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Feminism and film

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Feminism is among the social movements and cultural-critical discourses that most definitively shaped the rise of Anglo-American film studies in the 1970s; in turn, film studies, a relatively young and politicized field, provided fertile ground for feminist theory to take root in the academy. Feminist film studies, emerging from this juncture, has been both highly specialized in its theoretical debates on representation, spectatorship, and sexual difference, and broad in its cultural reach and influence. It has also involved a dual focus on critique and cultural production.

As a critical methodology, feminism makes salient the category of gender and gender hierarchy in all forms of knowledge and areas of inquiry. The female image-the female as image-has been a central feature of film and related visual media; in film criticism and theory, making gender the axis of analysis has entailed a thoroughgoing reconsideration of films for, by, and about women, and a consequent transformation of the canons of film studies. Bringing into focus the overlooked contributions of women to film history has been a key objective of feminist film studies as well as an organizing principle of women's film festivals and journalism. A concern with representation, in both a political sense (of giving voice to or speaking on behalf of women) and an aesthetic sense, has also united the activist and theoretical projects of women's film culture.

Over the past two decades, in the context of fem-

inist politics and women's studies in the academy, feminist film studies has extended its analysis of gender in film to interrogate the representation of race, class, sexuality, and nation; encompassed media such as television and video into its paradigms; and contributed to the rethinking of film historiography, most notably in relation to consumer culture. The feminist interest in popular culture's relation to the socially disenfranchised has influenced film studies' shift from textual analysis and subject positioning to broader cultural studies of institutions and audiences. A postmodern, globalized, technologically saturated social reality has set new questions for feminist theory and methodology as for the whole of film studies.

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An account of principal issues, texts, and debates that have established feminist critical studies of film as a unique area of inquiry will be followed by a

discussion of some of the diverse women's film production practices with which the field has engaged.

Feminist film criticism and theory

Most histories of the field of feminist film studies find a starting-point in the appearance of several booklength popular studies of women in film in the United States in the early 1970s (e.g. Rosen 1973; Haskell 1974; Mellen 1974). Their focus on 'images of women' was immediately critiqued by 'cinefeminists' interested in theorizing the structure of representation. As a result, an opposition—rhetorical in part—arose between 'American' sociological approaches and 'British' theory, of 'cinefeminism', which was based upon a critique of realism.

Reflection theory

Molly Haskell and Marjorie Rosen's studies are usually considered exemplars of 'reflection theories' of women and film: they assume that film 'reflects' social reality, that depictions of women in film mirror how society treats women, that these depictions are distortions of how women 'really are' and what they 'really want', and that 'progress' can be made (see Petro 1994). Such accounts are related to powerful feminist critiques of the effects of mainstream media, pornography, and advertising on body-image, sex roles, and violence against women, which, in turn, fuelled advocacy for women's intervention in image-making. Typically, such studies present and critique a typology of images of women-an array of virgins, vamps, victims, suffering mothers, child women, and sex kittens. The emerging film criticism of lesbians, as well as African American and Asian American women, and other women of colour, also tends to identify and reject stereotypes—such as the homicidal, man-hating lesbian, the African American mammy, the tragic mulatto, and the Asian dragon lady—and advocates more complex representations. These are categories, however, which tend to limit consideration of the social function of stereotypes and frequently lead to simplistic 'good'-'bad' readings of individual films. The identification of types and generic conventions is an important step, but simply replacing stereotypes with positive images does not transform the system that produced them.

Haskell narrativizes the history of film as an arc from 'reverence' (the silent era) to 'rape' (Hollywood in the

1960s and 1970s); the high point is represented by the strong, independent heroines of the 1940s, which reached its apotheosis in stars such as Katharine Hepburn. Presenting herself as a maverick critic, Haskell frequently distances herself from feminism, neglects to consider non-white women, and betrays a profound heterosexism (Hepburn and Tracy are for her the romantic ideal of complementarity of the sexes). Yet she makes several useful contributions, and criticism of the reductionism of her study can itself be reductive. She diagnoses violence against, and marginalization of, women in acclaimed 'New Hollywood' films, as reactions to the emergence of feminism and the threat posed by women's autonomy, and she is wary of the mystifications of European art cinema, which would appear to place women and their sexuality more centrally in their stories, while offering only a new version of the 'eternal feminine'. Finally, Haskell's comments on the woman's picture, or 'weepie'-a production category denigrated by the industry and most critics-suggest that such films actually did represent the contradictions of women's lives in patriarchal capitalism and inaugurated one of the most fruitful areas of feminist film studies.

Semiotics and ideology critique

Reviewing Haskell and Rosen's books, Claire Johnston (1975b) notes the inadequacies of the 'images of women' approach: while it grasps the ideological implications of cinema, images are seen as too easily detached from the texts and psychic structures through which they function, as well as the institutional and historical contexts that determine their form and their reception. For Johnston, film must be seen as a language and woman as a sign-not simply a transparent rendering of the real (see also Pollock 1992). In perhaps the most influential statement of this position, 'Women's Cinema as Counter Cinema', Johnston (1973) combines Roland Barthes's concept of myth as the rendering natural of ideology with auteur theory to decode the function of women in Hollywood films by Howard Hawks and John Ford, as well as women auteurs Dorothy Arzner and Ida Lupino. This, in turn, set a pattern for subsequent feminist studies of Hollywood genres such as film noir, the musical, and the western, which showed how woman as signifier performed precise iconographic and ideological functions, either constituting a genre's structural dimensions (woman = home in the western) or expos-

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ing its ideological contradictions (the femme fatale figure in film noir; see Kaplan 1978).

