and memory without borders. New strategies for thinking about the real.
Chair: Dalila Missero

Panel participants: Daniel Biltereyst, Ghent University; Ifdal Elsaket, the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo; Philippe Meers, University of Antwerp
Chair, interviewer, discussant: Mélisande Leventopoulos, French School at Athens, University Paris 8
Book presentation. New Perspectives on Early Cinema History: Concepts, Methods, Applications

Panel participants: Mario Slgan, Queen Mary University of London and Daniel Biltereyst, Ghent University

Chair, interviewer, discussant: Paul S. Moore

Book Celebration: Short Presentations of Brand New Publications in a social section*

Hosted by Dalila Missero

John Sedgwick editor of “Towards a Comparative Economic History of Cinema, 1930 to 1970”


Yvonne Zimmermann editor of the special issue Asta Nielsen, the Film Star System and the Introduction of the Long Feature Film (Early Popular Visual Culture 19, 2-3, 2021, with contributions by Julie K. Allen, Victor Chavez, Friederike Grimm, Martin Loiperdinger, and Yvonne Zimmermann)

Daniela Treveri Gennari author of “Italian Cinema Audiences. Histories and Memories of Cinema-going in Post-war Italy” (with Catherine O’Rawe, Danielle Hipkins, Silvia Dibeltulo and Sarah Cullhane.

Francesco Di Chiara author of “Sessualità e marketing cinematografico italiano. Industria, culture visuali, spazio urbano (1948-1978)”

Dalila Missero author of "Women, Feminism and Italian Cinema. Archives from a Film Culture

* Please check more recent book titles of HoMERites at the website.

PANELS

PANEL 1. At the border of decency. Cinema and challenges to censorship and established norms

Chair: Dalila Missero, Oxford Brookes University

Emmanuelle: Polluting Britain With as Much Moral Poison and Filth as Possible

Adrian Smith, University of Sussex

This paper will be exploring cultural transfer through public and institutional debates around censorship, sexual representation and pornography in 1970s London, using Emmanuelle (1974, Just Jaeckin, France) as the main case study.

The UK rights for Emmanuelle were picked up by New Realm, a small, family-operated independent distributor with experience in exploiting cheap European film in British cinemas. They were unprepared for the mainstream success of Emmanuelle or the level of public outcry. Using archival materials from a number of sources, this paper will explore the way the film fared at the hands of censors, the press – it was described by one reviewer as “a pompous tract on voyeurism… lacking in both spirit and eroticism,” (Monthly Film Bulletin, October 1974, p.223)
– and the public. When released it drew a huge number of complaints, and these letters reveal much about British attitudes towards sex on screen in the 1970s. In one such example, the Greater London Council received a particularly strong letter of protest, typed almost entirely in uppercase, from "300 PARENTS OF 18 yr OLD BOYS & GIRLS." The letter goes on to accuse the GLC of taking bribes from unscrupulous filmmakers to abolish the censorship of sex films.

Using *Emmanuelle*, this paper will examine the cross-national circulation of films, where a film is removed from its national context (in this case, France) and it becomes something for British audiences to reinterpret and understand according to their own moral standards (or moral hang-ups).

**References**


Wistrich, E. (1978) “I don't mind the sex it's the violence”: *Film Censorship Explored*, London: Marion Boyars


**Bio**


**Comparing Chilean film censorship data in the second half of 20th century**

*Jorge Iturriaga, Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen, Universidad de Chile*

The present work seeks to compare the evolution of film censorship in Chile in the period 1960-1989 with other cases where similar data are available. It starts by situating the Chilean case historically and quantitatively, around a database built with more than 12,000 rating records from the Consejo de Censura Cinematográfica (Film Censorship Board). These results are then compared with the existing data for the case of Italy in the period 1948-1976 (Giori and Subini, 2020) and the case of Argentina in 1954-1976 (http://www.estrenos.rehime.com.ar/).

The comparison exercise shows differences and similarities. In the first place, as expected, each chronology presents the particularities of its political and cultural history, such as the presence of authoritarian regimes in Latin American countries (Argentina 1966-1973 and 1976-1983; Chile 1973-1990) or the enactment of Conservative laws in the Italian case (1958). It is also observed that in Argentina and Chile the annual quantity of films is very changing, while in Italy it remains even throughout the period. However, it is striking that the three cases coincide in...
showing a tightening of restrictions on minors since the late 1960s. This can undoubtedly be attributed to a general trend in Western cinematographies towards eroticization and violence, but the work seeks to reflect more broadly on the transition of cinema from transversal audiences to segmented ones (in a context marked by the massification of television).

References

Bio
Jorge Iturriaga is Doctor in History (Universidad Católica) and is currently Assistant Professor in Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen at Universidad de Chile. His research focuses on cinema and media reception. In 2015 he published “La masificación del cine en Chile 1907-1932” (Lom). He leads the project “Film censorship in Chile 1960-2000” (ANID).

‘A Playground Badge of Honour’: Underage Viewings and Masculine Identity in 1980s UK
Pete Turner, Oxford Brookes University

This paper will explore the memories of 1980s British audiences surrounding childhood viewing of films while underage due to BBFC film classifications. The project will be briefly introduced, including the methodology and developments since my last paper at HOMER 2021. In this paper, I will particularly focus on how gender has been identified as a significant factor in the way my questionnaire respondents discuss their viewings of forbidden films. I will discuss male participants’ memories of video watching and how these memories revolve around both the social act of discussing films (both pre and post viewing), but also the centrality of specific films to this discourse.

The investigation of viewer recollections will consider differences in the way men and women recall discussing their video watching experiences with friends and parents (around the time of viewing), and this will be presented against considerations of genre, and what effects the respondents remember these films having on their younger selves. Watching horror films as a child is often considered a ‘show of strength’ (Buckingham, 1996), but this is not specific to any gender. However, male participants are more likely to recall developing this show of strength while watching films, into an opportunity to use their film viewings to construct their masculine identity in relation to other children.

In relation to genre, this paper will also explore male respondent’s recollections of responses to sexual violence. The questionnaire responses suggest that films with violent sexual images were more likely to be watched by male respondents, but that these films are also considered to have been the most disturbing and memories around watching these films are often the most unpleasant. There will be some consideration of how the adult male respondents of the questionnaire in 2020 remember feeling as boys in the 1980s when viewing such material, and how this might hint at changes in attitudes around gender over the decades between.
PANEL 2. Historical Studies of Cinema as Trans-normative Space

Chair: Pierluigi Ercole, De Montfort University

Cypriot Cinemas Whispering More Liberty to Turkish Cypriot Women Under Nationalist Masculinity
Barçın Boğaç, Television Department, Eastern Mediterranean University,

Following British colonial administration accelerated the modernization process remarkably by developing legislative reforms, education, business and trade in Cyprus at the first half of the twentieth century, Atatürk's reforms in modern Turkey, in the 1920s and 1930s, had also significant social and cultural influences on the Turkish Cypriot community. Secularization in education, revision in family law and modern dress code contributed the movement of breaking down the traditional Muslim ideologies to new and modern social structure. However, the modernization process of the island affected gender equality later than other social norms. Even in the 1950s, Turkish Cypriot women had to live in their privacy due to Muslim beliefs. Their social life mainly took place within the borders of their home. The presence of women in public spheres such as coffee houses and restaurants was culturally unacceptable. This study reveals that Turkish Cypriot women have the opportunity to expand and liberate their social life through developing cinema culture on the island during the late 1940s and the 1950s. Cypriot cinemas allowed individuals from all segments of society, age groups and social statuses to coexist; and also made it possible for men and women to meet in the same public space with theatrical and non-theatrical film exhibitions. Drawing on archival research and oral history methods, this study reveals that while films offered modern lifestyles, Cypriot cinemas provided an alternative public sphere to Turkish Cypriot women in spatial context. During the political conflict in the second half of 1950s, women still had the chance to experience their social life in a public sphere as a collective cinema audience. Both the films and the theatre had significant contributions to women’s perception of gender construction under militarised masculinity of ethno-nationalist division on the island.

References
Bio
Barışın Boğaz is an Assistant Professor in the Cinema and Television Department, Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University in North Cyprus. His research focuses on nationalism, modernism, ethnic and national identity formation through cinema. His current works mainly concentrate on historical audience research on Cypriot cinemas.

Crossing Borders of the City, Screen and Identity: Children, Moviegoing and National Holidays in Ankara (1929-1946)
Elif Kaymaz, Middle East Technical University

The scholarship on children and moviegoing is not as extensive (both geographically and topically), yet some scholars present cases that open conversations relating to censorship (Smith, 2005), media influence (Jowett, et al., 1996), cinematic experience (Kuhn, 2010), state’s role and propaganda (Çeliktemel-Thomen, 2015) and urban moviegoing (Klenotic, 2001). Drawing inspiration from these examples, this paper approaches children’s moviegoing as an entangled history of rural-urban, entertainment-duty, watching-being-watched, and as crossing borders – spatially, culturally, socially.

The nation-building efforts of the young Republic of Turkey intensified in building a new, modern capital city out of a rural town Ankara not only by shaping the built environment but also by creating healthy, educated and productive human capital. An opportunity to showcase the change and progress was the national holidays (Republic Day, Children’s Day, Youth and Sports Day, Victory Day), and Ankara became the center stage of these activities. These holidays were the quintessential examples of celebrations, commemoration and propaganda as they invented traditions by merging/matching the nationally transformative days (establishment of the parliament, victory of the liberation war) with particular agendas for targeted groups (children, youth, army). Cinema played a crucial role as modes of attraction, education, and propaganda, all while the masses internalised these traditions.

This paper focuses on children’s moviegoing through the lenses of urban entertainment, engagement and inclusion during the national holidays (especially Children’s Day) in Ankara between the years 1929 (the year when the first proper movie theatre opened) and 1946 (marking Turkey’s political shift from single-party regime to the multi-party system). Seeking evidence from period’s magazines, journals, memoirs, celebration programs, developments and events in film/newsreel production, I analyse the topic in two broad aspects: firstly, film exhibitions organised for children with the partnership of private entities, People’s Houses and Society for the Protection of Children as part of a program, targeted mostly disadvantaged (orphaned, never been to the cinema, from the rural parts) kids, consisting of visiting attractions in the city, competitions etc. where we observe introduction the “new” to children by bringing them from the “other” side to the “centre”. Secondly, filming the national holidays’ celebrations where school children parades, give speeches and are greeted by the president, then, screening of these films in movie theatres where children, too, attended- an instance where fulfilling a
national duty of being present at the ceremonies become a part of an entertainment-sphere, when filmed. Ultimately, this paper aims to portray a nuanced history of children, movies and moviegoing that was initiated by national celebrations by arguing that their position is fluid and liminal one - incorporating various modes of practices: performing at the parades, going to the cinema, being on the screen and meeting the ideal self-image.

References

Bio
Elif Kaymaz is a translator, lecturer, urbanist and a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Architectural History, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, TR. Her interdisciplinary research brings together urban studies, architectural history and cinema. Her work appeared previously in international conferences organized by Sheffield University, EAHN, HoMER, and TFAYY. She is currently investigating spaces and practices of film exhibition in Turkey.

Exhibiting to Edify: Progressive Art Cinema Collectives’ Experimental Education in 1920s-30s America
McKayla Sluga, Michigan State University

Exhibitions held by radical avant-garde film collectives in New York City were integral sites of education in the 1920s-40s. Exhibitions held by radical avant-garde film collectives in New York City were integral sites of education in the 1920s-40s. Resisting Hollywood theatrical dominance and exhibitors’ hesitancy to show avant-garde works, several New York City residents crafted their own exhibitions that welcomed artists marginalized—aesthetically and politically. Modernists like Symon Gould and Michael Mindlin made independent art cinemas and distribution-exhibition chains to bring European and Soviet avant-garde films into American cinemas, while showcasing American avant-garde works. Films such as Battleship Potemkin, a revolutionary Soviet film by Sergei Eisenstein, premiered in December 1926 at the Biltmore. First screened privately in Gloria Swanson’s apartment, it then moved into little-cinema circuits across the city. Places like the Cameo Theater, rented by the Film Arts Guild, screened the film for small audiences. This continued throughout the 1920s where it slowly waned until leftist groups began screening the film more frequently in the 1930s. The Film and Photo League held routine shows including Potemkin at the New School for Social Research and took the film to workers’ meetings. The Film and Sprockets Society also exhibited Potemkin for college students and community members at the City College of New York to discuss documentary cinema technique, history, and theory. Exhibitors provided program notes and talks to teach about films in social, political, and cultural contexts. Exhibitions expanded access to art film education with opportunities for audiences to see path breaking films and novel lectures. This paper incorporates New York Public Library, MoMA, and City University of New York archives as well as press materials to argue radical film collectives’ exhibition programs were educational experiments with pairings of films, information, and speakers. Centering experimental theatrical
and nontheatrical exhibitions as classrooms or curriculums advances scholarship about intersecting politics, aesthetics, and education in interwar America.

References

Bio
McKayla Sluga is a History PhD Candidate at Michigan State University. She investigates how experimental collectives shaped Americans’ modern art and film institutions in 1910s-1940s New York City. Centering collectives’ educational impulses, her dissertation examines self-documentation and self-study practices through their creation of independent exhibition-distribution groups, journals, and schools.

'A Place Where People Can See and Be and Sort of Feel': Creating Visual Expressions of Tragedy and Displacement in Orlando Florida, 2016-Present
David Morton, University of Central Florida

Often overshadowed by the presence of its larger than life theme park and resort environment, the city of Orlando, Florida has emerged in recent years as an increasingly prominent hub for artistic and creative life in the American Southeast.

In the aftermath of the 2016 Pulse Nightclub shooting, a concerted effort has been made in the community to spotlight not only the lives of the 49 victims and the legacy of a space that has since become a national landmark, but also an opportunity to demonstrate the vivacity of Orlando’s LGBTQ+ community and its inspirational resilience. The city has also become a sanctuary for refugees from the destruction caused by Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico, refugees from the persecutions of Maduro’s dictatorship in Venezuela, and Syrian emigres. Whether it has been the community-wide efforts to address the impact of gun violence, or the influence of newly arrived migrants with their own experiences of loss, the creative and artistic community of Orlando has yielded a wide array of dramatic expressions of this tension through film and visual media.

This paper will discuss how independent movie theatres, local universities, filmmakers, scholars, politicians, and artists have come together over the past five years to create a multidisciplinary space where the moving image could be used to bring disparate communities together and create a community-wide dialogue. This will be demonstrated by exploring the past five years in which Orlando’s movieng and filmmaking community has engaged with personal tragedy and the pervading sense of placelessness of its latest arrivals.

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Bio
David Morton received his Ph.D. in Texts and Technology from the University of Central Florida in 2019, where he teaches History and Media Studies. His forthcoming book, Motion Pictures at a Great Saving: A History of the Florida Film Industry is expected for publication in 2022.

PANEL 3. “Now You See It; Now You Don’t”: Cinematic Cultures Along the Northern Ireland-Republic of Ireland Border

Chair: Valerio Coladonato, Sapienza University

Cinema along the Irish Border, 1923-1939
Denis Condon, Maynooth University

This paper examines the challenges faced by cinema owners and their audiences located along the Irish border when the Irish War of Independence concluded with the partition of the island of Ireland into two polites – Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. Keen to emphasize and expand its areas of legislative autonomy, the Dáil, the new Free State parliament, introduced two measures among its first pieces of legislation in 1923 that had significant impacts on how cinema could operate along the line that had been proposed in Westminster’s 1920 Government of Ireland Act but not confirmed as the boundary between the two jurisdictions until 1926: it passed the Censorship of Film Act, and it set up customs posts along that line. The latter measure not only lent further legitimacy to the line that would eventually be recognized as the border but also created a physical check at what had previously been an invisible county dividing line over which people and goods had passed freely. Cinema trade journals give an indication of the difficulties that duties placed on film and delays at crossings created for distributors and exhibitors moving film over this border. However, mapping and scrutiny of local newspapers and other local sources are needed to assess the degree to which cinemagoing became problematized as a cross-border activity during the interwar period along the 499km of the border between the city of Derry in Northern Ireland – to which audiences on the Free State’s adjacent Inishowen peninsula would naturally have come for entertainment – to the towns of Dundalk in the Free State and Newry in Northern Ireland which by the late 1920s faced each other across an international Frontier.

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Exhibition and Audiences in a Global Context, Palgrave.

Bio
Denis Condon lectures on cinema at the Departments of English and Media Studies, Maynooth University, Ireland. His publications include Early Irish Cinema, 1895-1921 (2008) and as co-editor Music and Visual Cultures: Threshold, Intermediality, Synthesis (2021). He is currently working on The Explosion of Images: Ireland’s First Cinemas and the collaborative website Irish Cinema Histories.