In this latter case, as Janet Bergstrom (1979) points out, Johnston and others were influenced by the concept of the 'progressive text' derived from the French journal Cahiers du cinéma. Indeed, the progressive text, or popular film which 'displayed the ideology to which it belonged' (Comolli and Narboni 1969), was the chief inheritance of feminist film studies from Marxist cultural theory (through the Russian Formalist notion of 'making strange', to Brechtian 'distanciation' and Althusserian 'contradiction') and shaped the ongoing interest in Hollywood film. Cahiers' methodology was also assimilated by the British journal Screen, which emerged as the dominant venue of work combining structuralism, semiotics, Marxism, and psychoanalysis and the touchstone for developments in feminist film theory.

Psychoanalysis

The most thoroughgoing and explicit introduction of neo-Freudian psychoanalytic theory to feminist film studies, and the single most inescapable reference in the field (and arguably in contemporary English-language film theory as a whole), is Laura Mulvey's 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', published in Screen in 1975. Recommending 'a political use of psychoanalysis', this essay, like Johnston's 'Women's Cinema as Counter Cinema', was polemical both in tone and in its advocacy of theoretical rigour and a new, materialist feminist cinematic practice. However, whereas Johnston had argued that 'in order to counter our objectification in the cinema, women's collective fantasy must be released . . . [and] demands the use of the entertainment film', Mulvey insisted on a break with dominant cinema (in the form of a modernist cinematic practices which would provoke conscious reflection on the part of the spectator) and the 'rejection of pleasure as a radial weapon'. This position derived from her account of the gendered processes of spectatorial desire and identification orchestrated by classical narrative cinema and is summed up in one of her piece's headings: 'woman as image/man as bearer of the look'.

Mulvey argued that the institution of cinema is characterized by a sexual imbalance of power, and psychoanalysis may be used to explain this. Because psychoanalysis makes sexual difference its central category, feminist thinking can use it to understand women's exclusion from the realms of language, law, and desire—from, in short, what Jacques Lacan called the symbolic register. Freud's description of scopophilia—pleasure in looking—was Mulvey's starting-point. Dominant cinema deploys unconscious mechanisms in which the image of woman functions as signifier of sexual difference, confirming man as subject and maker of meaning. These mechanisms are built into the structure of the gaze and narrative itself through the manipulation of time and space by point of view, framing, editing, and other codes.

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Centred around the spectator's and the camera's look, cinema offers identificatory pleasure with one's on-screen likeness, or ego ideal (understood in terms of the Lacanian mirror stage), and libidinal gratification from the object of the gaze. The male spectator is doubly supported by these mechanisms of visual gratification as the gaze is relayed from the male surrogate within the diegesis to the male spectator in the audience. The woman, on the other hand, is defined in terms of spectacle, or what Mulvey described as 'tobe-looked-at-ness'. As Mulvey observed, 'In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female'. Mulvey excluded from consideration the possible pleasures afforded a female spectator by narrative cinema through her provocative use of the male pronoun to designate the spectator. As she explained later, her essay explored 'the relationship between the image of woman on screen and the "masculinization" of the spectator position, regardless of actual sex (or possible deviance) of any real live movie-goer' (Mulvey 1981/1988: 69).

Yet if the image of woman is to be 'looked at', it also, according to the Freudian account, connotes sexual difference and a threat of castration that must be contained. According to Mulvey, narrative cinema has developed two ways to neutralize this threat, which she correlates with the filmic practices of two of film

theory's most privileged auteurs: Josef von Sternberg and Alfred Hitchcock. Von Sternberg's baroque compositions, centred around the impossibly stylized image of Marlene Dietrich, are seen as exemplary of a fetishistic disavowal of the threat of sexual difference. In the Freudian scenario, the fetish stands in for the missing penis, and the fetishist disavows his knowledge of lack with belief in the compensatory object. The oblique narratives and iconic, layered compositions in von Sternberg's films exemplify, therefore, what Mulvey called fetishistic scopophilia.

In another oft-quoted formula, Mulvey described the second avenue of mastering castration anxiety as voyeurism gratified by investigation and punishment or redemption of the 'guilty' (that is, different, female) object: 'sadism demands a story', she wrote. For example, the angst-ridden, illogical world of film noir is stabilized by pinning guilt on the femme fatale. Mulvey argued that Alfred Hitchcock's films (*Vertigo* USA, 1958; and *RearWindow* USA, 1954) brilliantly fuse the fetishistic and voyeuristic–sadistic solutions to the threat posed by the image of women, and her reading inaugurated a rich strain of feminist work on the director.

Prior to Mulvey, psychoanalytic film theory had tended to confirm the hegemony and homogeneity of the patriarchal unconscious in cinema. Christian Metz extrapolated the mechanism of fetishism (considered an exclusively male perversion) to define the spectator's belief in the cinematic illusion itself; Jean-Louis Baudry argued that the 'cinematic apparatus' (defined technologically, institutionally, and ideologically) extended Western representation systems to position an ideal, transcendental subject; and the theory of suture demonstrated how cinematic syntax, for example the point-of-view construction so often used in establishing the woman as image, confirmed the coherence of the viewing subject over and against lack (see Creed, Part 1, Chapter 9, for a fuller exposition of these arguments).

Feminist work in the wake of Mulvey's essay highlighted how all of these metapsychological accounts implicitly posited a male viewer—however illusory his mastery and unity might prove to be—and went on to elaborate the effects of the cinema's seemingly necessary and massive exclusion of the female subject position. However, in articulating the problem of dominant cinema so very exactly, the feminist psychoanalytic paradigm risked being trapped within the monolith. As Raymond Bellour, whose meticulous textual analyses traced and confirmed the male Oedipal trajectory of Hollywood films from the micro-codes of editing to the macro-codes of narrative structure, candidly stated in an interview with *Camera Obscura*: 'To put it a bit hastily... I think a woman can love, accept, and give a positive value to these films only from her own masochism' (quoted in Bergstrom 1988: 195).