Looking South and across the Water: Establishing a system of cross-border film censorship in the new Northern Irish State
Sian Barber, Queen’s University Belfast

This paper will explore the significance of the border following the partition of Ireland when film censorship systems were being put in place for the newly created Northern Irish state. Archival documents indicate that discussions about film censorship wondered whether to look to Dublin or to London for guidance on establishing a workable system to control culture in Northern Ireland. Arguably a powerful tool for the newly created state, the cinema was seen as a means by which Northern Ireland could be allied to both Dublin and London while paradoxically, a system of film censorship was created to establish a cultural and social standard particular to the new state.

References

Bio
Sian Barber is Senior Lecturer in Film Studies at Queen’s University Belfast. She is the author of Censoring the 1970s: The BBFC and the Decade that Taste Forgot (Cambridge Scholars, 2011), The British Film Industry in the 1970s: Capital Culture and Creativity (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) and Using Film as a Source (Manchester University Press, 2015). She is currently working on a full-length study of local and regional UK film censorship to be published by Manchester University Press.

The Great Northern Rail and memories of 1950s cinema-going along the Irish border
Sarah Culhane, University College Dublin

This paper explores cinema-going culture in communities on either side of the Irish border in counties Monaghan and Fermanagh during the 1950s. During the first half of the twentieth century, cross-border cinema-going was facilitated by the existence of the Great Northern Rail network, which stopped in towns like Clones (Co. Monaghan), Lisnaskea and Enniskillen (Co. Fermanagh). Under the Common Travel area agreements made between the Irish and British governments in 1922 and 1952, citizens both north and south of the border had the freedom to cross into either jurisdiction without the need for a passport. This freedom of movement was
symbolised by the Great Northern Rail network, which played a vital role in connecting border communities. However, as the decade progressed the border became a more ‘visible’ entity due to the IRA's border campaign of the 1950s. In the mid-1950s, the Great Northern Rail began to withdraw its service to towns along the border until the company, which was backed by government both north and south of the border, ceased all cross-border services. Through a case study of three border-town cinemas, which all opened in the late 1940s and early 1950s – The Luxor in Clones, The Ritz in Enniskillen and The Astral in Lisnaskea – this paper examines how the local cinema-going culture was influenced by the cross-border railway network and the subsequent impact of its closure. Drawing on oral history testimonies and press archives, this paper aims to shed light on the culture of small-town cinema-going along the Northern Irish border, its evolution during the 1950s and the way it was experienced and is recalled by audiences of that time.

References

Bio
Sarah Culhane is Assistant Professor in Italian at University College Dublin. From 2018 to 2021 she was a CAROLINE Marie Sklodowska-Curie Fellow in Media Studies at Maynooth University where she led the Irish Cinema Audiences project. She holds a PhD in Italian for the University of Bristol (2017). She conducted her PhD research as part of the Italian Cinema Audiences project (AHRC 2013-2017).

Emotion as borderwork: Everyday cinema practices on the Irish border
Silvia Almenara-Niebla and Kevin Smets, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

The history of cinema has always been related to emotions due to the capacity of moving images and storytelling to create meaningful experiences for audiences. However, beyond those images and stories, cinema also implies a social experience of an emotional nature that is related to the set of practices that take place in the movie theatre or other exhibition spaces.

According to Allen (2011), analyzing cinema as experience involves looking at cinema as a set of situated practices. In this paper we turn to borderlands as specific sites of such practices. In borderlands, social practices related to cinema involve a series of experiences that are marked by the political and geographical materiality of the border, as well as its highly symbolic nature. The border of Ireland and Northern Ireland configures a singular space for the experience of cinema. Despite its troubled history, the porosity of the border has created cross-border interactions that subvert state logics and consolidate local cultures. This is the case of the different film clubs that have been consolidated in the border areas since the Good Friday Agreement (1998) as a result of the initiatives promoted by different organisations for the exhibition of regional cultural cinema in Ireland (Access Cinema) and Northern Ireland (Film Hub NI).

Drawing on the experience of cinema-going in border film clubs, this paper aims to focus on the sense of community that is consolidated in these film-related activities and how film viewing builds relationships across physical and symbolic borders. It does so through a media
ethnography of film clubs conducted over three months in 2022* in different border cities. This paper offers a reflection on social approaches in film studies, demonstrating how the social and emotional film-going practices shape affective ties across and at the borders.

References
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* The proposed paper concerns an on-going research project. The data collection is planned in Spring 2022 and access to the research sites has been obtained. The impact of COVID-19 on the data collection has been assessed and the researchers have put measures in place to guarantee the progress of the study.

Bios
Silvia Almenara-Niebla is postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Communication Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Belgium. She holds a PhD in Gender Studies and Sociology (Universidad de La Laguna). She is part of the ERC-funded project "Reel Borders", in which she studies film-related social activities in border contexts through an anthropological perspective.

Kevin Smets is assistant professor at the Department of Communication Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Belgium. He teaches film history and has published widely on media and migration. He currently leads the ERC-funded project “Reel Borders” which studies relations between film and borderlands.

PANEL 4. Practice Based Historical Cinema Research

Chair: Åsa Jernudd, Örebro University

*Cinema Memory as an Artistic Tool: the “Garibaldi 99” Case Study*
Eleonora Roaro, freelance

In this paper, using the “Garibaldi 99” case study as its starting point, the potentialities of creative and artistic outputs in the study of cinema memory are investigated. Developed during the artist residency at Casa degli Artisti (Milano), the project “Garibaldi 99” focused on archival materials and oral sources related to the cinema theatre situated in corso Garibaldi 99, Milano – a few meters from the residency location –, known as the Garibaldi Cinema (1906-1962), the Paris Cinema (1964-1989) and Multisala Brera (1994-2008). An installation aimed to link together heterogeneous archival materials with layers of images, projections, sound and videos. The final output of the project consisted of a digital collage ("Cinema Paris"), a video ("fregüja"), a projection on loop of the sentence “I silenti sogni entrarono così nella sala” by Carlo Emilio Gadda (“Thus the silent dreams entered in the room”), a series of podcasts (“Piazzale Loreto”, “Marialuisa”, “Cinema Garibaldi/Paris/Brera”, “Fregüja” and “Gadda”) and a grey binder.

Not only were Milanese archives investigated (particularly Archivio Civico Fotografico, Cineteca Milano, Cittadella degli Archivi) for the final output of the project, but also local inhabitants were interviewed, creating a strong bond with corso Garibaldi’s neighbourhood and its history. Indeed the aim was to examine the historical changes that occurred in that area of the city, and
the cinema as an important cultural and meeting place for local people. This paper demonstrates that art practice – especially when it has a strong connection with the local inhabitants – can be a valid instrument to raise awareness of local film culture and cinema heritage among a broader public.

References

Bio
Eleonora Roaro is an artist and researcher based in Milano. In 2019 she worked on the project “VR and AR in the valorisation of cultural and art heritage” (Università di Udine). She is part of the project “Sensing Dolce Vita: An Experiment in VR Storytelling” (2020-22) winner of the MISTI Global Seed Fund.

Film Curators: The Overlooked Component
Nicholas Bimson, University of Manchester

This paper will discuss the border-crossing nature of the film curator and their practices, contextualising this within Cornerhouse and HOME; independent cinemas in Manchester, UK with the former now historic. Largely associated with the independent and art sectors, film curators are significant actors in the distribution, exhibition and decision-making networks through which films reach consumers. I will examine how film curators occupy the divide between cinema and audience, as well as artistic products and industrial infrastructure across both local and national contexts. I will also trace and complicate the narrative of film curators emerging from an archival tradition, incorporating an appreciation of the history and currency of the term as an art world import.

Film curation and its terminological utility have been relatively absent from academic investigation and the interchangeability of ‘programming’ and ‘curation’ reduces conceptual specificity. Internet platforms and the recent pivot in film exhibition to virtual access, further complicate this entanglement, providing spaces where curatorial practices can diverge from those found in physical contexts. The rise of small film festivals has also provided opportunities for novel curatorial strategies to emerge. Yet, fundamental questions are still to be addressed which would delineate curation in filmic contexts, positioning it as a discrete component of circulation.

This paper engages with film scholarship turning away from the isolated film text towards ‘the spaces, networks, structures and flows through which film travels between [text and audience]’ (Harbord, 2002: 5). Following Richard Farmer’s work on wartime British cinemas (2016), I also aim to develop the New Cinema History approach which ‘is, to a greater or lesser extent, a history of audiences’ (Caughie, 2019: 47) by crossing its usual epistemological boundaries and focusing on an overlooked set of professional practices within the networks of film circulation and reception.

References


**Bio**

I am a first year PhD student at the University of Manchester. I completed a BA in English at Goldsmiths College and an MA in Film Studies at the University of Manchester. My PhD is on film curation as independent cinema practice, using two Manchester cinemas as central case studies.

**The role of new cinema histories in documentary storytelling**

Maria Luna, TecnoCampus Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Spain) and MIDBO (Colombia)

This paper explores how unknown cinema histories around the world have been documented in recent films. Examples such as *Talking About Trees* (2020, Sudan), *El film justifica los medios* (2020, Colombia), *The Cinema Travellers* (2016, India) and even scenes on *The Act of Killing* (2012, Indonesia) show how cinema histories in the non-Western world have been sources of inspiration or dispositives of creation in documentary films in a similar manner of previous wider known fiction films such as *Nuovo Cinema Paradiso* (1988, Italy) or *The Purple Rose of Cairo* (1985, USA). In particular this paper draws on documentary films to explore differences and similarities in the collective moving watching experience in different regions of the so-called global South. What is considered universal in the mise-en-scene of a nostalgic experience of a film screening? What is the role of documentary new ethnographies in the process of understanding cinema memories in different contexts? According to Blaikie (2000, p.242) documentary filmmaking is a qualitative research strategy which involves and provides “an extended and intensive period of involvement in some social world”, this paper reaches filmmaker’s testimonies to understand how these involvement worked in their films. These analysis of new cinemas histories within cinema also open up questions on how cinema was and is still screened in different parts of the world, who are their audiences and what is the impact on the circulation of these films. In more general terms the paper expands the question of film memory and film histories to a comparative context that can be studied through documentary filmmaking as a relevant source which combines research and practice in filmmaking projects.

**References**


**Bio**

Associate professor of creative documentary in TecnoCampus, Pompeu Fabra University in Barcelona, Artistic Director MIDBO (International Documentary Film Festival of Bogota) in Colombia. Member of the group Narratives of Resistance where she participates in the project Histories del Punt funded by Generalitat de Catalunya as a producer and archive researcher. Co-coordinator of the HoMER Network. Active member of ALADOS Colombia (Colombian documentary film association).
When heritage is not the solution: cultural policy mechanisms to safeguard historic cinemas in Brazil
Talitha Ferraz, ESPM/PPGCine-UFF

During the peak of the coronavirus pandemic in 2020, the Roxy Cinema, located in Rio de Janeiro's famous Copacabana neighbourhood, stopped its activities due to sanitary rules imposed by Rio's City Hall. Since then, even when the sanitary measures had already been relaxed and the city's cinemas reopened, the great art-deco screening house, founded in 1938 by the Luiz Severiano Ribeiro company, has remained inoperative.

In June 2021, the exhibition company announced the definitive closure of the cinema, news that mobilized a number of people, who feared a future non-cultural destination for the building. Despite being listed as architectural heritage, there is no legislation in Brazil to ensure the continuity of the cultural function of old cinemas, i.e., the listing by the former activity of listed places. However, initiatives led by moviegoers and local entrepreneurs from Copacabana neighbourhood made the subject to gain prominence, until Rio’s City Hall declared the Roxy as an equipment listed in the city's list of notable properties, a legal expedient that requires the maintenance of the cultural activity of the cinematic building’s origin. In the meantime, many debates about the meaning of heritage and the struggle for the maintenance of film exhibition activities in old street cinemas were heated. Enthusiasts linked to movements in favour of other cinemas in the city then began to question why the same measure was not extended to cinemas threatened with extinction for longer than the Roxy, such as, for example, cinemas located in poor and suburban areas of the city.

Based on this case, this presentation, whose theoretical and methodological basis is affirmed in the context of the New Cinema History and nostalgia studies, aims to make a mapping of legal measures of cultural policies, which, in Brazil, try to dribble the inefficiency of the heritage laws regarding the destinations of the historical cinemas’ buildings utilities. What mechanisms, in the last 10 years, have been elaborated or implemented to protect not only the physical structure of historical cinemas, but also their activities within the cultural sector? The presentation will focus on the recent case of the Roxy Cinema, but will also include the cases of the Belas Artes Cinema, in São Paulo, and the actions in safeguarding cinemas promoted by the CineRua Programme, in Pernambuco.

References

Bio
Talitha Ferraz is a Brazilian professor in cinema and media studies at the Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing (ESPM) and the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Cinema e Audiovisual of the Universidade Federal Fluminense (PPGCine-UFF). She holds a PhD in communication and
culture from the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (ECO-UFRJ), with a doctoral internship at the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (FCSH-Nova), Portugal. Dr. Ferraz carried out postdoctoral research at the Centre for Cinema and Media Studies (CIMS) at Ghent University, Belgium. She is coordinator of the research group Modos de Ver (ESPM-PPGCine-UFRJ/ CNPq) and member of the following networks: Coordenação Interdisciplinar de Estudos Contemporâneos da ECO-UFRJ (CIEC/ECO-UFRJ), International Media & Nostalgia Network (IMNN), History of Moviegoing Exhibition and Reception - HoMER Network, and Cinema City Cultures (CCC).

PANEL 5. Colonial Cinema Histories

Chair: Thunnis van Oort, Radboud University, the Netherlands

Ross Melnick, University of California, Santa Barbara

In 1955, U.S. Diplomat Charles Reed wrote to the U.S. State Department that with Twentieth Century-Fox's imminent purchase of the South African-based African Consolidated Theatres (exhibition) and African Consolidated Films (distribution), Fox would now “control 607 movie theatres, which is all but 15 of the total European and non-European movie theatres located south of the Sahara.” This apartheid-era “control” was enacted through both the outright purchase of over 150 cinemas in Kenya, Colonial Zimbabwe, and South Africa and by ACF’s exclusive distribution contracts with over 400 cinemas throughout the above areas as well as in Tanzania, Uganda, Colonial Zambia, and other territories, protectorates, and newly independent nations. Between 1930 and 1969, when Twentieth Century-Fox divested its ownership of ACT and ACF, theatrical distribution of Hollywood films in Sub-Saharan Africa was dominated by ACF and its many tentacles. While my forthcoming book, Hollywood's Embassies, examines the control ACT enacted during this period through theatrical exhibition, “Bordering on a Strategy” focuses on ACF’s control over theatrical distribution in these shifting colonial and postcolonial territories, enforcing apartheid-compliant bookings inside and outside South Africa’s political and territorial borders. This focus on theatrical film distribution seeks to complicate the supposedly laissez-faire business relations between Hollywood and African exhibitors as well as Hollywood’s relationships to a wide range of colonial and independent governments, seeking to understand how Hollywood viewed this market first as a place for sales agreements and exhibitor contracts and then, through Twentieth Century-Fox’s ownership, as a prime location for feature film distribution and Cold War-era development.

References

Bio
Ross Melnick is Professor of Film and Media Studies at UC Santa Barbara. He is the author of *Hollywood’s Embassies* (2022) and *American Showman* (2012), co-editor of *Rediscovering U.S. Newsfilm* (2018), and numerous journal articles. He was named an Academy Film Scholar and an NEH Fellow for his work on global film exhibitions.

**De-Italianize cinema! A History of Italian Film Exhibition in Colonial Tunisia**

Morgan Corriou, Université Paris 8 Vincennes - Saint-Denis

In her memoirs, Claudia Cardinale, the star of *The Leopard*, born and raised in Tunisia, recalls her late discovery of Italian cinema: “For almost all immigrants, Italian cinema [...] had become a new homeland. But this was not the case in Tunis, where we had no desire to claim our roots.” Under the name of “de-Italianization,” the French authorities had indeed undertaken to dismantle Italian economic and cultural infrastructures in Tunisia in the wake of World War II. For Italian films, this marked the last stage of a long celluloid war that had begun with the arrival of the cinematograph in the country in 1896.

While the circulation of Italian films faced many obstacles during the whole period, Italian exhibitors played a key role in the development of cinemas in Tunisia. The French conquest took place in a context of intense competition with Italy: until the late 1930s, the Italian population was actually more numerous than the French colony and the “Italian danger” was at the heart of French obsessions. In this paper, I want to focus on the economics of these small Italian businesses, the strategies of entrepreneurs that were neither colonisers nor colonised, and their part in a film trade increasingly inserted in a colonial economy.

I will first examine the sociology of these exhibitors – from the itinerant companies touring the Mediterranean at the beginning of the twentieth century to the active role of Italians in the growth of cinemas in Tunisia from the 1910s onwards. A particular emphasis will be placed on the networks of investors and the relationships with businessmen from other communities (such as the Jewish exhibitors during the Fascist period). Through the case of Tunis, I will look at the geography of Italian theatres, both in the medina and in the new city. Mapping its evolutions will allow me to reflect on the diversity and mobility of the audiences targeted by Italian exhibitors. The place of Italians in the film business certainly contrasted with the limited presence of Italian films on screens. Finally, I will consider the severe control policy for Italian films – a policy that echoed the special scrutiny, which Italian moviegoers were subject to in Tunisian theatres.

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**Bio**

Morgan Corriou is an assistant professor in Media Studies at the University of Paris 8 Vincennes – Saint-Denis. Her research focuses on the economic and social history of cinema in colonial Maghreb as well as the correlation of cinephilia and Third World struggles in Africa. She edited

**Film Distribution Across the Empire**  
Nadi Tofighian, Stockholm University

In this paper I address the distribution and exhibition strategies of U.S. film companies in its colonial territories – the Philippines, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Guam – during the 1910s and the 1920s. After the Spanish-American War in 1898, the colonized territories developed in different trajectories. Although there have been some studies on early films made in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines and how cinema was used as a colonial tool, there has not been a comprehensive comparative examination of the history and the role of cinema across all occupied U.S. territories. By broadly outlining the colonial and cultural policies of the United States in each territory, I aim to examine how the U.S. colonial authorities differed in their strategy to formally, or informally, influence and form the local film culture and shape the audiences. As case studies I plan to follow three individual film titles, tentatively *Birth of a Nation* (D.W. Griffith, 1915), *The Mark of Zorro* (Fred Niblo, 1920), and *The Gold Rush* (Charlie Chaplin, 1925), and their movement across the U.S. colonial territories. More minutely, I assess how long it took for these films to arrive in the different colonies, how they were distributed and exhibited, as well as how they were received by the local populations. By examining how these three films from the United States were distributed, exhibited, and received in each region and in different years, the paper also delineates the development of emergent film cultures in these territories.

**References**

**Bio**
Nadi Tofighian is research fellow and lecturer at Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University, Special Issues Editor for Early Popular Visual Culture, and working on the monograph *Let the American Show You*: *Early Cinema in U.S. Colonial Territories*. Previously research fellow at Yale University, lecturer at Linnaeus University and De La Salle University Manila.

**Cinema-going in the South Asian Diaspora: Indian films, entrepreneurs, and audiences**  
James M Burnes, Clemson University

This paper builds on my comparative essay on cinema-going in Natal, South Africa and Trinidad in the British West Indies during the late colonial period. This essay is scheduled to be published in the forthcoming Palgrave Handbook of Comparative New Cinema Histories. It examines the experiences of South Asian audiences in two corners of the British empire. From 1940 to 1960 Durban (capital of the Natal province of South Africa) and Trinidad experienced dramatic growth in cinema-going, which was driven largely by the popularity of Indian films among South Asian audiences. While researching this history I developed an ArcGIS mapping project that
plots the remarkable growth of cinema venues in both locations during the 1950s and 1960s. My conference presentation will offer a (very) brief overview of this essay’s conclusions, and a demonstration of the ArcGIS project. I will conclude by sketching out the experiences of South Asian diasporic audiences in the British territories of Mauritius, Guyana, and Fiji, and lay out my plan to integrate regional studies of these areas into a larger project. In each of these areas, South Asian populations living in multi-ethnic communities became enthusiastic consumers of films from India which informed patterns of consumption and reinforced concepts of national and racial identity. This presentation fits with the HOMER conference themes of ‘Film cultures among im/migrant, diaspora, minority and marginalised communities’ and ‘Memories of cinema-going in communities living close to a border or in a socio-culturally divided or multicultural community’.

**References**

Daniel Biltereyst and Philippe Meers ‘New Cinema History and the Comparative Mode: Reflections on Comparing Historical Cinema Cultures’ in *Alphaville: Journal of Film and Screen Media*


**Bio**


**PANEL 6: Regional and Localized Historical Cinema Research**

*Chair: Talitha Ferraz, (ESPM/PPGCine-UFF)*

**The Course of Cinema in Anatolia: In the Case of Mardin**

Yektanurşin Duyan, Mardin Artuklu University

After the Second Constitutional Monarchy and the opening of Weinberg’s Pathé Cinema in Tepebaşi in 1908, cinema became a form of entertainment in its own right rather than something that enriched other entertainment programs. This was also when the first movie screenings were held outside of big cities, though entrepreneurial efforts to establish movie theaters in Anatolia often proved short lived. Things changed with the opening of movie theaters in the People’s Houses (Halkevleri), which helped make cinema an important cultural element in local social life. In Mardin, the People’s House Cinema opened in 1938, followed by many other cinemas in the 1950s. This study evaluates cinema in Mardin in the period 1960–75, including the movie theaters, films screened, and the viewing practices of the period. It details when the first movie was screened in Mardin and the first movie theaters to open there, and it examines the movie theaters opened in the following years, their technical and ergonomic conditions, the interest of the people of Mardin in cinema, the films they watched, the local cinema news, and the place of the cinema in daily life. Based on documents obtained from the State Archives of the Presidency of Republic of Turkey, local newspapers from the period, and interviews with people
who lived in the city at the time, it argues that cinema played an important role in the daily life and entertainment culture of the city of Mardin.

References

Bio
Yektanurşin Duyan is an assistant professor in the Department of Cinema and Television in the Faculty of Fine Arts at Mardin Artuklu University in Turkey. She completed her dissertation on Gender and Stardom in Turkish Cinema. She has published widely in the field of Turkish cinema and its star system. Her works focus on the Turkish cinema, stardom, fandom, film culture, gender and representation.

**Crossing Mountains, Crossing the Audience: Localized Film Styles, Narration and Sub-genres in the History of Turkish Cinema**
Serkan Şavk, İzmir University of Economics; Aydin Çam, Çukurova University & Ali İlhan, Özyeğin University

One of the defining features of the Yeşilçam film industry which marked almost 40 years of Turkish cinema history was the regional film management system (Erkulç & Ünal, 2018). The country was divided into six distribution regions and the regional managers contributed to the financing of the films by making advance payments to the producers. In return, they had a say in the narrative features of the films by communicating audience demands from their regions (Abisel, 2005). Audiences in different management regions had different demographic and cultural profiles. Although Yeşilçam had a very standard narrative structure, demands from different management regions resulted in the localization of films over time, and sub-genres emerged, as in the case of Yörük films. Yörük films were produced particularly for the Adana region and were directly associated with the nomadic culture in terms of narration and form (Şanlıer Yüksel & Çam, 2019). Even though the nomadic lifestyle of the Yörükks had largely disappeared during the Yeşilçam period, the association of Yörük culture with Çukurova Plato and the Taurus mountains continued, the two main sites of nomadic mobility. A similar situation was valid for Zeybek films produced for the broader İzmir region.

In this paper, we attempt to answer how the formal, stylistic, and narrative properties of Yörük and Zeybek films differ from each other and other village, adventure, and action films. By doing so, we aim to reflect on simultaneous processes of border-building and border-crossing. On one hand, Yörük (and Zeybek) films had transformed into local sub-genres by partially overcoming the highly standardized genre structure of the Yeşilçam industry. But on the other hand, those films proved that regional management is not only a matter of distribution and finance but also narrative distinctions and boundaries were drawn between different regions.

Methodologically, we combine statistical analysis of film style with oral history data. For the statistical data, we will benefit from the database of the interdisciplinary research project "A Data-Driven, Digital and Open Approach to the History of Turkish Cinema" funded by The
Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (ID. 121K697. Project period: November 2021-June 2024). This paper is the first academic outcome of that project where we aim to create an open database for the Yeşilçam period. For the oral history part, we benefit from the inventories of three oral history projects conducted by İlke Şanlıer Yüksel and Aydın Çam in the Taurus region.

Bio
Serkan Şavk received his PhD in history from Hacettepe University in 2014. Aydın Çam received his PhD from the Media and Communication Studies Program at Galatasaray University (2016). Ali İlhan received his PhD from Washington State University in sociology (2013).

References

Exhibition and Programming in a Mexico-Texas Border town 1905-1960: The case of Nuevo Laredo Border town
Jose Carlos Lozano, Texas A&M International University

This paper discusses the historical development of film theatres in Nuevo Laredo, a city located on the northeastern Mexican border with Texas, as well as their film programming from the early to the mid-20th century. The paper provides, in particular, a political economic analysis of the historical control of Nuevo Laredo cinemas by the Rodríguez Circuit, a powerful regional group based on the city of Monterrey, Nuevo León, which for more than 40 years monopolized the distribution and exhibition of films in northeastern Mexico. Based on the city’s border condition and its historical economic and cultural integration with its sister city of Laredo, Texas, the paper discusses the peculiarities and implications of the ownership of cinemas and their national and American films programming as well as other entertainment modalities like drama plays, opera, concerts, live comedy shows, and the like. From the first years of film exhibition in the 1900s to the popularity of national films during the Golden Age of Mexican cinema in the 1940s and 1950s, the study discusses the similarities and the differences in exhibition and programming patterns of this Mexican border town with other provincial cities located on the interior of the country. Also, the paper looks at unique border peculiarities like the organization of US entertainment and film exhibition events in Nuevo Laredo’s venues as well as the advertising of Nuevo Laredo’s theatres in the local newspaper of the American side. This work is part of the Screen Culture in Latin America and Spain Research Network and a counterpart of the already-published research on Laredo, Texas film exhibition, programming, and memories of cinema going. Keywords: Social history of cinema, Cinema, Film exhibition in Mexico, Mexican Cinema, Political economy of historical film exhibition in Mexico.

References


Bio
José Carlos Lozano is Professor of Communication at Texas A&M International University. He holds a Master in Communication from the University of Leicester, England and a PhD in Communication from the University of Texas at Austin. He is Co-Principal Investigator of the “Screen Culture in Latin America and Spain” research project network, together with Belgian researchers Daniel Biltereyst (University of Ghent) and Philippe Meers (University of Antwerp).

Urban Transformations and the Vestiges of the Border: The Case Study of Cinema Eden
Sigal Yona, Ghent University

The first movie theater in Tel Aviv, Cinema Eden, had its first screening in August 1914. A particularly large and luxurious venue, it then ‘set the bar’ for any other movie theater in the country (Davidon, 167). Tel Aviv of 1914 was a newly founded Jewish ”garden suburb” of the predominantly Arab city of Jaffa. Over the following decades, the city has expanded to the north while national tensions gradually rose and escalated. By the time it was granted autonomous municipality status by British rule in 1934, the once central position of Cinema Eden had become the new south.

As historian Deborah S. Bernstein recounts, southern Tel Aviv of the time was an area that manifested many of the aspects of borders, namely, “the combined and contrasting features of separation, mixing, crossing, and apprehensive proximity” (117). In a similar vein, sociologists Daniel Monterescu and Dan Rabinowitz describe “a fluid time,” in which “trade activities, residential patterns and social ties created a cognitive and interactional mixture” between the two cities (11). To these characteristics, Bernstein adds the “marginality of the frontier zone, both in terms of municipal services and infrastructure, and in terms of the composition of its population” (117).

From the 1950s until its closure in the mid-1970s, Cinema Eden became the most dominant cinema in the new state to specialize in Middle Eastern and Indian cinema. During these years it had established itself as a center of marginalized culture. Focusing on the last period, my proposed presentation will draw on archival material, programming analysis, and in-depth oral history interviews with viewers, adopting a triangulation methodological approach (Biltereyst et al). It will explore, both conceptually and concretely, the ways in which the history of the venue was shaped by the combined features of the border.

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Bio
Sigal Yona is a doctoral researcher at the Department of Communication Sciences and a member of the Centre for Cinema and Media Studies (CIMS) at Ghent University, Belgium. Her PhD-project employs a mixed-method approach to study historical film exhibition and audiences in Tel Aviv-Jaffa.

PANEL 7. Cinema Memories. Case Studies and Methodological Insights

Chair: Maria Luna-Rassa, TecnoCampus Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Ingmar Bergman Out of Focus
Jono Van Belle, Örebro University; María Paz Peirano, Universidad de Chile; Fernando Ramos Arenas, Complutense University

Ingmar Bergman Out of Focus "As a key figure in modernist film, Ingmar Bergman has had a tremendous impact on film cultures worldwide. Interpretations of his work vary from religious redemption to erotic explorations. Existing scholarly work on Bergman focuses almost exclusively on his persona and his oeuvre, disregarding diversity in reception, exhibition, or historical contexts. On the HoMER conference, we would like to present the preliminary results of a workshop we are organizing at the end of April at Örebro University. The goal of this workshop is to explore: what is Bergman's cultural heritage beyond official film history and cultural elites? How do local audiences annex his work in their own (film)cultural environment? How does this differ historically? And how does this compare globally, in different political and socioeconomic contexts?

In line with previous work in the field of New Cinema History, we believe that understanding Ingmar Bergman's interpretations is also a productive way of understanding how a significant part of film history has been written. Additionally, through a better understanding of these social and geopolitical contexts, we believe we can make a valuable contribution to comparative studies so prevalent in the field of New Cinema History today.

References

Bio
Dr. Jono Van Belle is Assistant Professor at Örebro University (Sweden). She is currently working as a researcher on the VR-project, Swedish Cinema and Everyday Life: A study of cinema-going in its peak and decline, and has previously written on Bergman's historical audiences, cinema memory, the sociology of emotions, and feminism.
Dr. Fernando Ramos Arenas is Associate Professor for European Cinema History at the Department of Art History at Complutense University in Madrid (Spain), where he is also Key Staff Member of the Jean Monnet Chair Modern Times: European Audiovisual Heritage in an era of Transformation: Access and Dissemination. His research places itself at the intersection between Media History, Cultural History (transnational & cultural transfer) and Sociology of Art and Culture.

Dr. María Paz Peirano is an Assistant Professor in Film and Cultural Studies at the Universidad de Chile (ICEI). Her research involves an ethnographic approach to film as social practice, focusing on (trans)national cinemas, film festivals, and the development of local film cultures and film audiences. She is currently the lead researcher of "Chilean film audiences: film culture, cinephilia and education" (Fondecyt 1211594).

http://www.icei.uchile.cl/instituto/estructura/cuerpo-academico/maria-paz-peirano-olate

**Remembering Gone with the Wind: A comparative reception study across Italy and the UK in the post-war period**
Silvia Dibeltulo, Oxford Brookes University

In the last few decades, media scholarship has seen a shift towards transnational approaches. This has also been evident in audience and reception studies, to the point that, as Athique (2016: 1) claims, “few would now argue that an analysis of either the aesthetics or reception of any media source can be presented convincingly within the closed frame of strictly national history”. Indeed, in recent years a number of studies have focussed on the international/transnational reception of films and TV shows (e.g. Barker and Mathijis, 2007; Barker et al. 2016; Barker et al. 2021). At the same time, recent academic debates within the field of New Cinema History have highlighted the need to move towards a more film-centric analysis of the cinema-going experience, on the one hand, and to engage further in comparative, cross-border research, on the other.

This paper seeks to address questions raised within the context of these scholarly trends by carrying out a comparative analysis of the reception of Gone with the Wind (Victor Fleming, 1939) in Italy and the UK in the post-war period. I will examine the oral history collected in the Italian Cinema Audiences (2013-2016) project, which provides the first study of cinema audiences in Italy in the 1950s by analysing film-goers’ memories and contextualizing them with box-office figures and film industry data, and in the European Cinema Audiences (2018-2021) project, a comparative study that explores European film cultures in the 1950s by carrying out ethnographic audience research while reconstructing historical programming and exhibition structures. In my analysis, I will employ a previously developed (Dibeltulo and Treveri Gennari, 2021) taxonomy of film memory that reflects contents, modalities of recollection, and functions of memories, in order to re-examine the place of film in the cinema-going experience.

**References**

Bio
Silvia Dibeltulo is Senior Lecturer in Communication, Media and Culture at Oxford Brookes University. Her work focuses on audience and reception studies, cinema heritage, film genre theory and history, and digital humanities. Her research also centers on the representation of identity on screen, specifically in terms of ethnicity, nationality, gender and culture.

The Confluence of Diasporic Space, Audience Memories, and Film as Transitional Object
Nektaria McWilliams, Oxford Brookes University

This paper wishes to explore Annette Kuhn's notion of the bridge and the passport (2021), particularly in regard to diasporic audiences, and their remembered cinematic experience of feelings and emotions. The focus is on Khun's (2002) third type of feeling memory, which involves the wider and deeper meanings of cinema throughout the duration of an informant's life. A Kuhnian-Winnicottian, psychosocial approach to cinema memories will be applied, where film operates as a transitional object and symbolic resource, within the context of Avtah Brah's (1998) diasporic space. A space marked by a complex web of power relations between not just “those who have migrated and their descendants, but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous” (Brah, 1998, p. 209).