Needless to say, Bellour's was not the last word on the subject, and a number of responses to the totalization of the apparatus model soon evolved. For some theorists, if the woman's 'visual presence tends to work against the development of a story line' (Mulvey 1975: 33), then it could be argued that spectacle itself could be understood as a weak link in the totalizing patriarchal regime Mulvey delineated and used as a way of interrupting narrative closure and its presumed confirmation of spectatorial mastery. The spectacularized woman-for example, the female star, whose iconicity is also constructed intertextually and thus may exceed narrative placement-can demonstrate or defy the logic of the system that would subordinate her to the gaze of the male. Similarly, the musical genre's subordination of narrative codes to performance and spectacle might resist ideological containment, and this is possibly one source of its appeal to female and gay audiences. Other responses to and extensions of Mulvey's paradigm suggested that the male spectator's relation to the image signifying sexual difference might be masochistic, rather than necessarily sadistic. Gaylyn Studlar (1988), for example, argues that this is the effect-and the subversiveness-of the von Sternberg-Dietrich films, and Carol Clover (1992) suggests that contemporary horror films encourage their young male spectators to identify with the female victim. Finally, it was argued that cases of the spectacularization of masculinity or ethnicity, while not contradicting the association of femininity with to-be-looked-atness, permitted an interrogation of the wider cultural logic determining the power and hierarchy of the gaze.

Mulvey herself addressed two key omissions in her argument in her own 'Afterthoughts' on the issue: what she called 'the "woman in the audience" issue' and 'the "melodrama" issue' (Mulvey 1981/1988: 69). Both concerns stemmed from her 'own love of Hollywood melodrama' and demonstrated the irony of her earlier essay's conclusion that 'Women . . . cannot view the decline of the traditional film form with anything much more than sentimental regret' (1975: 39). Much like the choice faced by the melodrama's heroine between pursuing her desire or accepting 'correct femininity', Mulvey argued that female spectatorship entails a tension or oscillation between psychical positions of masculinity and femininity which are legacies of the female Oedipal complex and socialization under patriarchy confirmed in dominant narrative patterns. Making a 'trans-sex identification' with the agent of desire and narrative is habitual for women. Mulvey's account of female spectatorship as it is engaged in narrativity suggests that gender identification, and hence identity, is a process, and this point has been picked up by Teresa de Lauretis. 'The real task', she argued, 'is to enact the contradiction of female desire, and of women as social subjects, in the terms of narrative; to perform its figures of movement and closure, image and gaze, with the constant awareness that spectators are historically engendered in social practices, in the real world, and in cinema too' (1984: 156).

In other words, the 'woman in the audience' cannot be reduced to that single term in the polarity: 'woman as image'. Her identification with that position must continually be solicited by narrative, visual, and wider cultural codes. Moreover, not every 'woman in the audience' is the same. The idea that formalist intervention is the only way of interrupting mimetic spectatortext relations ignores the fact that the socio-historical location of many audience members presents a difficult 'fit' with the textually ordained position. Lesbian spectatorship has posed a particularly revealing challenge to pscyhoanalytic theory's seeming equation of 'sexual difference' with heterosexual complementarity-the presumption that women cannot desire the image because they are the image (Doane 1982). As Jackie Stacey points out: 'psychoanalytic accounts which theorize identification and object choice within a framework of linked binary oppositions (masculinity/ femininity: activity/passivity) necessarily masculinize female homosexuality' (1987: 370). She then goes on to stress the inherent homoerotic components of female spectatorship. Attempts to address lesbians precisely as social subjects, as viewers, have therefore side-stepped the psychoanalytic paradigm to consider how lesbian viewers might appropriate dominant, heterosexist representations (Ellsworth 1990). Other challenges to Mulvey's paradigm from within psychoanalysis, such as the theory of film's homology with fantasy as the 'mise-en-scène of desire' (Cowie 1984), suggest that spectators do not necessarily take up predetermined or unitary positions of identification. However, while making room for identifications across gender and sexuality, such accounts tend to overestimate fantasmatic mobility, downplaying the constraints of social-sexual identity on spectatorship.

Critiques of the field's largely unexamined ethnocentrism also became more and more insistent (see Gaines 1990). In so far as sexual difference is the organizing axis of subjectivity in psychoanalysis, Lacanian feminist film theory was ill equipped to theorize the intersection of gender with racial, ethnic, class, national, or other differences-whether in visual and narrative codes or in spectatorial response. The institutionalization of the field reinforced this structuring omission. Although psychoanalytic concepts of the gaze, disavowal, and fetishism have been used to account for the racialized image (notably in work drawing on the writings of Frantz Fanon), the discourse is generally seen as too ahistorical and individualistic to be useful to an anti-racist film theory. In 'The Oppositional Gaze' (1992), bell hooks argues that black female spectators cannot help but view Hollywood films from an oppositional standpoint as the fetishized woman in film is white. Such glaring blind spots in feminist film theory called for concrete readings and new methodologies-drawn from feminist and anti-racist politics, and historical and cultural studies-to explicate the relationships of diverse women in the audience to dominant representations of femininity.

The woman's film

Mulvey's own linkage of 'the woman in the audience issue' with 'the melodrama issue' sets up an important contest of textual and contextual models. Cinema has inherited a great deal from theatrical and literary melodrama; however, the association of melodrama with femininity can be detected in the pejorative attitude with which it is often regarded. Studies of silent melodrama in various national contexts, the Hollywood 'family melodrama' of the 1950s, television genres such as soap operas, and particularly that subset of melodrama known as 'the woman's film' offer the opportunity to compare feminist methodologies and epistemologies concerned with historical context and actual viewers with those focused on textually constructed spectator positions.