The cinema memories were derived inductively as part of my own ethnographic research, which is interested in migrant Greek audience memories, and their Australian-born children's memories of watching popular Greek film in the post-war, diasporic space of Whyalla, South Australia. The significant feature of this geographically isolated, trade union, industrial town, is its mining and steel manufacturing industries, which were central in providing the necessary materials required for the development and the building of the Australian nation, which was also largely dependent upon the supply of migrant labour.

The paper's aim is to compare intergenerational audience’s remembered cinematic experiences of feelings and emotions, while investigating film as a transitional object, a bridge between nations, migration, borders and the entangled processes and politics of location and dislocation within the context of a diasporic space.

References

Bio
Nektaria McWilliams is a PhD Film Studies student at Oxford Brookes University, and her thesis title is Diaspora, Identity and Cinematic Memory. Her oral history project includes the silenced histories of Greek diasporic audiences in rural Australia – and their memories of watching Greek films in the post-war years – to the field of Film Studies.

(Feminist) Cinema Memory: Methodological Insights from a Study on Migrant Women
Cinema-Going
Dalila Missero, Oxford Brookes University

Drawing from a study on migrant cinema memory, this reflective paper proposes a methodological integration between New Cinema History and feminist scholarship in audience research. Specifically, it discusses the benefits of feminist approaches to reflexivity, emotion and identity formation for the study of cinema memory in a transnational and transcultural setting.

The research consisted in the collection and analysis of 35 interviews with an intergenerational group of Latin-American women living in Barcelona and Milan, who were asked to talk about their habits of moviegoing before and after migration, in relation to different stages of their lives and day-to-day experience. The resulting cinema memories “travelled” (Erll 2011) and circulated across borders, producing a gendered and transnational knowledge which connected the cinematic with everyday negotiations of distance and belonging. In this context, the adoption of a feminist approach to reflexivity enable to address differences and positionalities affecting the researcher/researched relationship, and acknowledge the emotional and epistemological tensions emerging from personal histories of migration. At the same time, reflexivity allows to reconsider our “politics of citation” (Ahmed 2017), and problematize it in the context of an on-going process of (feminist) decolonization of academic knowledge (Mohanty 2003).

As such, a broader adoption of feminist tools complements New Cinema History's empiricism (Petrychyn 2020), by decentring cinema history and enabling the valorisation of less visible cinematic experiences.

References

Bio
Dalila Missero is Post-doctoral Research Fellow at Oxford Brookes University, where she is working on a project on Latin-American women’s transnational media memories. Her research interests include feminist cinema history, audience studies, popular and transnational cinema. She has published essays on gender, sexuality and film in the journals Participations, Feminist Media Histories, About Gender, and The Italianist, and is about to publish her first monograph “Women, Feminism and Italian Cinema. Archives from a Film Culture” for Edinburgh University Press (January 2022).

PANEL 8. Exploring historical cinema sources and revisiting methods
Chair: Damiano Garofalo, Sapienza University

The Preservation of Albania’s Film Heritage Abroad — International Relations within Film Collections
Louise Burkart and Iris Elezi, Deutsches Filminstitut & Filmmuseum
The presentation opens with a concise overview of Marxist Albania's political history and film production from the 1950's to the end of the dictatorship in 1990. It describes the relationships Albania had with its Soviet allies until its unexpected break with the USSR in 1961 with the resulting isolation and its significance for the film industry. Once this context is established, we will analyse the earliest moving images of Albania to be found in the archives of Western Europe. It then goes on to classify and explore the export of Albanian productions amongst the traces that have been left in European and Chinese film archives. During my research, two clear-cut categories of holdings soon appeared: the film collections of East Bloc countries with imported productions from Albania and those from the so-called capitalist countries with documentaries and newsreels shot in Albania by foreigners. More thorough research will provide an overall view as a search is carried out to discover cross-references between the collections. The second part of this presentation will dig further into the holdings of archives, focusing specifically on the DEFA Stiftung. As the preserver of film heritage from the ex-GDR, the archive of DEFA-Stiftung will enable an analysis of the relations between both Albania and the former East Germany and the reception and influence of the often politically-charged Albanian films on their soil. Along with contacting numerous film archives, research will be done at the Bundesarchiv where records of the former film productions will be researched, along with press clippings and distribution contracts of the ex-GDR. The talk will present the results of this inquiry which hopes to find evidence of isolated Albania's unexpected cooperations with its ideological partners as well as adversary countries during the Cold War.

Bios
Louise Burkart is a film restorer at the DFF - Deutsches Filminstitut & Filmmuseum in Frankfurt. She has been presenting her a/v projects at several international conferences such as the FIAF Programming Winter School, the IASA and the AMIA. Apart from her work at the archive, she curates series about experimental or marginal films which have been shown in German speaking countries and France.

Iris Elezi. Former director of the Albanian Film Archive and FIAF's Executive Committee, filmmaker Iris Elezi studied film criticism, anthropology, and women's studies before completing film production studies at NYU in 2001. Iris Elezi founded the Albanian Cinematheque in 2016 while her debut film, BOTA, garnered eighteen international awards and represented Albania at the 2016 Academy Awards.

Importing Entertainment: Armenag Utidjian and International Film Business in Istanbul towards World War I
Nezih Erdogan, Istinye University

In 1913 Armenag Utidjian, an Ottoman Armenian film importer travelled to the major capitals of Europe, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, etc., making business contacts. Utidjian returned to Istanbul and started correspondence with European film companies which lasted from 1913 to 1914. These correspondences were basically about importing films, posters, cinematographic devices and in return wiring money. In this paper, by going through the (unpublished) Utidjian documents, I will trace how film business was conducted across the borders, in a time of ongoing wars and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. I will also try to read an Ottoman businessman’s mind as to how he conceived of the commerce of cinema.

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Bio
Nezih Erdoğan teaches film history, world cinema and screenwriting at İstinye University, Istanbul. He has published articles and book chapters on colonial discourse, national identity, and sound and body in Turkish popular cinema. He co-edited Shifting Landscapes: Film and Media in European Context with Miyase Christensen. In recent years, he has published and given talks at national and international conferences on the problems of Turkish film history and historiography, how the advent of cinema was received by the Istanbul press and on the spectatorial experiences of the Istanbulites in the late 1890s and early 1900s.

The other panicking audience: A New Cinema History approach to early cinemagoing, cinema fires, disasters and panics
Daniel Biltereyst, Ghent University

If there is one under-researched era where new cinema historians haven't been able to deal enough with issues of the real ‘flesh-and-blood’ audience and its cinemagoing behavior, practices and memories, it certainly is the early pre-WW1 cinema period. The impossibility of conducting oral histories and the lack of sources like extensive film reviews, movie magazines or systematic film audience research at the time, result into this period still being a blind spot for New Cinema History. On the other hand, theories on film spectatorship are probably nowhere else more elaborated and sophisticated than in the vibrant scholarly field of early cinema studies (e.g. Hansen, 1991), for instance on the “(in)credible spectator” (Elsaesser, 2009; Gunning, 1995) or the “panicking audience” when it was confronted (or not) with the magic of moving images (Bottomore, 1999).

This paper argues that New Cinema History’s focus on the spatiality, temporality, and socially embedded practices of cinemagoers can contribute to the mostly text- and apparatus-based understanding of the early cinema audience. This paper focuses on one case study related to a disastrous event of a fire that caused a panic and casualties among cinemagoers in a Belgian working-class film venue in the winter of 1912. Conceived as a microhistory of this tragic event, the paper focuses on early cinemagoing practices, audience composition, behavior, and panic, as well as it relates to the discourses surrounding those issues. The paper also discusses the different dimensions of the concept of the panicking audience—including those of mass panic, the sociology of crowd behavior, and moral panic. Besides the dimension of spectatorship in terms of perception, consciousness and textual engagement, this paper underlines issues related to audience’s spatio-temporal embodiment and social situatedness.

References

Bio
Daniel Biltereyst is a professor in film and media history at Ghent University, Belgium, where he leads the Center for Cinema and Media Studies. His work is on exploring new historiographical methods in relation to cinema audiences, media controversy and censorship.

Audience Experiences of Early Cinema in Hong Kong and Singapore
Mario Slugan, Queen Mary University of London

Scholarship on early cinema (prior to 1915) has hitherto focussed almost exclusively on the developments in North America and Europe. It was only in 2017 and 2018, for instance, that two edited volumes dealing with early cinema in Asia appeared. But even these (Nick Deocampo 2017, Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh 2018) taken together devoted only two chapters to Hong Kong and only a single one to Singapore while focusing mainly on establishing foundational but basic data such as the first screening or the establishment of first cinema. The dearth of work on Hong Kong’s early cinema is even more poignant given the considerable interest that its cinema enjoys among scholars and audiences alike. Yet it was prior to World War I that both the audiences and future filmmakers were initially exposed to the novel medium. Singapore, admittedly, has had a far less influential local film industry and is still to have a major international critical breakthrough. Yet, much like Hong Kong it shares a colonial history within the British empire and much like in Hong Kong, cinema commanded considerable attention in the early period. The goal of the presentation is twofold. First, to uncover the unexplored history of early cinema in Hong Kong and Singapore with a special focus on audiences. Second, to construe the role cinema in these colonies played in the British colonial and imperial project before World War I, i.e. to examine what types of films were shown, to whom, to what purpose, who was excluded in the process, etc.

References

Bio
Mario Slugan is Lecturer in Film Studies at Queen Mary University of London. He has authored three monographs – Montage as Perceptual Experience (Camden House, 2017), Noël Carroll on Film (Bloomsbury, 2019) and Fiction and Imagination in Early Cinema (Bloomsbury, 2019) – and has, with Daniël Biltereyst, co-edited New Perspectives on Early Cinema History (Bloomsbury, 2022, forthcoming).

PANEL 9. Border-Crossing of Early Film Stars – New perspectives on Asta Nielsen through digital research tools

Chair: Yvonne Zimmermann, Philipps-University Marburg
Panel respondent: Ian Christie, Birkbeck College, University of London
While the ‘invention’ of the film star system is often attributed to Hollywood, recent research has showed that the emergence of early film stars was an international phenomenon that started more or less simultaneously in the US and in Europe around 1910. Stars played an important role in the establishment of the long feature film as the dominant format of cinema entertainment worldwide. The Danish actress Asta Nielsen was the first international film star of the long feature film business as it emerged before the First World War, which makes her an excellent case to study not only the transition from short film programs to feature film exhibition, but also to trace the border-crossing of early film stars and their films. With the help of digital research tools, this panel proposes to take a fresh look at the inter- and transnational circulation of the first three Asta Nielsen series before the First World War.

Digital newspaper archives such as ANNO (Austria), Hungaricana (Hungary), The British Newspaper Archive, Trove (Australia) and PapersPast (New Zealand) provide more and more readily accessible resources to study local cinema histories and to write comparative (national) cinema histories. A focused collection of ads and articles from newspapers and trade magazines is gathered in the Importing Asta Nielsen Database (https://importing-asta-nielsen.online.uni-marburg.de/), which Martin Loiperdinger and Yvonne Zimmermann present in this panel as a tool for digital research on the global circulation and local exhibition of Asta Nielsen’s long feature series before the First World War. The first presentation by Friederike Grimm focuses on the distribution of the Asta Nielsen series in the Austrian-Hungarian film market to illustrate how this market, usually considered as homogeneous, developed into two increasingly independent markets. Julie K. Allen in her paper illustrates the research potential of Trove and PapersPast for cinema historiography to document the huge, but largely forgotten popularity of Asta Nielsen in Australasia.

Redefining Home and Foreign Markets: The Variations of the Asta Nielsen Series through National and International Border-Crossing in Europe, 1911-1914
Friederike Grimm, Philipps-University Marburg

The business model of the Hollywood majors, e.g., has for decades consisted of recouping investments in the home market in exchange for all revenues from distribution abroad as net profit. We find a similar business model in the early European film market: In May 1911, businessmen founded a company based in Frankfurt/Main and Vienna to produce and distribute exclusive long feature films starring Asta Nielsen. Seven to eight films were combined into the so-called Asta Nielsen series to be booked unseen at the beginning of each season. Around 35 copies circulated in the home markets of Germany and the then dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary to recoup the investment, and the same number went into international distribution to generate a net profit (Loiperdinger 2019, 142).

In foreign markets such as Britain, France, Spain and other countries, national versions of individual Asta Nielsen series were known. However, as my close analysis of film trade magazines and local newspapers has revealed, there existed different Asta Nielsen series even in the home market of the Habsburg empire: Austria as well as Hungary had its own defined Asta Nielsen series. This diversity raises the question of film distribution and circulation between the triangle of Berlin, Vienna and Budapest. Where was the border between the home market and the foreign market for a German-Austrian product like the Asta Nielsen series? This paper takes a fresh look at the scarcely studied film market of Austria-Hungary before the First World War and analyzes the cross-national distribution and circulation of silent films using the example of the three Asta Nielsen series 1911-1914 in Hungary, Austria, Germany and Great Britain to reevaluate the borders between home and foreign markets in Europe.
References

Bio
Friederike Grimm is a research fellow at Philipps-University Marburg. She’s working on her dissertation in the research project “Asta Nielsen - the International Film Star and the Emergence of the Star System 1911-1914” (Universities of Trier and Marburg). Since 2017, she has been working on the Importing Asta Nielsen Database.

Tracing the Australasian Asta Nielsen Boom in Trove and PapersPast: A Tool for Recreating the Circulation Histories of Silent Films
Julie K. Allen, Brigham Young University

The dearth of surviving documentation for the distribution and exhibition of silent films, particularly outside the United States, has long complicated attempts to trace and analyze their circulation and reception. In many cases, the only place where discernible traces of the ephemeral consumption of early films can consistently be found is in the pages of various local and regional newspapers. Although such information has been available in these print media for more than a century, it has not been readily accessible in a searchable format or to researchers outside of a particular region until digitized and made available online. Two of the most extensive open-access digital newspaper archives are found in New Zealand, where the National Library of New Zealand has hosted the OCR searchable site PapersPast since 2007, and Australia, where the Australian National Library since 2008 has maintained the database Trove, which gives users anywhere in the world online access to the pages of more than seven hundred digitized Australian newspapers.

Through film ads and reviews preserved and made available in these digital archives, the Australasian circulation of silent films from individual producers, actors, and national cinemas can be documented, mapped, and fleshed out with contextual details that not only reveal how far and long these films circulated, but which also suggest what they might have meant to the people who watched them. To illustrate this research potential, this paper uses information from these digital archives to document the tremendous, albeit largely forgotten popularity in the Antipodes of Danish film star Asta Nielsen’s early films, in particular the third film in the second Asta Nielsen series, Wenn die Maske fällt/When the Mask Falls (1912).

References
Waller, Gregory A. "Search and Re-search: Digital Print Archives and the History of Multi-Sited


**Bio**


**Importing Asta Nielsen Database – A Tool for Digital Research on the Global Circulation and Local Exhibition of Asta Nielsen’s Long Feature Series before the First World War**

Yvonne Zimmermann, Philipps-University Marburg and Martin Loiperdinger, University of Trier

Following “the recent call for comparison” in New Cinema History (Biltereyst, Oort, Meers 2019), the Importing Asta Nielsen Database with its 15,000 ads of film renters in trade journals and of exhibitors in local newspapers from some 20 countries provides the empirical basis for the analysis of crossborder compilation variants of Asta Nielsen’s long feature series, of running times of her films, of her film star and diva profiles, and of local exhibition contexts in terms of programming, live performances, audience responses, and censorship. Our paper demonstrates how the Importing Asta Nielsen Database can be used as a digital tool to explore local film cultures across various countries and to trace and map the national as well as international circulation of films. Perhaps most importantly, the Database enables a transnational comparison of star profiles, film programming, exhibition modes and not least of cinema advertising practices.

The Importing Asta Nielsen Database is closely linked to the research project “Asta Nielsen – the International Film Star and the Emergence of the Star System 1911 to 1914” funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) 2018 to 2022 and carried out by the Universities of Marburg and Trier. The project takes Asta Nielsen, the first international film star of the long feature film, as an exemplary case to study the media transition from the program of shorts to feature film exhibition. https://importing-asta-nielsen.online.uni-marburg.de/

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**Bios**
Martin Loiperdinger is Professor emeritus of Media Studies at the University of Trier and co-director of the "Asta Nielsen" project. He has published widely on early cinema and has curated the international conference Importing Asta Nielsen (2011).

Yvonne Zimmermann is Professor of Media Studies at Philipps-University Marburg. She is the coauthor of Advertising and the Transformation of Screen Cultures (2021) and has published widely on useful cinema. She is the co-director of the "Asta Nielsen" project and PI in "DiCi-Hub: A Research Hub for Digital Film Studies".

**PANEL 10. Film Distribution before and during WW2**

*Chair:* Jono Van Belle, Örebro University

**Clandestine exhibition of German cinema in Argentina during World War II**

Alejandro Kelly-Hopfenblatt, Tulane University

During World War II, the Argentine film field was a field disputed by both sides of the conflict, especially the United States and Germany. Aided by the confrontation between pro-Axis and pro-Allied sectors in the country, both states influenced the field of national film production, which profoundly affected the destiny of Argentine film industry.

Production, however, was not the only cinematographic area affected by these disputes. Film exhibition and distribution were also contested spheres of influence. This became especially significant in the exhibition networks that were built outside the commercial circuits, where both Americans and Germans engaged in a dispute for the hearts and minds of the Argentine population. Articulated from an organization chart conducted by their respective diplomatic missions, the organization of screenings throughout the country of both documentary and fiction films meant the deployment of diverse strategies whose dimension is still unknown.

In previous works (2020) I have proposed some guidelines to approach the North American case which was structured around the 16mm program. However, the clandestine networks of circulation of German cinema in the Argentine territory are still unknown today, largely due to the difficulty of access to documentary sources. Therefore, this work proposes a first approach to this universe based on documentation from the National Archives and Records Administration that show the surveillance exercised by American diplomatic corps on Axis activities in the country. Thus, I propose in this paper a first approach to the clandestine exhibition of German cinema in Argentina during World War II by focusing on their networks of circulation, the material that was projected and notes about the practices they implied.

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Bio
Alejandro Kelly-Hopfenblatt is a Zemurray-Stone Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Stone Center for Latin American Studies of Tulane University. He is co editor of En la cartelera. Cine y culturas cinematográficas en América Latina, 1896-2020 (upcoming) with Nicolas Poppe. His research interests include Argentine and Latin American classical cinema, with a focus on circulation and exhibition.

The transnational film flows in Turkey during World War II: An entangled historical perspective of exhibition programs of Istanbul and Adana cinema venues
Ilke Şanlier Yüksel and Aydın Çam, Çukurova University

Film flows and distribution during and immediately after WWII attracted the attention of many researchers (i.e. Vanda Winke, 2017; van Oort et al., 2020). Mingled in social, economic, and political dynamics, the cinema industry in neutral countries used strategies to get rid of the bottleneck it entered during the war. These production and distribution strategies varied in different localities transcending nation-state borders. Unfortunately, the number of studies on the distribution and production of films related to this period and the war in Turkey is very few (Özuyar, 2011). More importantly, these few studies fall behind in revealing entangled history (Biltereyst, 2021), especially in the context of cross-border relationships. In this context, we look at transnational film supply and demand patterns in the Çukurova region in general and the city of Adana specifically.

Based on an analysis of archival documents and newspaper archives and following the new cinema history paradigm, we aim to lay out a picture of the film flow in the Çukurova region during WWII and just after the war. Our preliminary findings reveal that until WWII, when national film production was very limited in Turkey, films of European countries were shown not only in Istanbul but also almost everywhere in Anatolia (Scognamillo, 1991). Even though the import of films from Europe stopped completely during the war, German films continued to be shown in Istanbul due to the covert cooperation between Turkey and Germany (Özuyar, 2011). However, while the flow of British and American films from allied countries such as Egypt and India to Turkey continued, Egyptian and Indian films were frequently shown in Adana. We argue that there is a slight difference in film exhibition between İstanbul and Adana that helps us to examine the approach that sees the nation-state as a unit of analysis may not be valid, whereas that entangled history has more capacity to explain some practices in specific localities, since Adana is in close proximity and in organic relation with the Middle East.

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Bios
Ilke Şanlıer Yuksel is an associate professor in the School of Communications at Çukurova University. She works on media’s role in diasporic cultures, transnational politics through mediated settings, cinema and mobility. She has a long experience of field research and ethnographic research on migrants and cinema history in Adana.

Aydın Çam is an associate professor in the School of Communications at Çukurova University. His research mainly focuses on the NCH, cinema history of Çukurova, cinematography, and spectatorship. Currently, he works on traveling cinema, nomad films, and mapping of Adana cinema history. He is also interested in cinema and space relations such as cinematic spaces, spatial experiences, and mapping the cinematic spaces.

Cinemas for Germans in comparison with cinemas for Poles in Krakow during World War II
Andrzej Dębski, University of Wroclaw

During World War II, part of Poland was incorporated into the Reich and part of it became the General Government, with Krakow as its capital. The German Eastern Plan envisaged the creation of a ‘living space’ (‘Lebensraum’) in the east for Germans who settled in the General Government. The cinemas there were subject to the Nazi segregation policy. For example, in April 1942 there were 2 cinemas for Germans and 6 for Poles in Krakow. Previous studies have only dealt with cinemas for Poles (e.g. during the HoMER conference 2021: C. Pafort-Overduin, A. Dębski, T. van Oort, T. Porubcanska, K. Pryt, P. Skopal, R. Vande Winkel, "Going to the movies in German-occupied territory in World War II"). My aim will be to focus on cinemas for Germans, both in terms of their repertoire (film supply) and audience preferences (film demand), and then to compare them with cinemas for Poles. This will allow, on the one hand, a better understanding of German film policy towards different national groups in the General Government, both its own (Germans) and occupied (Poles), and, on the other hand, a comparison of the national preferences of these audiences, which should also be relevant to the film policy towards them. Data on film offerings will be collected from advertisements in the press, and the POPSTAT method will be used to investigate the audience preferences.

References

Bio
Andrzej Dębski is a researcher at the Willy Brandt Center for German and European Studies of the University of Wroclaw (Poland). He is the author of two books on the history of cinema in Wroclaw; editor of volumes on the history of cinema in Lower Silesia, Polish-German film relations and an anthology on early cinema.
Nazi films in Los Angeles
Kajsa Philippa Niehusen, University of California, Santa Barbara

In 1930s Los Angeles, the arrival of emigres fleeing Hitler’s Germany led to what Saverio Giovacchini has termed a veritable remaking of the Hollywood community. Despite strong isolationist sentiments in the United States, Hollywood studios like Warner Brothers began producing anti-Nazi films well before the American entry into the war. At the same time, however, Southern California was a hotbed of Nazi activity, with racist, nativist, and anti-Semitic organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, and the German-American Bund amassing followers. The German-American Bund plotted assassination attacks against Hollywood moguls, plans which were foiled largely thanks to the work of Jewish spy master Leon Lewis and his agents. Meanwhile the city’s largest newspaper, the Los Angeles Times, appeared unconcerned about Nazi activities in Southern California and gave voice to several local Nazis by printing their essays calling for an understanding of Third Reich politics.

It was in this environment that German films were screened to a variety of audiences in Los Angeles. They were an integral part of a wider campaign by Nazi propagandists in the United States to appeal to pan-Germanic sentiments in the German-American population through the use of various media, ranging from newspapers and propaganda pamphlets to radio shows and motion pictures. My project discusses the use of Third Reich films to spread isolationist, pro-German, and anti-Semitic ideologies, the different contexts in which these films were shown, resistance to their screening by anti-Nazi organizations, and their reception in the American, Jewish-American, and German-American press. Specifically, this presentation will explore Nazi films screened at the Deutsches Haus, which was the center of West Coast Bund activity; at the Continental, a movie theatre run by one of the most notorious local Nazis, Franz K. Ferenz; and by German clubs at local colleges.

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Bio
Kajsa Philippa Niehusen is a Ph.D. candidate in Film and Media Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her dissertation investigates the screening and reception of films produced in Nazi Germany in the United States during the 1930s and 1940s.

**PANEL 11. Border-Crossing Approaches to Exhibition and Reception**

*Chair: Romana Andò, Sapienza University*
Transnational circulation of Un chien andalou (1929) by Luis Buñuel
Ainamar Clariana Rodagut, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Un chien andalou was premiered June 6th 1929 in the specialized cinema venue Studio des Ursulines in Paris. After its success, the film started to circulate worldwide through the networks of film clubs and specialized cinema venues. For each national premiere, the film was presented by a different person, accompanied by a variety of films and with a range diversity of adjectives: from experimental film, to Spanish film, cinema pure, erotic film, etc. Each new label added to the film during its circulation had a role in its meaning making process. Thus, we can provide new and appealing information about cinema as global phenomena when tracking the agents that played a role in this circulation and exhibition processes. The analysis of the transnational circulation and exhibition of Un chien andalou unfolds many theoretical and methodological questions; such as the possibility of using social network analysis (SNA) for approaching circulation, the suitability of broadening our scope thinking of global frameworks and using transnational approaches in order to unearth transnational agents (understood as cultural mediators) and global phenomena, or the importance of taking into account cultural transfer processes in order to understand the film’s meaning-making process.

This presentation aims to approach the transnational circulation of Un chien andalou in Europe (France and Spain) and Latin-America (Argentina and Mexico) in order to propose some methodological insights that prove fruitful in order to push forward the understanding of cinema history as a sociocultural global phenomenon.

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Bio
Ainamar Clariana Rodagut is a postdoctoral research fellow and part of the ERC project ‘Social Networks of the Past. Mapping Hispanic and Lusophone Modernity, 1898-1959’, led by Diana Roig Sanz at Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC). Ainamar is also part of the GlobalLS research group, where she leads the Global Cinema research line.

Hollywood Western and Mexican Audience Across the U.S.-Mexico Border: a Tentative Methodology
Michele Fadda and Costanza Salvi, University of Bologna

The dynamic situation of cultural exchanges on the U.S.-Mexico border, where Mexican culture coexists with mainstream U.S. products, has led many scholars to outline the profile of a hybrid space in which spectators’ loyalty and taste are simultaneously affected by both countries. Drawing from Laura Isabel Serna (2009; 2014) and José Lozano (2017), we can argue that El Paso, Laredo, and the other cities along the border have attracted not only Mexican exhibitors and distribution agents (the Calderón Brothers, Juan Salas Porras), who offered Hollywood films in combination with Mexican shows but also a large audience of Mexicans and Mexican
Compared to the films, Hollywood standards of these versions were lower, doomed to rejection. Although these mismatches and cultural elites. According to Jarvinen (2012, p. 35): “the lack of major stars, low budgets, and cultural mismatches between scripts chosen for remaking and intended audiences doomed many of these films for critical – although not necessarily popular – rejection.” Compared to the aesthetic standards of Hollywood films, the Spanish versions had lower

References

Bios
Michele Fadda is associate professor at the Department of the Arts, University of Bologna. His research focuses on the cultural history of American cinema, film and literature, the international circulation of films and the aesthetic of contemporary cinema. He is the author of two books and editor of several collections.

Costanza Salvi is a Ph.D. candidate in English Studies at the University of Zaragoza. She received her M.A. in Visual Arts, Performance, and Media Studies from the University of Bologna. She is currently working on the spatial representation of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands in Westerns from a transnational perspective.

Lost in translation: Hollywood’s Spanish versions exhibited in Brasil (1930-1935)
Isabella Regina Oliveira Goulart, Centro Universitário FMU-FIAMPAAM (online)

In the first years of the transition to sound, the American film industry produced multiple-language versions of talking pictures addressing national and ethnic groups inside the US and non-English-speaking countries. In the early 1930s hundreds of Spanish-language films were distributed in the US, Europe, and Latin America. Film producers believed that a common language would unify a diverse Latin American market and that Brazilians, although Portuguese-speakers, could watch the Spanish versions. The Latino identity on the screen were dissociated from national-ethnic specificities.

There was a negotiation between the foreign film studios and Latin American audiences/cultural elites. According to Jarvinen (2012, p. 35): “the lack of major stars, low budgets, and cultural mismatches between scripts chosen for remaking and intended audiences doomed many of these films for critical – although not necessarily popular – rejection.” Compared to the aesthetic standards of Hollywood films, the Spanish versions had lower
performing critics American a reparative for the preference the on indicate films featuring politics of representation, the praising worldview the some aspects represented. however, Film community films colonial the he affront an to apologia as cause reinforced stereotypical radical His images of Black Africans. existing in comrades the Freedom (1936), him demeaning King and Solomon's Mines (1937)—featured films in Colonial Of River contemporaneous Significantly, Leftist the of feelings. trans-Atlantic were in disparate time, what received their their about despite reveals authorial control on his how exists films later little scholarship historical reclamation efforts which seek to agency and acknowledge culture roles of Despite the that recent show and would supported starring with his performing British six goal feature Asian while during living Robeson anti-colonial period, activists on Discussions Adam Burnstine, University Of California, Los Angeles

References

Bio
Isabella Goulart researches Brazilian film culture in a transnational context, holds a PhD and a M.A. from USP and teaches at FMU | FIAM-FAAM. She coordinates the thematic seminar Cinema in Brazil: History, History Writing, and Survival Strategies for the Brazilian Society for Cinema and Audiovisual Studies (SOCINE).

‘An Actor Cannot Eat His Ideals:’ Black American Critics and the English Films of Paul Robeson
Adam Burnstine, University Of California, Los Angeles

Discussions of singer/actor/activist Paul Robeson's 1934-1940 sojourn to Europe typically focus on his awakening as a political radical and the connections he made with prominent African and Asian anti-colonial activists while living abroad. However, during this period, Robeson supported his activism by starring in six British feature films, with the goal of performing dignified roles that would show the culture and dignity of African peoples. Despite recent historical reclamation efforts which seek to acknowledge Robeson's agency and significant authorial control over his later features, little detailed scholarship exists on how these films were received in their time, despite what their disparate reception reveals about contemporaneous trans-Atlantic pathways of Leftist political feelings. Significantly, the three films in which Robeson portrays a colonial subject—Sanders Of The River (1935), Song Of Freedom (1936), and King Solomon's Mines (1937)—featured him in demeaning parts that reinforced existing stereotypical images of Africans. His radical comrades in the Black British community pilloried these films as colonial apologia and an affront to the political cause he represented. Film critics in the American Black press, however, took a liberal attitude based in a politics of representation, critiquing some aspects of the colonial worldview but praising the films for featuring Black dramatic leads when Hollywood would not do so for another decade. In performing reparative readings on the films, American critics indicate a preference for the
patronizing colonial racism of British cinema over the openly racist depictions of Blacks in Hollywood. These disparate attitudes indicate how global diasporic communities function differently in different national contexts—in this case the open racial violence of Jim Crow America and the patronizing racism of European colonialism—and how such cross-border cultural differences affect film reception.

References

Bio
Adam Burnstine is a Ph.D. candidate in the Cinema and Media Studies department at the University of California, Los Angeles. His research focuses on critical discourses surrounding expatriate Black American performers who acted in European film industries during the first half of the twentieth century.

PANEL 12. European Cinema Audiences (ECA)

Chair: Philippe Meers, University of Antwerp

The ECA oral history consists of 140 video-interviews with participants coming from seven different European countries, who shared their memories of going to the cinemas in the 1950s. There is a rich tapestry that emerges from the in-depth investigation of both the close qualitative analysis of the questions, and the quantitative classification of words, themes and topics of the text mining conducted. This panel will present an overview of the data and its main characteristics before exploring two specific aspects of the research projects: the films our audiences remembered and the venues where those films were screened.

Daniela Treveri Gennari (Oxford Brookes University), Lies Van de Vijver (University of Ghent), Pierluigi Ercole (De Montfort University)

Comparing oral histories: patterns and variations across European audience memories
Lies van de Vijver, Ghent University

The paper presents an analysis of the oral history data collected for the project adopting two complementary and overlapping perspectives. Firstly, we will focus on the thematic nodes used to analyse the video interviews and provide an overview of the comparative analysis of common and different tropes emerged from the personal narratives of cinema-going. Secondly, we will highlight how the study of the oral history data can be enriched and more thoroughly understood when described in conjunction with attributes (such as, age, education, and political and religious affiliations) of participants living in seven different countries and belonging to a variety of cultural traditions. Focusing on the intersection of thematic nodes and respondents’ attributes from a comparative perspective allows us to highlight patterns and variations
concerning cinema-going habits and attitudes in Europe during the 1950s.

References

Bio
Lies Van de Vijver is a senior researcher at Ghent University working on historical and contemporary screen culture, film programming and cinema experience. Her work has been published in Cultural Studies, European Journal of Cultural Studies, Journal for Media History, and in edited collections. She is the co-editor of 'Mapping Movie Magazines' with Daniel Biltereyst (Palgrave 2020) and the currently working on the 'Palgrave Handbook of Comparative New Cinema Histories' with Daniela Treveri Gennari and Pierluigi Ercole. She has been a visiting professor of Film History, Media Studies and Visual Culture. She organised several exhibitions on the history of cinema in Ghent, resulting in the book Gent Filmstad (Houtekiet 2022).