The woman's film flourished in Hollywood in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, but is found in most industries and survives today, notably in the made-for-TV movie. It is centred around a female star-heroine, frequently written by or adapted from the work of women, often fairly inexpensively made, and explicitly

marketed to and consumed by female audiences. Typically, such films are concerned with evoking emotional responses to such 'women's issues' as heterosexual romance, domesticity, and motherhood. While some feminists have rejected such traditional associations, particularly their survival in contemporary popular culture, others have found in them an expression, however mediated, of women's contradictory experience in the patriarchal family. Indeed, the films have seemed to offer the opportunity to decode the mother as an ideological construct and to come to terms with the pre-feminist generation of 'mothers'. From the perspective of genre theory, the woman's film could be seen as performing 'cultural work'-speaking to, if displacing, genuine social conflicts-between women's economic dependence and desire for autonomy, between heterosexual and maternal ideology and sexual self-definition. The woman's film thus links the focus on 'depictions of women' in sociological criticism with cinefeminists' concern with 'the figure of the woman'. Their methodologies and evaluations, even their organizing questions, differ, however.

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In her influential study *The Desire to Desire* (1987), Mary Ann Doane develops a theory of female spectatorship through intricate textual analyses of films produced for a female audience in wartime Hollywood. Identifying 'maternal', 'medical', and 'paranoid' subgenres of the woman's film, Doane demonstrates the frequency of overt thematizations of psychoanalysis in their depictions of family, romantic, and doctorpatient relationships; and her readings uncover scenarios of masochism and hysteria that confirm Lacanian psychoanalysis's definition of femininity as deficiency or lack. Analysing the designation 'woman's film' in terms of both possession and address, Doane concludes that such films ultimately position the women they address as subject to, rather than of, the discourse of desire. Like the Joan Crawford character in the woman's film *Possessed* (USA, 1947), the female spectator is dispossessed of what appears to be her own story.

In a crucial contribution to spectatorship theory, 'Film and the Masquerade' (1982), Doane argues that the visual economy and affective intensity of the woman's film encourages the female spectator to over-identify with the image. According to the psychoanalytic model of sexual difference, the distance upon which fetishism, desire, and even criticism depend is simply not available to her: the woman is deficient in relation to the gaze. The title and plot conceit of Dark Victory (USA, 1939), in which the heroine must mime being able to see so that the hero (but not the audience) will leave her to suffer and die alone, serves as a hyperbolic illustration. When Doane acknowledges that it is 'quite tempting to foreclose entirely the possibility of female spectatorship', her statement must be seen in the context of feminist anti-essentialism: 'the woman' of 'the woman's film' does not exist-she is a discursive category produced within a phallocentric representational regime. Doane proposes a new trope for female spectatorship: masquerade, defined by Freudian analyst Joan Rivière as indistinguishable from 'genuine womanliness', and which can provide a means of 'flaunting' femininity's lack.

Unwilling to reject films that historically have given women solace and pleasure, other feminist theorists argue that female spectatorship encompasses more than narcissism or masochism. Although, as Ann Kaplan argues (1983*a*), *Stella Dallas* (USA, 1937) does indeed end with an extravagant scene of female abjection (anonymous among the crowd, the title character watches from afar the wedding of the daughter she gave up), Linda Williams argues that in it women recognize contradictory points of view: that they engage their 'multiple identificatory power' and their critical reading skills (1984/1990: 154). Not simply glorifying female sacrifice, such films allow women to mourn loss and reject its necessity.

These contrasting emphases in feminist film theory can be illustrated by two strikingly different interpretations of Alfred Hitchcock's 'woman's picture' *Rebecca* (USA, 1940), based on the 1938 novel by Daphne du Maurier. While Doane (1987) sees the anonymity of the film's heroine and the absence of the eponymous character (the hero's dead first wife Rebecca) as a negation

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of female subjectivity, Tania Modleski (1988) sees a compelling version of the female Oedipal drama in which the object of desire and identification is another woman—a drama all the more compelling because the power that that woman exerts over the heroine (and in turn the spectator) comes from outside the visual field (indeed from beyond the grave). Relating the woman's film to traditions in women's fiction and to popular genres such as soap operas and Gothic and romance fiction, Modleski views such highly codified narratives as responses to women's social and psychological conditions, utopian 'resolutions' of real conflicts through aesthetic means, fantasies of omnipotence and outlets for rage and desire.

If Doane is careful to specify that she speaks only of the discursively constructed female subject, who is not to be conflated with actual members of the audience, and Modleski seeks to theorize the position and pleasure of real women, still other feminist film scholars have challenged psychoanalytic explanations by emphasizing historical and audience studies in their work on the woman's film (see Stacey 1987). This is part of a wider movement in film studies away from the homogeneity of the cinematic institution presumed in apparatus theory, and from the centrality and determinism of the film text, towards the heterogeneity of what Stuart Hall (1980) calls encoding and decoding practices. Many signifying systems intersect in any given spectatorial situation, and spectators bring diverse identities, histories, cultural competences, and responses-both conscious and unconscious-to the movies. The tension between the plurality and diversity of actual viewers and responses and that textual and theoretical construction conceived in the singular as 'the female spectator' can be related to what Teresa de Lauretis (1984) identifies as one of the central, necessary contradictions in feminism-between woman, a philosophical or aesthetic construct, and women, materially and historically located beings who are gendered female. Work on the woman's film seeks not to resolve this tension but to explore its productivity.

Stars, reception studies, and consumer culture

It is a defining feature of the 'woman's film' that it showcases popular female stars as its suffering or transgressive heroines. Despite its central tenet that woman is a constructed image, psychoanalytically informed feminist analyses had little to say about the signifying effects of a star image in a particular textual system let alone about how the interaction between text and spectator might be determined by foreknowledge and anticipation of the star; by, in short, intertextuality. This careful avoidance was in part a reaction to work such as Haskell's which followed journalistic conventions of writing about characters and stars, and in part a logical extension of the theory of the image of woman as male fetish and its identification with ideological complicity.

The increasing influence of cultural studies (identified with the work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies), which looks beyond the film text for the social meaning of cinematic practices, as well as of approaches in film history that include institutional and promotional discourses and reception studies, invigorated work on film stars. As Judith Mayne (1993: 124) notes, the consequences of this shift in perspective are immediate: taking stars into account makes it hard to accept that the fascination of the movies inheres in the regressive pleasure of the projection situation, as apparatus theory argued. This approach is of particular interest to feminists, not only because female stars are the most powerful women in the film industry and represent ideologically significant versions of femininity throughout the culture, but because it is as 'fans' that women are addressed as the prototypical moviegoers. This demands reconsideration of the pronouncement that women are excluded from the spectator position and from the articulation of desire. At the very least, stars, like genre films, are offered as particular imaginary solutions to women's unfulfilled desires.

Following the methodology set out in Richard Dyer's book Stars (1979), critics read the inflexions of particular star images across the body of films in which the star appears as well as in promotional, publicity, and critical texts such as fan magazines and testimonials, commodity tie-ins, public appearances, tributes, and cultural citations. Dyer sees 'independent women stars' such as Katharine Hepburn and Bette Davis, or, to give a contemporary example, Susan Sarandon, as potentially oppositional types—at least at the basic level of embodying the category of the individual as female. Maria Laplace (1987) traces the roots of Davis's public persona and her roles in her star vehicles to the heroines of women's fiction, and reads her association with work, as well as with consumption, as particularly appealing to female spectators. Dyer also analyses Davis's restless performance style, her 'bitch' and

camp roles and their reception and imitation in gay male culture. This 'structured polysemy' of a star image allows the figure to be claimed by diverse audiences and generates unpredictable effects in a range of reception contexts over time.

For example, the 'mystery' and self-sufficiency of Dietrich and Garbo (evident in their visual presentation as well as the plots of their films), the former's cruelty to men and the latter's tragic relation to love, as well as costuming codes and their on-screen flirtations with women, have been understood not only as open to appropriation by lesbian spectators today, but as drawing on the visual codes of lesbian self-representation in the 1930s. Black or ethnically coded star-images, such as those of Lena Horne or Carmen Miranda, have been decoded in relation to fantasies of racialized sexuality and the construction of American national identity and as figures of oppositional identification for non-white spectators (see Roberts 1993), and studies of national cinemas have increasingly mined the semiotic riches of popular star images.

The analysis of stars entails both sociological and psychoanalytic approaches and touches on several important directions in contemporary feminist film studies: placing the cinema within consumer culture, historicizing film exhibition and reception, and understanding active spectatorship as a process of 'negotiation'. Historically, cinema emerges within the culture of consumption. Once again it is not unreasonable to suggest that women are not marginalized as spectators, with no access except through disempowering identification with femininity-as-commodity in the figure of the star, but energetically addressed as consumers. Miriam Hansen (1991) looks at the Valentino craze in the 1920s as a definitive moment in locating female sexuality in modernity and the public sphere. Fan culture involves a range of concrete practices of consumption, purveyed by magazines, fashions, and commodity tie-ins. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog (1987) demonstrate that costuming is a crucial dimension of the personae of 'women's' stars such as Joan Crawford. Consumerist discourse works in as well as through the woman's film, often as a potent allegory of women's attempt to define herself or satisfy her desire. Consumer goods and the surfaces of costume, skin, and hair also offer non-narrative, tactile, and visual pleasures to women. Television, which addresses consumers in the home, extends such dimensions of women's viewing practice; arguably, the television 'apparatus' itself is feminized. Television audience studies, and feminist television scholarship in general, have been increasingly important to developments in film studies. Finally, work on consumerism can restore the question of gender to the now dominant concept of postmodernism. Many of the characteristics of postmodern society-fragmentation over coherence, style over history, surface over depth, and consumption over production-have traditionally been associated with women's condition, as Anne Friedberg (1994) demonstrates by linking the visual culture of modernity to contemporary spectatorial practices of the shopping-mall, cineplex, and home video. Friedberg suggests that there is at least some potential for mobilizing such associations on women's behalf-even as postmodernism threatens identity categories upon which feminism and other oppositional politics would seem to depend.

Indeed the traditional left's rejection of popular culture as capitalist manipulation, a position commonly associated with the Frankfurt School, frequently betrays the equation of consumption with feminine passivity. On the other hand, an unproblematic celebration of consumerism in the name of women's pleasure does not constitute 'resistance'. Generally speaking, feminist cultural studies rejects the view of female viewers as victims of 'false consciousness', but without then attributing inherently subversive powers to them. Stuart Hall's (1980) term 'negotiation' (itself a market-place metaphor, as Mayne (1993) points out) describes viewers' strategies of decoding media messages-from television news to film endings-as not wholly in conformity with, nor in complete opposition to, dominant ideology. A negotiated reading is inflected by viewers' socio-historical location and the discourses available to them. Jacqueline Bobo, in Black Women as Cultural Readers (1995), analyses her ethnographic research among black women viewers of Steven Spielberg's film The Color Purple (USA, 1985). She finds that their familiarity with Alice Walker's novel, the opportunity to see a high-budget film with a black female protagonist, and the community in which they viewed and discussed the film contributed to a more nuanced and positive reception of the film than that of many liberal reviewers, both black and white.