"It was stuck in my head": meaningful memories of 1950s films across European audiences
Daniela Treveri Gennari, Oxford Brookes University

This paper will explore the memories of films across the European Cinema Audiences oral history in order to engage with the broader discussion within New Cinema History on the role of film in the process of remembering the experience of cinema-going (Kuhn 2022, Terrill 2021). Its aim is to explore what are the most remembered films, what specifically audiences remember of their favourite films and how these memories can be compared across the different countries investigated in our project. In order to do so, we will be applying the taxonomy developed by Dibeltulo and Treveri Gennari (2021). We will identify the "self-defining memories" (Fivush et al 2011: 333) of films that " become personally significant and integral to individuals’ understanding of who they are" (at the heart of autobiographical memories), and we will compare them to examine the place of film in a transnational dimension. This meaning-making process will hopefully shed light on the social and cultural contexts available to our respondents as they reconstruct their self-image as film-viewers in the past at the present time. Ultimately, tracing patterns of these ‘meaningful memories’ (Genova 2021) will provide a new understanding of how they are formed and on the traces they leave after over fifty years.

References
Bio
Daniela Treveri Gennari is Professor of Cinema Studies at Oxford Brookes University with a research interest in audiences, popular cinema, film exhibition and programming. Daniela has been leading the AHRC-funded project Italian Cinema Audiences and is currently leading the AHRC-funded project European Cinema Audiences: Entangled Histories and Shared Memories. Amongst her recent publications: ‘Defining a typology of cinemas across 1950s Europe’ (with Lies Van de Vijver and Pierluigi Ercole) Participations, Vol.18, Issue 2, November 2021 (https://www.participations.org/Volume%2018/Issue%202/20.pdf), and the jointly authored monograph Italian Cinema Audiences. Histories and Memories of Cinema-going in Post-war Italy (2020) (with Catherine O’Rawe, Sarah Culhane, Silvia Dibeltulo and Danielle Hipkins).

Mapping cinema memories to the cinema typology: European cinema venues and their experience
Pierluigi Ercole, De Montfort University, Pier. ercole@dmu.ac.uk

In this final paper we will be mapping memories of cinema-going to the typology of cinemas developed in our article Defining a typology of cinemas across 1950s Europe (Participations, 2021). Taking into consideration the classification of cinema theatres developed within the ECA project and used to compare film exhibition and consumption, we will investigate how memories of cinema-going collected within the seven cities the project focuses on, reflect or diverge from the typology of cinema and its characteristics defined using programming and exhibition data. Whilst in our article we have defined the cinema typology using data related to, for instance, geographical location, programming, seating capacity and ticket price, memories of cinema-goers provide a more thorough understanding of the cultural and entertainment landscape and the role cinema played within it. Assumptions and conclusions derived from the analysis of quantitative data can therefore be challenged, supported and better understood by considering the oral histories of cinema-goers who attended a specific cinema and recollect a memorable experience of watching a film.

References

Bio
Pierluigi Ercole is an Associate Professor in Film Studies and Associate Head of the Leicester Media School at De Montfort University (UK). He is Co-Investigator for the project European Cinema Audiences. Entangled Histories & Shared Memories (AHRC 2018-21). With Daniela Treveri Gennari and Lies Van de Vijver he has recently published the article Challenges to Comparative Oral Histories of Cinema Audiences in TMG Journal for Media History, 23 (1-2) 2020, and he is currently co-editing the Palgrave Handbook of Comparative New Cinema Histories (forthcoming 2022). Contact: Pier. ercole@dmu.ac.uk

How are conceptual boundaries of different media crossed and upheld in cinema memories? An analysis of European audiences’ talk about television in the 1950s
Åsa Jernudd and Jono Van Belle, Örebro University

Marshall McLuhan famously noted that each new medium represents its predecessors, undermining the teleological view that new technologies succeed and replace old ones. Contrary to this understanding, the “death of cinema”-rhetoric in academic and public discourses in Sweden in the 1960s blamed the demise of cinemagoing on the introduction of television (Furhammar, 2003:249). Also among respondents in an interview project focusing on cinema memories from the 1950s and 60s, television was mentioned as the direct cause of cinema's rapid decline. This points to a strong conceptual affiliation between cinema and television, and the idea that television arrived to replace cinema. However, a closer analysis of the memory narratives suggests a more complex conceptual relationship between the two media. Television is mentioned only in the margins of the memory narratives of the respondents and seems not to have played such a significant role in their everyday lives.

Complicating the issue further, early Swedish television was modelled on the production protocols and consumption patterns of noncommercial, public service radio. Thorslund (2018:43) writes: "one could argue that television in Sweden in the 1950s hardly was a medium in its own right, being so closely linked to radio." A seminal ethnographic study of early broadcast media in Sweden confirms the affinity between the two media forms (Höijer, 1998). The overlap between the two domestic forms of broadcast media makes the threat of television to cinema ever more enigmatic.

Our paper aims to investigate how television features in memory narratives of cinema in the context of quotidian life in the late 1950s and 1960s in Sweden. The study will draw on memories collected in two large-scale memory projects, Swedish Cinema and Everyday Life and European Cinema Audiences. With a focus on cultural practices and Lisa Gitelman's definition of media as “socially realized structures of communication, where structures include both technological forms and their associated protocols,” (Gitelman, 2006:7) we ask how cinema, television, and to some extent radio are conceived in relation to one another in hindsight, when remembering television as new.

References


Bios
Åsa Jernudd is Associate Professor in Media- and Communication Studies at Örebro University with a Phd. in Film Studies from Stockholm University (2007). She has published in edited volumes and journals on the spaces of cinema exhibition in Sweden and on the complexity of memories of cinema going. Currently, she is working on a research project about Swedish cinema audiences and exhibition in the 1950s and 1960s, funded by the Swedish National Research Council (2019-2022).
Jono Van Belle is a postdoctoral researcher on the project, Swedish Cinema and Everyday Life, which investigates domestic cinema audiences and exhibition in the 1950s and 1960s. Van Belle earned a double PhD from Ghent University (Belgium) and Stockholm University (Sweden) in 2019. Her dissertation concerns historical audiences of Ingmar Bergman in Belgium and Sweden and makes use of a variety of methods such as archival and textual research, and most importantly, oral history interviews. Van Belle’s research interests include memory studies, audience reception studies, cognitive film theory, emotions and affect.

PANEL 13. The Politics of Cinema Space. Issues in Recent Times

Chair: Ece Vitrinel, Galatasaray University

Tinkering, Tailoring and Translating the Tentpole: Implicit Nationalist Agendas in ‘Localization’ and Dubbing of Big Budget Hollywood Films for Indian Theatres
Alisha Ibkar and Suryansu Guha, UCLA

The localization of big-budget or tentpole films for global markets has historically been a big part of Hollywood studios international distribution strategy. To ‘localize’ a film is to tinker with a finished film in post-production in very specific ways to tailor it for specific ‘local’ markets and an imagined audience (Ganti 2020, 211). While localization can involve many aspects of territorial promotional and distribution strategies, even risk assessment, our paper, in particular, looks at dubbing or the act of mixing original soundtracks with supplementary recordings. Like all forms of localization, the creative labor of dubbing is imbricated within and informed by certain sets of political codes reflecting the values of dominant nationalistic systems, as has been pointed out by Danan (1991, 613). Our paper takes up the case study of three Hollywood tentpoles, namely, Thor: Ragnarok (2017), The Lion King (2019) and The Suicide Squad (2021), released in India in the last four years with Hindi-Urdu dual language dubbing. In our study of these films’ exhibition in urban and semi-urban theaters in India, we document a consistent pattern where the antagonists’ voices are dubbed in Urdu, while the heroes’ and protagonists’ voices are translated in Hindi. Our paper asserts that assigning Urdu, a language commonly associated with Muslim minorities in India (Rai 2002, ix), to the antagonists is in line with the much broader and macro political project of Hindutva nationalism of “unifying ethnocultural consistency” (Basu 2020, 5). Through ethnographic site visits of these exhibition spaces, oral histories of the dubbing talents and close textual reading of the dubbed filmic texts, our paper shows how there is an attempt to subliminally undermine Urdu as the language of a demonic Other. In doing so, our study will shed light on how the global Hindutva project’s invasiveness that transforms industrial sites of below the line creativity into conduits of right wing mythmaking.

References
Bios
Alisha Ibkar is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Aligarh Muslim University. She is currently studying in the Department of Theatre and Performance studies at University of Warwick as a Commonwealth Scholar from India.

Suryansu Guha is a PhD student in the Cinema and Media Studies Program at UCLA. His research primarily focuses on the intersections of Silicon Valley and Global Film Industries and the outsourcing agencies and organizations for post production work that operate in the interstices of regional, global and local.

‘Una piazza magica’ : Umbria Film Festival, the piazza and the politics of place
Victoria Lowe, University of Manchester

‘Questa piazza è così bella e tiene il cinema vivo. So che la televisione ha invaso il mondo, ma il cinema è vivo in piazze come questa’ (Terry Gilliam UFF 2019).

As Quinn has argued, arts festivals provide ‘occasions for expressing collective belonging to a group or place’ (2005:927). This paper will use the example of the Umbria Film Festival to explore how it (re)asserts the importance of the collective spectator experience through the specific cultural and historical meanings associated with the town square (piazza), in the period pre and post COVID 19. The festival, which takes place in the Umbrian hill town of Montone, was set up by director Terry Gilliam and has been held annually in July since 1995. Movies are shown every evening in the main Piazza Fortebraccio and are accompanied by roundtable discussions and workshops during the day. One of its main strands is the innovative children’s short film competition where the winner is voted for by the junior audience. Local children as a marginalised audience are key to the ideology of the festival as they are given agency through their participation in the selection and evaluation of the films. The central piazza in Montone thus effectively materialises the identity of the festival. Whilst the screening of films in the square draws from the tradition of open air cinema in Italy during the summer months, the occupation of civic space is notable because, in Italian social and political history, the ‘piazza’ functions as a site where the civic contestation of state authority can be understood spatially. This paper will explore how the film festival’s occupation of the public space of the piazza draws upon the ideological significance of this location and the different meanings generated in both pre COVID and COVID times.

References

Bio
Victoria Lowe’s research interests lie in the relationships between theatre and cinema, looking particularly at adaptation, theatricality and intermediality in the cinema. She is also interested in the history of screen acting. After running an MA module in Film Cultures at the University of Manchester, Victoria has become interested in small film festivals, particularly the Umbria Film Festival as I have links to the region and speak Italian.

People and Places: Factors Shaping Film Culture across Bulgarian Localities
Maya Nedyalkova, Oxford Brookes University

As Kuhn argues in her seminal work on British film culture in the 1930s, cinema culture should be understood beyond the mere film texts to include regulatory practices, exhibition
geographies, general cultural landscape, communal influence and social agency (2002: 2-3). In this paper, I adopt a similar approach to compare local microhistories and contemporary viewer accounts across three Bulgarian towns in order to uncover the geographical, economic, institutional and social factors influencing cinema-related experiences. In my analysis, I draw on official statistics as well as quantitative and qualitative data from a study conducted in the summer of 2018 to understand region- and settlement-specific differences shaping local film cultures.

My case-studies include the small town of Botevgrad in Southwestern Bulgaria, the medium-sized town of Gabrovo, situated in the Northern Central region, and the very large coastal city of Burgas to the South East. In close proximity to the capital city of Sofia, Botevgrad forms part of a relatively prosperous region with the highest number of film screens available in the country. The town features one of the few independent commercial cinemas, which continually competes in exclusivity with the capital city multiplexes. Gabrovo is situated in a culturally underprivileged region with the lowest number of cinema theatres in the country. The transition from state socialism to democracy saw most of the town's cinemas close down but alternative forms of engagement continue with one focus group respondent recounting his experience of organising a local film club. Even though Burgas is an important tourist and heavy industry hub, it suffered a similar fate to Gabrovo, with traditional cinemas gradually being replaced by two chain-owned multiplexes. With the diversity of programming and accessibility declining, local respondents spoke about the value of formal and informal film education initiatives among the local young population.

This paper highlights the significance of studying the lived experiences of local film cultures, critiques the lack of nuance in national cultural policy and problematises expectations based purely on settlement size and location.

References

Bio
Maya Nedyalkova is a Research Fellow for the Creative Industries Research and Innovation Network (CIRIN) at Oxford Brookes University, interested in popular culture and film audiences. She previously explored selected transnational aspects of the Bulgarian film industry, during her AHRC-funded PhD at the University of Southampton, and investigated the shifting patterns of contemporary Bulgarian film consumption as part of her British Academy postdoctoral fellowship. Contact: mnedyalkova@brookes.ac.uk.

Motherland Goes Transnational: Art Film Reception Practices of Turkish Community in London
Hasan Akbulut, Istanbul University, Turkey
This study focuses on the reception practices of the Turkish-speaking community in London regarding the film *Motherland* (Ana Yurdu, 2015) directed by Senem Tüzün. *Motherland*, which won awards at many festivals and was praised by critics, is about a young woman's conflict with her conservative mother and oppressive society. The film shares the characteristics of Turkish art films with its story about intellectual characters who have returned to the countryside and faced themselves and their past, and for its minimalist genre. The film, which refers with it's title to the motherland, mother's home, offers a look at the themes of homeland, home, belonging, and identity from a crossroads where different subject positions intersect as well. This film, which is open to multiple readings, was screened to the Turkish community in the scope of the 21st London Turkish Film Festival held online in 2016. In this study, which was prepared based on the fieldwork conducted in London between 2019-2020 as a part of transnational film reception research, in-depth interviews were conducted with four participants who watched the film *Motherland*, and the interview data was analyzed through interpretive phenomenological analysis. The analyzes indicated that the story of the film, tells about the oppressions on women in a conservative society was evaluated as a "realistic representation" by the interviewees, but art films are perceived as "boring"; although the interviewees' unstable heterogeneous conceptions of identity (being a Turkish, British or even a world citizen) and ideological views (being leftist) were effective in reception, fundamentally their gender identities and the legal processes regulating their residence in England were determinative, and these factors led to different readings. In addition, it has been observed that the COVID-19 pandemic and the Brexit process are in charge of shaping reception as contextual factors.

Keywords: film reception, transnational audiences, art film, Turkish community, LTFF (London Turkish Film Festival)

References

Research Project

Bio
Hasan Akbulut is a professor at Istanbul University. He is the current editor of *Sinécine: the journal of film studies*. He has conducted research on cinemagoing experiences in Turkey and transnational film reception practices in London. His academic studies focuses on film criticism, cinemagoing, cinema memory, reception and narrative.

**PANEL 14. Construction and Uses of Databases for Historical Cinema Research**

*Chair: Dr. Yvonne Zimmermann, Philipps-Universität Marburg*

**Studying the regional distribution in Italy: a methodological proposal**
Francesco Di Chiara, Università eCampus in Novedrate and Paolo Noto, Università di Bologna

The Italian post-war film system, like that of other “peripheral” industries lacking a Hollywood-style vertical integration, was – and sometimes still is – marked by the presence of distributori regionali, “regional distributors”, that is local distribution agencies that benefitted from privileged connections with exhibitors and supplied them with films usually produced by independent studios. As we have reconstructed (Di Chiara, Noto, 2021), regional distributors acted as the enablers of Italian industry by providing financial guarantees that allowed producers to give continuity to their activity and start up economically ambitious films.

Regional distribution was a link between production and the ordinary consumption of cinema, but it is still a little studied phenomenon, whose research requires a mix of tools and approaches able to fill historical gaps, by keeping together archival and ethnographic research. The aim of our paper is to put forward some methodological proposals for the study of this topic and to use diverse sources in order to address different research questions. Such sources and related questions are:

a. Institutional archives, in order to define the role of regional distributors in the Italian industry, as acknowledged by the bureaucratic system supervising film production (documents from the production files preserved at the National State Archive, Rome);

b. Private archives, to outline the financial and creative collaboration that existed between producers and regional distributors (documents from the archives of film producers such as Franco Cristaldi and Italo Zingarelli);

c. Trade publications, to better understand how the professional status of regional distributors changed according to specialized publications (material from the almanacs of Italian cinema, reports of trade associations, and trade journals);

d. Video interviews, in order to collect information about the internal organisation and workflow of local agencies (original interviews to owners and employees of regional distribution firms operating in Sicily, Veneto, and Emilia-Romagna).

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Bios
Francesco Di Chiara is associate professor of Film Studies at Università eCampus in Novedrate (CO). His research has been devoted mostly to the postwar Italian film genre system and to the Italian and European film industries.

Paolo Noto is associate professor at the Università di Bologna. His research is mainly focused on post-war Italian cinema, genre theory, film criticism, and the history of the Italian film industry.

Cinex: Spaces, Practices and Politics of Italian Cinema Exhibition
Paola Dalla Torre, LUMSA-Rome; Mariagrazia Fanchi, Università Cattolica-Milan and Elena Mosconi, Università di Pavia

CinEx is a project, funded by Italian University and Research Ministry (PRIN 2021), devoted to collect, organize, and make available data on the Italian movie theaters from the Thirties to today. CinEx aims to show the value of cinemas as social, cultural, economic and industrial drivers, in Italian history and in the present time, and to offer a set of tools in order to develop knowledge on cinemas as crucial part of the film industry, linked in a complex way to production, distribution, and consumption; as architectural and urban places; as apparatus, a set of technologies that shape viewing experience; as business with specific management models, professions, impacts; and finally as social and cultural space of meeting, training, and experience for the audiences.