As the preceding account demonstrates, after more than twenty years feminist film studies has become an established academic discipline, with the critique of dominant media a primary preoccupation. But while recent work stressing the agency of the film or television viewer is an important challenge to the hierarchies It has been women's film *production*, rather than reception, that has been the most prominent model of resistance and opposition to the status quo.

presumed in Laura Mulvey's influential model, it has been women's film production, rather than reception, that has been the most prominent model of resistance and opposition to the status quo. Not simply an important parallel sector of 'feminism in film', women's filmmaking practice has been a constant reference and dynamic ground for theoretical work. Reclaiming women filmmakers' work within mainstream industries and in national and alternative film movements entails the re-evaluation of concepts of film authorship and criteria of film historiography and raises interesting methodological questions, such as the role of the critic in the definition of a 'feminist' film and the problem of essentialism (the notion that all women or all women's films share inherent qualities). The next sections look at areas of women's production that have raised particularly generative issues for feminist film studies.

Women's filmmaking

One of the most important discoveries of women's film festivals was of the pioneering role women played in the emergence of film. Alice Guy-Blaché is widely credited with directing the very first fiction film in 1896. She made hundreds of short films in France and later in the United States, and more than twenty feature films through her film company, Solax. The work of another prolific early woman writer-director-producer, Lois Weber, helps illuminate links between early twentieth-century middleclass feminism and the emerging cultural role of cinema. Her 'quality' dramas depicted women's agency and their favourable moral influence, addressing social issues, such as birth control (The Hand that Rocks the Cradle, 1917) and abortion (Where are my Children?, 1916), within the framework of melodrama. Well known at the time, Weber, like Guy-Blaché, was all but forgotten until feminist rediscovery in the 1970s made possible an acknowledgement of the role her work played in the contest for the respectability of cinema in the United States, and its place in hierarchies of class and taste. Film

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preservation movements and new interpretations of early film history emerging in the 1980s have assisted feminist efforts to restore women's contributions to silent cinema. The role of women in the public sphere—in political and social movements, labour, leisure, and the culture of consumption and in the formation of national identities in the first decades of the twentieth century, have been illuminated by recent studies of Neapolitan filmmaker Elvira Notari (Bruno 1995) and of Nell Shipman, the Canadian-born director of outdoor adventure films (Armatage 1995).

Feminist film scholars' questioning of established film canons draws on the retrieval of women authors and influences in feminist literary criticism. But cinema not only presents a much more limited history and scope than literature; it raises the difficulty of *defining* authorship, given the capital and technologyintensive, commercial and collaborative nature of film production, especially in Hollywood.

Women in Hollywood

Independent women directors and producers who flourished in the first decades of filmmaking were guickly marginalized by the entrenchment of the Hollywood studio system and its eventual dominance of world-wide markets. Studies of women who exercised creative control in sound-era Hollywood such as screenwriters (see Francke, 1994) or stars represent a challenge to the conflation of the idea of cinematic authorship with the figure of the director. But the few women who did work as directors in the heyday of Hollywood-Dorothy Arzner, who directed her first feature at Paramount, where she had been an editor, in 1927, and made sixteen more films before retiring from the movies in 1943, and Ida Lupino, a leading actress at Warners who turned independent producerdirector in 1949 and later directed for television-have played a central role in feminist film historiography and criticism.

Claire Johnston's and Pam Cook's contributions to The Work of Dorothy Arzner (Johnston 1975a) combined the work of recovery with the critical model developed in Johnston's 'Women's Cinema as Counter Cinema'. The authors looked not for coherent feminist expression in Arzner's work, but for traces of 'the woman's discourse', readable in the 'gaps and fissures' of the classic text. One such moment in Arzner's 1940 film Dance, Girl, Dance, in which the female character

'returns the look' of the burlesque audience that would objectify her, has become a canonical example of a textual 'rupture' within patriarchal ideology. In *Directed by Dorothy Arzner* (1994), Judith Mayne reintroduced biographical information and evaluated the significance of the director's lesbianism—not only to readings of her films (her 'authorial signature' decipherable in the highlighting of relationships between women and marginal women characters in her films) but to her public profile when she was an active woman director and to her status and stature in feminist film studies as a figure of fascination.

Contemporary with the emergence of such feminist criticism, women directors were finding greater opportunities in the New Hollywood. The genre-film work of such directors as Stephanie Rothman (*Student Nurses*, 1970) or Amy Heckerling (*Fast Times at Ridgemont High*, 1982) were similarly read 'against the grain' for their feminist inflexions. The cross-over successes of a number of women first active in feminist documentary, such as Claudia Weill's *Girlfriends* (1978), Joyce Chopra's *Smooth Talk* (1985), and Donna Deitch's lesbian romance *Desert Hearts* (1985), received particular scrutiny and anticipated the emergence of contemporary figures such as Mira Nair (*Mississippi Masala*, 1992) and Kathryn Bigelow (*Strange Days*, 1995) from feminist production sectors to Hollywood.

Art film, new national cinemas, third cinema

The European 'art film' has produced a number of indisputable female 'auteurs'. Although they might make fewer compromises to commerce or popular taste than women working within the mainstream industries, their work is even less easily assimilable to the feminist rubric. This does not, however, make them uninteresting to feminist critics. The paradigmatic case is Leni Riefenstahl, documentarian to the Third Reich. Susan Sontag's influential study (1972) of a consistent fascist aesthetic in Riefenstahl's work from Triumph of the Will (Germany, 1935) and Olympia (Germany, 1938) to her African photography of the 1960s, also lays the groundwork for decoding the Riefenstahl persona. Her celebration as 'female artist' works to place her outside history (and politics), subjecting her to the same codes governing the representation of woman in film. Johnston (1973) critiqued the films of French New Wave director Agnes Varda for perpetuating the

mythology of woman as essentially unknowable and childlike, signifier of nature and sexuality for men. The male protagonists and fraught sexual politics of the Italian director Liliana Cavani, initially regarded as evidence that women directors could indeed make antifeminist films, have been read more subtly by Kaia Silverman (1988) as authorial projections that unsettle patriarchal power hierarchies. Hungarian director Márta Mészáros in Hungary has built up a body of feature films unusual for a woman director, permitting auteurist analysis while expanding West European concepts of feminism and film. However, these directors' achievements must be seen not as exceptional. but inside history, politics, and national contexts. Thus, feminist critical interest has foregrounded the work of women within the New German Cinema, too often identified only with its male proponents (see Sieglohr, Part 3, Chapter 10) and in Australian cinema (see Jacka, Part 3, Chapter 16).

In the case of 'Third Cinema' (see Dissanayake, Part 3, Chapter 18) which explicitly opposed commercially controlled 'First' cinemas and auteurist 'art', or 'Second'. cinema. several women's films have been seen as definitive. The single feature Afro-Cuban director Sara Gomez completed before her untimely death. One Way or Another ('De cierta manera', Cuba, 1977) has been widely hailed as Brechtian post-colonial feminist cinema. Its dialectical structure of romance plot and 'documentary' analysis of economic conditions stresses the necessity of consciousness-raising around sexual politics as an essential part of the transformation of the social order. Caribbean-born Sarah Maldoror depicted revolutionary women's struggle in Angola in Sambizanga, (1972) and women's film collectives formed in Columbia, Brazil, and Peru, and on the Indian subcontinent. The introduction of the films of Thirdworld women into the canon of Eurocentric feminist criticism, however, should not homogenize the struggles and conditions within which they intervened: feminist, Marxist, and anti-imperialist paradigms have not always overlapped.

Avant-Garde and counter-cinema

Despite vast disparities in resources, conditions of production, and audience, most of the work discussed so far shares the general qualities of feature-length, narrative form, produced with some division of labour, and aimed for theatrical exhibition. Avant-garde work conceived outside that model has historically been an important venue for women; the various avant-garde movements offer feminist critics examples of 'auteurs' in the truest sense, as well as grounding for theories of alternative film language. Germaine Dulac claims the title of first feminist filmmaker; she played a prominent role in the French avant-garde as an educator and theorist, as well as the maker of abstract, narrative, and documentary films. In her most important film, *The Smiling Mme Beudet* (France, 1923), Dulac infused the conventional narrative about a provincial wife with experimental techniques rendering the protagonist's frustration and fantasy. For Sandy Flitterman-Lewis (1989), Dulac's career exemplified 'a search for a new cinematic language capable of expressing female desire'.

- While feminist film theory has consistently championed formal experimentation, the avant-garde's ethos of personal expression can be
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- political critique and, frequently,
- significant engagement with audiences.

In the poetically rendered subjective space of Meshes of the Afternoon (USA, 1943) and subsequent works, Russian-born Maya Deren could be said to be conducting a similar search. Beyond the general influence that earned her the rather dubious appellation 'mother of the American avant-garde', Deren's aesthetic innovations were paid homage in the explicitly feminist work of experimental filmmakers in the 1970s such as Joyce Wieland in Canada and lesbian feminist Barbara Hammer in the United States. Economically accessible and institutionally alternative, avant-garde film has given a significant place to American women since at least the 1950s; yet the movement has been pervaded by a male heroic modernism. In an article arguing for the political importance of naming women's media practices, B. Ruby Rich calls the avant-garde 'the Cinema of the Sons', a cinema of rebellion against the dominant 'Cinema of the Fathers' (Rich 1990: 269). While feminist film theory has consistently championed formal experimentation, the avantgarde's ethos of personal expression can be seen to foreclose consistent socio-political critique and, frequently, significant engagement with audiences.

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The women's films most privileged in the corpus of feminist film theory have tended to be forms of 'counter-cinema' (see Smith, Part 3, Chapter 2) which guestion the centrality of the image of women to representational regimes: cinematic signifying systems such as editing or the synchronization of sound and image, narrative logic, the structure of the look, processes of voyeurism and identification. These films have also been linked to the concerns of writers such as Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Luce Irigaray with the concept of feminine writing (écriture feminine). Perhaps the most commented-upon text was Belgian director Chantal Akerman's minimalist three-hour portrait of a middle-class housewife-prostitute: Jeanne Dielmann: 23 Quai du Commerce, 1080 Bruxelles (Belgium and France, 1975) which depicted traditional femininity from a feminist stance (see Fowler, Part 3, Chapter 13c). Laura Mulvey and Peter Wollen's exploration of Lacanian and Freudian theory from the mother's point of view in Riddles of the Sphinx (GB, 1975), Sally Potter's experimental short Thriller (GB, 1979), and American dancer-choreographer-filmmaker Yvonne Rainer's Film about a Woman Who . . . (USA, 1974) and The Man who Envied Women (USA, 1985) have also generated considerable debate (see Kuhn 1994; Kaplan 1983). For Mary Ann Doane, these filmmakers have attempted 'the elaboration of a special syntax for the female body' (1988: 227) and their concerns with language, desire, and identity have found an important critical venue in the US feminist film journal Camera Obscura.