The paper will present and discuss especially three points:

A. How to systematize data on film exhibition, from different and heterogeneous sources, interacting with previous and ongoing national and international projects, and developing an open archive, implementable continuously over time;
B. How to provide new research tools, materials and outputs in order to supplement knowledge already available, and offer a holistic overview of Italian cinemas and their historical evolution;
C. How to make these data easily accessible to scholars, but also to entrepreneurs, trade associations, and policy makers in order to sustain cinemas and to help to rethink their role and functions, in relation to the changed mediascape and film distribution, and with regard to the needs expressed by regions and communities.

References

Bios
Paola Dalla Torre is Associate Professor of Film Studies at LUMSA- Rome. Her research is devoted to analyze the interrelations among cinema, theater and other arts and cultural industries, under several points of view: aesthetic, political, and industrial ones.

Mariagrazia Fanchi is Full Professor in Film and Media studies at Università Cattolica-Milan,
where she directs the PostGraduate School in Media, Cinema and Performing Arts (ALMED). Since 2019 she is Chief Scientific Advisor for the Impact Assessment of Cinema Law for the Italian Ministry of Culture. Her studies are focused on audiences and social, cultural and economic impacts of cinematic experiences, with a specific attention to: women and cinema; children and cinema, audiences in Southern Italy. Now she is working with the Ministry of Culture, Eurimages and WiFTM-Italia on a project on gender equity in the Italian Screen Industry.

Elena Mosconi is Associate Professor of Film History at the Università di Pavia (Unipv), where she teaches History of Photography and Theory and Analysis of Cinema and Audiovisual. Her research focuses on the historiography and cultural history of cinema, and especially on: spaces of cinema consumption, movie theatres and moviegoing, film promotion and exploitation, audiences, privileging the period from the origins to the maximum popularity of cinema (1950s-60s).

**Actors in Networks, Networks in Database: Film Culture in the Czechoslovak city Zlín/Gottwaldov reconstructed and researched**

Pavel Skopal, Masaryk University, Brno

The Czechoslovak city Zlín, renamed to Gottwaldov in the era of state socialism, was a hub of film production since 1936 and a place with film festivals’ tradition since 1940. The presented project strives to find a way how the multifaceted, layered history of film production and film culture in the city can be reconstructed and presented in a way both attractive for a spectre of users interested in the location, and useful and inspiring for historians.

The main inspiration for the database under construction is Actor-Network-Theory (ANT). Following this descriptive concept, the database recognises a wide spectre of human and non-human, micro- and macro-actors. The descriptive, flat ontology represented by ANT fits to the ambition for non-hierarchical reconstruction of (almost) any actor tied in (almost) any way to the cinema production in Zlín/Gottwaldov film ateliers.

With film ateliers being its defining characteristics, the network includes actors and ties which provide a chance for a decentralized perspective on film reception (such as children audiences at the children films festival), distribution (such as formats of distribution used for short films produced at the ateliers), and exhibition (such as alternative, non-cinema-venues screening modes applied in the city). With the support of the descriptively presented set of data, teams of Czech and Polish film historians will apply them for a comparative research on animation film production and distribution in Gottwaldov and Lodz. Reconstructing and comparing social networks of the “egos” participating in animation production in the respective studios could serve as a laboratory of its kind to test the value of Social Network Analysis for research in the field of New Cinema History.

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Joan Neuberger, Centrality and Centralisation: A Social Network Analysis of the Early Soviet Film

Bio
Pavel Skopal is a department head at the Department of Film Studies and Audiovisual Culture, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic, visiting researcher at University of Lodz, Poland, and former visiting researcher at the Konrad Wolf Film and Television University in Potsdam, Germany.

PANEL 15. Studies of Cinema Distribution and Programming

Chair: Daniela Treveri Gennari, Oxford Brookes University

POPSTAT and Film-Programming in Moscow Cinema Theaters (1947-1950)
Kristina Tanis, Anastasiia Balykova and Ivan Karnaukhov, Higher School of Economics, Moscow

This paper is devoted to the patterns of film distribution in Moscow cinema theatres between 1947 and 1950. In particular, it considers the distribution and consumption of so-called trophy films in the USSR. Seized by the Red Army from the Reich Film Archive, these mostly German and American movies were illegally distributed in Soviet cinema theatres during the first postwar decade. In order to trace the popularity of trophy films in comparison with the Soviet ones, this study applies POPSTAT method to the Soviet cinema market. However, since POPSTAT is based on the direct dependence of pattern of diffusion from the filmgoers’ preferences, its application to the non-capitalist cinema markets still raises questions. While recent studies have shown that a similar principle prevailed behind the Iron Curtain, the Soviet experience of film diffusion is still remains unknown. So during our research, we complemented data on film programmes, cinemas capacity and ticket prices with the archival sources (annual reports of film distributors and box office data). The obtained results demonstrate that, in the Soviet context, POPSTAT method lets elicit not viewers’ preferences but rather the local practices of film distributors. Forced to combine ideology and profit, film distributors had to maneuver between planned in advance governmental directives on how to diffuse each film and simultaneous filmgoers’ choices. In other words, in the Soviet context, POPSTAT presents a point of intersection of the imagination of planned economy and real preferences of filmgoers.

References

Bios
Kristina Tanis (Ph.D.) is a film historian. Her research interests are in cinema exhibition and consumption in the postwar USSR. She is currently working as a senior research fellow at the Institute for Advanced Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies (HSE University, Moscow).

Anastasiia Balykova is a graduate student in the Media and Communication department at HSE University. As a participant of scientific research group, she collected big data for counting
POPSTAT index in Moscow Cinema Theatres from 1947 to 1950.

Ivan Karnaukhov is a BA student at HSE University who has assisted in the data collection for counting POPSTAT index in Moscow Cinema Theatres from 1947 to 1950.

Konrad Klejsa, University of Lodz, Poland and Lucian Tion, University of Lodz /Babeș Bolyai University, Romania.

With the exception of several studies, the political logic, organizational structures and economic circumstances of film distribution and exhibition in post-1945 East-Central Europe have received scarce scholarly attention. Although all countries in the Eastern Bloc engaged in bilateral exchanges of domestically made films during socialism (this exchange was usually responsible for the screening of roughly half of all films presented on Eastern European screens), their circulation within the "neighborhood" markets was rarely the subject of comparative research. Our paper seeks to fill this research gap by comparing film exhibition and distribution patterns in two second-tier cities behind the Iron Curtain: Lodz in Poland and Cluj in Romania in the late 1950s and late 1960s. In the introductory part of our paper, we outline how culture management in both countries sought to organize cinema programming in the given period. To what extent did communist ideology reflect in the supply of films – in terms of their genre and national origin? To ascertain this, we have created a database of cinema programming for both cities. The data was obtained from the film listings in the local newspaper, allowing for an almost complete coverage for the two researched years: 1959 and 1969. In our data-driven analysis, we compare the quantity of films, as well as the number of screenings of particular films. We also ask how the liberal period following destalinization (the Thaw) was reflected in the selection of foreign films for distribution in Poland and Romania in 1959 and 1969, respectively. Comparing both the quantity and the quality of screened films we seek to better understand the relationship between cinema and politics in Eastern Europe inasmuch as it was reflected in programming practices.

References

Bios
Konrad Klejsa received his PhD in Film Studies at University of Lodz. 2007-2009 he was visiting professor at University of Tübingen. His research interests focus on the history of post-1945 Polish cinema, audience studies and German-Polish film cooperation. Currently he supervises the research project "Film distribution and exhibition in Poland, 1945-1989".

Lucian Tion holds a PhD from National University of Singapore and MA in Film Studies from
University of Amsterdam. His research areas are East European and Chinese cinemas. His recent contributions include chapters in Third Cinema, World Cinema and Marxism and Cold War II: Hollywood’s Renewed Obsession with Russia.

**Animated films can’t stand alone: The quantitative analysis of the distribution of movies made by studio Bratři v triku in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1989**
Michal Večeřa, Masaryk University, Brno

The Czechoslovak cinematic industry produced thousands of short films of diverse types and genres between 1945 and 1989 when the Communist party was in power. Because of their length, short films needed a different way of distribution than features. Instead of standing alone, they usually formed a part of composed programmes; these programmes could consist of multiple short films or one short film, which served as an attribute for a feature film. One of the most intriguing problems here is the logic and decisions behind the composition of individual programmes.

The presented paper will provide a quantitative analysis of the distribution of films produced by the animation studio Bratři v triku as composed programmes during the period mentioned above. I suppose that programming strategy differed throughout the time because it depended on several interconnected influences – personal changes inside the studio (both managerial and creative level), the political situation (e.g. liberalisation in the 1960s or Soviet invasion in 1968) and available technologies (introduction of television, videotapes). The presentation is structured in three sections – introduction to the contemporary Czechoslovak production, analysis of chosen films and conclusion, which will compare the presented case with the production of the Polish studio Se-ma-for.

The essential source for the research is the database, which is being built during the research project Animation Studios in Gottwaldov and Lodz (1945/47-1990), led by the Czech-Polish team of researchers from Brno and Łódź. Besides all other information, this database contains filmographic data and references to archival sources. The comparison with Polish data brings an opportunity to compare both industries and find patterns that could be valid in the international context.

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VEČEŘA, Michal. 'In the following season we will present...': Systematization of Distribution in Czech Cinema During the Silent Era. In 10th Annual NECS Conference, Potsdam, 28-30 July 2016.
Bio
Michal Večeřa works as an assistant professor at the Department of Film Studies and Audiovisual Culture at Masaryk University in Brno. In his research, he is interested mainly in the economic history of Czech cinema before WW2 and published various articles about the economics of Czech silent cinema. He is involved in the collaborative international research project called Animation Studios in Gottwaldov and Lodz (1945/47–1990). In the past, he was a part of the team that researched the history of the Laterna magika theatre.

PANEL 16. Mapping the Transnational Circulation of Quo Vadis? (1913)

Chair: Jeffrey Klenotic, University of New Hampshire

The Italian Cines Company’s religious epic Quo Vadis? (1913) was one of early cinema’s most renown world-wide box office blockbusters (Hall and Neale). Its success elevated the status of Italian cinema, accelerated the transition to feature films, and boosted cinema’s reputation as a medium for social, moral, and cultural uplift (Bertellini). This panel presents new findings about Quo Vadis? as a transnational phenomenon through papers that map its circulation in Warsaw, Ireland, Australia, Brazil, and the United States. A lavish production heralded for its spectacular big budget realism and extended running time, Cines’ film was based on Polish author Henryk Sienkiewicz’s 1896 novel Quo Vadis: A Narrative of the Time of Nero, itself a global best seller that spawned widespread “Quo Vadis mania” (Woźniak). Starting in spring 1913, and continuing for several years thereafter, the transnational distribution of Cines’ Quo Vadis? expanded greatly as its flows were energized by waves of advance promotion that established the film’s cultural significance by invoking the superior artistry of its Italian producers, the historical authenticity of its Roman settings, and the religious veritas of its adaptation of the Polish author’s story about the persecution of Christians. The global discursive space produced in, through, and around Quo Vadis? then joined the production of countless local experiences of cinema that were placialized in diverse assemblages of venues, distributors, exhibitors, audiences, and films (Klenotic). In myriad transnational articulations of space and place, Quo Vadis? simultaneously connected and differentiated localities and cinema experiences at overlapping geographic scales across multiple social, economic, political, national, and religious contexts. Moreover, as Quo Vadis? flowed over borders, it could be subject to blockages and diversions created by censors, religious beliefs, language differences, legal copyright challenges, expensive rental charges and ticket prices, and distributors or exhibitors using bait-and-switch tactics to present different films under the Quo Vadis? title. This panel uses mapping and geographically grounded approaches to discover and explore “cinema’s multiple interfaces” to “uncover more complex stories about cinema’s travels, rethink the shape and scope of concepts such as national cinema, and question received notions about the direction of film traffic at any given moment” (Serna).

References

*Quo Vadis? in Warsaw in 1913: An Italian or Polish artwork on the silver screen?*
Karina Pryt, Goethe University Frankfurt am Main

First published in Polish in episodes in the Warsaw "Gazeta Polska" in the years 1895 and 1896, Henryk Sienkiewicz’s “Quo vadis: A Novel from the Time of Nero” was quickly translated into numerous languages and adapted several times for theatre, opera and film. Among the latter, the Italian version by Enrico Guazzoni “Quo Vadis?” from 1913 became one of the world’s most profitable box office hits of early cinema. This paper examines the performance of this film in Warsaw starting with the broader context. First, it sketches Sienkiewicz’s literary oeuvre, which was awarded the Nobel prize, outlining its significance for the Poles that had lived under foreign rule being divided between Prussia, Austria-Hungary and Russia for over a century. Next, it briefly covers the circulation of the Italian film “Quo Vadis?” in the Polish territories under the three partitioning powers, noting both the different political, economic, and cultural conditions and the ethnic diversity of potential cinema-goers. Given this background, the paper more deeply examines the performance of “Quo Vadis?” in the Russian governed Warsaw where Russians, Poles and Jews lived largely next to each other separated by confession, language, employment and settlement patterns. Applying both qualitative and quantitative methods, it evaluates press entries in the Russian, Varshavskaya Misl (Варшавская Мисль), the Polish, Kurier Warszawski, and the Yiddish, § der moment (שדאם תמצית). Film reviews and advertisements are used to examine how the film was classified and perceived in national terms. This is followed by “thematic maps” (Klenotic) created with QGIS on a sample from 1913 that locate the exhibition sites of “Quo Vadis?” in the social and cultural context. By illuminating this section in the global circulation of “Quo Vadis?”, the paper also contributes to historical research on the complex and often contradictory relations between Poles, Russians and Jews.

**References**

**Bio**
Karina Pryt is a historian with expertise in cultural diplomacy (Befohlene Freundschaft. Die Deutsch-Polnischen Kulturbeziehungen 1934-1939). Presently, she is working as a postdoctoral researcher at the Film Department of the Goethe University, Frankfurt/M. Her main interests also include cinema history, the economic and social history of film business.

*Quo Vadis? (1913) and Cinema’s ”Remarkable Raising of the Popular Standard” in Ireland*
Denis Condon, Maynooth University

In early 1914, Timothy B. Cronin wrote a letter to a local newspaper in the Irish rural west-coast town of Tralee describing how citizens of the town of all ages and classes had turned out to see the film adaptation of *Quo Vadis?* "Rich and poor, ignorant and educated – flocked to see what is
in many respects the most superb film in existence,” he claimed, adding that “after the performance, I heard what I never expected to hear in my native town – groups of urchins excitedly discussing a classical drama! In my opinion, the Pictures are directly responsible for this remarkable raising of the popular standard.” Mapping the film’s distribution pattern and analyzing the newspaper discourse it elicited, this paper examines the impacts of Quo Vadis? on Irish cinemagoing and the country’s rapidly developing film distribution and exhibition companies. Shown all over Ireland between 1913 and 1915, Quo Vadis? had achieved a high level of recognition and had come, at least for Cronin, to exemplify the merits of the new medium and the benefits it could bring in undermining social hierarchies by democratizing access to the canons of taste. The paper will scrutinize these claims through analysis of the film’s circulation and reception, but it will also attend to the way that the film exposed weakness in the pioneering and once dominant Irish film company that exhibited in Tralee and several other Irish towns. That company failed to secure the rights to the eight-reel, spectacular and much-lauded version of the film by Italian production company Cines and instead showed its patrons the three-reel and derivative US version of the film made to capitalize on Cines’s success. Even an inferior film could, it seems, raise the popular standard.

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Thissen, Judith, and Clemens Zimmermann, eds., Cinema Beyond the City: Small-Town and Rural Film Culture in Europe, BFI, 2016.

Bio
Denis Condon lectures on cinema at the Departments of English and Media Studies, Maynooth University, Ireland. His publications include Early Irish Cinema, 1895-1921 (2008) and as co-editor Music and Visual Cultures: Threshold, Intermediality, Synchresis (2021). He is currently working on The Explosion of Images: Ireland’s First Cinemas and the collaborative website Irish Cinema Histories.