Documentary

Although generally under-represented in academic criticism, the mode of filmmaking in which women's intervention has been most extensive and influential, which feminists first entered, and which remains most accessible to emerging artists, including women and people of colour, is documentary. In 1974 the National Film Board of Canada set up Studio D, a women's documentary unit, and more than 100 films, of whose style Bonnie Klein's indictment of the sex industry Not a Love Story (1981) is characteristic, have been made and distributed within that favourable institutional climate. Cinema verité and 'talking heads', interviewbased formats allowed women to speak for themselves and to narrate history-exemplifying the feminist slogan 'the personal is the political'. Such films were meant to raise consciousness and to effect social





Unexpected framings and discontinuous editing in Trinh T. Min-ha's *Reassemblage* (1982)

New subject positions—Sian Martin in Ngozi Onwurah's The Body Beautiful (1991) change, addressing viewers in an accessible style and encouraging an active response. Hence, the form is particularly effective in constructing a community. In the heyday of 'ideological criticism', these documentary practices tended to be charged with a 'naïve realism'. Barbara Kopple's important feature-length documentary Harlan County USA (1976), for example, was critiqued for effacing the choices made in filming and editing that built narrative suspense. However, Julia Lesage makes a convincing case for 'the political aesthetics of feminist documentary film' in her essay of that title (1990)-arguing that such films construct, among other things, an iconography of everyday women completely absent from mainstream mediaand the radical film magazine Jump Cut, of which Lesage is a founding editor, maintains a critical and aesthetic engagement with political films.

In the influential film Daughter Rite (1978), Michelle Citron, a contributor to Jump Cut, drew upon the immediacy and identificatory appeal of documentary while questioning its form. The film juxtaposed a cinéma verité interview with a pair of sisters with journal entries and home movie footage in order to explore the fraught connection between mother and daughter. Only by reading the credits does the viewer learn that the 'interviews' are scripted, but the film's emotional resonance, achieved through the autobiographical voice and the shared experience of being a daughter, is not diminished thereby. More recent work such as Mona Hatoum's Measures of Distance (1988) and Ngozi Onwurah's The Body Beautiful (1991) inscribe new subject positions-those of the diasporan daughter, the black daughter, and the mother herself-within the hybrid documentary 'genre' Daughter Rite might be credited with founding (see Kuhn 1994).

Such polyphony—of voices, points of view, and filmic idioms—increasingly characterizes feminist documentaries, particularly the self-representations of women of colour. This has, in turn, revitalized critical approaches to the form. In particular, an emerging body of theory takes on ethnographic film's traditional gaze at the 'Other', foregrounding questions of authenticity, authority, and testimony in the work of indigenous media-makers and critical anthropologists. No figure has been more crucial to this revision in feminist film studies than Vietnamese American filmmaker and theorist Trinh T. Min-ha (1991). In *Reassemblage* (1982) the filmmaker's voice-over states her intention not to speak about the Senegalese women

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the image track depicts in unexpected framings and discontinuous editing, but to 'speak nearby'.

With the widespread availability of the relatively inexpensive medium of video, women's media genres, exhibition venues, and critical paradiams have also proliferated. Lightweight and unobtrusive, the camcorder rejuvenated activist documentary, enabled the production of erotic videos by and for women, and reflected the 'identity politics' of the 1980s in an expanding body of independent work by women of colour and lesbians. Television commissions, women's film festivals, and the institutionalization of women's studies and film studies ensure that women's media culture remains a meeting-place of makers, users, and critics, although the symbiotic relationship that existed in the early 1980s between a certain kind of filmmaking practice and feminist film theory seems to have passed. This is due in part to the fact that the corpus is so much larger, in part to the maturation and hence diversification of feminist film studies as a discipline, and in part to larger cultural fragmentation of various kinds. Feminist filmmakers' interventions in cinematic language fit well with the 1970s and early 1980s focus in film theory on textual analysis-whether of dominant or modernist films. However, postmodernism, multiculturalism, and cultural studies has demanded a shift to contextual and local analysis, in which the boundaries between dominant and alternative, resistance and appropriation, production and reception, are significantly remapped. 'Diasporan', black, gay and lesbian, and other independent cinemas, and the cultural contexts in which they have circulated, have all required the refashioning of critical frameworks. As Teresa de Lauretis writes: 'If we rethink the problem of a specificity of women's cinema and aesthetic forms... in terms of address-who is making films for whom, who is looking and speaking, how, where, and to whom-then what has been seen as ... an ideological split within feminist film culture between theory and practice, or between formalism and activism, may appear to be the very strength, the drive and productive heterogeneity of feminism' (de Lauretis 1985/1990: 296).

Conclusion

Pam Cook wrote in 1975 that 'from the outset, the Women's Movement has assumed without question the importance of mobilizing the media for women's

struggle, at the same time subjecting them to a process of interrogation' (1975: 36). While carrying out that two-pronged strategy, feminist film studies has established itself as an academic field. If the terms of once-heated arguments-around the usefulness of psychoanalysis, the privileged status of Hollywood, the primacy of sexual difference-appear to have been superseded, contemporary debates are clearly founded upon them. Feminist cultural studies of popular cinema understand 'progressive texts' in social contexts: films such as Fatal Attraction (USA, 1987), Aliens (USA, 1986), and Thelma and Louise (USA, 1991) have therefore been analysed in terms of social anxieties about feminism, genre-mixing, popular reviews, and feminist appropriations. Queer theory has introduced the concept of gender performativity to studies of filmic representation and spectatorial response, drawing on psychoanalytic feminist theory's understanding of sexual identity as unstable, while critiquing heterosexist presumptions and giving voice to a new cultural politics. Transnational exhibition practices confirm that hypotheses of the film text as a bounded object and the spectator as fixed and unitary (Western and male) are untenable. Viewers, critics, and media practitioners mobilize 'the politics of location' to counter new forms of Hollywood hegemony with strategic new voices (see Shohat and Stam 1994). Such diverse and often contradictory methods, objects, and affiliations constitute the productive heterogeneity of contemporary feminist film culture.

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