Copycat Marketing or Biblical Truth?: Capitalizing on Quo Vadis? (1913) in Australia
Julie K. Allen, Brigham Young University

With the rise of the narrative feature film around 1908, distinctive titles became an increasingly important element of the marketing strategy for individual films, though many films still ended up with confusingly similar names, particularly after being translated from French, German, Danish, or Italian into English. Even English-language titles were often unofficially altered to suit national or regional tastes. In a cinema market like Australia, where nearly all films were imported from the US, the UK, or Continental Europe, the creative translation and adjustment of film titles left room for all manner of deceptive practices. The drawbacks of this state of affairs became starkly evident with regard to Cines’ Quo Vadis? (Enrico Guazzoni, 1913), for which the Australian distributor Cosens Spencer paid the unprecedented sum of £4000 for the exclusive Australasian distribution and exhibition rights for use by the monopolistic Australasian Films/Union Theatres (known as the Combine), which had just been formed. Given the film’s unprecedented popularity and profitability, which broke national and local records for the
longest run of any kind of entertainment, the temptation to try to capitalize on such a profitable endeavor by passing off a different film under the same title proved to be irresistible for some audacious independent exhibitors. This paper maps the circulation of *Quo Vadis?*, both the official film and others labeled with the same name, in Australia and tells the story of the many legal cases of copyright infringement that the Combine filed against smaller exhibitors over copycat marketing practices around *Quo Vadis?* in Australia in 1913, illuminating both the financial and aesthetic issues at stake in these conflicts, as well as the impact of the Combine on distribution and exhibition practices in pre-World War I Australia.

**References**


**Bio**


**The routes of *Quo Vadis?* in Brazil**

Rafael de Luna Freire, Federal Fluminense University

*Quo Vadis?* (1913) was a milestone in Brazilian cinema history, introducing the then-called "extra film" model: longer films, presented in a single screening, in luxurious theaters, at more expensive tickets than usual, and surrounded by huge publicity (Freire, 2021). Like the "features" in the United States (Quinn, 2001), the extra films also represented a new way of distributing films in Brazil. They were negotiated individually, outside the traditional contracts of exclusive representation of a foreign producing company's entire output by its Brazilian agent. In this way, they caused fissures in the Brazilian "closed market" (Desmet, 2003). This presentation, however, will focus on the analysis of the paths taken by the prints of *Quo Vadis?*, a film distributed by the powerful trust of the Companhia Cinematográfica Brasileira (CCB), a company that dominated film exhibition in the main Brazilian capitals in the Southeast (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte) and controlled distribution on a national scale. The film was negotiated with the CCB by Alberto Sestini, Brazilian representative of the Italian Cines. *Quo Vadis?* was released with a high number of prints for such a long and expensive film. Its six copies allowed it to premiere in three theaters in Rio de Janeiro and other three São Paulo. After that, some prints were sent to premieres in the capitals of the North and South of Brazil, while others traveled through the second-run circuit in the states of Rio and São Paulo. A detailed historical document on the distribution of the prints in Rio de Janeiro will allow a mapping of the places, routes and rental costs of the two prints that were shown in Rio de Janeiro after *Quo Vadis?* premiere in the then Brazilian capital.

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Bio
Rafael de Luna Freire is an Associate Professor in the Film and Video Department and in the PhD Program on Cinema and Audiovisual at Fluminense Federal University. He is the coordinator of the Audiovisual Preservation University Lab (LUPA-UFF). His forthcoming book is a study on the film distribution market in Brazil prior to WWI.

Mapping Quo Vadis? in the United States, 1913-1916
Jeffrey Klenotic, University of New Hampshire

The success of Quo Vadis? in the U.S. during cinema’s transitional era was extraordinary, both in terms of spatial penetration and financial returns (Frykholm). This was despite (and because of) multiple ambiguities that surrounded the film and its exhibition contexts. At the most basic level, there was ambiguity about the film’s title, which led many newspapers to append a parenthetical expression (Whither Goest Thou?) to assist uncomprehending readers with an English translation. In addition, while newspapers often specified the number of reels in which the film would be presented, much confusion remained about whether the “real” Quo Vadis? was eight or three reels and how many dramatic acts it contained. This even spawned local debates about the relative merits of the two lengths and two versions of the film. More broadly, in 1913, there was also considerable ambiguity within the film industry about the meaning, status, and length of a “feature” film in relation to other multi-reel films (Quinn). Three-reelers especially were prone to straddle the indeterminate line that divided regular films from features. By late 1914, the film industry would generally define a feature as four reels or more, but the market still afforded space where “two different models of exhibition – the variety program and the feature program – both flourished,” with many believing these models were not in competition but rather “two separate and parallel modes of exhibition” that each “had a purpose and a place” (Singer). While Quo Vadis? figures prominently in received histories of the rise of features (Grainge, et al.), the title’s significance for the “other” mode of exhibition is largely unknown and uninvestigated. This paper redresses that imbalance using a geospatial mapping of over 600 hundred premieres of Cines’ eight-reel Quo Vadis? and over 250 premieres of the Quo Vadis Film Company’s three-reel Quo Vadis? between 1913 and 1916. By mapping Quo Vadis? across the U.S., the footprints of the transitional era’s two modes of exhibition can be revealed with precise geographical detail. This spatial data can also be contextualized in relation to social and religious geography drawn from census data to understand the audiences and purposes that may have been served by each mode of exhibition, and to spur insights on how these contexts may have shaped the experience and reception of the two films.

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Bio
Jeffrey Klenotic is an Associate Professor of Communication Arts at the University of New Hampshire. He is a founding member of the History of Moviegoing, Exhibition and Reception (HoMER) project and creator of Mapping Movies, an online Geographic Information System for discovering, exploring, and sharing data about cinema’s social and spatial history in and through maps (http://mappingmovies.unh.edu/maps).

PANEL 17. Cinema Across and Within Moving Borders: New cinema history perspectives in the eastern Mediterranean world

Chair: Morgan Corriou, University Paris 8, Vincennes – Saint-Denis

This panel weaves together cinema history across and within moving borders of the multicultural and multilingual Ottoman Empire and the modern nation-states of Turkey and Greece. Each of the five papers evaluates the cinema of the eastern Mediterranean world by focusing on music, heritage, gender issues, practices of local communities and migration-related effects in the early and mid-twentieth century. Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen explores the participation of Muslim women in film-making at the turn of the century. Özge Özylmaz’s paper concentrates on the multicultural and multiethnic panorama of film musicians and film music during the silent period in the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic. Mélisande Leventopoulos centres her paper on Thessaloniki’s early cinema history in relation to current debates about this city’s Ottoman heritage. Ayşe Toy Par’s paper examines the islanders of Imbros (Gökçeada) and their cinematic practices that are intermingled between ethnicity and identity politics. Gülsenem Gün scrutinizes the transition from the imperial times to the Turkish nation-state and its political, demographic and socio-cultural role in Turkey’s cinema history. With this panel, we hope to contribute to the understanding of historical, political, socio-cultural conditions of cinema in the eastern Mediterranean world. The panel sheds light on the entangled histories of cinema beyond the actual borders of nation-states.

Bio
Morgan Corriou is an assistant professor in Media Studies at the University of Paris 8 Vincennes – Saint-Denis. Her research focuses on the social history of cinema in the colonial Maghreb as well as the correlation of cinophilia and Third World struggles in Africa. She edited the collective volume Publics et spectacle cinématographique en situation coloniale (Tunis, IRMC : CERES, 2012). She is currently completing a book manuscript on movie distribution and exhibition in Tunisia from 1896 to 1966.

Women on the Big Screen: Featuring Muslim Women in the Early Ottoman/Turkish Films
Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen, Middle East Technical University

This paper traces unhistoricized women actors from the start of early filmmaking in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey respectively. When the Ottoman films were produced during the early twentieth century, women’s roles were played by non-Muslims. This was the case for the existing spectacle culture and reflects the tacit regulations over cinema in the way that Muslim women were forbidden to perform on stage. Their participation in performing arts was considered ‘immoral’ and ‘dishonorable’; thus, acting in films as a profession had ethnic and
religious categories during the late Ottoman years. Women performers were mostly non-Muslims, from Greek, Armenian, or Jewish backgrounds; for instance, Lusi Arusyaq, Rozali Benliyan, Mademoiselle Blanche. Police reports show complaints and tensions in relation to Muslim women's visibility in entertainment venues and performing on stage. At times, Muslim women attempted to break this unspoken rule which was derived from customary gender roles. Actor Afife Jale (1902-1941) is known to succeed in doing this along with other overlooked figures such as Nermin Hanım. The late Ottoman era represents a gradual transformation of women's status in society specifically during the Young Turk period (1908-1922), which was constantly changed after the proclamation of the new nation-state, Turkey, in 1923. More Muslim women actors emerged from private film companies' initiatives and government-led projects. Just to name a few: Bedia Muvahhit (1897-1994), Neyyire Neyir (1902-1943), Feriha Tevfik (1910-1991). The professionalization of women in filmmaking in this period reflects various discourses and representations that this paper discusses by relying on archival documents in the form of state reports, press reviews, and memoirs. Within a historical and analytical view, this paper aims to provoke questions about the agency of women and the state's intervention which built a new era for Muslim women's role in filmmaking during the early Republican years.

References

Bio
Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen is a historian of the cinema and visual culture of the Ottoman Empire and the modern Middle East. She is currently a post-doctoral fellow at Middle East Technical University, working on a monograph. She received her PhD from University College London (2018) with a dissertation on the regulation of cinema during the late Ottoman period.

The multiethnic and multicultural panorama of the film music and musicians during the silent era in Turkey
Özge Özyılmaz, Ankara Science University

In this presentation, I want to show the multinational and multicultural structure of film musicians and music practices that were employed during the silent era and the transition to sound cinema in Turkey (1896-1936). This period witnessed a gradual socio-political, cultural and demographic transformation from a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and linguistically diverse structure of the Ottoman Empire to a relatively homogeneous Turkish nation-state. This culturally and socially conflicting process has also found its reflections on the musical panorama characterising the silent cinema period. In these years, both classical Western and traditional Turkish musical and sound accompaniments vied for audiences in Istanbul's cinemas and other urban cities like Thessaloniki and Smyrna; including other provinces.
During the silent period, musical accompaniment was the main area on which film exhibitors could modify the film. A closer look at musical accompaniment in the Ottoman Empire reveals a multi-ethnic and multicultural scene. Indeed, from its very beginning, the film business itself appeared as a multi-ethnic sector. Sigmund Weinberg was a Romanian-born Polish citizen of Jewish origin who opened Istanbul's first cinema hall in 1908 which represented the Pathé Fréres' first cinema franchise in the city (Scognamillo 1998). From an advertisement published in the 1916 Kinematographische Rundschau, a weekly cinema magazine published in Vienna, it appears that Weinberg was looking for musicians to accompany the films in Istanbul. This need for musicians in Istanbul cinemas seems to be answered mostly by the White Russians who passed through the Empire by crossing the border after the October Revolution of 1917. It should be noted that this community not only performed musical accompaniment to silent films but also left deep traces in the entertainment life of the period. This paper will present a musical panorama of the silent film period in which the transition from a multi-ethnic, multi-linguist empire to nation-states reflected.

References

Bio
Özge Özyılmaz is an Assistant Professor at Ankara Science University. She has written on cinema culture in the 1930s and the transition to sound cinema in Turkey. Her current research is on music and sound practices of the silent cinema era and in early talkies in Turkey.

Cinema as an Ottoman Heritage in Greek Thessaloniki: for a history of visual entanglements
Mélisande Leventopoulos, French School at Athens, University Paris 8

This paper is based on a long-term study of Thessaloniki’s cinemagoing, distribution and exhibition practices during the first half of the twentieth century. Thessaloniki, a multilingual metropolis of the Ottoman Empire, with Sephardi Jews, Greeks, Turks, Albanians, Armenians, Bulgarian, living on its soil, was integrated into the Greek state in 1912. Thus, 1912 constituted the starting point of the Hellenization of the city and accelerated the decline of the multicultural metropole while the ethnic and denominational distribution of the local society quickly mutated during the interwar years due to massive migrations and population exchanges. I will argue that cinema constitutes an Ottoman heritage of Thessaloniki and that this postulate crystallizes a historiographical contradiction that invites us to go further in the apprehension of the decentralisation and the entanglements of distribution, exhibition and cinemagoing practices in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans. Whereas Thessaloniki represented one of the major hubs of the Ottoman cinema market between 1908 and 1912 with Istanbul and Smyrna, it has been nowadays erased from the map of early and mid-twentieth century cinema history. Even if contemporary historians focus more and more on Thessaloniki’s “mutation”, there is a historiographical obliteration of the city within the sector of cinema history in Greek academia, as well as in Turkish one: nationalism and state centralism are the main cause of this. The paper will thus focus on historiographical issues as regards peripheral studies in Early cinema history and New Cinema History and question transnational cinema history from the perspective of
Thessaloniki. This questioning will rely on the analysis of new archival material.

References

Bio
Mélisande Leventopoulos is a lecturer at the University Paris 8, France, in delegation during the year 2021-2022 at the French School of Athens, Greece. Investigating the history of cinema in Thessaloniki, she aims to develop an entangled and comparative history of the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean on various scales.

The cinematographic practices of Greeks on the island of Imbros (Gökçeada) between 1950 and 1974
Ayşe Toy Par, Galatasaray University

In this presentation, we will discuss the cinematographic practices on the Turkish island of Imbros between the years 1950 and 1974, before it underwent radical identity transformations that would be reflected in its name, hence becoming Gökçeada. Imbros, whose population was predominantly Greek until 1974, is the biggest island of Turkey. Indeed, it is one of the three regions exempted from the exchange of populations foreseen by the Lausanne agreement in 1923. However, following the national security program implemented in 1964, which provided for the “Turkification” of the island and its population, Imbros was confronted with massive migratory movements: the Greeks were forced to leave the island, new villages were founded to settle Turks coming from different parts of Anatolia. Thus, the population was transformed and, with time, so was the identity of the island. Nowadays, the Greek minority lives together with the Turkish population.

Due to its geostrategic position and identity characteristics, Imbros has always been at the epicentre of a delicate balance between Turkey and Greece. With this, the historical and cultural relations of the Imbrians with these two countries have brought a certain economic, social and cultural dynamism. With its 7000 inhabitants in the ’60s, its numerous taverns, cafés and stores, its 3 movie theatres - one of which is permanent - or its travelling movie shows, the island has been a centre of cultural attraction.

Cinema has played a major role in the construction of the identity of societies, in the consolidation of its links with its diaspora as well as in the strengthening of its relations with the world. Turkish and Greek cinemas lived their golden age in the 60s and 70s, and going to the movies was an essential daily cultural practice for its populations. But what about the Imbrians who are attached culturally to both of these two countries despite their physical isolation? What did cinema mean for them? What did they watch and how? By whom and by what means were the projections made? These are the questions we will try to answer by collecting testimonies and cinema memories of the Imbrians.

References
These are the questions we will try to answer by collecting archival documents and testimonies.


Bios
Ayşe Toy Par is an Associate Professor at Galatasaray University at the Faculty of Communication. She works on Turkish cinema history, and recently her research focuses on early cinema audiences in Turkey.

Gülşenem Gün is an Assistant Professor at Galatasaray University. Her PhD thesis, which she defended in 2014 at the University of Paris 7, is entitled "Migration and crossbreeding: The example of Turkish cinema." She did her post-doctoral research on the evolution of Turkish female stars at Stanford University (2017). Her research interests are the issues of the history of cinema, cinema and representation, transnational cinema, cinema and migration.

The impact of population exchange by Treaty of Lausanne (1923) on cinema in Turkey
Gülşenem Gün, Galatasaray University

In this paper, we will discuss the impact of population exchange by the Lausanne agreement in 1923 on cinema in Turkey. Among the most significant social facts since the birth of cinema, migration holds one of the first places and forms (and reformed over time) the film industry. As cinema has a special place in urban life and the daily lives of migrant populations in the cities, it draws from these communities as audiences but also as a workforce. Whatever the reasons and the context, migrant producers, filmmakers, actors and cinema workers are the precursors of national (and transnational) cinemas such as in Hollywood or Turkey or several cinemas in Muslim countries such as Iran or Egypt.

The strong link between migration and cinema is very visible in Turkish cinema since the Ottoman period. The migratory movement is so important in the formation of the Republic of Turkey, as well as the administrative and social levels as cultural, that the history of the Republic is considered as that of internal and external migrations. Indeed, Turkey is a country that counts millions of migrants; therefore, migration is not only a social fact but also a major agent for local cinema. Cinema arrived in the Ottoman Empire thanks to migrants, foreigners and minorities in the late Ottoman era. On one hand, after the exchange of 1923, some of the Greek cinema workers had to migrate to Greece. On the other hand, the local production developed especially by the Turkish migrants from Greece like İpekçi Family, Erman Brothers, etc. What is their role in the foundation of the Turkish cinema industry? What is their motivation for film production? What are the reflections of their multicultural identities on the film industry? What is their role in the formation of the national identity of the young republic? What is the impact of exchange of the audiences in the cities like İzmir where a significant Greek Community lived?

These are the questions we will try to answer by collecting archival documents and testimonies.
References

Bio
Gülsenem Gün is an Assistant Professor at Galatasaray University. Her PhD thesis, which she defended in 2014 at the University of Paris 7, is entitled "Migration and crossbreeding: The example of Turkish cinema." She did her post-doctoral research on the evolution of Turkish female stars at Stanford University (2017). Her research interests are the issues of the history of cinema, cinema and representation, transnational cinema, cinema and migration.

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